

Panegyric on Apollo  
by  
Stephen Bishop of Hnês<sup>1</sup>

Anthony Alcock

This translation has been made from the Coptic version of the text published by K. Kuhn *Panegyric on Apollo* (CSCO *Scriptores Coptici* 39, 1978). Each volume of the CSCO series is accompanied by a translation. I do not have a copy of the translation of this text.

The Coptic text is substantially that of the printed book, excluding the typographical errors where **ϵ**, **ο** and **ϙ** and **ⲛ** and **ⲡ** have been confused (more than 15 times). I have not indicated emendations made by Kuhn in the text. I have not seen the original text or any copy of it, but only Kuhn's edited copy. I have copied his text and placed it after my translation, which has Kuhn's footnotes and notes of my own. Kuhn's is a work of scholarship, whereas mine is rather more 'didactic' and aimed at those who read Coptic but do not necessarily make a study of it. It is not intended for university students who have a competent teacher.

The manuscript from which Kuhn transcribed and edited the complete text is M 579 in the Pierpont Morgan Library. It can be dated to 822 AD and occupies folios 130v to 148r. Details of three fragments of the text, which may all be dismembered fragments of the same manuscript but cannot be identified as such with certainty, are provided on pp. viii ff. of Kuhn's publication.

In his introduction Kuhn shows (p. xii) that the text may have been composed around 600 AD. The writer, Stephen, and subject, Apollo, were both monks in the monastery of Isaac, the location of which is unknown but may be conjectured to have been not far from Stephen's see.<sup>2</sup> Stephen clearly had an extensive Greek vocabulary and was able to make puns on the names of Apollo and Theodore.<sup>3</sup> His knowledge of Greek is

---

1 In general I prefer to use the Egyptian names of Egyptian places. For a discussion of the name cf. note 8.

2 It is not known where the Monastery of Isaac was, but §11 tells us that it was north of Pboou. One obvious possibility that suggests itself is the Monastery of Isaac at Abnub, which is not far from Ihnâsiya al Medina. cf. O. Meinardus *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity* (2002) p. 225. Apart from this almost nothing else is known of Apollo or Stephen.

3 The pun on Apollo's name is made repeatedly throughout the text by means of ἀπολαύειν and ἀπόλαυσις, which occur as many as eleven times, including once with the noun-forming prefix σιν-. I have sometimes wondered how the use of foreign words, mostly but not entirely Greek, was 'received' by native speakers. In England, for example,

perhaps not entirely surprising, given that there were still centres of Greek learning in 6th cent. Egypt, most notably in the Thebaid.<sup>4</sup> The author is clearly anti-Chalcedonian, as indeed many 'orthodox' Egyptian Christians were, but there were areas that seemed to have accepted the doctrinal position of Chalcedon: the monastery of Pboou was obviously Chalcedonian in the 6th cent, as were Scetis and the Fayyum in the 7th cent.<sup>5</sup>

In the matter of compositional technique, it has to be assumed that the words of Apollo (as in §14) were handed down through the generations and became part of the collective memory, so that the writer was able to retrieve them faithfully from his or other people's memory.

---

in the Early Modern Period a controversy simmered over the use of what were known as 'inkhorn' terms, i.e. terms used mostly by the 'writing classes'.

4 See, for example, L.M. Cavero *Poems in Context: Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200-600 AD* (2008). In addition to the Thebaid, there was a 'school' of rhetoric at Gaza, founded in the late 5th cent. and operational until the end of Justinian's reign in 565, which had a connection with Alexandria. One could indeed be forgiven for considering this encomium as a sort of 'epideictic' rhetoric, though this would of course have been against the spirit of Christian modesty.

5 *Life of Samuel of Kalamun* ed. and tr. A. Alcock (1983) pp. 81 and 83.

1. A panegyric<sup>6</sup> delivered by our God-loving father, holy and revered in every way, the one who is perfect in the knowledge of divinely inspired<sup>7</sup> scripture, Apa Stephen bishop of Hnês,<sup>8</sup> in praise of our holy prophetic father, archimandrite, Apa Apollo, the successor of Isaac. He delivered this panegyric while he was still a monk in the same monastery, for the glory of Our Lord Jesus Christ and his prophetic servant, our holy father Apa Apollo, who completed his glorious course on day 20 of Paône<sup>9</sup> in a peace of God. Amen.

1. ΟΥΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΕΑΡΤΑΥΟϞ Ν̄ΒΙΠΕΝΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΑΥΩ ΕΤΤΑΙΗΥ  
ΚΑΤΑΣΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ· ΠΕΤΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΣΟΟΥΝ ΝΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΝΝΙϞΕ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΠΑ  
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΖΝΗC· ΕΠΤΑΙΟ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ  
ΜΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ· ΑΥΩ ΝΝΑΡΧΗΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΜΠΜΑ ΝΝΕCΑΑΚ· ΕΑΡΤΑΥΟ  
ΜΠΕΙΕΝΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΔΕ ΑΙΤΕΙ ΕϞΟ ΜΜΟΝΑΧΟC ΖΜΠΕΙΜΟΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΝΟΥΩΤ·  
ΕΥΕΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΙϞ̄ ΠΕΧ̄C̄ Μ̄ΝΠΕϞΖΜΖΑΛ ΜΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ  
ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ· ΕΑΡΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕϞΔΡΟΜΟC ΕΤΤΑΙΗΥ ΝCΟΥΧΟΥΩΤ Μ̄ΠΕΒΟΤ  
ΠΑΩΝΕ· ΖΝΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ·

2. It shines upon us today like a great beacon from heaven, the day of the repose of our holy prophetic father Apa Apollo, who truly enjoyed the favour<sup>10</sup> of God, which harmonizes with his name. For I, God said,<sup>11</sup> am the alpha and the omega. <sup>12</sup>Our father began in God and his completion too was God. Solomon rightly said:

6 The Coptic uses the term 'encomium' here, but later on 'panegyric'.

7 Though Coptic makes regular use of a substantial number of Greek words, the adjective used in 2 Tim. 3, 16 (θεόπνευστος) would have been a fairly unusual one, so it uses instead the Coptic **νιϞε**

8 E. Amélineau *Géographie de l'Égypte Copte* (1893) pp. 196ff. Known to the Greeks as Heracleopolis Magna. The pharaonic name was *nn-njswt*. The Hebrew form in *Is.* 30, 4 is **דגן**, which seems to reflect a pronunciation that began to be written in demotic Egyptian, was preserved in Coptic (**ΖΝΗC**) and, of course, passes over into the Arabic. Since 2001 it has been known that there was a 2nd cent. BC self-governing Jewish community at Hnês. The identification made by the foreign settlers with Heracles may be due to the equivalence they made between Heracles and the patron deity of the city, Herishef, a ram-headed god. The modern name is *Ihnâsiya al Madina* ( **اهناسيا المدينة**). Excavations, carried out there and published in 1894 by E. Naville in *Ahnas el Madineh*, brought to light a good deal of good quality 5th cent. Coptic sculpture that gives some idea of the prosperity of the place.

9 June 14 of the Julian Calendar

10 The first of many occasions on which a pun on the name Apollo and the Greek for 'enjoy' is made. The 'graphemic' paronomasia involved in the scriptural citation of **α** and **ω**, the first and last letters of Apollo's name, is in my view somewhat subtler and less laboured.

11 The parenthetic use of **πεχαϞ** is not uncommon in the text, sometimes to indicate direct speech (rather 'he said' in English fiction that breaks up direct speech) and sometimes to indicate a scriptural reference.

12 *Rev.* 1, 8

"The memory of the just is a good reputation."<sup>13</sup> Truly, our father, your memory has become like wine of Lebanon,<sup>14</sup> as it is written. The fragrance<sup>15</sup> of your labours has spread. Is there a village or area from which people do not congregate here today to come and worship and have the benefit of Christ Our Lord, who is on the mystical altar and not in the manger in Bethlehem. It is fitting therefore that I raise my voice with the psalmist: "The Lord has gathered them together from their lands."<sup>16</sup> "He has guided them on an upright path"<sup>17</sup> that they might go to<sup>18</sup> the city of the dwelling place of his saint, who became the leader and the forefather of this monastery after Christ. This one too who is gathered with us today together with his supporting troop of angels, as he promised in the holy gospels, as this in every way<sup>19</sup> is a great panegyric of those on earth delivered by those in heaven. And since you have come to us, God-loving people, for this reason, according to the voice of my Saviour: "We do not wish to leave you psychically hungry lest you faint on the path to virtue, you who walk on it."<sup>20</sup> But with the help of the immeasurable supply provided by my saviour, I wish to offer a dinner of poverty for you from the glories of our father,<sup>21</sup> I being incapable of this. Honouring the fathers is a lawful and evangelical necessity, and this is especially true in the case of this sort<sup>22</sup> of Christian father, whose beauty has risen to the one above the heavens. For this reason I will provide you with a feast of reason from his honourable life. I know that the deeds of the just man beget life for those who follow him, as it is written.<sup>23</sup> In this feast of reason, namely the life of our father, you will find the faith and obedience of the patriarchs towards God, the gentleness and lack of vindictiveness<sup>24</sup> of Moses and David and

---

13 *Prov.* 10, 7. This, though slightly different from other versions, agrees with the Coptic version *Sacrorum Biblorum Fragmenta* 2 ed. P. Ciasca (1889) p. 166.

14 *Hosea* 14, 8.

15 The reading ⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ (W. E. Crum *Coptic Dictionary* 362b, abbreviated to *CD*) is not in doubt and is probably the word meaning 'fragrance'. It may be of interest to note that a word that at first sight looks like a metathesized version and would be appropriate here but is in fact a separate word occurs in P. Kell. Copt. 19, 2 and 7: ⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ 'good reputation', an abbreviated form of ⲉⲓⲉⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩⲉ, cf. *Coptic Documents from Kellis* 2v (1991-2014) ed. and tr. I. Gardiner, A. Alcock and W-P Funk.

16 *Ps.* 106, 3.

17 *Ps.* 106, 7.

18 ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲃⲟⲕ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ- ('that they might go to') omitted by the scribe.

19 I can think of no better way to translate the phrase ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲉ̅ (lit. 'in this whole way'), which occurs several times in the text. Occasionally I have not translated it at all.

20 *Matth.* 15, 32.

21 One assumes that the oxymoron is intended.

22 ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲓⲛⲓⲛⲉ: Stephen seems to be particularly fond of this phrase, which occurs more than 24 times in the text. I have occasionally omitted it in the translation because it makes little sense in English.

23 *Prov.* 10, 16

24 The word as such is not attested in *CD*. The prefix ⲙⲛⲧⲁⲧ- means 'condition of being without' and, of the various verbs ⲧⲱⲱⲉ (CD 398b), the most likely one is 'repay, requite', thus yielding something like 'condition of being

the quietness of Joshua son of Naue, the purity of the great Elijah and his zeal against those envious of God, in a word the suffering of the prophets, the renunciation of the apostles, the endurance in contests no less strong<sup>25</sup> than those of the martyrs. If you are wondering where this sort of tree of reason grows from, draw or consider the life of this one in yourself as you would the life of the apostles.<sup>26</sup>

2. αϕωα ναν μποου νοε νοϕωστηρ ηνοσ εβολ ζητπε· ν̄βιπεζουγ  
 νταναπαυσις μπενειωτ ετογααβ μπροφητης απα απολλω· πενταραπολαγε  
 ζηνουμε μπινουτε καταψων̄ μπεφραν· ανοκ γαρ πεχαϑ ν̄βιπνουτε  
 πεααφα· αυω ω αφαρχειβε ζμπινουτε ν̄βιπενειωτ αυω πρεφχωκ εβολ ονπε  
 πνουτε· καλωσβε τενογ αφχοος ν̄βισολομων χεουσοειτ ενανογφιπε  
 μπ̄ρμεεγε μπδικαιος· οντωσ γαρ ω πενιωτ απεκ̄ρ̄πμεεγε ρ̄θε ν̄νουηρ̄π̄  
 ν̄λιβανος καταπετχηζ· αυω πεσ̄τ̄νουγε ηνεκζισε πωρ̄ω εβολ· αυω γαρ  
 ηνεποικιον· η ν̄χωρα νετεμπεογον ηζητογ σωουζ επειμα μποου ετρεγει  
 ησεουωψ̄τ̄ ησεαπολαγε μπ̄χ̄σ̄ πενχοεις εφκη ζητετραπεζα ημυστικη· αντι  
 πογωμ̄ν̄ ν̄βηθεεμ· ζηουπετεψωε ογν †ηαχιε ν̄τασμη εζραι  
 ηηπρεφφαλλει· χεαπχοεις σοουζου εζουη ζηνεγχωρα· αφχιμοειτ ζητογ  
 ζηουζιη εσσογτων ετρεγβωκ ετπολις ημμανψωπε η̄πεφπετογααβ· παιπε  
 πενταϑωπε ηηαρχηγος· αυω μπροπατωρ ηπειτοπος η̄ν̄ησαπεχ̄σ̄· παι οη  
 ετσοουζ ημμαν μποου ηητεφπαρταζις ηηαγγελικη· καταθε ηταφερητ  
 η̄παι ζηνεγαγγελιον ετογααβ· ζωσ ογν εογνοσ ητειζε ηηρ̄σ̄τε ηηανηγηρις  
 η̄ηετζιχημκαζ εβολ ζητηνετζηνημπηγε· αυω επειδη ατετνει ζωττηγτη  
 ψαρον ω πλαος ημ̄ιπεχ̄σ̄· ετβεναι κατατεφωνη ηπασωτηρ· η̄τ̄νογωψ αν  
 εκατηγ̄τ̄η εβολ ετετηζκαειτ ψυχικος· ηηποτε ητετη̄ωσμη ζραι ζητεζιη  
 ηταρετη· ητωτη ηετμοωε ηζηης· αλλα ζητηνεφχορηγια ηηατ̄ψι ερος·

---

without vengeance'. Is it perhaps is a tortuous reference to *Numbers* 31, 1ff., where Moses takes vengeance of the Midianites but only as the instrument of God ?

25 Comparison between the achievements of Apollo and those of the martyrs or prophets is made several times in the text.

26 The structure of the sentence suggests that Διαγραφη and ζυποινει are injunctions to the reader to visualize as well as meditate on the saint's life.

ΝΤΟϞ ΠΑΣΩΤΗΡ· †ΟΥΩΨ Ε̄ΡΟΥΔΙΠΝΟΝ ΜΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΕΡΩΤῆ̄· ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΝΕΤΑΕΙΟ  
 ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ· ΖΩC ΕΝΕΙΟ ΑΝ ΝΖΙΚΑΝΟC ΕΠΑΙ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΟΥΧΡΕΩC ΝΝΟΜΙΜΩΝ  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΝΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΟΝΤΕ ΤΒΙΝΤΑΕΙΟ ΝΝΕΙΟΤΕ· ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ ΟΥΕΙΩΤ ΝΧΡΙCΤΟC  
 ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ· ΕΑΠΕϞCΑ ΧΙCΕ ΨΑΠΕΤCΑΤΠΕ ΝΝΜΠΗΥΕ· ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ †ΝΑΚΩ  
 ΝΟΥΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ Ν̄ΛΟΓΙΚΗ· ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕϞΒΙΟC Ν̄ΟΥΨΤΑΕΙΟϞ· ΕΙCΟΟΥΝ  
 ΧΕΨΑΡΕΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΜΠΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΧΠΟΠΩΝΖ ΝΝΕΤΝΑΟΥΑΖΟΥ ΝCΩϞ ΝΘΕ ΕΤCΗΖ·  
 ΖΝΤΕΙΤΡΑΠΕΖΑΔΕ ΤΑΙ ΝΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΤΕΠΒΙΟCΠΕ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ· ΚΝΑΒΙΝΕ ΝΖΗΤϞ  
 ΝΤΠΙCΤΙC ΜΝΤΜΝΤCΤΜΗΤ ΝΝΕΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗC ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΤΜΝΤΡΜΡΑΨ  
 ΜΝΤΜΝΤΑΤΤΩΒΕ ΜΜΩΥCΗC· ΜΝΔ̄ᾹΔ̄ ΤΕCΕΧΙΑ ΝΝΙΗCΟΥ ΠΩΗΡΕ Ν̄ΝΑΥΗ· ΠΤ̄Β̄Β̄Ο  
 ΜΠΝΟΘ ΝΖΗΛΙΑC· ΑΥΩ ΠΕϞΚΩΖ ΟΥΒΕΝΕΡΕϞ†ΚΩΖ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΖΑΠΛΩC  
 ΤΜΝΤΡΕϞΨΠΖΙCΕ ΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC· ΤΑΠΟΤΑΓΗ ΝΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC· ΘΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ  
 ΖΝΖΕΝΝΑΓΩΝ ΕΝCΕΒΟΧΒ ΑΝ ΕΝΑΜΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC ΕΨΧΕ ΚΑΠΟΡΕΙ ΧΕΛΠΕΙΩΗΝ  
 ΝΤΕΙΒΟΤ ΝΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ· ΑΥΩ ΝϞΑΙΚΑΡΠΟC †ΟΥΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΩΝ· ΔΙΑΓΡΑΦΗ Η ΖΥΠΟΙΝΕΙ  
 ΜΠΒΙΟC ΜΠΑΙ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΚ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΑΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC·

3. This one therefore, having been made in the image of God and having kept the state of the image pure, after breastfeeding and adolescence and the time of the signal given by the cockrel,<sup>27</sup> viz. after discriminating reason had developed in him, no longer followed flesh and blood and did not pursue the life of this world, but modelled himself on the patriarch Abraham, who had left his country with his kin and his father's house for the land flowing with milk and honey,<sup>28</sup> I mean the holy community of Pbau, even if it has now turned to bitterness,<sup>29</sup> that vine of truth which was first beloved. Whereas the patriarch, even if he left behind him his land, nevertheless had all his people with him, as the holy scripture testifies, Apollo made virtue become for him the substitute for his entire family.<sup>30</sup> Abraham obeyed God and brought him as a

27 This seems to be a metaphor, indicating the point at which awareness and self-determination began to emerge.

28 Ex. 3, 8. ετψογο should read ετψογε.

29 This may refer to the adoption by the Thebaid monasteries of the Chalcedonian dogma in the 6th cent. A survey of the evidence relating to the background is presented by J. Goehring *Ascetics, society and the desert* (1999) Chapter 12.

30 The ideal biblical model for the departure of a monk from his 'family', for whatever reason, seems to be that of Abraham in *Gen.* 12, 1ff. It is not known how old Apollo was when entered Pboou, but it is said that Apollo had to walk for three days to get there. If one reckons 40 to 50 km a day, this would make a distance of 120 to 150 km. This might put his birthplace some distance south of Asyut. The only evidence from the ancient world on the subject I can find is a journey on foot from Serdica to Constantinople, where an average of about 50 km a day was achieved cf. *Fragmenta Historiarum Graecorum* fr. 8 Priscus.

sacrifice. And just as, in accordance with God's will, Abraham was ready to make his son a holy living sacrifice pleasing to God and walked for three days to the mountain of his sacrifice, Apollo too endured the same sort of interval from this district until he reached the 'created mountain',<sup>31</sup> I mean the life of our holy father, Apa Pachomius the first, and the great archimandrite and heir of his labours together with his virtue, the one who was made and the one who first offered himself as a gift of God, I mean Theodore,<sup>32</sup> the soul-mate of Pachomius, and his companion in the work of the Lord, Horsiese. When the successor of the ministry at that time, Theodore, saw Apa Apollo,<sup>33</sup> he recognized by the modesty of his demeanour and his moral bearing that Apollo was a precious vessel<sup>34</sup> pleasing to the Lord and prepared for all good things. He received Apollo in glory and, as it is written, took him by the right hand and led him into his holy place. He equipped him with the arms of righteousness, I mean the monastic habit, insignificant to look at but the strength of which was commensurate with his sceptre-mighty spirits.<sup>35</sup> He was clothed with a monastic garment,<sup>36</sup> so that the memory of his removal from this life would be an opportunity for meditation. A garment of this sort is what we wear bodily when departing from this place of sojourn, even if we also put it in the earth with the earth that is our poor body. In my opinion,<sup>37</sup> the garment means purity. Our linen is something pure, as it is a plant<sup>38</sup> on earth and not an animal product. It is perhaps why God ordered, through Ezekiel<sup>39</sup> the priest and prophet of the Old Testament, linen girdles to be worn before setting out on a ministry.

---

31 The phrase is **ΠΤΟΟΥ ΜΠΟΗΤΟΝ**. In his Index of Greek words Kuhn has understood *ποιητόν*, but I do not know how he has translated it. **ΠΤΟΟΥ** often refers to a monastery, and of course the first monasteries proper were created by Pachomius. It must also be pointed out that the phrase **ΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΗΟΗΤΟΝ** is used in §§ 23, 4 and 24, 16 and the possibility that this word may be a miswriting of *νοήτος* cannot be discounted, cf. G. Lampe *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (1961) p. 917. In any case, there is a comparison made between Abraham and Apollo that involves the word 'mountain' because in Gen. 22, 2 it refers to the place where Abraham is to sacrifice his son and in the case of Apollo it refers to the place that is to become his mountain, whether 'created' or 'intellectual'.

32 The rather contrived passage seems to be designed simply to introduce this pun: Theodore 'gift of God'. All three, Pachomius, Theodore and Horsiese, were luminaries of the organized monastic communities that began at Tabennese (c. 320) and spread to Pboou.

33 Coptic says simply 'he . . . him'.

34 For **ΚΚΕΟС** read **ΚΚΕΥΟС**.

35 Ill-constructed sentence: one expects **ΜΕΝ . . . ΔΕ**, but there is no adversative particle, so I have supplied it.

36 The Gk form of this word is *λεβιτών*, cf. G. Lampe *Greek Patristic Lexicon* (1961) 798b.

37 An abbreviated version of the Coptic: **ΚΑΤΑΡΟΙ ΔΕ ΨΧΩ ΜΜΟС . . .** The Graeco-Coptic that follows, **ΤΜΗΤΚΑΘΑΡΙΩΤΗΣ** and **ΠΤΕΒΟ** has been rendered by 'purity'.

38 I take this to refer to the connection between flax and linen, the contrast being with animal products (**ΖΗΝΟΥΧΤΟ**), as implied in the later reference to *Ezekiel* 44, 17ff., where linen is specified in preference to wool, as it was for Egyptian priests, cf. Herodotus *Histories* 2, 81.

39 The name of the OT prophet occurs five times in the text, four of them with the initial vowel of the Hebrew (**ΙΕΖΕΚΙΕΛ**) and this one without.

3. παιδε ουν εαυταμιου καταθικων μπνουτε· αυω εαφροεις επαζιωμα  
 νοικων εφτββη· λοιπον μννσαπσανω μπερωτε· μννσαταυζησις νουληκια·  
 μννσαπναυ ντςυμασια μπαλεκτωρ· ετεπαυπε χεμννσατρεφωπε νζητq  
 νβιπλογισμος νρεδιακρινε· ουκετει λοιπον μπεφογαζq νσασαρξ ζισνοq  
 ουδε μπεφπωτ ζμπβιος νναπειαιων· αλλα αφχι ναq μπεσμοτ  
 μπατριαρχεις αβραζαμ· εαφει εβολ ζμπεφκαζ μντεφσυγγενια· μνπηι  
 μπεφειωτ εζραι επκαζ ετψογοερωτε ζιεβιω· ειψαχε ετκοινωνια ετογααβ  
 μπβαυ· καν εψχε ακτοσ εουσιψε· τενου νβιτβω ννελοολε μμε ετμμαυ  
 ετο μμεριτ νψορπ αλλα ππατριαρχεις μεν· καν εψχε ακρω νσωq μπεφκαζ  
 νερενετενωφνε τηρου ψοοπ νμμαq νοε ετερετεγραφη ετογααβ ρμντρε  
 μπαι· παι δε ντοq αφτρεταρετη ψωπε ναq επμα ννετψοοπ ναq τηρου·  
 ααβραζαμ αφσωτμ νσαπνουτε αφπροσενηγε ναq μπεφμεριτ νψηρε  
 νουσια· ζοσον προσεπροθεσις μπεφζητ· απαι ζωωq παρζιστα μμοq  
 νουθουσια εσονζ εσογααβ· εσεραναq μπνουτε· ααβραζαμ πωτ ζνουζηι  
 νψομντ νζοου ψαζραι επτοου ντεφουσια· απαι ζωωq ζυπομινε  
 επειασδιαστημα ντειβοτ· χινπειτω ψαντεφπωτ ψαζραι επτοου ννοητον  
 ειψαχε επβιος ννειοτε ετογααβ· απα παζομο πψορπ· πνοβ  
 ζνнархнμανδριτχις μνπεκληρονομος ννεφζισε· μντεφαρετη ζιουσοπ·  
 πενταγααq· αυω πενταφρψορπ ντααq μμιν μμοq νδωρον επνουτε·  
 ειψαχε εθεοδωροσ πετο νζυμοφυχοσ μνπαι· αυω πεφψβηρ νρεφρζωβ  
 ζμπχοεις· ετεζωρσιησιοςπε· ζμπτρεφναυ ουν νβιπετο νδιαδοχοσ  
 ετδιακονια νναι μπευοειψ ετμμαυ· εππετογααβ απα απολλω· αφσουωνq  
 ζιτηντηντσεμνοσ ννεφτροποσ μντκαταστασις ννεφζεθοσ· χεουσκεοσπε  
 νεντιμων εφραναq μπχοεις· αυω εφσβτωτ εζωβ νιμ νναγαθοσ· αφψοπq  
 εροq λοιπον ζνουεοου· αυω ον καταπετχηζ αφαμαζτε ντεφβιχ νουναμ·  
 αφχιτq εζουν επεφμα ετογααβ· αυω αφζοκq ζννεζοπλον ντδικαοσυνη·  
 ειψαχε επεσχημα ετογααβ ντηντημοναχοσ· παι ουελαχιστον μενπε

ΖΙΤΝΤΩΙΝΝΑΥ· ΕΡΟϞ ΕΡΕΤΕϞΒΟΜ ΠΗΖ ΨΑΖΕΝΠ̄Ν̄Α ΝΚΕΠΑΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ· ΑΥ† ΖΙΩΩϞ  
 ΝΝΟΥΛΕΒΙΤΟΥ· ΧΕΚΑΣ ΖΜΠΑΙ ΕΡΕΠ̄ΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΩΙΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΙΒΙΟΣ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ  
 ΜΜΕΛΕΤΑ ΟΥΖ̄Β̄Ω ΓΑΡ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕΤΕ ΕΨΑΝΦΟΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΣ ΣΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΝΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΒΟΙΛΕ· ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΨΑΝΤΑΑΣ ΟΝ ΕΠΚΑΖ· ΜΝΠΚΑΖ ΕΤΕΠΕΝΣΩΜΑ  
 ΝΝΕΒΙΗΝΠΕ· ΚΑΤΑΡΟΙ ΔΕ †ΧΩ ΜΟΟΣ ΧΕΛΑΨΣΥΜΑΝΕ ΝΤΜΝΤΚΑΘΑΡΙΩΤΗΣ· Η ΠΤ̄Β̄Ω  
 ΜΠΣΩΜΑ· ΠΕΝΕΙΟΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΕΙΔΟΣΠΕ ΕϞΤΒΒΗΥ ΖΩΣ ΕΟΥΡΩΤΠΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΜΠΚΑΖ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΑΝΠΕ ΖΝΟΥΧΠΟ· ΑΥΩ ΑΡΗΥ ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΕΖΣΑΖΝΕ ΖΙΤΝΕΖΕΚΙΕΛ  
 ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΝΟΥΗΗΒ ΝΤΠΑΛΛΙΑ· ΕΤΡΕΥΜΟΡΟΥ ΝΖΕΝΝΑΚΗΣ ΝΝΕΙΑΙΟΟΥ ΖΑΘΗ  
 ΕΤΡΕΥ† ΜΠΕΥΟΥΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΛΙΤΟΥΡΓΕΙ·

4. After the garment<sup>40</sup> he received a skin made according to the instructions of the angels, meaning as I said earlier the death of the body, so that it would act as a winding sheet in the face of all desires of the flesh. He also received a cowl,<sup>41</sup> like a child, in accordance with the grace of his holy calling, a garment not only of the immature child, but also of those who are without evil and open.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the Saviour, after the resurrection, called the apostles 'children',<sup>43</sup> though they were not this in the bodily sense. He received a girdle, like Elijah and the John the Forerunner so that with it he would be strong against the pleasures of the belly<sup>44</sup> and the parts below the belly, for these are the ones that the ascetic life rejects. He who does not have them but only wears only the staff of piety, while in denial of the virtue of piety, I say that they are like whited sepulchres and lifeless gravestones. They have the name of the living or those who have lived, but are without breath. I speak in this way, for I too am poor, even scorned. But the perfect and utterly virtuous lawgiver Apa Shenoute<sup>45</sup> says about the one who prays when his mind alone is a staff<sup>46</sup> or when he is troubled by inappropriate thoughts<sup>47</sup> that he is worse than the one who has been segregated. He said that, on the one hand,

40 I take this to refer to linen garment mentioned at the end of §3. What follows is a relatively elaborate description of the monk's *σχημα*, in which the function of each item of clothing is specified, almost like a prayer.

41 The Coptic *κογκριον* is a form of *κουκούλλιον*.

42 *ΝΝΑΤΚΑΚΩΣ ΑΥΩ ΝΒΑΛΖΗΤ*: according to *CD* 715a, the former is used in Bohairic and the latter in Sahidic with the same meaning.

43 *John* 21, 5

44 *ΚΑΛΑΖΗ*: *CD* 107a describes the meaning 'belly' as rare. It occurs four times in this text.

45 Shenoute was clearly on a par with other great monastic leaders, such as Antony and Pachomius. In addition to another mention in this text (§ 19), he is also mentioned in later Coptic texts, e.g. Alcock *Samuel* pp. 27 and 34.

46 Here the Gk word *ῥάβδος* is used, earlier the Coptic *σερωβ*. I do not understand the metaphor of the staff

47 *ΜΨΩΕ* cf. *CD* 607

this one was not thinking of anything wicked, for he is soulless, but, on other hand, has used his intelligence badly.<sup>48</sup> Our father is not such a one as this. The son of the apostles is not like this, but he is like one who has equipped himself with great strength for battle, pursuing his enemies and not retreating until he has crushed them. Like those who run in the stadium, persistently pursuing the belly,<sup>49</sup> not stopping at all until they reach the prize-winners' podium, this blessed one runs fittingly at all times on his course of virtue. In this he resembles the movement of the bodiless forces that carry the chariot of the Lord, those whom the prophet Ezekiel saw moving forward without once turning back, not even with their faces. For he is such a one in his course, making daily progress in the performance of his spiritual exercises<sup>50</sup> and growing in virtue, as if he had returned to the foundation of the apostles and prophets. He started building<sup>51</sup> himself into a spiritual house of God with precious stones, that is the fruits of the Holy Spirit. A pure confession<sup>52</sup> to God in his mind, a lifting up of his holy hands, these which seize the Amalekites of the mind,<sup>53</sup> a meditation healthier than distraction, through which he became one who shot arrows accurately against the heart of the enemies of Christ the king, a community for the chosen, a renunciation of his desires, an exercise full of discernment, someone in control of his belly and the pleasures that come from indulging it. A reconciliation of the flesh with the spirit through the oneness of virtue. Indeed, a meditation on the separation of both from each other. This one who is the perfection of all philosophy, whose nourishment is the enjoyment of the holy words, whose whole joy is thinking of God, whose boast is the fear of the LordGod and whose love is His the law.<sup>54</sup>

4. ΜΗΝΣΑΘΒΣΩ ΑΥΤ ΕΧΩΨ ΝΟΥΨΑΑΡ ΕΨΤΑΜΗΨ ΚΑΤΑΟΥΔΙΑΤΑΓΗ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ·  
ΕΨΨΥΜΑΝΕ ΟΝ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΨΡΠΧΟΟΨ· ΕΤΕΨΜΟΥ ΜΠΨΩΜΑΠΕ· ΧΕΚΑΣ ΖΨΤΜΠΑΙ  
ΕΨΝΑΨΩΨΠΕ ΝΚΩΨΣ ΝΝΑΖΡΝΝΕΨΕΨΘΥΜΙΑ ΝΙΜ ΝΣΑΡΚΙΚΟΝ· ΑΥΤ ΕΧΩΨ  
ΝΝΟΥΚΟΥΚΡΙΟΝ ΖΨΨ ΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΤΕΧΑΡΙΨ ΜΠΨΩΖΨ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΟΥΔΕ ΓΑΡ  
ΜΠΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΑΝ ΜΜΑΤΕΨΠΕ ΠΕΨΨΟΒΚ ΖΨΘΨΛΨΚΙΑ· ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΨΟΠΕ ΝΝΑΤΚΑΚΩΨ  
ΑΨΨ ΝΒΑΛΖΗΤ· ΝΤΕΨΖΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΑΨΨΩΤΗΡ ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΝΑΨΨΟΨΤΟΛΟΣ  
ΜΗΝΣΑΤΑΝΑΨΤΑΨΙΨ ΧΕΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ· ΚΑΨΠΕΡ ΝΕΡΕΨΑΙ ΨΟΨΠ ΑΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ

48 I am not sure that I have understood this, Kuhn has not been able to identify the quotation.

49 The passage is an allusion to *1 Cor.* 9, 24ff., and this portion of it may be a reformulation of the sentiment expressed in v. 25 about the athlete: **ΨΑΨΕΓΚΡΑΤΕΨΕ ΝΜΟΨ** 'he controls himself'.

50 **ΑΣΚΗΣΙΨ**: comparable with the Arabic **الجهاد** (*jihād*) in its non-military sense.

51 The Coptic Imperfect (**ΝΕΨΨΩΨΤ**) can often be understood in an inchoative sense.

52 The printed text has **ΖΟΜΟΛΟΙΑ**, which I take to be a typographical error for **ΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ**. The word is absent from the Index of Greek Words

53 The ref. cited in *Ex*, 17, 8ff is simply to the Amalekites.

54 *Ps.* 1, 2

ΣΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ· ΑΥΜΟΡΦ ΝΟΥΜΟΧ2 ΚΑΤΑΠΕΣΧΗΜΑ Ν2ΗΛΙΑΣ ΜΝΙΩ2ΑΝΝΗΣ  
 ΠΕΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ· ΧΕΚΑΣ 2ΜΠΑΙ ΟΝ ΕΦΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΧΩΨΡΕ· ΟΥΒΕΝ2ΥΔΟΝΗ  
 ΝΤΚΑΛΑ2Η ΜΝΝΕΤΣΑΠΕΣΗΤ ΝΤΚΑΛΑ2Η· ΝΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΕΤΕΡΕΠΒΙΟΣ ΝΝΑΣΚΗΤΙΚΟΝ  
 ΑΠΕ† ΜΜΟΟΥ· ΠΕΤΕΜΝΤΑΦ ΝΝΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΦΦΟΡΕΙ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΜΠΒΕΡΩΒ  
 ΝΤΜΝΤΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ· ΕΦΑΡΝΑ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΣΒΟΜ· †ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕΕΥΤ̄ΝΤΩΝ Ε2ΕΝΤΑΦΟΣ  
 ΕΥΧΗ2· ΑΥΩ 2ΕΝΣΤΥΛΗΝΕ ΝΑΦΥΧΟΝ· ΝΑΙ ΕΥΕΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΡΑΝ ΝΝΕΤΟΝ2̄· Η  
 ΝΕΝΤΑΥΩΝ2̄ ΕΥΟ ΔΕ ΝΝΑΤΠΝΟΗ· ΑΝΟΚ ΜΕΝ ΛΙΧΟΟΣ ΝΤΕΙ2Ε· ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΑΝΟΚ  
 ΟΥ2ΗΚΕ 2ΩΩΤ ΕΙΡ̄ΠΚΕΣΗΨ· ΠΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΦ ΝΤΕΛΙΟΣ· ΑΥΩ ΜΠΑΝΡΗΤΟΣ  
 ΑΠΑ ΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ· ΠΕΧΑΦ ΕΤΒΕΠΕΤΨΛΗΛ· ΕΡΕΠΕΦΝΟΥΣ ΜΜΑΤΕ Ο Ν2ΡΑΒΔΙΣ· Η  
 ΕΦΠΕΡΙΣΠΑ 2ΝΝΕΤΕΜΕΨΨΕ· ΧΕΦ2ΟΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΠΕΤΟΥΨΤ ΕΒΟΛ· ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ  
 ΝΦΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ ΕΛΑΑΥ ΜΠΕΘΟΟΥ· ΟΥΑΦΑΧΟΝ ΓΑΡΠΕ· ΠΑΙ ΔΕ Ν̄ΤΟΦ ΑΦΧΡΩ  
 ΜΠΕΦΔΙΑΝΟΕΙΤΙΚΟΝ ΚΑΚΩΣ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΟΥΕΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΑΝΠΕ ΠΕΝΕΙΨΤ· ΝΟΥΕΤΕΙ2Ε  
 ΑΝΠΕ ΠΨΗΡΕ ΝΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ· ΑΛΛΑ 2ΩΣ ΕΑΦΜΟΡΦ ΝΝΟΥΒΟΜ ΕΠΠΟΛΥΜΟΣ·  
 ΑΦΨΩΤ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΝΣΑΝΕΦΧΑΧΕ· ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕΦΚΤΟΦ ΨΑΝΤΕΦΟΧΝΟΥ· ΑΛΛΑ ΜΠΕΣΜΟΤ  
 ΝΝΕΤΠΗΤ 2ΜΠΕΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ· ΕΨΑΓΒΩ ΕΥ† ΜΠΕΥΟΓΟΙ ΝΣΑΤΚΑΛΑ2Η ΕΜΕΥΑ2ΕΡΑΤΟΥ  
 ΕΠΤΗΡ̄Ψ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΨΩ2 ΕΠΜΑ ΕΝΕΦΡΑΦΙΟΝ· ΤΑΙΤΕ ΘΕ ΜΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΕΦΠΗΤ ΝΝΑΥ  
 ΝΙΜ ΕΥΘΗΤΟΣ 2ΜΠΔΡΟΜΟΣ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕΤΗ· ΑΥΩ ΕΦΤΟΝΤΝ ΜΜΟΦ 2ΜΠΑΙ ΕΤΒΙΝΜΟΟΨΕ  
 ΝΝΕΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ Ν̄ΝΑΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ· ΕΤΟ ΝΒΑΙ2ΑΡΜΑ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΘΕΨΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΟΥ  
 ΝΒΙΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΙΕΖΕΚΙΕΛ· ΕΥΜΟΟΨΕ ΑΧΝΚΤΟΟΥ ΕΠΑ2ΟΥ ΕΠΤΗΡ̄Ψ· ΟΥΔΕ  
 2ΝΝΕΥΚΕΠΡΟΣΟΨΩΝ· ΟΥΕΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΓΑΡΠΕ 2ΜΠΕΦΔΡΟΜΟΣ· ΕΦΜΟΟΨΕ Ε2Η  
 ΜΜΗΝΕ 2ΝΤΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ ΝΤΑΣΚΗΣΙΣ· ΑΥΩ ΕΦΝΗΥ ΝΑΙΑΙ 2ΝΤΑΡΕΤΗ· ΑΥΩ 2ΩΣ  
 ΕΑΥΚΟΤΦ ΕΧΝΤΣΝΤΕ ΝΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΜΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ· ΝΕΦΚΩΤ 2ΩΩΦ ΜΜΟΦ  
 ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΟΥΗ ΜΠΝΑΤΙΚΟΝ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 2Ν2ΕΝΩΝΕ ΜΜΕ· ΕΤΕΝΑΙΝΕ  
 ΝΕΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΜΠΠ̄Ν̄Α ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΟΥ2ΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΣΤ̄ΒΒΗΥ ΨΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ 2ΜΠΕΦΝΟΥΣ  
 ΟΥΒΙΝΦΙ Ε2ΡΑΙ ΝΝΕΦΒΙΧ ΕΥΟΥΑΑΒ· ΝΑΙ ΕΤΟ ΝΡΕΦΒΩΤΠ ΝΝΑΜΑΡΑΚΗΤΗΣ  
 ΝΝΟΗΤΟΝ· ΟΥΜΕΛΕΤΑ ΕΣΟΥΟΧ ΕΠΕΡΙΣΠΑΣΜΟΣ· ΕΒΟΛ ΓΑΡ 2ΝΤΑΙ ΕΑΦΨΩΠΕ  
 ΝΝΟΥΡΕΦΝΕΧΣΟΤΕ ΕΦΤΗΜ ΕΠ2ΗΤ ΝΝΕΧΑΧΕ ΜΠΧ̄Σ· ΟΥΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ Ε2ΟΥΝ  
 ΕΝΕΤΣΟΤ̄Π̄· ΟΥΑΠΟΤΑΓΗ ΝΝΕΦΟΥΨΨ· ΟΥΑΣΚΗΣΙΣ ΕΣΜΕ2 ΝΔΙΑΚΡΗΙΣΙΣ·

ΟΥΠΕΔΑΓΩΓΙΑ ΝΤΚΑΛΛΖΗ· ΜΝΝΕϞΖΥΔΟΝΗ· ΕΨΑΥΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠϞΙ ΝΤΑΙ·  
 ΟΥΒΙΝΖΩΤΠ ΝΤϞΑΡΞ ΕΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α· ΖΙΤΝΤΜΝΤΟΥΑ ΝΤΑΡΕΤΗ· ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ ΟΥΜΕΛΕΤΗ  
 ΝΤΕΠΠΩΡΧ ΝΝΑΙ ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ· ΠΑΙ ΕΤΟ ΝΧΩΚ ΜΦΙΛΟϞΟΦΙΑ ΝΙΜ· ΠϞΑΝΨ ΓΑΡ  
 ΜΠΕΤΜΜΑΥΠΕ ΤΑΠΟΛΑΥϞΙϞ Ν̄ΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΑΥΩ ΤΕϞΕΥΦΡΟϞΥΝΗ ΤΗΡ̄ϞΤΕ  
 ΤΒΙΝ̄Ρ̄ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΠΨΟΥΨΟΥ Μ̄ΠΕΤΜ̄ΜΑΥΠΕ ΘΟΤΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙϞ· ΑΥΩ ΠΟΥΨΩ  
 ΤΗΡ̄Ϟ ΠΕϞΝΟΜΟϞ·

5. But why try to count the number of the stars<sup>55</sup> ? I am talking about the countless successes of this blessed man worthy of the heavens. For who, father, has preserved, like you, the unpolluted perfection of the image of God in himself ? Who more than you has succeeded in achieving impassibility in matters of the flesh while still in the body ? Has there ever been a mortal like you, father, who suppressed the nature of those on earth and generated for himself the nobility of those in heaven to become one of them. How am I to speak of the greatness of the honours fitting to this holy man, a man in his nature but one who is like the angels in his behaviour, a man of the earth in his being but a son of God and brother of Christ in his life ? Whoever does the will of my father in heaven is my brother and my sister and my mother.<sup>56</sup> But let me summarize everything briefly for you. He took up his cross, followed the Lord and ascended on high with Him and did not descend until his fulfilment, as his Lord had done. For the crucifixion in truth happened so that man might have a place in his thoughts above those of this world and crucify the flesh and desires. Thus did the apostle say: "I was crucified with Christ."<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, after he had risen in this way and become a spiritual dwelling of this sort,<sup>58</sup> he continued to follow the law of Deuteronomy,<sup>59</sup> which orders the one who builds for himself a house to surround his roof with a parapet so that nobody falls from it, which means humility, the fulfilment and observance of every virtue at all times. For this reason, he rose even higher<sup>60</sup> in accordance with the promise of the Saviour. It was why and how he rose and spread in the house of God, the glory of the Lord shining upon him and the wealth of grace justly settling upon him.<sup>61</sup> A perfect prophecy,

---

55 Same image occurs in §17.

56 *Matth.* 12, 50

57 *Gal.* 2, 19

58 *1 Pet.* 2, 5. The Sahidic text does not have the phrase ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ 'of this sort', which has clearly been added by Stephen, cf. note 22

59 *Deut.* 22, 8

60 On the use of Ϟ̄ϞΟΥϞ- cf, CD 737a

61 In four lines of the text Coptic uses the prepositional phrase ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ twice, ΖΙΤΝΝΑΙ twice and ΖΝΝΑΙ once. A literal translation is impossible.

miraculous visions, powerful works, gifts of healing, power over demons to cast them out.<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, so that you will not doubt when you hear them, I will stimulate your interest<sup>63</sup> by what I am about to say first to prove what I say. I will make you see him as someone who fought<sup>64</sup> against evil spirits, subsequently receiving the crown from the president of these games of this sort, Our Lord and Saviour. I will present him<sup>65</sup> to you bathed in sweat from exercising the virtues. And so that you will not doubt when you see him sitting beside the king of heaven after his departure from the toils of this life, I will tell you a little of the exertions and virtuous deeds he accomplished so that you may believe when you see him as he enjoys the fruits of his exertions. For the honours belong to those who have suffered and the crowns to those who have been victorious, as the great Basil says.<sup>66</sup> For this is what the imitator of Christ, the wise apostle, also did: he was the first to set forth his many dangers and fasts, his nights of vigil and concern for the church and the fate that had overtaken him in Damascus<sup>67</sup> before speaking of his assumption to paradise and the revelation of the secret words and the consolation of God that came to him as a comfort in his illness.<sup>68</sup>

5. ΑΛΛΑ ΑΖΡΟΙ ΕΙΕΠΙΧΕΡΕ ΕΩΠ ΜΠΜΗΗΦΕ ΝΝΣΙΟΥ ΕΙΨΑΧΕ ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ  
 ΝΝΕΚΑΤΟΡΘΩΜΝΑ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΠΨΑ ΝΝ̄Μ̄ΠΗΥΕ· ΝΙΜ ΓΑΡ Ω ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ  
 ΠΕΝΤΑΚΖΑΡΕΖ ΝΤΜΝΤΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΝΤΕΚΖΕ Ω ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ· ΜΠΙΝΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΡΑΙ  
 ΝΖΗΤ̄Λ̄ ΑΧ̄Ν̄ΤΩΛΜ· ΝΙΜ ΕΖΟΥΟ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΚΑΤΟΡΘΟΥ ΝΤΜΝΤΑΠΑΘΗΣ  
 ΝΝΑΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ· ΑΙΤΕΙ ΕΚΖΜΠΣΩΜΑ· ΑΨ Ν̄ΡΜ̄Ν̄ΚΑΖ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΚΑΤΑΠΕ† ΝΤΕΦΥΣΙΣ  
 ΝΝΕΤΖΙΠΕΣΗΤ· ΕΑΚΧΠΟ ΝΑΚ ΝΤΕΥΓΕΝΙΑ ΝΝΕΤΖΝΝΜΠΗΥΕ· ΨΑΝΤΕΚΨΩΠΠΕ  
 ΖΑΖΤΗΥ ΝΤΕΚΖΕ Ω ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ· Ω ΕΙΝΑΕΨΧΩ ΝΤΜΝΤΝΟΘ ΝΝΑΨ ΝΖΕ ΝΝΤΑΙΟ  
 ΕΤΠΡΠΕΠΕΙ ΜΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΖΝΤΕΚΨΦΥΣΙΣ· ΠΕΙΖΙΣΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΔΕ  
 ΖΝΝΕΚΤΡΟΠΟΣ· ΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΡΜ̄Ν̄ΚΑΖ ΚΑΤΑΤΕΚΟΥΣΙΑ· Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ ΔΕ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΨΩ

62 Various New Testament phrases, e.g. 1 Cor.12, 10

63 Lit, 'I will curb your apathy' (†ΝΑΧΑΛΙΝΟΥ ΝΤΕΚΑΠΑΘΙΑ)

64 Gk. πυκτεύειν means 'to box', yet another example of a sports metaphor in the language depicting the Christian struggle. The whole passage is quite vivid in its portrayal of the contests/struggles, e.g. a little further on the reference to the athlete sweating from his exertions. A certain amount of 'sports rhetoric' for Christians must be derived from Paul's first letter to the Christians in Corinth, a place well known among other things for the Isthmian Games cf. 1 Cor. 9,24ff.

65 Stephen not only wants his listeners to hear (ΣΩΤΗ) but also to see (ΝΑΥ) the sufferings of Apollo.

66 *Patrologia Graeca* 31, 892 C. According to Kuhn the Coptic text in the Rylands Library is in agreement with the Greek. For Basil on the Games in general see L.V. Jacks *Basil in Greek Literature* (1922) ch. 4

67 2 Cor. 11, 26ff., where St. Paul tells the Corinthians of all the hardships he has suffered and how he eventually escaped from his detention in Damascus.

68 2 Cor. 12, 8ff.

ΝΣΟΝ ΕΠΧ̄Σ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΡΒΙΟΣ· ΠΕΤΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΧΑΔ Μ̄ΠΟΥΩΨ ΜΠΑΕΙΩΤ  
ΕΤΖΝΝΜΠΗΥΕ· ΠΑΙΠΕ ΠΑΣΟΝ· ΑΥΩ ΤΑΣΩΝΕ· ΑΥΩ ΤΑΜΑΛΥ· ΖΩΜΟΣ ΧΕΚΑΣ  
ΕΙΝΑΑΝΑΚΕΛΙΩΓΡΑΦΕΙ ΝΑΚ Μ̄ΠΤΗΡΩ ΖΙΤΝΖΕΚΟΥΙ· ΑΦΦΕΙ ΜΠΣ̄.Ρ̄Ο̄Σ̄ ΑΦΟΥΑΖΩ  
ΝΣΑΠΧΟΕΙΣ· ΑΥΩ ΑΦΑΛΕ ΕΠΧΙΣΕ ΝΜΜΑΦ· ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕΦΕΙ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΝΖΗΤΦ·  
ΨΑΠΕΦΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ· ΝΘΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΕΜΠΕΠΕΦΧΟΕΙΣ Ρ̄ΠΑΙ· ΤΒΙΝΑΛΕ ΓΑΡ ΟΝΤΩΣ  
ΕΠΣ̄.Ρ̄Ο̄Σ̄ΠΕ ΤΑΙ ΕΤΡΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΖΜΠΧΙΣΕ ΝΝΑΠΕΙΑΙΩΝ· ΖΜΠΕΦΜΕΕΥΕ· ΑΥΩ  
ΝΦΣ̄.Ρ̄Ο̄Ῡ ΝΤΣΑΡΞ· ΜΝΝΕΕΠΕΘΥΜΙΑ· ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΓΑΡ ΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΝΒΙΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ  
ΧΕΑΥΣ̄.Ρ̄Ο̄Ῡ ΜΜΟΙ ΜΝ ΠΕΧ̄Σ̄· ΚΕ ΖΩΜΟΣ ΜΝΝΣΑΤΡΕΦΑΛΕ ΕΠΧΙΣΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΤΗΡΣ̄·  
ΑΥΩ ΜΝΝΣΑΤΡΕΦΨΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΗΙ ΜΠΝ̄ΑΚΟΝ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ· ΝΦΖΑΡΕΖ ΟΝΠΕ ΕΤΑΚΟΛΟΘΙΑ  
ΝΤΝΟΜΟΘΕΣΙΑ ΜΠΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝΟΜΙΟΝ· ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΕΖΣΑΖΝΕ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΣΜΙΝΕ ΝΑΦ  
ΝΟΥΗΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ· ΕΤΡΕΦΚΤΟ ΝΝΟΥΛΩΨΩ ΕΤΕΦΧΕΝΕΠΩΡ· ΧΕΝΝΕΛΑΛΥ ΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
Ν̄ΖΗΤΦ· ΕΤΕΠΕΘΒΒΙΟΠΕ· ΠΕΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΠΡΕΦΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΤΑΡΕΤΗ ΝΙΜ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ  
ΝΙΜ· ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΑΦΡ̄ΖΟΥΕΧΙΣΕ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΡΗΤ ΜΠΕΝΣΩΤΗΡ· ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ Η ΖΙΤΝΝΑΙ  
ΕΑΦΧΙΣΕ ΑΦΟΥΨΩΣ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΗΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΖΙΤΝΝΑΙ ΕΑΠΕΟΟΥ ΨΑ ΕΧΩΦ·  
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΝΝΑΙ ΕΑΣ̄ΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΣ ΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΦ· ΝΒΙΤΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ ΝΤΕΧΑΡΙΣ  
ΜΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Ᾱ ΕΤΟΥΑΛΒ· ΟΥΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΑ ΝΤΕΛΙΟΝ ΖΕΝΟΠΤΑΣΙΑ Ν̄ΨΠΗΡΕ·  
ΖΝΖΕΝΝΕΝΕΡΓΗΜΑ ΝΒΟΜ· ΖΕΝΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ ΝΤΑΛΒΟ· ΟΥΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ ΕΧΝΝ̄Ν̄ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ  
ΕΝΟΧΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ· ΖΩΜΟΣ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕΚΑΜΦΙΒΑΛΕ ΕΚΣΩΤΗ ΕΝΑΙ· †ΝΑΧΑΛΙΝΟΥ  
ΝΤΕΚΑΠΑΘΙΑ ΖΙΤΝΝΕ†ΝΑΡ̄ΨΟΡΠ ΝΚΑΛΥ ΖΡΑΙ ΕΥΑΠΟΔΗΖΙΣ ΝΝΤΑΙΧΟΟΥ·  
†ΝΑΤΡΕΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΦ ΕΦΠΙΚΤΕΥΕ ΟΥΒΝΕΠ̄Ν̄Ᾱ ΝΤΠΟΝΗΡΙΑ· ΜΝΝΣΩΣ ΕΦΧΙΚΛΟΜ  
ΖΙΤΜΠΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΣ ΝΝΕΙΑΓΩΝ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ· ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕΝΣΩΤΗΡ· †ΝΑΕΙΝΕ  
ΜΜΟΦ ΝΑΚ ΖΙΤΜΠΕΦΡ̄ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΦΖΑΦΩ† ΖΙΤΜΠΚΥΜΝΑΣΙΟΝ ΝΝΑΡΕΤΗ· ΧΕΚΑΣ  
ΝΝΕΚΑΜΦΙΒΑΛΕ· ΕΚΨΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΦ ΕΦΟ ΝΣΥΝΚΑΘΥΔΡΟΣ ΜΠΡΡΟ ΝΝ̄Μ̄ΠΗΥΕ·  
ΜΝΝΣΑΤΕΦΒΙΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΣΚΑΜΜΑ ΜΠΕΙΒΙΟΣ· †ΝΑΣΥΜΑΝΕ ΝΑΚ ΝΝΟΥΜΕΡΟΣ  
ΝΝΕΦΖΙΣΕ· ΜΝΝΕΦΑΡΕΤΗ ΝΤΑΦΚΑΤΟΡΘΟΥ ΜΜΟΟΥ· ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕΚΡΑΠΙΣΤΟΣ  
ΕΚΨΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΦ· ΕΦΑΠΟΛΑΥΕ· ΝΝΕΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΝΝΕΦΖΙΣΕ· ΝΕΤΑΕΙΟ ΓΑΡ  
ΝΑΝΕΝΤΑΥΖΙΣΕΝΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΚΛΟΜ ΝΑΝΕΝΤΑΥΧΡΟΝΕ ΚΑΤΑΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΝΟΒ  
ΝΒΑΣΙΛΙΟΣ· ΠΑΙ ΓΑΡΠΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΑΑΦ ΖΨΩΦ ΝΒΙΠΡΕΦΤΝΤΩΝ̄ ΕΠΧ̄Σ̄· ΠΣΟΦΟΣ

ΝΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ· ΕΛΦΡ̄ΩΡΠ̄ ΕΚΩ ΕΖΡΑΙ Ν̄ΝΕΦΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ ΜΝΝΕΦΚΗΝΣΤΙΑ  
 ΕΤΝΑΦΩΟΥ· ΜΝΝΕΦΟΥΦΗ ΝΡΟΕΙΣ· ΜΝΠΡΟΥΟΥ ΝΝΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ· ΜΝΤΦΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΙΣ  
 ΝΤΑΣΤΑΖΟΥ ΖΝΤΑΜΑΣΚΟΣ· ΖΑΘΗ ΕΤΡΕΦΤΑΥΟ ΝΒΙΝΤΟΡΠ̄ ΕΠΠΑΡΑΔΙΣΟΣ·  
 ΜΝΤΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΜΦΙΣ ΝΝΕΦΑΧΕ ΕΘΗΠ· ΜΝΤΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΣΙΣ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΑΣΦΩΠΕ  
 ΦΑΡΟΥ ΜΠΑΡΑΜΗΘΙΑ· ΜΠΕΦΩΝΕ·

6. So, our father too, who is the subject of this gathering on this beloved day, having chosen for himself education<sup>69</sup> from childhood, this became holy in his hands, pure in his heart, that is in deed and thought, until his death, and he revealed himself to be perfect in both of them because he, with respect to his body,<sup>70</sup> gave himself up to the exercise of trials of virtue and, with respect to his soul, vigilantly kept it pure for the contemplation of incorporeal matters. Those who knew testified of him that he had never experienced physical pleasure, whether with the help of the One on High who protects him or the effective<sup>71</sup> control of his body, the one whose condition exists in the four elements of the world.<sup>72</sup> It was said of Apa Apollo, our father and prophet, that when he first went to Pbau<sup>73</sup> he devoted himself to many vigils so that for three years he did not sleep<sup>74</sup> night or day. If he wished to permit himself a short restorative sleep, he would do this for a brief moment while squatting<sup>75</sup> so that he might not succumb to the physical sweetness of sleep. For this reason therefore rightly in the course of this struggle did he find release in spiritual comfort: often at the end of the day, at nightfall, he would see choruses of angels and ranks of prophets coming upon him, summoning him to their glory and making him even more zealous for virtue by telling him of their acts of strength in which they had previously struggled. Isaiah would say to him: "I spent my whole time as a prophet wearing sackcloth, and even this modest item was denied to me and I was ordered to spend three more years naked."<sup>76</sup> My tribulations finally came to an end when I was sawn in two against the law of

69 **κρω**: usually translated as 'teaching'.

70 Coptic uses the 'balancing' Greek μέν . . . δέ construction.

71 **τμητρεφενιοχος κλωσ**: lit. 'his effectively being a charioteer'.

72 *Wis.* 7, 17. Kuhn cites the lemma on στοιχειόν in G. Kittel *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (1933-1979), always worth consulting because of its exhaustive fund of information on each term in it.

73 The second Pachomian monastery at Faw Qibli ('southern **πβαγ'**). Between 1976 and 1989, archaeological work was carried here, in which the remains of a large church originally constructed in the 4th cent. were uncovered. The substantial granite columns are unlikely to have been imported expressly from Aswan, but were probably re-cycled from nearby pharaonic buildings cf. Goehring *Ascetics* pp. 184ff.

74 Lit. 'he did not once turn to sleep . . .!'

75 Lit. "while sitting on the tips of his feet'.

76 *Is.* 20, 2ff.

humanity."<sup>77</sup> In response Jeremiah too would say: "I myself was not permitted to go to the other country, but was deposited in a mud pit.<sup>78</sup> I was thrown into the cataract.<sup>79</sup> And my death was by stoning."<sup>80</sup> Ezekiel would say: "The repose afforded by sleep which is common to all creatures, I have made it an instrument of punishment, my nourishment being great deprivation itself.<sup>81</sup> Because of my determination<sup>82</sup> of the word of truth, I was cut with the sword by my fellow countrymen."<sup>83</sup> In a word, each one of the holy men would tell Apollo of his struggles, thereby making him more zealous for virtue.

6. ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΖΩΩΨ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΟ ΝΖΥΠΟΘΥΣΙΣ ΜΠΕΙΣΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΟΟΥ  
 ΝΨΟΥΜΕΡΙΤΨ· ΖΩΨ ΕΛΨΩΤΠ ΝΑΨ ΝΤΕΨΒΩ ΧΙΝΕΤΕΨΜΝΤΚΟΥΨ· ΕΤΒΕΠΑΨ  
 ΑΨΨΩΠΕ ΕΨΟΥΑΑΒ ΖΝΝΕΨΒΙΧ· ΕΨΤΒΒΗΨ ΖΜΠΕΨΖΗΤ· ΕΤΕΠΑΨΠΕ ΖΜΠΖΩΒ  
 ΜΠΜΕΕΨΕ ΨΑΠΕΨΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ· ΕΛΨΟΥΨΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΨΟ ΝΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ  
 ΜΠΜΕΡΟΣ ΣΝΑΨ· ΕΤΒΕΧΕΠΑΨ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΕΨΨΩΜΑΠΕ ΕΝΕΨΨ ΜΜΟΨ ΜΠΓΕΜΝΑΣΙΟΝ  
 ΝΝΕΖΙΨΕ ΝΤΑΡΕΤΗ· ΤΕΨΨΧΗ ΔΕ ΖΩΨΨ ΕΝΕΨΨΡΟΕΙΨ ΕΡΟΣ ΕΨΤΒΒΗΨ ΕΤΕΘΕΨΡΙΑ  
 ΝΑΣΨΜΑΤΟΣ· ΑΨΡΜΝΤΡΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΨ ΝΒΙΝΕΤΨΟΟΥΝ ΧΕΜΠΕΖΨΔΟΝΗ ΝΣΑΡΚΙΚΟΝ  
 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΖΗΤΨ ΨΑΒΟΛ ΕΝΕΖ· ΕΙΤΕ ΖΙΤΝΤΒΟΗΘΙΑ ΜΠΕΤΧΟΣΕ ΕΤΡΖΑΨΒΨ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΙΧΨΨ· ΕΙΤΕ ΖΙΤΝΤΕΨΜΝΤΡΕΨΕΝΙΟΧΟΣ ΚΑΛΨΨ ΖΜΠΨΩΜΑ· ΠΑΨ  
 ΕΤΕΡΕΤΕΨΨΨΤΑΣΙΨ ΨΟΟΠ ΖΜΠΕΨΨΤΟΟΥ ΝΨΤΟΙΧΙΟΝ ΜΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ· ΑΨΧΟΣ ΓΑΡ  
 ΕΤΒΗΗΤΨ ΝΤΟΨ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΜΠΡΟΨΗΤΗΣ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΑΛΨ· ΧΕΖΝΤΑΡΧΗ ΝΤΑΨΨΩΤ  
 ΕΠΒΑΨ ΑΨΤΑΑΨ ΕΖΕΝΟΥΨΗ ΝΡΟΕΙΨ ΕΝΑΨΨΟΥΨ· ΖΩΨΤΕ ΝΨΡΨΨΟΜΝΤΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ  
 ΜΠΕΨΡΑΚΤΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΤΗΡΨ ΕΕΝΚΟΤΚ ΝΤΕΨΨΗ ΤΗΡΨ ΜΠΠΕΖΟΟΥ· ΑΨΨ  
 ΕΨΨΑΝΟΥΨΨ ΕΨΜΑ ΜΠΖΙΝΗΒ ΝΑΤΑΝΑΨΑΨΨΙΨ ΝΝΟΥΚΟΥΨ· ΕΝΕΨΑΨΡΡΠΑΨ

77 The non-Biblical Hebrew text known as the *Lives of the Prophets* supplies background information. For a German translation of it, cf. <https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Prophetenleben>. Isaiah's death by sawing in two at the hands of Manasseh is recorded in the Talmud (Yevamot 49b) and in the pseudepigraphical text known as *Ascensio Isaiae* cf. R. H. Charles *Ascension of Isaiah* (1900) §5, 11ff. on p. 42 There is an allusion to sawing as a punishment in *Heb.* 11, 37. I take ΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΟΣ here to be adverbial.

78 *Jer.* 45, 6

79 *Jer.* 20, 2

80 See the ref. in note 74.

81 *Ez.* 4, 9ff

82 Translates ΜΠΤΡΕΨΨΩΨΤ ΕΒΟΛ, cf. CD 592a. I am not sure that I have understood the meaning from the dictionary entry. There may be some wordplay involved here.

83 Passages in Ezekiel that mention swords: 5, 1; 14, 17 and 21.

ΠΡΟΣΟΥΚΟΥ ΝΟΥΣΟΥ ΕΦΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΙΧΝΝΕΑΚΡΟΝ ΝΝΕΦΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ· ΧΕΚΑΣ  
 ΝΝΕΠΕΖΛΟΒ ΜΦΥΣΙΚΟΝ ΜΠΖΙΝΗΒ ΣΟΚῆ ΝΑΦ· ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΟΥΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΣ ΖΡΑΙ  
 ΖΜΠΕΙΑΓΩΝ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ· ΑΦΤΟΥΩ ΝΑΦ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΒΙΟΥΣΟΛΣῶ ΜΠῆΝᾶΤΙΚῶΝ· ΖΑΖ ΓΑΡ  
 ΝΣΟΠ ΜΝΝΣΑΤΣΥΝΤΕΛΙΑ ΜΠΕΖΟΥ· ΝῶΨΩΠΕ ΝΒΙΤΕΥΨΗ· ΕΝΕΨΑΦΝΑΥΠΕ  
 ΕΖΕΝΧΟΡΟΣ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ· ΜΝΖΕΝΤΑΓΜΑ ΜΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΥΝΗΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΦ·  
 ΕΥΤῆΝΝΟΥ ΜΜΟΦ ΕΠΕΥΕΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΖΟΥΕΠΡΟΘΥΜΟΣ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΤΑΡΕΤΗ· ΖΙΤΝΤΒΙΝΧΩ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΝΕΥΜΝΤΧΩΡΕ· ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΥΨῆΡΠΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ ΖΩΟΥ  
 ΝΖΗΤΟΥ· ΗΣΑΙΗΑΣ ΜΕΝ ΕΝΕΨΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΦ ῆΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΧΕΑΙῆΠΕΥΟΕΙΨ ΤΗΡΦ  
 ΝΤΑΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΑ ΕΙΦΟΡΕΙ ΝΝΟΥΒΟΥΝΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΙΚΕΟΥΕΙ ΜΠΟΥΣΥΝΓΧΩΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΣ  
 ΝΑΙ· ΑΛΛΑ ΑΥΖΟΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΚΕΨΟΜΝΤΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΙΚΗΚ ΑΖΗΥ· ΑΥΩ ΕΑΠΤΟΥΩ  
 ΝΝΑΖΙΣΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΙ ΕΠΖΑΕ· ΖΙΤΝΤΒΙΝΟΥΕΙΣΕ ΜΜΟΙ ΠΑΡΑΠΝΟΜΟΣ  
 ΝΤΜΝΤΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ· ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΖΩΩΦ ΕΝΕΨΑΦΟΥΨῶΒ ΧΕΑΝΟΚ ΡΩ ῆΠΟΥΣΥΝΓΧΩΡΕΙ  
 ΝΑΙ ΜΠΚΕΚΑΖ ΕΤΡΑΜΟΟΥΕ ΕΧΩΦ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΑΥΘΜΣΟΙ ΖΝΟΥΨΗΙ ΝΛΟΙΖΕ· ΑΥΝΟΥΧΕ  
 ΜΜΟΙ ΕΠΚΑΤΑΖΡΑΚΤΗΣ· ΑΥΩ ΑΠΑΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΙ ΖΩΩΤ ΖΝΖΕΝΩΝΕ·  
 ΙΕΖΕΚΙΕΛ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΝΕΨΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΧΕΑΛΛΑ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΚΕΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ ΜΠΕΝΚΟΤῆ  
 ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΝΤΕΦΥΣΙΣ ΤΗΡΣ· ΑΙΛΑΣ ΝΑΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΝΚΟΡΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ· ΕΡΕΤΑΤΡΟΦΗ ΨΟΟΠ  
 ΝΑΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΖΝΟΥΝΟΒ ῆΒΡΩΖ· ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΕΤΑΜΝΤΡΕΦΨΩΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΨΑΧΕ ΝΤΜΕ·  
 ΑΨΩΩΤ ΝΤΣΗΦΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΖΙΧΩΙ ΖΙΤΝΝΑΠΑΓΕΝΟΣ· ΑΥΩ ΖΑΠΑΖ ΖΑΠΛΩΣ  
 ΕΝΕΨΑΡΕΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΧΩ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΝΕΦΑΓΩΝ· ΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΖΝΝΑΙ  
 ῆΖΟΥΟ ΕΣΠΥΔΑΙΟΣ ΕΤΑΡΕΤΗ·

7. Do not doubt, listener, when you hear this. If the patriarch Jacob saw the host<sup>84</sup> of God and was met by the angels of God before the symbolic law,<sup>85</sup> then how much more fitting is it that he, I mean our father, should be more than a son and the minister of the grace of the gospel. Take John Chrysostom, who says: "Like the birds flying above, when they look down on the earth and see their companions, who are of the same genus

84 Read παρεμβολή cf. *Gen.* 32, 1

85 If 'law' is a reference to Jewish law, this may be an indirect way of referring to Christianity.

as themselves perched upon a place of greenness<sup>86</sup>, they swoop down<sup>87</sup> and descend and stay with them. In the same way the angels when they see that those who have chosen purity for themselves are being tempted, they come quickly and help their companions."<sup>88</sup> But why I do utter these and other things when I have the voice of my Saviour confirming this for us ? "For the one who keeps my word, I will come with my Father and we will build for ourselves a dwelling place with him."<sup>89</sup> He is therefore one who became a holy temple of the Lord,<sup>90</sup> I mean our father. About what do you doubt ? About gathering to him the incorporeal forms ? <sup>91</sup> If<sup>92</sup> you are truly rooted in the faith of those you listen to, of course I will set forth for you, after the saints, their contemplation of the Lord. It happened, they said, once when this saint our father Apa Apollo was harvesting with his brothers, that he was fasting as was his custom: often he would not eat until his second day,<sup>93</sup> and sometimes he would often spend the entire week fasting. While harvesting with the brothers in a fast of this sort, he suffered acute distress, which was so severe that he took himself to one side and sat down. As he did so, he fell into a trance and, during the trance, a miraculous vision appeared to him: he saw the Lord standing over him as if he were on the cross and a frightening crowd of people around the holy cross. The Lord then<sup>94</sup> began to say: "Apollonius,<sup>95</sup> you have suffered like me. To be sure, the things that I received, you have endured a portion of them." At that moment the saint woke up. The Lord had endowed him with a strength from that day forward forever. Those who endure for the Lord swell in their strength.<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, they will advance from strength to strength,<sup>97</sup> from the weakness of man to the dynamic strength of the Lord. For this reason it was as if, having received grace of this sort from the Lord, he gave himself to ever higher forms of struggle and bouts of boxing against the spirits of wickedness.<sup>98</sup> For it was said of him that in the evening, at the time of baking, he would go to the ovens while they were still hot and stand over them and pray until morning. He did so in memory of the trials of the Three Saints, and the

---

86 **οἰοτογεν** cf. *CD* 493b, sometimes in the sense of 'greenness' induced by fear or illness.

87 This is how I understand **χαλάω**, which generally seems to contain the notion of releasing or letting fall.

88 This quotation has not been identified by Kuhn.

89 *Joh.* 14, 23

90 *Eph.* 2, 21

91 **αἴτος** perhaps Gk. εἶδος

92 **εἰχε** should read **εῶχε**.

93 I take this to mean that he ate only on alternate days.

94 **εἶτε** should probably read **εἶτα**

95 It seems strange that the name should suddenly change and in this form is used only once.

96 *Is.* 40, 31

97 *Ps.* 83, 8

98 *Eph.* 6, 12

ground beneath his feet became like mud from the extremity of the heat and the profuse amount sweat from his body. In the days of winter he would do the opposite. For he would dampen his clothing with water and put it on and stand praying in the frost and the dew of night, Sometimes he would go to swamps and stand in them so that the pain of the cold waters<sup>99</sup> might dispel the sensation of drowsiness from his body.

7. ΑΛΛΑ ΜΠ̄ΡΑΜΦΙΒΑΛΕ Ω ΠΑΚΡΟΑΤΗΣ ΕΚΩΤΗ ΕΝΑΙ· ΕΨΧΕ ΑΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΙΑΚΩΒ  
ΝΑΥ ΕΤΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΗ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΑΥΩ ΑΥΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΒΙΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΤΥΠΕΙΚΟΝ· ΠΟΣΟ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΨΩΕ ΕΤΡΕΠΑΙ ΨΩΠΕ Ε̄Ρ̄ΖΟΥΕΨΗΡΕ·  
ΑΥΩ ΠΑΙΤΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΝΤΕΧΑΡΙΣ ΜΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΙΨΑΧΕ ΕΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ· ΧΙ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΑΚ  
ΜΠΕΧΡΥΣΤΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ· ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΧΕΝΘΕ ΝΖΕΝΖΑΛΑΤΕ  
ΕΥΖΗΛΑ ΕΠΧΙΣΕ· ΕΥΨΑΝΘΩΤ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΕΧΜΠΚΑΖ ΝΣΕΝΑΥ ΕΝΕΥΨΒΗΡ· ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΖΜΠΕΙΓΕΝΟΣ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΝΜΜΑΥ· ΕΥΖΙΧ̄ΝΟΥΜΑ ΝΟΥΟΤΟΥΕΤ· ΨΑΥΧΑΛΑ ΝΣΕΕΙ  
ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΝΣΕΟΥΩΖ ΖΑΖΤΗΥ ΤΑΙΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΥΨΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΝΕΝΤΑΥΣΩΤΠ  
ΝΑΥ ΜΠΤΒΒΟ ΕΥΨΟΟΠ ΖΝΖΕΝΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ· ΨΑΥΕΙ ΖΝΟΥΒΕΠΗ ΝΣΕΒΟΗΘΕΙ  
ΕΝΕΥΨΒΗΡ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΒΕΟΥ †ΕΙΝΕ ΕΤΜΗΤΕ ΝΝΑΙ ΜΝΝΕΙΚΟΟΥΕ· ΕῩΝΤΑΙ ΜΜΑΥ  
ΝΤΕΦΩΝΗ ΜΠΑΣΩΤΗΡ· ΕΣΒΕΒΑΙΟΥ ΝΑΝ ΜΠΑΙ ΠΕΤΝΑΖΑΡΕΖ ΓΑΡ ΕΠΑΨΑΧΕ· †ΝΗΥ  
ΜΝΠΑΕΙΩΤ Τ̄Ν̄ΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΝ ΝΟΥΜΑΝΨΩΠΕ ΖΑΖΤΗΦ· ΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΟΥΝ ΝΟῩΡ̄ΠΕ  
ΕΦΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ· ΕΙΨΑΧΕ ΕΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ· ΕΚΑΜΦΙΒΑΛΕ ΕΤΒΕΟΥ ΕΤΒΕΤΔΙΝΣΩΟΥΖ  
ΕΡΟΦ ΝΝΑΙΤΟΣ ΝΝΑΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ· ΕΚΧΕ ΑΚΧΕΝΟΥΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΝΝΕΤΚΣΩΤΗ  
ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΟΥΚΟΥΝ †ΝΑΚΩ ΝΑΚ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΜΝΝΣΑΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΤΕΘΕΩΡΙΑ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ  
ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΑΣΨΩΠΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΟΥΣΟΠ ΕΡΕΠΕΙΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ  
ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΖΜΠΩΖ̄ ΜΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ· ΕΦΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ ΚΑΤΑΤΕΦΣΥΝΗΘΙΑ· ΖΑΖ ΓΑΡ ΝΣΟΠ  
ΕΝΕΜΕΦΟΥΩΜ ΨΑΠΕΦΣΝΑΥ· ΖΕΝΣΟΠ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ ΨΑΦ̄ΘΕΒΔΩΜΑΣ ΤΗΡ̄  
ΕΦΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ· ΕΦΨΟΟΠ ΖΝΟΥΝΗΣΤΙΑ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΕΦΩΖ̄ ΜΝΝΕΣΗΝΥ· ΑΠΖΙΣΕ ΖΡΟΥ  
ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΦ· ΑΥΩ ΖΙΤΜΠΕΖΟΥΟ ΜΠΖΙΣΕ ΑΦΣΟΚ̄ ΝΣΑΟΥΣΑ ΑΦΖΜΟΟΣ· ΑΥΩ  
ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΛΟΥΕΚΣΤΑΙΣ ΖΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΦ· ΑΥΩ ΖΡΑΙ ΖΝΤΕΚΣΤΑΙΣ ΑΣΟΥΩΝ̄ ΝΑΦ  
ΕΒΟΛ· ΝΒΙΟΥΟΠΤΑΣΙΑ ΝΨΠΗΡΕ· ΑΦΝΑΥ ΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΦΑΖΕΡΑΤ̄ ΕΧΩΦ ΜΠΤΥΠΟΣ  
ΕΤ̄ΤΑΛΛΗΥ ΕΠΕ̄Φ̄Ο̄ ΝΖΗΤ̄· ΑΥΩ ΤΠΑΡΑΤΑΖΙΣ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΕΤΜΕΖ ΝΖΟΤΕ

<sup>99</sup> For the rich variety of plural forms of ἡσού cf. CD 197b and 88a.

ΕΤΖΜΠΚΩΤΕ ΜΠ̄C.Ρ̄ŌC̄ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΕΙΤΕ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΝΕΡΕΠΧΟΕΙC ΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΕΡΟQ  
 ΧΕΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΕ ΑΚΖΙCΕ ΝΤΑΖΕ· ΕΙΕ ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥΑΛΥ ΝΑΙ· ΑΚΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ ΕΟΥΜΕΡΟC  
 Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ· ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑΦΝΕΖCΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΟΙΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΕΛΟΥΒΟΜ ΝΤΕΠΧΟΕΙC  
 ΟΥΩΖ ΕΡΟQ ΧΙΝΠΕΖΟΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΨΑΒΟΛ· ΝΕΤΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 CΕΝΑΨΙCΕ ΝΤΕΥΒΟΜ· ΕΙΤΑ ΟΝ CΕΝΑΜΟΟΨΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΟΥΒΟΜ ΕΥΒΟΜ· ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΝΤΑCΘΕΝΙΑ ΝΤΜΝΤΡΩΜΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΝΕΡΓΙΑ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC· ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΡΩ ΖΩC ΕΑCΧΙ  
 ΝΝΟΥΧΑΡΙC ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜΠΧΟΕΙC· ΑΦΤΑΑQ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΖΕΝΝΑΓΩΝ ΕΥΧΟCΕ  
 ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ· ΜΝΖΕΝΔΙΝΠΙΚΤΕΥΕ ΟΥΒΕΝΕΠ̄Ν̄Α ΝΤΠΟΝΗΡΙΑ· ΑῩΡ̄ΜΝΤΡΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΒΗΗΤQ  
 ΧΕΟΥΜΗΗΨΕ ΝCΟΠ ΖΜΠΚΑΙΡΟC ΜΠΤΩΔ· ΕΥΨΑΝΚΩ ΝΝΕΤΡΙΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΚΑΙΡΟC  
 ΜΠΤΩΔ ΜΠΝΑΥ Ν̄ΡΟΥΖΕ ΕΝΕΨΑCΦΒΩΚ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΑΙΤΕΙ ΕΥΖΗΜ· ΝCΑΖΕΡΑΤQ  
 ΖΙΧΩΟΥ ΝCΦΛΗΛ ΨΑΠΝΑΥ Ν̄ΖΤΟΟΥΕ· ΕCΕΙΡΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΑΘΛΗCΙC  
 ΜΠΨΟΜ̄ΝΤ ΝΖΑΓΙΟC· ΖΩCΤΕ ΝΤΕΠΚΑΖ ΕΤΖΑΡΑΤ̄Q Ρ̄ΘΕ ΝΟΥΟΜΕ· ΖΙΤΝΤΜΝΤΝΟΔ  
 ΝΘΜΜΕ· ΜΝΠΑΨΑΙ ΝΤCΩΤΕ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΝΖΗΤQ· ΖΝΝΕΖΟΥQ ΔΕ ΖΩΟΥ  
 ΝΤΕΠΡΩ ΕΝΕΨΑCΧΡΩ ΜΠΕΝΑΝΤΟΝ· Θ̄Β̄CΩ CΑΡ ΕΤΤΟ ΖΙΩΩQ ΕΝΕΨΑCΖΟΡC̄  
 ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝCΤΑΑC ΕΧΩQ· ΝC̄ΑΖΕΡΑΤQ ΜΠΧΑQ ΜΝ̄ΩΤΕ ΝΤΕΥΨΗ ΤΗΡC̄ ΕCΦΛ̄  
 ΖΕΝCΟΠ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΝΕΨΑCΦΒΩΚ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΖΕΝΝΑ ΕΥΜΕΖ ΜΜΟΟΥ· ΝC̄ΑΖΕΡΑΤ̄Q  
 Ν̄ΖΗΤΗΟΥ· ΧΕΚΑC ΕΡΕΠΤΙΤΚΑC ΕΤΖΜΠΩΔΒ̄ Ν̄ΝΜΜΟῩΝ̄ΕΙΟΟΥΕ· ΝΑΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΝΤΑΙCΘΕCΙC ΜΠΖΙΝΗΒ·

8. Now,<sup>100</sup> those listening to these things, are these struggles, in your view, any less than those of the martyrs ? Rather, if the truth be told, there are many holy martyrs whose struggle was of short duration or a single day, whereas Apollo was mortified daily, one might say, by his ascetic trials, and sometimes <sup>101</sup> these struggles were no less than those of the martyrs. Listen to the great Basil on the practice that is continence: "All the saints lived in it and became martyrs through it."<sup>102</sup> The apostolic Athanasius the chosen bears

100 *ἀρα* occurs three times. It can stand for *ἄρα* and *ἄρα*. It occurs as the former, the interrogative, at 13, 7 and 29,12 (of his publication) constructed with *λοιπον* in a more or less identical phrase, where the listener is asked whether the miracles of Apollo are any less than those of the martyrs, which was clearly not felt to be an inappropriate comparison; as the latter, expressing consequence, it is constructed with *τενου* at 34,9.

101 Translates *ζοταν*, which can be used as an adverb in place of *ὅτε*

102 Kuhn cannot identify this quotation, and neither can I.

witness about the great Antony: "He suffered martyrdom daily in his conscience."<sup>103</sup> For the tribulations of this holy way of life together are called 'martyrdoms'. But do not be perplexed when you hear this. What I have named for you is the power of God, whose strength is revealed through the weakness of nature,<sup>104</sup> as he said to his chosen apostle Paul. So, while<sup>105</sup> the saint and truly beloved of God, our father Apa Apollo, was engaged in these practices and while these practices were part of him and while he was still a fully laden olive tree in the house of God,<sup>106</sup> while the air was fully pure, suddenly the sky swelled with clouds and much rain fell from the heights, but not among the ranks of the virtuous.<sup>107</sup> The lion concealed in his cave then went to seize something. John said in his Apocalypse: "I saw a star fall from the sky. The pit of the abyss was opened and a smoke of fire came from it. The sun and the air became dark from the smoke of the pit."<sup>108</sup> The pit of impiety assembled by the masters who gathered at Chalcedon, this pit of the abyss was opened. And again<sup>109</sup> in the days of Justinian, again that soul-destroying madness, again the torrent of lawlessness flowed in the valleys to drown the house of the faithful. After Marcian had crushed the one responsible for the doctrinal innovation, and after Basiliscus and Zeno,<sup>110</sup> and still more after them, once again the evil growth re-emerged in the reign of Justinian, like a fire concealed in continually smoking chaff.

8. ΑΡΑ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ Ω ΠΕΤΣΩΤΗ ΕΝΑΙ· ΝΕΙΑΓΩΝ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΒΟΧΒ ΝΝΑΖΡΑΚ  
 ΝΝΑΝΕΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ· ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΨΧΕ ΨΨΕ· ΕΤΑΥΕΤΜΕ ΟΥΝΟΥΜΗΗΨ  
 ΖΗΝΕΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΟΥΠΠΡΟΣΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΟΥΝΟΥ ΜΜΑΤΕ Η ΟΥΖΟΥ  
 ΝΟΥΩΤΠΕ ΠΕΥΑΓΩΝ ΤΗΡΦ· ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΦ ΕΝΕΦΜΟΟΥΤ ΜΜΗΗΝΕ ΣΧΕΔΟΝ  
 ΖΙΤΝΝΕΖΙΣΕ ΝΤΑΣΚΗΣΙΣ· ΖΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΧΕΝΕΙΑΓΩΝ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΒΟΧΒ ΑΝ  
 ΕΝΑΜΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ· ΣΩΤΗ ΝΑΚ ΕΠΝΟΒ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΟΣ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΟΟΣ ΕΤΒΕΤΕΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΗ·  
 ΕΤΕΤΑΙΤΕ ΤΕΓΡΑΤΙΑ· ΧΕΝΤΑΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΩΝΖ̄ ΝΖΗΤ̄· ΑΥΩ ΕΑΥΡ̄ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ  
 ΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥΤ̄· ΠΚΕΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΠΣΩΤ̄Π̄ ΦΡ̄ΜΝΤΡΕ

103 The Greek version of the *Vita Antonii* (*Patrologia Graeca* 26, 912b) seems to be the text translated by Codex B of the Coptic version cf. *Vita Antonii* ed. G. Garitte (CSCO Copt. 13) (1949) p. 110. The Coptic text of Codex A, which does not seem to be quite as complete as that of B, uses the noun *συνηθεια* at this point.

104 2. *Cor.* 12, 9

105 *αυτει* used four times in the sentence, perhaps a stylistic device to focus on duration.

106 Perhaps an allusion to *Jer.* 11,16

107 Lit. 'virtues'. *Rev.* 16, 21

108 *Rev.* 9, 1ff.

109 A reference to the Council held at Constantinople in 553 under Justinian (527-565). The adverb *παλιν* is used anaphorically three times.

110 Emperors: Marcian (450-457); Zeno (474-491); Basiliscus, a usurper (475-477).

ΕΤΒΕΠΝΟΘ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ· ΧΕΝΕΦΜΑΡΤΗΡΕΙ ΜΜΗΗΝΕ ΖΝΤΕΦΣΥΗΔΗΣΙΣ· ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ  
 ΓΑΡ ΕΝΕΖΙΣΕ ΝΤΠΟΛΗΤΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΖΙΟΥΣΟΠ ΧΕΜΜΝΤΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ· ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΜΠΡΑΠΟΡΕΙ ΟΝ ΕΚΩΤῆ ΕΝΑΙ· ΕΙΣΖΗΗΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΛΙΑΝΟΜΑΖΕ ΝΑΚ ΝΤΒΟΜ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ·  
 ΠΑΙ ΕΨΑΡΕΤΕΓΒΟΜ ΟΥΩΝῆ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΤΜΝΤΒΩΒ ἄΝΤΕΦΥΣΙΣ· ΚΑΤΑΘΕ ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ  
 ΜΠΕΦΣΩΤΠ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ· ΑΙΤΕΙ ΟΥΝ ΕΡΕΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΥΩ ΠΜΕΡΙΤ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΖΝΟΥΜΕ· ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΨΟΟΠ ΖΝΝΑΙ· ΑΥΩ ΑΙΤΕΙ ΕΡΕΝΑΙ ΨΟΟΠ ΜΜΟΦ·  
 ΑΙΤΕΙ ΕΦΟ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΟΥΦΩ ἄΧΟΕΙΤ ΖΑΠΕΤΣΟΥΤΑΖ ΖΜΠΗΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΑΙΤΕΙ  
 ΕΡΕΠΑΗΡ ΤΒΒΗΥ ΤΗΡῆ· ΖΝΟΥΨΠῆΨΩΠ ΑΤΠΕ ΟΥΜΟΤ ἄΚΛΟΟΛΕ· ΟΥΝΟΘ ΝΑΛ ἄΠΕ  
 ΑΦΖΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΝΕΤΧΟΣΕ· ΖΜΠΑΖΙΩΜΑ ἄΖΕΝΑΡΕΤΗ ΑΝ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΝΝΕΡΩΜΕ·  
 ΤΟΤΕ ΑΦΤ ΜΠΕΦΟΥΟΙ ἄΒΙΠΜΟΥΙ ΕΤΖΗΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΦΒΗΒ ΕΤΡΕΦΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΛΑΑΥ  
 ΑΙΝΑΥ ΠΕΧΑΦ ἄΒΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ ΖΝΤΕΦΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΜΦΙΣ ΕΥΣΙΟΥ ΕΑΦΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΤΠΕ  
 ΑΥΟΥΩΝ ΝΤΨΩΤΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΝ ΑΦΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΒΙΟΥΚΑΠΝΟΣ ΝΚΩΖῆ ΕΦΟ ΝΝΟΘ·  
 ΑΦῆΚΑΚΕ ΝΒΙΠΡΗ ΜΠΠΑΗΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΚΑΠΝΟΣ ΝΤΨΩΤΕ· ΤΨΩΤΕ ΜΜΝΤΑΣΕΒΗΣ  
 ΝΤΑΥΣΟΟΥΖῆ ΝΒΙΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΤΑΥΣΩΟΥΖ ΕΧΑΛΧΗΤΩΝ· ΤΕΙΨΩΤΕ ΤΑΙ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΝ  
 ΑΥΟΥΩΝ ΜΜΟΣ· ΠΑΛΙΝ ΖΝΝΕΖΟΥ ΝΙΟΥΣῆΝΙΑΝΟΣ ΠῆΡΟ· ΠΑΛΙΝ ΤΜΑΝΙΑ  
 ΝΡΕΦΤΑΚΕΦΥΧΗ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ· ΠΑΛΙΝ ΝΕΜΟΥΝΣΩΡῆ ἄΝΤΑΝΟΜΙΑ· ΑΥΣΩΚ ΖΝΝΕΥΕΙΑ  
 ΕΤΡΕΥΝΟΙ ΜΠΗΙ ΝΝΜΠΙΣΤΟΣ· ΜΝΝΣΑΤΡΕΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΩΧῆ ΠΑΙΤΙΟΣ  
 ΝῆΚΕΝΟΔΟΜΙΑ ΝΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ· ΑΥΩ ΜΝΝΣΑΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΣ· ΜΝΖΗΩΝ· ΑΙΤΕΙ ΖΝΚΕΚΟΟΥΕ  
 ΜΝῆΣΑΝΑΙ· ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΑΦΤΟΥΩ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΒΙΠΕΝΤΗΘ ΕΘΟΟΥ ΖΝΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ  
 ΝΙΟΥΣῆΝΙΑΝΟΣ ΜΠΕΣΜΟΤ ΝΝΟΥΚΩΖῆ ΕΦΖΗΠ· ΖΝΟΥΤΩΖ ΕΨΑΦΩ ΑΦῆΚΑΠΝΟΣ·

9. The wretched bishops who assembled at Chalcedon were the fuel <sup>111</sup> for ruin, death and error, and their sin did not stop doing its work. But<sup>112</sup> their wickedness was indissoluble and their punishment was unceasing. The fire of apostasy that had been lit everywhere by those wretched bishops, it drew to itself the laments and tears of the holy prophets to the end. As the prophet Zacharias said: "Let the fir tree weep because the cedar has been felled."<sup>113</sup> This means. 'Let the people weep because their bishops have fallen in a voluntary fall,

111 ζρε: lit. 'food'

112 The first two sentences are connected by μέν. . δέ

113 Zech. 11, 2

that is, in their intention.' Jeremiah also lamented over them: "Many shepherds have ruined my vineyard."<sup>114</sup> I will make yet a third prophetic lament, for their impiety is an attack on the Trinity. "Woe to the people," said Nahum, "for their shepherds have nodded spiritually."<sup>115</sup> The king of Assyria, who was in hiding, put their rulers to sleep. for the rulers of the Church are the bishops, as the holy apostles said. He said: "There is no healing of your bruise."<sup>116</sup> How can they be healed ? They have doubted the chief doctor of our nature, the Lord of glory, the Logos of the Father, the only-begotten Son of God, who took to himself our nature in a dispensation full of love for humanity, that is,<sup>117</sup> the holy flesh of the Logos and the mind for those of the soul,<sup>118</sup> which he received from the Holy Spirit through Our Glorious Lady, Theotokos and Blessed Virgin Mary, which he made one with himself, according to his substance, not divided into two (God forbid !) or two persons, as decided by the polluted synod, but a single Lord and a single Christ, this one being immutable and indivisible, whether when working miracles on high or when feeling pain in which there was no discredit, indivisible and immutable in every way. This is the apostolic teaching and true doctrine of all the teachers of truth. These were ignored by those at the Chalcedon synod. To this one, Our Lord Jesus Christ, they assigned, with Jewish<sup>119</sup> thinking, two natures, two persons. Instead of the Holy Trinity they made an unlawful quaternity. For this reason as the prophet<sup>120</sup> says, there is no healing of the bruise that has overtaken them. I will give another example of what the prophet says. He said before this synod: "All who hear this news will clap their hands saying<sup>121</sup> aloud: 'Who is there who has not continually submitted to your<sup>122</sup> wickedness ?'".

9. ΝΕΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΝΕΒΙΗΝ ΝΤΑΥΣΩΟΥΖ ΖΝΧΑΛΧΗΤΟΝ ΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΝΖΡΕ ΜΠΤΑΚΟ ΜΝΠΜΟΥ· ΜΝΠΣΩΡΜ̄· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΥΝΟΒΕ ΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΕΝΕΡΓΙ· ΝΕΡΕΤΕΥΠΟΝΗΡΙΑ ΔΕ

114 *Jer.* 12, 10

115 *Nah.* 3, 18. Stephen has adapted the words of Nahum rather considerably. ΕΤΖΗΠ 'who was in hiding' is not part of the text, which contains a promise that God will punish the Assyrians, from which one is presumably to infer that He will also punish the Chalcedonians. The quotation from Nahum is used several times. so it must have been important to Stephen.

116 I have used the noun of the KJV

117 The usual Coptic ΕΤΕΠΑΠΕ is replaced here by the Greek ΤΟΥΤ ΕΣΤΙΝ. The whole phrase that follows is strikingly similar to a phrase from the Marcellus of Ancyra's statement of faith in Bk 3 of Epiphanius *adversus haereses* (*Patrologia Graeca* 42, 400A)

118 ΝΝΪΦΥΧΙΚΟΝ: I do not understand this. The preposition can be understood as 'of/for/to'.

119 ΜΝΤΙΟΥΔΑΙ 'being Jewish' is an insult used of those who cannot be trusted. I wonder how much this has been influenced by the name 'Judas'.

120 Apparently written over a partially erased 'apostle'.

121 ΕΧΩ: perhaps a typographical error for ΕΥΧΩ.

122 ΜΠΕΤΕΚΑΚΙΑ: Kuhn says that ΤΕ (fem. possessive adj.) has been written above the word to read ΜΠΕΤΕΤΕΚΑΚΙΑ. Stephen is using Nahum's words but addressing the synod (fem.) here.

ΟΝ ΝΑΤΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ· ΟΥΑΤΩΧΝ ΟΝΤΕ ΤΕΥΚΟΛΑCΙC· ΠΚΩΖΤ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΜΝΤΑΠΟCΤΑΤΗC  
 ΝΤΑΥΧΕΡΩC ΖΗΜΑ ΝΙΜ ΝΒΙΝΕΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ΝΝΕΒΙΗΝ ΕΤ̄ΜΑΥ· ΛCΩΚ ΨΑΡΟC  
 ΝΝΕΤΟΕΙΤ ΜΝΝΕΡΜΕΙΟΟΥΕ ΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΨΑΖΡΑΙ ΕΘΑΗ· ΜΑΡΕΠΟΙΤΗC  
 ΓΑΡ ΡΙΜΕ ΠΕΧΑC ΝΒΙΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΖΑΧΑΡΙΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΑΤΚΕΖΡΩΔΟC ΖΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ  
 ΕΤΕΠΑΙΠΕ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΕΠΑΑΟC ΡΙΜΕ ΧΕΑΝΕΥΕΠΙCΚΟΠΙC ΖΕ ΖΝΟΥΒΙΝΖΕ  
 ΜΠΡΟΖΕΡΕΤΙΚΗ ΕΤΕΠΑΙΠΕ ΘΝΤΕΥΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕCΙC· ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑC ΟΝ ΤΟΕΙΤ ΕΡΟΟΥ  
 ΕCΨΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕΖΕΝΨΟΟC ΕΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΑΥΤΑΚΑ ΜΠΑΜΑΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ· ΑΙΤΕΙ †ΝΑΟΥΩΖ  
 ΕΤΟΟΤ ΕΕΙΝΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΚΕΜΕΖΨΟΜΝΤ ΝΘΡΗΝΟC ΜΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΚΟΝ· ΕΠΕΙΔΗ  
 ΕΡΕΤΕΥΑCΕΒΙΑ ΨΟΟΠ ΟΥΒΕΤΕΤΡΙΑC· ΟΥΟΙ ΝΝΕΛΑΟC ΠΕΧΑC ΝΒΙΝΑΟΥΜ·  
 ΧΕΑΥΧΕΡΕΚΡΙΚΕ ΦΥΧΙΚΟC ΝΒΙΝΕΥΨΟΟC· ΠΡΡΟ ΝΝΑCΨΥΡΙΟC ΕΤΖΗΠ ΑΥΨΤΟ  
 ΝΟΥΔΥΝΑCΤΗC· ΝΕΔΥΝΑCΤΗC ΓΑΡ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑΝΕ ΝΕΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC· ΚΑΤΘΕ  
 ΝΤΑΥΧΟΟC ΝΒΙΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΜΝΤΑΛΒΟ ΨΟΟΠ ΠΕΧΑC ΜΠΕΥΟΥΨΩC̄·  
 ΑΨ ΓΑΡΠΕ ΠΤΑΛΒΟ ΕΤΝΑΕΙ ΝΑΥ· ΕΑΥΘΕΤΕΙ ΜΠΑΡΧΙΑΔΡΟC ΝΤΕΝΦΥCΙC· ΠΧΟΕΙC  
 ΜΠΕΟΟΥ ΠΛΟΓΟC ΜΠΕΙΨΤ· ΠΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗC ΝΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑCΨΩΠ  
 ΕΡΟC ΚΑΤΑΟΥΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΕCΜΕΖ ΜΦΙΡΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΑ ΝΤΕΝΦΥCΙC· ΤΟΥΤ ΕCΤΙΝ ΤCΑΡΞ  
 ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΝ̄ΦΥΧΙΚΟΝ ΝΛΟΓΙΚΗ· ΑΥΨ ΝΝΟΗΡΑ· Ν̄ΤΑCΧΙΤC̄ ΖΜΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΝΤΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΤΕΤΖΑΕΟΟΥ· ΤΕΘΕΟΔΩΚΟC ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΑΡΙΑ· ΤΑΙ ΟΝ  
 ΝΤΑCΑΑC ΝΟΥΕΙ ΝΟΥΨΤ· ΝΜΜΑC ΚΑΤΑΤΕCΨΥΠΟCΤΑCΙC ΕΝC̄ΠΗΨ ΑΝ ΕΦΥCΙC  
 C̄ΝΤΕ ΜΕ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ· Η ΠΡΟCΟΠΩΝ CΝΑΥ ΚΑΤΑΘΕ ΝΤΑCΔΟΚΕΙ ΝΤCΥΝΖΟΔΟC  
 ΕΤΧΑΖΜ· ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΧΟΕΙC ΝΟΥΨΤΠΕ ΟΥΧΡΙCΤΟC ΝΟΥΨΤΠΕ· ΕΠΕΙΟΥΑ ΠΕΙΟΥΑΠΕ·  
 ΑΧ̄ΝΨΙΒΕ· ΑΧ̄ΝΨΩΡΧ̄· ΕΙΤΕ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΕΤΕCΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ ΝΝΕΨΠΗΡΕ ΕΤΧΟCΕ· ΕΙΤΕ  
 ΜΠΝΑΥ ΕΤCΠΑΘΕΙ ΝΝΕΖΙCΕ ΜΦΥCΙΚΟΝ ΕΤΕΜΝΔΙΑΒΟΛΗ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ· ΕCΦΟ ΝΑΤΠΩΡΧ̄·  
 ΑΥΨ ΝΝΑΤΨΙΒΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΡΟΠΟΝ· ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΙΔΟΓΜΑ ΜΕΝ ΠΑΙ  
 ΝΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΙΚΟΝ· ΑΥΨ ΤΕCΒΩ ΝΝΑΛΗΘΙΝΗ· ΝΤΕΝΕΔΙΔΑCΚΑΛΩC ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΝΤΑΛΛΗΘΙΑ· ΑΥΚΑΑΥ ΝCΨΟΥ Ν̄ΒΙΝΑΤCΥΝΖΟΔΟC ΝΧΑΛΧΗΤΟΝ· ΑΥΖΟΡΙΖΕ ΔΕ  
 ΝΤΟΟΥ ΖΝΟΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΜΝΤΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΜΠΕΙΟΥΑ ΜΑΥΑΑC ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΙC̄ ΠΕΧC̄ ΕΦΥCΙC  
 C̄ΝΤΕ· ΜΝΠΡΟCΟΠΟΝ CΝΑΥ ΑΥΨ ΑΝΤΙΤΕΤΡΙΑC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΑΥΕΙΝΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΝΟΥΤΡΙΑC ΜΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΟΝ· ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΠΧΑΧΕ ΜΠΠΡΟΦΗΤΙC ΜΝΠΤΑΛΒΟ ΨΟΟΠ

ΜΠΟΥΩΨ̄ ΝΤΑΨΤΑΨΟΥ· †ΝΑΕΙΝΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΜΗΤΕ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΝΝΕΨΑΧΕ  
ΜΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ· ΠΕΧΑΨ ΝΝΑΨΡΝΤΕΙΨΥΝΨΟΔΟΣ· ΧΕΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΨΩΤ̄  
ΕΠΕΟΥΨ· ΨΕΝΑΧΑΚ ΝΝΕΨΒΙΧ ΕΨΡΑΙ ΕΧΩ· ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΕΜΠΕΤΕΚΑΚΙΑ ΕΙ  
ΕΨΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΨ ΝΟΥΟΕΨ ΝΙΜ·

10. In truth, the apostolic throne of Rakote is that which displayed not only its beacon placed at that time on its central hieratic lampstand by Christ, Apa Dioscorus, but almost the entire country of Egypt. The holy community of Pboou, however, was still visited by this storm, not only at the beginning but also in the days of Justinian. Who is able to see or hear of the wretched condition of the orthodox of that time ? For the pillar of orthodoxy and the truly superior champion, Saint Severus, the holy patriarch of Antioch travelled much, but was particularly watched over by God as a herald of orthodoxy. The patriarch of Rakote, Theodosius, was summoned to Constantinople by the king, under the pretext of glorifying his holiness, but with the intention of detaining him so that his election might be annulled. That king said: "I will shut the mouth of this great river so that the canals and marshes will dry up. I will hide his light under a bushel"<sup>123</sup> so that the feet of those who run to him will stumble. What lament is there not for the orthodox of that time ? The churches were stripped of clerics. They became smaller. Most of the orthodox bishops died in their faith, perfect in the teaching of their fathers. Accordingly, it was as if the darkness of error had spread and the wild beasts began to speak openly, wolves following each other, as they made their way into the midst of the sheep of the Lord. The cup of Judaism of those who had assembled at Chalcedon was filled.<sup>124</sup> The reward for the one who was to drink it was to be archimandrite of Pboou. O wicked charge ! O bitter clash ! The order was given. The wolf set out on his way. The royal decree was issued and, according to the text of it, the king fired his arrows.<sup>125</sup> He troubled the brothers of the holy community. He increased his threats to scatter the flock of the Lord, who did not wish<sup>126</sup> to offend against the faith of the Lord. Thus, the springs of spiritual water were revealed, that is, the holy community, together with other communities established<sup>127</sup> by Christ at that time. How ? It is a long story and we have other things to talk about. When the holy brothers saw that their faithful shepherd had been taken away from them, the new patriarch Abraham,<sup>128</sup> who was then

---

123 *Matth.* 5, 15

124 *Rev.* 18, 6

125 2 *Kg.* 22, 15

126 For the use of the 2nd Present as a quasi-conditional with negative **ΤΗ** cf. W. Till *Koptische Grammatik* (1966) §448

127 The form of the Gk word is *πίσσω*, a later form of *πίγγυμι*.

128 For surviving textual material relating to Abraham cf. E. Amélineau 'Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des mones coptes' *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française* (1888) pp. 743 ff., summarized by Cauwenbergh *Étude* pp

archimandrite, and had been appointed over them in place of the wrongdoer sent by the king, everyone who loves piety became positively zealous, having chosen for themselves to renounce the dwelling place of their fathers so that they might not make themselves alien to the God of their fathers. The word spread<sup>129</sup> far and wide, my beloved. When they go to the thorns, they find the lilies. For our father Apa Apollo is truly a lily, which plucked itself from the heretics' thorns and thus left Pboou at that time, as he apostolically kept the regime of the apostles, which says: "If the impious occupy a place,<sup>130</sup> go far away from it, for it is not the place that constitutes the man but rather the man that constitutes the place."<sup>131</sup> For in this way the Three Saints in the oven of fire in Babylon summoned God to them through their endurance.<sup>132</sup> While the Jews were still in possession of the temple, the only son of God came out in their midst because of their hypocrisy as a teacher of God. In this way, our father Apollo took to the life of the anchorite, wandering in the deserts and valleys and caves of the land,<sup>133</sup> an exile in a foreign country, in want, distress and tribulation. After all this, he became like one who heard from God what He had said to the patriarch Jacob: "Return to the land in which you were born, and good will happen to you."<sup>134</sup> After many years<sup>135</sup> he came to this monastery. After having settled in it properly,<sup>136</sup> he heard Isaiah say: "God will give rest on this mountain."<sup>137</sup> Then too he heard David say: "This is the hill which God wanted and settled in it."<sup>138</sup> He also said fittingly: "This is my dwelling place forever which I will inhabit", for the Lord had chosen it for him as a monastery.

10. **ΖΝΟΥΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΝΗΑΠΟCΤΟΛΙΚΟΝ ΝΤΕΡΑΚΟΤΕ· ΠΕΝΤΑΦΑΝΕΡΟΥ  
 ΜΜΑΤΕ ΑΝ ΜΠΕΔΡΕΔΡ̄ΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝΤΑΠΧ̄C ΚΑΑΔ ΕΧΝΤΑΥΧΝΙΑ ΝΑΡΧΙΕΡΙΡΑΤΙΚΗ·  
 ΜΠΕΥΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ· ΠΖΑΓΙΟC ΔΙΟCΚΟΡΟC· ΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΧΩΡΑ ΤΗΡ̄C CΧΕΔΩΝ  
 ΝΚΗΜΕ· ΕΤΙ ΔΕ ΤΚΕΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΠΒΟΥ· ΑΦΠΩΖ ΨΑΡΟC ΝΟΙΠΕΧΙΜΩΝ  
 ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ· ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΖΗΝΕΥΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΝΨΟΡΠ̄ ΑΛΛΑ ΖΗΝΕΖΟΥ ΟΝ ΜΠ̄ΡΟ**

---

154ff.

129 The verb to be read is either **ΠΩΤ** (go) or **ΠΩΖ** (reach).

130 **τοπος** often means 'monastery'.

131 For the Sahidic version of the *Apostolic Constitutions* cf. P. de Lagarde *Aegyptiaca* (1883) p. 284.

132 *Dan.* 3, 16

133 *Heb.* 11, 38

134 *Gen.* 31, 3. The Future form here is usually known as Future IV

135 I understand **κύκλος** in a temporal sense.

136 This word translates **ΜΜΑΤΕ**, an adverb that normally expresses intensity *CD* 190a

137 *Is.* 25,10. The Coptic translates the LXX

138 *Ps.* 68, 16

ΙΟΥΣΤΪΝΙΑΝΟΣ· ΑΥΩ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΨΝΑΥ Η ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΕΨΩΤῪ ΕΤΤΑΛΑΙΨΩΡΙΑ  
 ΝΝΟΡΘΟΔΟΖΟΣ· ΜΠΕΥΟΕΨ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ· ΠΕΣΤΥΛΛΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΟΡΘΟΔΟΖΙΑ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΠΨΟΕΨ ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΝΤΜΝΤΣΩΤῪ ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ ΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ  
 ΝΝΑΝΪΟΧΙΑ ΑΨΤΑΑΨ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΟΨ ΕΖΕΝΖΗ ΜΜΟΨ ΕΝΑΨΩΟΥ· ΕΥΡΟΕΨ ΕΡΟΨ·  
 ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ ΖΙΤῪΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΚΥΡΞ ΝΤΟΡΘΟΔΟΖΙΑ· ΠΚΕΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΟΝ ΝΡΑΚΟΤΕ  
 ΠΕΝΕΨΩΤ ΘΕΟΔΩΣΙΟΣ· ΑΠῪΡΡΟ ΚΑΛΕΨ ΜΜΟΨ ΨΑΡΟΨ ΕΚΩΣΤΑΝΪΝΟΥΨΟΛΙΣ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΖΜΠΕΣΧΗΜΑ ΜΕΝ ΖΩΣ ΕΨΪΕΟΟΥ ΝΤΕΨΜΝΤΟΥΗΝΒ· ΚΑΤΑΤΜΕ ΔΕ ΕΑΨΟΥΨ  
 ΕΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟΨ ΖΑΖΤΗΨ· ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΣΕΟΥΨΩΪ ΝΒΙΤΕΨΧΙΡΟΔΩΝΙΑ ΪΝΑΤΩΜ ΠΕΧΑΨ  
 ΝΒΙΠῪΡΡΟ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΕΡῪΝΕΨΝΟΒ ΝΙΕΡΨΟΥ· ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΥΕΨΟΟΥΕ ΝΒΙΝΕΨΕΨΟΡ  
 ΜΝΕΥΖΕΛΟΣ· ΪΝΑΖΩΠ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΜΠΡΕΨῪΡΟΥΟΕΨΝ ΖΑΠΜΩΔΙΟΝ· ΧΕΚΑΣ  
 ΕΡΕΝΕΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΝΝΕΤΠΗΤ ΕΡΑΤΨ ΝΑΧΙΧΡΟΠ· ΑΨ ΛΟΨΠΟΝ ΝΤΟΕΨΤ ΠΕΤΕΝΪΨΟΟΠ  
 ΑΝ ΝΝΟΡΘΟΔΟΖΟΣ ῪΠΕΥΟΕΨ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ· ΝΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΜΕΝ ΑΥῪΧΑΨΕ ΝΝΕΚΛΗΡΙΚΟΣ  
 ΑΥΣΒΟΚ· ΠΕΖΟΥΟ ΝΝΕΕΨΙΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΝΟΡΘΟΔΟΖΟΣ· ΑΥῪΚΟΤῪ ΖΗΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΕΤΧΗΚ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΕΣΒΩ ΜΠΕΨΩΤ· ΖΙΝΑΨ ΛΟΨΠΟΝ ΖΩΣ ΕΑΠΚΑΚΕ ΝΤΕΠΛΑΝΗ ΠΩΡῪ ΕΒΟΛ·  
 ΑΝΕΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΠΑΡΖΗΣΙΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ· ΖΕΝΟΥΩΝΨ ΝΣΑΖΕΝΟΥΩΝῪ· ΕΤΡΕΥΪ  
 ΜΠΕΥΟΥΟΨ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΣΟΟΥ ΜΠΧΟΕΨ· ΠΧΩ ΝΤΜΝΤΙΟΥΔΑΨ ΝῪΤΑΥΣΩΟΥΖ  
 ΖΗΧΑΛΛΗΔΩΝ· ΑΥΚΕΡΑ ΜΜΟΨ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΝΑΣΟΟΥ ΠΕΨΒΕΚΕΠΕ ΤΜΝΤΑΡΧΗΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΣ  
 ΜΠΒΟΟΥ· Ω ΑΨΤΗΜΑ ῪΠΟΗΝΡΟΝ Ω ΣΥΝΑΡΡΑΚΗ ΕΨΣΑΨΕ· ΠΟΥΕΖΣΑΖΝΕ ΑΨΨΩΠΕ  
 ΠΟΥΩΝῪ ΑΨΪ ῪΠΕΨΟΥΟΨ· ΤΚΕΛΕΨΣΙΣ ΜΠῪΡΡΟ ΑΣΜΟΨΨΕ· ΑΥΩ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΣΗΖ ΑΠῪΡΡΟ  
 ΕΤῪΜΜΑΥ ΧΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΨΣΟΤΕ· ΑΨΨΤΟΡΤΡ ΝΝΣῪΝΗΨ ΝΤΚΟΨΝΩΝΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ·  
 ΝΕΨΑΠΛΗ ΑΨΤΑΨΟΟΥ ΕΧΩΨΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΣΟΟΥ ΜΠΧΟΕΨ· ΕΥΤῪΟΥΨΨ ΕΠΑΡΑΒΑ  
 ΝΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΜΠΧΟΕΨ· ΖΜΠΑΨ ΛΟΨΠΟΝ ΑΥΟΥΩΝῪ ΕΒΟΛ· ΝΒΙΝΕΠΗΓΗ ΜΜΟΟΥ  
 ΜΠῪῪΚΟΝ· ΕΤΕΤΕΨΚΟΨΝΩΝΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒΤΕ· ΜῪῪΕΚΕΣΟΟΥΖῪ ΝΤΑΠΕΧῪ ΠΗΣΣΕ  
 ΜΜΟΟΥ ΖΜΠΚΑΨΡΟΣ ΕΤῪΜΜΑΥ· ΖΝΑΨ ΔΕ ΝΣΜΟΤ· ΟΥΝΟΒ ΜΕΝΤΕ ΘΨΣΤΩΡΙΑ· ΖΟΜΩΣ  
 ΑΝΑΚΓΚΑΨΟΣ ΤΗΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΖΙΤΗΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ· ΖΜΠῪΡΕΥΝΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΝΒΙΝΣῪΝΗΨ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ  
 ΧΕΑΥΨΪ ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΜΠΕΨΨΩΣ ΕΤΟ ΝΖΟΤ· ΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ῪΒῪΡΡΕ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ· ΠΕΤΟ  
 ΝΑΡΧΗΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ ΜΠΕΥΟΕΨ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ· ΑΥΩ ΧΕΨΤΗΨ ΕΑΖΕΡΑΤῪ ΕΠΜΑ ῪΠΑΨ  
 ΝΒΙΠΠΑΡΑΒΑΤΗΣ ΝΤΑΠῪΡΡΟ ΧΟΟΥΨ· ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΜΕ ΝΤΜΝΤΕΨΣΕΒΗΣ ΑΥΖΧΡΩ

ΜΠΚΩΖ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΓΓ ΕΛΥΣΟΤΠ̄ ΝΑΥ ΕΑΜΠΟΤΑΣΣΕ ΜΠΜΑΝΩΩΠΕ Ν̄ΝΕΥΕΙΟΤΕ·  
 ΧΕΝΝΕΥΑΑΥ ΝΝΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΟΣ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΥΕΙΟΤΕ· ΑΠΨΑΧΕ ΠΩΖ ΖΝΟΥΖΗΗ  
 ΕΣΟΥΗΥ Ω ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ· ΑΛΛΑ ΖΙΤΝΤΩΙΝΤΟΥΟΙ ΕΝΣΟΥΡΕ ΕΨΑΥΩΙΝΕ ΜΠΕΚΡΙΝΟΝ·  
 ΟΥΚΡΙΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΛΗΘΟΣΠΕ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΕΛΑΤΟΚΜΕΦ ΜΜΙΝ  
 ΜΜΟΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΟΥΣΟΥΡΕ Ν̄ΖΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟΣ· ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΑΦΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΒΟΟΥ  
 ΜΠΕΥΟΕΙΨ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ· ΕΑΦΖΑΡΕΖ ΖΩΣ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΣ ΕΤΔΙΑΤΑΖΙΣ ΝΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ·  
 ΤΑΙ ΕΤΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕΕΡΨΑΝΝΑΣΕΒΗΣ· ΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΝΟΥΤΟΠΟΣ ΠΩΤ ΝΑΚ ΕΠΟΥΕ·  
 ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΕΨΑΦΣΥΝΖΙΣΤΑ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΝ· ΑΛΛΑ ΠΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΤΟΦΠΕ  
 ΨΑΦΣΥΝΖΙΣΤΑ ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ· ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΓΑΡ ΑΠΨΟΜΝΤ ΝΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΕΤΖΝΤΕΖΡΩ ΝΣΑΤΕ  
 ΖΝΤΒΑΒΥΛΩΝ ΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΑΡΟΥ ΖΙΤΝΤΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ· ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΔΕ ΖΨΟΥ  
 ΑΙΤΕΙ ΕΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ Ν̄Π̄ΡΠΕ ΜΠΜΑ ΜΠΕΥΤ̄ΒΒΟ· ΑΠΕΙΨΗΡΕ ΝΝΟΥΩΤ Ν̄ΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΙ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΤΕΥΜΗΤΕ ΕΤΒΕΤΕΥΜΝΤΖΥΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΖΩΣ ΡΕΦΧΙΣΒΩ ΟΥΝ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ·  
 ΤΑΙΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΦΩΠ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΤΑΝΑΧΩΡΙΣΙΣ Ν̄ΠΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΦΣΟΡ̄Μ· ΖΝΝΕΧΑΙΕ·  
 ΜΝΝΙΑ· ΜΝΝΕΨΚΟΛ ΜΠΚΑΖ· ΕΦΟ ΝΡΜΝΒΟΙΛΕ ΖΝΟΥΤΩΨ Ν̄ΨΜΜΟ· ΕΦ̄Ρ̄ΒΡΩΖ·  
 ΕΦΘΑΙΒΕ· ΕΦΜΟΖΚ ΜΝ̄ΝΣΑΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΦ̄Ρ̄ΘΕ ΕΨΧΕ ΝΤΑΦΣΩΤΜ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΙΤΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΕΠΕΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΦ ΕΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΥΣ ΙΑΚΩΒ· ΧΕΚΤΟΚ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΚΑΖ  
 ΝΤΑΥΧΠΟΚ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΝΤᾹΡ̄ΠΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΓΓ Ν̄ΜΜΑΚ· ΑΥΩ Μ̄Ν̄ΝΣΑΟΥΜΗΗΨΕ ΝΚΥΚΛΟΣ  
 ΑΦΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΤΟΥΟΥ ΠΑΙ· ΑΥΩ ΖΜΠΤΡΕΦΑΖΕΡΑΤ̄Φ ΖΙΧΩΦ ΜΜΑΤΕ· ΑΦΣΩΤ̄Μ ΕΗΣΑΙΑΣ  
 ΧΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ† ΝΝΟῩΜ̄ΤΟΝ ΖΙΧΜΠΕΙΤΟΥΟΥ ΕΙΤΑ ΟΝ ΕΔ̄ΑΔ̄ ΧΕΠΤΟΥΟΥΠΕ ΠΑΙ  
 ΝΤΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΑΨ̄Φ ΑΦΟΥΩΖ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Φ· ΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΖΨΩΦ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΠΡΕΠΕΙ· ΧΕΠΑΙΠΕ  
 ΠΑΜΑΝΩΩΠΕ ΝΨΑΕΝΕΖ ΕΙΝΑΟΥΩΖ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Φ ΧΕΑΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΣΟΤΠ̄Φ ΕΟΥΣΟΟΥΖ̄Σ ΝΑΦ·

11. These are the successes of our father before he became the father of the monastery.<sup>139</sup> These are the prizes that made him illustrious while he was still in the ranks of the spiritual army before he became the commander of it. These are the reasons why he was rightly called by the Saviour to be a shepherd of the word. For like a tree planted in good soil, when it grows a little and is transplanted to rich soil, so it was with our father, whom Christ planted at Pboou and was later moved, as we have said. He brought him north to this

139 This is my understanding of the phrase ΖΑΘΗ ΝΤΜΝΤΕΙΩΤ lit, 'before the fatherhood', drawing attention perhaps to the different uses of 'father'.

monastery. He then came and grew in strength, his superiority reaching up to heaven and his fragrance to the ends of the earth. But since feeble eyes are unable to cope with the presence of light and there is no calm when there is agitation,<sup>140</sup> even the apostles were affected by this. Thus, when the Enemy saw Apollo like a vine in the wilderness, he ground his teeth and became unhinged,<sup>141</sup> as he reflected in all this: suppose that Apollo watered the seed once planted by Paul and made to grow by Christ, then if Apollo has made<sup>142</sup> his body a plant, how great is its growth. If this spot of wheat fills this land, it will certainly produce a great harvest.<sup>143</sup> Such were the thoughts of the Enemy, as he entreated those who belonged to him to make war on this saint. Once again, the new Jebusites conspired to prevent the building of Zion.<sup>144</sup> And again, the Philistines tried to prevent the patriarch Isaac from settling there,<sup>145</sup> I mean the Meletians<sup>146</sup> who were active in the monastery at that time and in every way tried to prevent the saint from settling there. They kept<sup>147</sup> saying to each other: "Let us trouble the righteous one, for he is worthless to us."<sup>148</sup> They gathered around him like bees around a honeycomb.<sup>149</sup> But he, the man of God, kept pushing them away, in the name of the Lord and the prayers he said, like empty clouds blown away by the wind.<sup>150</sup> In a word, from the light of the Spirit in him those clouds passed away before him. He then built his holy place, like that of the

---

140 Kuhn is almost certainly right to read **ⲉⲛⲙⲉ** as **ⲉⲛⲙⲉ**, the plural of **ⲉⲛⲙⲉ** cf. *CD* 674a

141 **ⲉⲟⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ**: *CD* 32b ff. has 24 possible meanings for this verbal phrase, each according to the context in which it is used: the most suitable here seems to meaning (u).

142 There seems to be a verb missing here, so I have supplied 'make'.

143 The whole of this passage, according to the sentence that follows, seems to be an attempt to follow the thought processes of the Enemy: Apollo has been uprooted from one area and transplanted to another, where he will thrive even more.

144 2 *Kg.* 5, 6ff.

145 *Gen.* 26, 16ff.

146 4th cent. Egyptian schismatics who gathered around Meletius, Bishop of Assiut. Kuhn cites H.I. Bell and W.E. Crum *Jews and Christians* (1924) and W.E. Crum 'Some further Meletian documents' *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 13 (1927) pp. 19-26 for evidence of Meletian activity and survival in Coptic. The Apollo text itself seems to be one of the principal sources.

147 This translates the Coptic Imperfect, which expresses, among other things, iteration, cf. Till *Grammatik* §317

148 The writing **ⲙⲟⲩⲩⲕ** is not attested in *CD* 163a. The qual. **ⲙⲟⲩⲩⲕ**, attested in R. Kasser *Compléments au Dictionnaire Copte* (1964) p. 27a and described there as 'langue vulgaire', occurs five times in this text. The words of the Meletians are an adaptation of the words of *Is.* 3,10, the Coptic version of which translates the LXX: **ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲙⲟⲩⲩⲕ ⲙⲡⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲭⲉⲓⲙⲟⲕⲩ ⲉⲣⲭⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ** ('let us bind the righteous one, for he is worthless to us'). LXX has the word *δύσχηστος* 'inconvenient'. According to *CD* 163b **ⲙⲟⲕⲩ ⲉ** translates Gk *δύσ-*. The Bohairic version simply uses the Coptic **ⲁⲧⲱⲗⲗ** 'worthless'.

149 *Ps.* 117, 12.

150 *Jude* 12

unicorn.<sup>151</sup>For the Holy Spirit likened this community to the unicorn,<sup>152</sup> which has its horn pointing upwards. Even if there are many things growing from it, all the brothers of the community still have a single goal: the holy way of life, even if the good practice of each community member is different.

11. ΝΑΙΝΕ ΝΕΚΑΤΟΡΘΩΜΑ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΖΑΘΗ ΝΤΜΝΤΕΙΩΤ· ΝΑΙΝΕ ΝΕΛΘΛΟΝ  
ΝΤΑϞΡ̄ΛΑΜΠΡΟC ΝΖΗΤΟΥ· ΑΙΤΕΙ ΕϞΖΝΤΤΑΖΙC ΝΤΜΝΤΜΑΤΟΙ ΝΕΤΠ̄Ν̄Α ΖΑΘΗ  
ΕΤΡΕϞΩΠΕ ΝΤΑΖΙΑΡΧΟC· ΝΑΙΝΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟϞ ΔΙΚΑΙΩC ΖΙΤ̄Μ̄ΠCΩΤΗΡ  
ΕΟΥΜΝΤΩC ΝΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ· ΝΘΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΟΥΩΗΝ ΕΑΥΤΟϞϞ ΖΝΟΥΚΑΖ ΕΝΑΝΟΥϞ· ΖΟΤΑΝ  
ΔΕ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΕϞΨΑΝΑΥΖΑΝΕ ΝΟΥΚΟΥ· ΝCΕΠΟΟΝΕϞ ΕΒΟΛ ΝCΕΤΟϞϞ ΖΝΠΚΕΚΑΖ  
ΕϞΚΙΩΟΥ· ΤΑΙΤΕ ΝΤΑCΩΠΕ Μ̄ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ· ΑΠΕΧ̄C ΤΟϞϞ ΖΜΠΒΟΟΥ· ΜΗΝCΩC  
ΑϞΠΟΟΝΕϞ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕCΜΟΤ Ν̄ΤΑΝΧΟΟϞ· ΑϞ̄ΝΤϞ ΕΖΗΤ ΕΠΕΙΤΟΟΥ ΠΑΙ· ΑϞΕΙ  
ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΑΥΩ ΑϞΒΜΒΟΜ· ΠΕϞΧΙCΕ ΑϞΠΩΖ ΨΑΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΠC̄Τ̄ΝΟΥϞΕ  
ΨΑΑΡΗΧϞ ΜΠΚΑΖ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΜΕΡΕΝΒΑΛ ΕΤΩΩΝΕ ΕΩΤΩΟΥΝ ΖΑΤΠΑΡΡΟΥCΙΑ  
ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ, ΟΥΔΕ ΜΕΡΕΧΑΜΗ ΨΩΠΕ ΧΩΡΙC ΖΜΜΕ· ΨΑΖΡΑΙ ΝΚΕΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC  
ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑΙ ΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ· ΖΜΠΕΙCΜΟΤϞΕ ΟΥΝ ΝΤΕΡΕϞΝΑΥ ΝΒΙΠΧΑΧΕ  
ΕΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΟΥΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΖΝΤΕΡΗΜΟC· ΑϞΖΡΟΧΡΕΧ ΝΝΕϞΟΒΖΕ ΑΥΩ ΑϞΒΩΛ  
ΕΒΟΛ· ΕϞΜΟΜΕΚ ΜΜΟϞ ΠΑΝΤΩC ΖΝΝΑΙ· ΧΕΕΨΧΕ ΠΤΩϞΕ ΜΠΕΥΟΕΙΨ ΝΤΑΠΑΥΛΟC  
ΤΟϞϞ ΛΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΤCΟϞ· ΑΠΕΧ̄C ΑΥΖΑΝΕ ΜΜΟϞ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΤΗΡC· ΕΙ ΕΡΨΑΝΑΠΟΛΛΩ  
Μ̄ΠΕϞCΩΜΑ Ν̄ΤΩϞΕ ΖΜΠΕΙΤΟΟΥ· ΟΥΗΡΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΝΟϞ ΜΠΕϞΤΟΥΩ· ΕΡΨΑΝΤ̄ΒΛΒΙΛΕ  
ΤΑΙ Ν̄CΟΥΟ ΜΟΥΖ ΜΠΕΙΚΑΖ CΝΑΤ̄ ΠΑΝΤΩC ΝΝΟΥΚΑΡΠΟC ΕΝΑΨΩϞ· ΝΑΙ ΔΕ  
ΕϞΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ Ν̄ΒΙΠΧΑΧΕ ΕϞCΟΠ̄C ΝΕΤΕΝΩϞΝΕ ΕΤΡΕῩΡ̄ΠΟΛΥΜΟC  
ΜΗΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΑΥΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΕ ΝΒΙΝΕΙΕΒΟΥCCAΙΟC ΝΒ̄Ρ̄ΡΕ  
ΕΚΩΛΥ ΜΠΚΩΤ ΝCΙΩΝ· ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΑΥΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΒΙΝΕΦΥΛΥCΤΙΕΜ ΕΤ̄ΧΡΟΠ  
ΝΤ̄ΒΙΝΟΥΩΖ ΜΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗC ΙCΑΑΚ· ΕΙΨΑΧΕ ΕΝΕΜΕΛΕΤΑΝΟC ΝΑΙ ΕΤΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΖΕ  
ΖΜΠΕΙΤΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΥΕΟΕΙΨ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ· ΝΑΙ ΖΝCΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ ΕΤ̄ΧΡΟΠ ΝΤ̄ΒΙΝΟΥΩΖ  
ΜΠΕΙΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΧΕΜΑΡΕΝΜΟΥΖ̄Κ̄ ΜΠΔΙΚΑΙΟC  
ΧΕϞΜΟΥΖ̄Κ̄ Ν̄Ρ̄ΧΡΙCΤΟC ΕΡΟΝ· ΑΥCΩΟΥΖ ΕΡΟϞ ΝΘΕ ΖΕΝΑϞ ΝΝΕϞΙΩ ΕΥΜΟΥΛ̄Ζ̄·

151 Ps. 77, 69

152 The Coptic παπταπ νοωπ is 'explained' by the Gk term, which I have not translated.

ΝΤΟϞ ΔΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕϞΒΩΡΕ ΜΜΟΥϞ ΖΜΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΧΟΕΙϞ·  
 ΜΝΝΕΠΡΟϞΕΥΧΗ ΕΤ̅Ϟ† ΜΜΟΥϞ ΝΑϞ ΜΠΕϞΜΟΤ ΝΖΕΝΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΕΥΨΟΥΕΙΤ·  
 ΕΡΕΖΕΝΤΗΥ ΝΙϞΕ ΝϞΩΟΥ· ΖΑΠΛΩϞ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΜΠΕΠ̅Ν̅Α ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ  
 ΕΤΝΖΗΤϞ ΑΝΕΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΟΥΩΤ̅Β̅ ΜΠΕϞΜ̅ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ· ΕΑϞΚΩΤ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ  
 ΜΠΕϞΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΠΑΠΤΑΠ ΝΟΥΩΤ· ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΠΕΠ̅Ν̅Α ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ  
 ΤΝΤΩΝΤΕΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΠΑΠΤΑΠ ΝΝΟΥΩΤ ΕΤΕΠΜΟΝΟΓΕΡΟϞΠΕ· ΠΑΙ  
 ΕΤΕΟΥΝΤΑϞ ΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΕϞΤΑΠ ΕϞϞΟΥΤΩΝ ΕΤΠΕ· ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΟΥΝΖΑΖ ΡΗΤ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΝΖΗΤ̅Ϟ· ΝΕϞΝΗΥ ΟΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΤΕΤΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΟΥϞΚΟΠΟϞ ΝΟΥΩΤ  
 ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ· ΕΤΕΤΠΟΛΗΤΙΑΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΟΥΕΤΤΕΠΡΑΖΙϞ  
 ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥϞ ΕΤΕΡΕΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ ΝΖΗΤ̅Ϟ·

12. But let the matter of<sup>153</sup> the community stop here and let us turn our attention<sup>154</sup> the one who became out leader and forefather after Christ, that is our holy father of whom we are speaking. When the Lord planted him in this monastery, he took root like the incense tree, whose branches came forth, that is. the gifts of the Holy Spirit which I mentioned earlier: a respected foreknowledge, an extraordinary intuition, sound teaching and healing of the sick, so that mere contact with his garments would cure them. For this reason the multitudes hastened to hear him<sup>155</sup> that he might cure them,<sup>156</sup> like Jesus Our God. The effort expended in their zeal was not unrewarded.<sup>157</sup> Those who were bodily sick would take account<sup>158</sup> of the cure of their afflictions through the grace of God in him; those<sup>159</sup> who were psychologically ill, he would send them to the safe haven of repentance; those who were in pain, he would comfort them in their distress by imparting to them the thought of God, for He is the one who regulates all profitable things; those who had just started on life, he would teach them the way that would guide them to the kingdom of heaven; those who were older, he would exercise their perceptive abilities to overcome evil; those whose fields had become white,<sup>160</sup> that is,

153 ΜΝ- is probably a typographical error for ΝΝ-

154 ΘΟΡΜΗ ΜΠΛΟΓΟϞ lit. 'the impulse of the discourse'.

155 *Lk.* 21, 38.

156 This translates an infinitive that is syntactically suspect because the unspecified agent of ΕΤΑΛΒΟΥϞ cannot be ΜΜΗΗΨΕ, as it is with ΕϞΩΤΜ, but must be Apollo, so the sense requires something like ΕΤΡΕϞΤΑΛΒΟΥϞ.

157 Not a literal translation.

158 ΧΗΠΕ: perhaps in the sense of 'value'. The Imperfect used with the following verbs expresses repeated acts.

159 The construction μέν . . . is balanced here by Coptic ΟΝ.

160 i.e. for the harvest, cf. *John* 4, 35.

those grey with old age, he begged them to prepare themselves for the harvest to come; in a word, he was of benefit to all who came to him through the grace of the Holy Spirit in him, such was the watering<sup>161</sup> of Apollo, so that he was attended daily by those who offered themselves, taking upon themselves the sweet yoke of the revered life. He is the holy shepherd who would receive them joyfully, like gifts sent to him by the king of heaven. He was an example to them in all things, many fastings and frequent vigils, so that he spent six consecutive years without sleeping under a roof, either in winter or summer, according to the testimony of those who actually knew him. In a word, this voice, it is fitting that one should say with the apostle. "Your flesh has not taken any rest."<sup>162</sup> In particular, when he saw crowds, he went up the escarpment, that is, when the assembly of brothers coming to him happened through the Lord, he ascended all the more in heavenly conduct. He would set forth for them each day blessed promises in the world to come if they fulfilled in this world the promise of philosophy<sup>163</sup> that they had made. He would tell them that not keeping their promise was a betrayal. He then said: "You have already given yourselves as an offering to the Lord. It is no longer possible for you to observe the teaching of the things that belong to the earth. It is an instruction of the Saviour. who orders those who have risen to this level, using the image of the ceiling, not to descend to take that which is in the house, that is, passions of the flesh.

12. ΑΛΛΑ ΠΩΧΕ ΜΗΤΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΜΑΡΕΦΑΖΕΡΑΤΩ ΨΑΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΤΗΚΤΟ ΝΘΟΡΜΗ  
 ΜΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΧΜΠΕΝΤΑΩΦΠΕ ΝΑΝ ΝΝΑΡΧΗΓΟΣ· ΑΩ ΜΠΡΟΠΑΤΩΡ ΜΝ̄Ν̄ΣΑΠΕΧ̄Σ·  
 ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΟΥΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΝΩΧΕ ΕΡΟΩ ΖΜΠΤΡΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΤΟΩΩ ΖΜΠΕΙΤΟΟΥ·  
 ΑΦΧΕΝΟΥΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ Ν̄ΘΕ ΜΠΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ· ΑΩ ΑΥΜΟΟΨΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΝΒΙΝΕΦΚΛΑΤΟΣ· ΕΤΕΝΕΧΑΡΙΣΜΑΝΕ ΜΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΤΝΖΗΤ̄Ω ΝΤΑΨΡΠΧΟΟΥ·  
 ΟΥΠΡΟΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΕΣΤΑΙΝΥ· ΟΥΘΕΩΡΙΑ ΕΣΟ ΝΨΠΗΡΕ· ΟΥΜΝΤΡΕΦ†ΣΩ ΕΣΟΧ·  
 ΟΥΤΑΛΩΟ ΝΝΕΨΩΝΕ· ΖΩΣΤΕ ΝΤΕΤΩΙΝΧΩΩ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΕΝΕΦΖΟΙΤΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΥ  
 Ν̄ΘΕΡΑΠΙΑ· ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΝΕΡΕΜΜΗΨΕ ΨΩΡΠ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΡΑΤ̄Ω ΕΩΤ̄Μ̄ ΕΡΟΩ· ΑΩ  
 ΕΤΑΛΩΟΥ ΖΝΝΕΨΩΝΕ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ῙΣ ΠΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ· ΑΩ ΝΕΡΕΠΖΙΣΕ ΝΤΕΥΣΠΟΥΔΗ  
 ΨΟΠ ΝΑΥ ΑΝ ΕΠΠΕΤΨΟΥΕΙΤ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΨΩΝΕ ΜΕΝ ΣΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΝΕΥΧΙΗΠΕ  
 ΜΠΤΑΛΩΟ ΝΝΕΥΜΟΚΖ̄Σ ΖΙΤΝΤΕΧΑΡΙΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΝΜΜΑΩ· ΝΕΨΩΝΕ ΟΝ  
 ΦΥΧΙΚΟΣ· ΝΕΦΧΟΟΥ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΠΑΙΜΗΝ ΝΤΜΕΤΑΝΙΑ· ΝΕΤΖΝΖΕΝΑΥΠΕΙ  
 ΝΕΦΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΖΜΠΕῩΗΚΑΖ· ΖΙΤΝΤΩΙΝ† ΝΑΥ ΜΠ̄ΡΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ·

161 Another ref. to *1 Cor.* 3, 16

162 *2 Cor.* 7, 5

163 viz. Christian philosophy.

ΧΕΝΤΟϞ ΠΕΤΟΙΚΟΝΩΜΕΙ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΝΟϞΡΕ· ΝΕΝΤΑΥΑΡΧΕΙ ΕΠΒΙΟϞ  
 ΝΕϞΤϞΑΒΟ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΕΖΙΗ ΕΤΟ ΝΡΕϞΧΙΜΟΕΙΤ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΝ̄Μ̄ΠΗΥΕ·  
 ΝΕΝΤΑΥΑΖΑΝΕ ΖΝΘΗΛΙΚΙΑ ΝΕϞΓΥΜΝΑΖΕ ΝΝΕΥΑΙϞΘΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ· ΕΤΔΙΝΧΡΟ  
 ΕΠΠΟΝΗΡΟϞ· ΝΕΝΤΑΝΕΥΧΩΡΑ ΟΥΒΑΨ ΕΤΕΝΕΥϞΚΙΜΝΕ ΝΤΕΤΜΝΤΖΑΛΟ· ΝΕϞϞΟΠ̄  
 ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΥϞΒ̄ΤΩΤΟΥ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΕΤΔΙΝΟΖϞΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΖΑΠΑΖ ΖΑΠΛΩϞ ΝΕϞΟΦΕΛΕΙ  
 ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΠΗΤ ΨΑΡΟϞ· ΖΙΤΝΤΕΧΑΡΙϞ ΜΠΠ̄Ν̄Α ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΤΝΖΗΤ̄Ϟ·  
 ΟΥΕΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΓΑΡΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΡΕϞΤϞΟ ΝΝΑΠΟΛΛΩ· ΖΩϞΤΕ ΝϞΕΟΥΩΖ ΕΡΟϞ ΜΜΗΗΝΕ·  
 ΝΔΙΝΕΤ̄† ΜΜΟΟΥ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΑΝΑΘΕΜΑ ΜΠΧΟΕΙϞ ΕΥϞΙ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΜΠΝΑΖ̄Β̄  
 ΕΤΖΟΛΔ ΝΤΕΠΒΙΟϞ ΕΤΤΑΙΗΥ· ΝΤΟϞ ΔΕ ΠΨΩϞ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΕϞΨΩΠ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΡΟϞ  
 ΖΝΟΥΡΟΤ ΝΙΜ· ΝΘΕ ΝΖΕΝΔΩΡΟΝ ΕΥΤΝΝΟΟΥ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΑϞ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜΠ̄ΡΟ  
 ΝΝΜΠΗΥΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΕϞΚΩ ΜΜΟϞ ΝΑΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝϞΜΟΤ ΖΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ· ΖΝΖΕΝΝΗϞΤ̄Α  
 ΕΝΑΨΟΥϞ· ΖΝΖΕΝΟΥΨΗ ΝΡΟΕΙϞ ΝΖΑΖ ΝϞΟΠ· ΖΩϞΤΕ ΝϞ̄ΡϞΟ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ  
 ΝϞΑΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ἡ̄ΠΕϞΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΑΟΥΕΖϞΟΙ Ε̄Ν̄ΚΟΤΚ ἡ̄ΤΕΥΨΗ· ΕΙΤΕ ΤΕΠΡΩ ΕΙΤΕ  
 ΠΨΩΜ· ΚΑΤΑΘΕ ΝΤΑΥΡΜΝΤΡΕ ΜΠΑΙ ΝΔΙΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΖΟϞ ΖΜΠϞΩΜΑ· ΖΑΠΛΩϞ ΤΕΙϞΜΗ  
 ΤΑΙ ϞΤΟΟΜΕ ΕΤΡΕϞΤΑΥΟϞ ΜΠΠΑΠΟϞΤΟΛΟϞ· ΧΕΜΠΕΤ̄Ν̄ϞΑΡΖ ΧΙΛΑΑΥ ΜΜΟΤΝΕϞ·  
 ΜΑΛΙϞΤΑ ΖΜΠΤΡΕϞΝΑΥ ΕΜΜΗΗΨΕ ΑϞΑΛΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΜΠΤΟΟΥ ΕΤΕΠΑΙΠΕ  
 ΧΕΖΜΠΤΡΕΠϞΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΝΕϞϞΗΥ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΨΑΡΟϞ· ΨΩΠΕ ΖΙΤΜΠΧΟΕΙϞ· ΑϞΑΛΕ  
 ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ ΖΝΤΠΟΛΗΤ̄Α ΝΤΠΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕϞΚΩ ΝΑΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΜΜΗΝΕ ΝΖΕΝΕΡΗΤ  
 ΜΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΝ ΖΜΠΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΝΗΥ· ΕΥΨΑΝΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΙΑΙΩΝ ΜΠΕΡΗΤ  
 ἡ̄ΤΕΦΙΛΟϞΟΦΙΑ ΠΡΟϞΘΕ ΝΤΑΥΕΡΗΤ· ΝΕϞΤΑΜΟ ΟΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΧΕΟΥΠΡΟΔΩϞΙΑΤΕ  
 ΤΔΙΝΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΥΕΡΗΤ· ΕΙΤΑ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΑΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΟΥΩ ΕΤΕΤΝ̄† ΜΜΩΤΗ  
 ΝΑΝΑΘΕΜΑ ΜΠΧΟΕΙϞ· ΟΥΚ ΕΖΙϞΤΕ ΝΗΤΗΝ ΧΙΝΕΠΕΙΝΑΥ ΕΧΡΩ ΝΤΑΝΑϞΤΡΟΦΗ  
 ΝΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΤΗΠΤ ΕΠΚΑΖ· ΟΥΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΤΕ ΤΑΙ ΝΤΕΠϞΩΤΗΡ· ΕϞΟΥΕΖϞΑΖΝΕ  
 ΝΝΤΑΥΑΛΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΕΙΧΙϞΕ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ· ΖΙΤΝΤϞΥΜΑϞΙΑ ΝΤΧΕΝΕΠΩΡ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΤΡΕΥΕΙ  
 ΕΠΕϞΗΤ ΕϞΙ ΝΝΕΤΖΜΠΗ· ΕΤΕΝΕΠΑΘΟϞΝΕ ΝϞΑΡΚΙΚΟΝ·

13. "You have come from the darkness of Egypt<sup>164</sup> and you have crossed the wave of the things that are like

164 There may be wordplay here: κ̄η̄με lit. 'black land'.

the turbulence of the sea.<sup>165</sup> Contain yourself and do not wish for the passions of Egypt. You know that after Israel had no more wheat of the earth to eat, they were finally able to enjoy holy manna.<sup>166</sup> Do not therefore seek the transient lest you be last at the lamb's supper.<sup>167</sup> You have come forth from Sodom and are far from Sigôr.<sup>168</sup> You have ascended the spiritual mountain, that is, this chaste life. Contain yourself and avoid the sepulchre of pleasures, but, like those making their way to the Lord, walk effortlessly behind him. And even if you have difficulty because of physical illness, still do not abandon your patience, the reward of which is great.<sup>169</sup> You have made your way to the vineyard of Christ the King. Be workers for him who are not ashamed, but rightly divide the word of truth.<sup>170</sup> Do not ask for the wages of your labour until the evening, that is, the completion of your day. For he who is patient until then, he say, will be saved, said the Saviour.<sup>171</sup> Remember at all times the movement of the bodiless powers, those which the prophet Ezekiel contemplated as they moved forward without once turning around, even with their faces.<sup>172</sup> This too is how we should be, my sons, having taken upon ourselves the yoke of salvation of Our Saviour. Let our course be straight to heaven. Let no demonic plot, illness of body or soul or anything else be able to hinder our zeal. But let us increase our progress and foreknowledge of virtue at all times, so that after leaving this prison we will be among the ranks of those holy angels, blessing the Lord with us forever." With other words of this sort the saint would entreat the brothers day and night, entreating them and strengthening them to the endurance of perfection. Similarly, his life and teaching<sup>173</sup> were things for them to emulate. Ecclesiastes has often spoken about these things: "If the clouds are full of rainwater, it will flow upon the earth."<sup>174</sup> Which means, if elevated people of this sort are full of the knowledge of celestial matters, they bestow grace of this sort on their disciples and those who come after them at all times, and not only them. But these others who took instruction in this life, they used to receive his holy teaching. For our father is truly a divine watchman<sup>175</sup> who has given himself to the salvation of this generation. This why he used to deliver these instructive

---

165 *Ex.* 14

166 *Ex.* 16, 35

167 *Rev.* 19, 9

168 *Gen.* 19, 15

169 *Heb.* 10, 35

170 *2 Tim.* 2, 15

171 *Matth.* 10, 22

172 *Ez.* 1, 9 and 17.

173 Printed text reads **Н НТЕЦАНАСТРОФН**. In view of the various typographical errors involving letters of the same shape, I wonder if one should not read **МНТЕЦАНАСТРОФН**.

174 *Eccl.* 11, 3

175 I understand **σκοπος** to be used in the sense of Lampe *Lexicon* 1241a

remarks to them. He used to say to them: "If you are unable to come to this spiritual mountain, the elevated life, then<sup>176</sup> remain in purity in Sigor, only do not remain in the vicinity of the people of Sodom, lest you receive some of their afflictions. And if you have crossed the sea of humanity and come through this desert into the promised land in heaven, then do not let the siren melodies of the sea attract you, the nine destroyers, the last of whom is death, as the Apostle said.<sup>177</sup> If it too hard for you, then<sup>178</sup> sit in this tent joyfully, like Joshua son of Naue,<sup>179</sup> then follow the Lord with all your heart, like Caleb, and go to war and turn back,<sup>180</sup> which means, do the things that befit the life without sin so that you too may inherit the celestial earth of the meek.<sup>181</sup> And even if you do not sit at the feet of the Lord in tranquillity like Mary, then comfort him physically through the poor like Martha<sup>182</sup> that you too may be beloved of God. For Jesus, it say, loved Martha and Mary her sister.<sup>183</sup> From the river of delights<sup>184</sup> he will give the enjoyment of it to all who pass by. In the same way everyone who comes to this saint will partake of his miraculous teaching and the grace of the Holy Spirit in him, for at that time he was worthy of the rank of priesthood. He attended the Lord well and without concern.<sup>185</sup> For this reason his throne rightly became prepared before the Lord, for the Lord knew how to glorify them that glorified him.<sup>186</sup>

13. ΑΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΠΚΑΚΕ ΝΚΗΜΕ· ΑΥΩ ΑΤΕΤΝ̄ΧΙΟΡ ΜΠΖΟΕΙΜ ΝΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ  
 ΕΤΤ̄ΝΤΩΝ ΕΠΕΨΤΟΡΤΡ ΝΘΑΛΛΑCΣΑ· ΖΑΡΕΖ Μ̄ΠΡ̄ΕΠΕΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΝΕΠΑΘΟC ΝΚΗΜΕ·  
 ΤΕΤΝCΟΟΥΝ ΧΕΝΤΕΡΕΠ̄ΗΛ ΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΠΕCΟΥΟ ΜΠΚΑΖ ΑΥΡ̄ΖΑΕ ΕΤΑΠΟΛΑΥCΙC  
 ΜΠΜΑΝΝΑ· ΜΠΡ̄ΨΙΝΕ ΟΥΝ ΝCΑΝΕΠΡΟCΟΥΟΕΙΨ· ΧΕΝΝΕΤ̄ΝΡ̄ΖΑΕ ΕΠΑΙΠΝΟΝ  
 Μ̄ΠΕΖΙΕΙΒ· ΑΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗCΟΔΟΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΑΤΕΤ̄ΝΟΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗCΗΓΩΡ·

176 **καὶ** (καὶ ἕάν) is normally used as a conditional conjunction, often in combination with an Egyptian conjunction such as **εῷχε** or **εῷπε**, but in this and the next few sentences, it seems to be used to introduce the apodosis, where one would expect **εἰε**.

177 *Rom.* 6, 21 It is probably not surprising that someone with a classical education of the sort displayed by Stephen should be familiar with pre-Christian mythology: this seems to be a reference to the nine Muses or Sirens. The Pauline passage, of course, contains no reference to the seductive and destructive melodies of the sea.

178 **εἴμοοc** the **ε** is perhaps to be understand as the apodotic particle cf. Kasser *Compléments* p. 13a.

179 *Ex.* 33, 11

180 *Josh.* 14, 11

181 *Matth.* 5, 5

182 *Lk.* 10, 38ff.

183 *John* 11, 5

184 *Ps.* 35, 9.

185 *I Cor.* 7, 35

186 *I Kg.* 2,30

ΑΤΕΤΝΑΛΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΜ̄ΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΝΟΗΤΟΝ ΕΤΕΠΒΙΟΣΠΕ Ν̄ΣΕΜΝΟΝ· ΖΑΡΕΖ  
 ΜΠ̄ΡΩΠΕ ΖΜΠΕΜΖΑΛΥ ΝΝΕΖΥΔΟΝΗ· ΑΛΛΑ ΖΩΣ ΕΑΤΕΤ̄Ν̄Ψ̄ ΜΠΕΤ̄Ν̄ΟΥΟΙ ΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ  
 ΜΟΟΨΕ ΖΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟΨ ΑΧΝΖΙΣΕ· ΑΥΩ ΚΑΝ ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΨΑΝΖΙΣΕ ΕΤΒΕΤΑΣΘΕΝΙΑ  
 ΝΤΕΦΥΣΙΣ· ΑΛΛΑ ΜΠΡΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ· ΤΑΙ ΕΤΕΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΜΜΑΥ  
 ΝΟΥΝΟΒ Ν̄ΤΟΥΕΙΟ ΝΒΕΚΕ· ΑΤΕΤΝ̄Ψ̄ ΜΠΕΤ̄Ν̄ΟΥΟΙ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ Μ̄Π̄ΡΡΟ ΠΕΧ̄Σ̄·  
 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΨ ΝΖΕΝΕΡΓΑΤΗΣ ΕΜΕΥΧΙΨΙΠΕ ΕΥΨΩΨΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΨΑΧΕ ΝΤΜΕ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΜΠ̄ΡΑΠΕΤΕΙ ΜΠΒΕΚΕ Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΡΓΑΣΙΑ· ΨΑΠΝΑΥ ΝΡΟΥΖΕ ΕΤΕΠΑΙΠΕ ΠΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΝΝΕΤΝΖΟΟΥ· ΠΕΤΝΑΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΨΑΒΟΛ ΠΑΙ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΖΜ ΠΕΧΑΨ  
 Ν̄ΒΙΠΣΩΤΗΡ· ΑΡΙΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΝΑΥ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΒΙΝΜΟΟΨΕ ΝΝΕΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΝΝΑΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ·  
 ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΨΘΕΨΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΒΙΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΙΕΖΕΚΙΕΛ· ΕΥΜΟΟΨΕ ΑΧΝΚΤΟΟΥ  
 ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΕΠΤΗΡ̄Ψ̄· ΟΥΔΕ ΖΝΝΕΥΚΕΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ· ΚΑΤΑΠΕΙΣΜΟΤ ΖΩΩΝ Ψ ΝΑΨΗΡΕ·  
 ΖΩΣ ΕΑΝΤΑΛΟ ΕΧΩΝ ΜΠΝΑΖ̄Β̄ ΝΟΥΧΑΙ ΜΠΕΝΣΩΤΗΡ· ΜΑΡΕΠΕΝΔΡΟΜΟΣ ΨΩΠΕ  
 ΕΨΟΟΥΤΩΝ ΕΤΠΕ· ΜΠ̄Ρ̄ΤΡΕΟΥΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΗ ΝΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ· ΜΠ̄Ρ̄ΤΡΕΟΥΨΩΝΕ  
 ΝΣΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ· ΜΠ̄Ρ̄ΤΡΕΟΥΛΥΠΕΙ ΜΨΥΧΙΚΟΝ· ΟΥΔΕ ΚΕΛΑΛΥ ΖΝΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΕΨ̄ΨΧΡΟΠ  
 ΝΤΕΝΣΠΟΥΔΗ· ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΡΝ̄Ρ̄ΖΟΥΟ ΖΝΤΕΠΡΟΚΟΠΗ· ΜΝΤΕΠΡΟΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΝΤΑΡΕΤΗ  
 ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ· ΧΕΚΑΣ ΟΝ Μ̄Ν̄̄ΣΑΤΒΙΝΑΠΟΔΗΜΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΙΕΨΤΕΚΟ· ΕΝΝΑΨΩΠΕ  
 ΖΝΤΕΧΩΡΗΓΙΑ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΕΝΣΜΟΥ ΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΜΜΑΥ ΨΑΒΟΛ·  
 ΖΕΝΚΕΜΙΝΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΕΝΕΡΕΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΣΟΠ̄Σ̄ ΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ  
 ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΜΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΝΤΕΥΨΗ· ΕΨΣΟΠ̄Σ̄ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΨΤΑΧΡΟ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΘΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΝΤΜΝΤΤΕΛΙΟΣ· ΖΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΕΡΕΠΕΨΒΙΟΣ Η  
 ΝΤΕΨΑΝΑΣΤΡΟΦΗ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ Ν̄ΠΚΩΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΑΙ· ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΑΨΧΟΟΣ  
 ΕΤΒΕΝΑΙ ΝΒΙΠΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΣ· ΧΕΕΡΨΑΝΝΕΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΜΟΥΖ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΖΨΟΥ  
 ΣΕΝΑΨΟΥΟ ΕΧΜΠΚΑΖ· ΕΤΕΠΑΙΠΕ ΧΕΕΡΨΑΝΝΕΡΨΜΕ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΕΤΧΟΣΕ· ΜΟΥΖ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΤΕΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΝΝΑΜΠΗΥΕ· ΣΕΝΑΧΟΡΗΓΕΙ ΝΤΕΧΑΡΙΣ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ  
 ΝΝΕΤΜΑΘΗΤΕΥΕ ΖΑΡΑΤΟΥ· ΜΝΝΕΤΝΗΥ Μ̄Ν̄̄ΣΩΟΥ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤΜΜΑΥ  
 ΜΜΑΛΥ ΑΝ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΙΚΕΚΟΟΥΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΡΕΦΕ ΖΝΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ Μ̄ΠΕΙΒΙΟΣ ΝΕΥΧΙ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΤΕΨΣΒΨ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΟΥΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΖΨΩΨ ΑΛΗΘΩΣ Ν̄ΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΠΕΝΕΙΨΤ ΕΑΨΤΑΑΨ ΝΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΓΕΝΕΛ· ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΕΝΕΨΚΩ ΝΑΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ

ΖΩΟΥ ΝΖΕΝΛΟΓΟΣ ΜΠΡΟΤΡΟΠΙΚΟΝ· ΝΕΦΧΩ ΓΑΡ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΑΥΠΕ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΙΣΜΟΤ·  
 ΧΕΚΑΝ ΝΤΕΤΝΝΑΨΕΙ ΑΝ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΝΟΗΤΟΝ· ΕΤΕΠΕΙΒΙΟΣΠΕ ΕΤΧΟΣΕ· ΚΑΝ  
 ΖΜΟΟΣ ΝΗΤΝ ΖΝΟΥΜΝΤΚΑΘΑΡΟΣ ΖΝΧΗΓΩΡ· ΜΟΝΟΝ ΜΠΡΑΖΕΡΑΤΤΗΥΤΝ  
 ΖΝΤΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΟΣ ΝΝΡΜΝΣΟΔΟΜΑ· ΧΕΝΝΕΥΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΝΕΥΠΛΗΓΗ· ΑΥΩ ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ  
 ΑΤΕΤΝΧΙΟΟΡ ΝΤΕΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ ΝΤΜΝΤΡΩΜΕ· ΑΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΕΙΕΡΗΜΟΣ· ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΠΚΑΖ ΜΠΕΡΗΤ ΕΤΖΝΤΠΕ· ΚΑΝ ΜΠΡΤΡΕΥΣΕΚΤΗΥΤΝ ΝΒΙΝΟΥΗΛΛΕ ΝΝΝΕΣΥΡΙΝΟΣ  
 ΕΤΖΝΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ· ΕΤΕΝΕΤΕΡΕΦΙΣΝΕ ΝΡΕΦΤΑΚΟ· ΘΑΗ ΝΝΕΤΜΜΑΥΠΕ ΠΜΟΥ  
 ΝΒΙΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ· ΑΥΩ ΕΨΧΕ ΠΖΩΒ ΖΟΡΩ ΝΗΤΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΕΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΝΤΕΙΣΚΗΝΗ  
 ΤΑΙ ΖΝΟΥΟΥΡΟΤ ΝΘΕ ΝΙΕΣΟΥ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΝΑΥΗ· ΚΑΝ ΟΥΕΖΤΗΥΤΝ ΝΣΑΠΧΟΕΙΣ  
 ΖΜΠΕΤΝΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΩ· ΝΘΕ ΝΧΑΛΗΒ ΑΥΩ ΒΩΚ ΕΠΠΟΛΥΜΟΣ ΝΤΕΤΝΚΤΟΤΗΥΤΝ·  
 ΕΤΕΠΑΙΠΕ ΧΕΧΡΩ ΝΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΤΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΝΤΕΠΒΙΟΣ ΑΧΗΝΝΟΒΕ· ΧΕΚΑΣ  
 ΕΤΕΤΝΝΑΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ ΖΩΤΤΗΥΤΝ ΜΠΚΑΖ ΝΝΕΠΕΟΥΡΑΝΙΟΝ ΝΡΜΡΑΨ· ΑΥΩ ΚΑΝ  
 ΕΨΧΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΝΑΖΜΟΟΣ ΑΝ ΖΑΤΝΝΕΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΖΝΟΥΕΣΥΧΙΑ ΝΘΕ  
 ΜΜΑΡΙΑ· ΚΑΝ ΨΜΤΟΝ ΝΑΦ ΣΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΖΙΤΝΝΖΗΚΕ ΝΘΕ ΜΜΑΡΘΑ ΧΕΚΑΣ  
 ΖΩΤΤΗΥΤΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΕΡΙΤ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΝΕΡΕΙΩ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΜΕ ΜΜΑΡΘΑ  
 ΜΝΜΑΡΙΑ ΤΕΣΣΩΝΕ· ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕΣΜΟΤ ΝΟΥΧΙΜΑΡΟΣ ΝΤΡΟΦΗ· ΕΦΝΑΨ  
 ΝΤΕΦΑΠΟΛΛΥΣΙΣ ΝΝΕΤΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΙΧΩΦ· ΤΑΙΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΡΕΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΠΗΤ  
 ΨΑΠΕΙΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΤΕΦΜΝΤΡΕΦΤΣΦΩ ΕΤΖΑΨΠΗΡΕ· ΜΝΤΕΧΑΡΙΣ  
 ΜΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΤΝΖΗΤΦ· ΝΕΑΦΜΨΑ ΟΝ ΜΠΕΥΟΕΙΨ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΑΖΙΩΜΑ  
 ΝΤΜΝΤΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ· ΑΦΑΖΕΡΑΤΦ ΓΑΡ ΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΑΧΗΛΑΑΥ ΝΡΟΟΥΨ·  
 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΟΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΣ ΑΠΕΦΘΕΡΟΝΟΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΦΣΒΤΩΤ ΖΙΘΗ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ· ΦΣΟΟΥΝ  
 ΓΑΡ ΝΒΙΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΨΕΟΟΥ ΝΝΕΤΨΕΟΟΥ ΝΑΦ·

14. This church,<sup>187</sup> which is small, was built by him. Likewise, at that time those of the people and the

<sup>187</sup> The demonstrative adjective may be quite intentional here in order to refer to the church in which the panegyric is being delivered.



things, do not disbelieve, but by means of them think of the purity of this man,<sup>200</sup> for unless he is perfect in purity, he will not be contemplative."<sup>201</sup> Often, the apostolic saint Paul would appear to him and impart to him spiritual improvement and would say to him: "You have worked on the rest of your ministry," and so to this day there is a cross in the place where he appeared to Apollo in the wilderness<sup>202</sup> to the south side of the church as an eternal display and assurance. Since I have mentioned his contemplation, I will not ignore it: for the statement is full of value, a lament and full of joy, a comfort to the neophytes and confirmation to the established.<sup>203</sup>

14. ΝΕΑΦΚΩΤ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΤΕΙΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΤΑΙ ΕCCOΒΚ̄ ΔΕ· ΖΟΜΟΙΩC ΜΠΕΥΟΕΙΩ  
ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΕΥΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΕΙ ΜΜΟQ Ν̄ΒΙΝΑΠΛΑΟC· ΜΝΝΕΚΕCΝΗΥ ΕΡ̄ΠΕCΧΙΟΕΙΚ  
ΚΑΤΑΝΚΑΝΩΝ· ΝΤΟQ ΔΕ ΝΕQΒΕΕΤ ΕΤΡΕΥΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΕΙ ΜΜΟQ ΖΙΤΜΠΧΟΕΙC·  
ΖΝΟΥΖΟΟΥ ΟΥΝ Ν̄ΨΟΥΤΑΕΙΟΥ· ΕΤΟΥCΟΥΧΟΥΤΗ ΝΝΕΠΗΠΠΕ· ΑΦΕΙ ΨΑΡΟQ  
ΝΒΙΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΤΕΠΧΟΕΙC· ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΑQ ΧΕΒΕΠΗ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΤCΥΝΑΖΙC· ΧΕΠΕΧ̄C  
ΠΕΤΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ· ΖΗΠΤΡΕΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΟΥΝ Ρ̄ΠΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΡΟ  
ΑΦΙΕΙΑΤQ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΑΦΝΑΥ ΖΩC ΧΕΝΤΑΤΜΕΛΩΤ Ν̄ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΟΥΩΝ· ΕΥΝΗΥ ΕΠΕCΗΤ  
ΝΖΗΤ̄C ΝΒΙΟΥΜΗΗΨΕ ΝΤΕΤΕCΤΡΑΤΙΑ ΝΤΠΕ· ΕΙΤΑ ΝΤΕΡΕQΘΩΨΤ ΕΠCΑ  
ΝΤΕΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ· ΑΦΝΑΥ ΕΠΧΟΕΙC ΕΦΑΖΕΡΑΤ̄Q ΖΙΧΩC ΖΝΟΥΟΠΤΑCΙΑ ΝΨΠΗΡΕ· ΑΥΩ  
ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΑΦΠΛΗΡΟΦΩΡΕΙ ΑΦ̄Ρ̄ΠΕCΧΙΟΕΙΚ ΑΥΩ ΑΦCΥΝΑΓΕ ΝΖΗΤ̄C· ΟΥΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥCΘΕ  
ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΠΕΤ̄Ν̄ΤΑΝ· ΕῩΝ̄ΤΑQ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΠΑΡΖΗCΙΑ ΝΤΕΙΒΟΤ ΝΝΑΖΡΜΠΧΟΕΙC·  
ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΡΕQΘΕΩΡΕΙ ΝΝΕΘΗΠ ΜΝΝΕΤΟΥΟΝ̄Ζ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤΝΗΥ ΕΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΖΗΝΜΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΕΤ̄Π̄ΨΑ ΜΝΝΕΤΕΝCΕ̄Π̄ΨΑ ΑΝ· ΝΕΡΕΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α  
ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΒΩΛΠ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΑQ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΠΕCΜΟΤ ΕΨΑΦCΟΥΩΝΟΥ ΝΖΗΤ̄Q· ΝΤΟQ  
ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΑΥΒΟΛΠ̄Q ΕΝΕCΝΗΥ ΕΟΥΠΡΟΚΟΠΗ ΝΖΟΥΟ· ΖΑΖ ΝCΟΠ ΠΕΧΑQ  
ΜΠΝΑΥ ΕΙΝΑΠΡΟCΦΕΡΕΙ Ν̄ΤΕΘΥCΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΑΟΓΙΚΗ· ΜΝΝCΑΤΡΑΚΚΛΑCΜΑΤΙΖΕ

<sup>200</sup> I take 'this man' to refer to Apollo.

<sup>201</sup> θεωρητικός cf. Lampe 647b

<sup>202</sup> ΖΗΡΗΟC: I have chosen to follow Kuhn's suggestion of ΖΕΡΗΟC

<sup>203</sup> My translation is based on understanding ΝΕΤΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ (lit. 'those who stand') to be in contrast with ΝΤΩΘΕ ΝΒ̄Ρ̄ΡΕ,

ἦποεῖκ ἠνεποῦρανιον ἐτμμάγ· ἐνεψαίναγπε ἐπμερος· πμερος·  
 ἐρεπεπροσοπῶν χηκ ἐβολ ἦζητοῦ τηροῦ· ἀγῶ μπναγ πεχαγ ἐρεογα  
 ἐφογααβ να† μπεφογοῖ ἐτρεφσῦναγε νεψαίναγ ἐροοῦπε· εὔπητ ἐζοῦν  
 ἐροι εὔπροτρεπει μοι ἐτδῖν† ναγ· μπναγ δε ζωωγ πεχαγ ἐρεογα  
 νδῖπῶα ἀν να† μπεφογοῖ ἐτρεφμετεχε ἐνεμῦστηριον ἐτογααβ·  
 νεψαίναγ οἷν ἐροοῦ εὔωλμ ἠμοοῦ ἐζραι ἐπκεσα ντετετραπεζα· ἦσεοῦωψ  
 ἀν ἐτααγ ναγ· ἐτβεπαι πεχαγ ζμπτρεογα ζῆναι ντειμινε † μπεφογοῖ ἠ  
 οὔσοπ ἐτρεφχι· ἀνοκ δε ἀιαπορει ἐχμπαι· ζωμωσ ἀρικε ἐτμντμαίρωμε·  
 ἀγῶ ζμπτρα† ἐζραι ἐτοοτγ μῦστηριον ἐτογααβ· ντεῦνοῦ ἀθεωρει νογα  
 ζῆναγγελοσ ἐταζερατγ· ἐαφϕιτῶ ζῆνεβιχ μπρωμε ἀφκααγ ἠκεσοπ  
 ζιχντετραπεζα· ἀκναγ χεζνοῦζοτε ἠνοῦτῶβο ναψ ἠμινε ἐνῆψ†  
 ἠπενοῦοῖ ἐτεπροθεσις ἠμῦστηριον ἐτογααβ· ντοκ ζωωκ ω πρωμνε  
 ἐκωτῆ ἐναι ἠπρῶπιστοσ· ἀλλὰ νοι ντογ ἐβολ ἠζητοῦ ντμντκαθαροσ  
 ἠπειρωμε· ἠσαβηλ γαρ χεφχηκ ἐβολ ζῆντῶβο ἠιμ· ἠῖναψωπε ἀν  
 ἠθεωρετικοσ· οὔμῆηψε δε οἷν ἠσοπ νεψαρεππετογααβ παποστολοσ  
 παγλοσ οὔωνῆ ναγ ἐβολ ἐφδιορθοῦ ναγ ἠζαζ ἠσοπ· ἀγῶ νεψαφχοοσ ναγ  
 χεακρῶζωβ ἐψωχπ ἠτδιακονια· ἐτβεπαι ψαζραι ἐποοῦ ἠζοοῦ ἀγῆσσε  
 ἠνοῦσ· ϕῶσ ζῆπμα ἐτεψαφοῦωνῆ ἐρογ ἠζητγ ζμπζιρμοσ ἐτсарηс  
 ἠτεκκλησια· εὔδιαποδηζις ἠνοῦπληροφορια ἠῆαιωνιον· ἐπειδη ἀῖπμееεγ  
 ἠτεφθεωρια· ἠ†νακω ἠσῶι ἀν ἠπεικετ· ϕμεζ γαρ ἠζηγ ἠβῖπδιηγμα·  
 οὔζηβεπε ἀγῶ ἐφμεζ ἠραψε· οὔσολσλπε ἠνετωδε ἠβῖρε· οὔωρхπε  
 ἠνεταζερατοῦ·

15. One of the brothers at that time, who was thinking, in the spirit of alien belief,<sup>204</sup> of estranging himself from the other brothers, was guided by divine providence. Another faithful man came to the area of the door, calling out to equip him for the army of the saints. O untouchable community of God ! O contemplation full of wretchedness !<sup>205</sup> O righteous judgement ! For suddenly, while there was affliction on both sides, one

204 ζῆππεπῖῶ ἠτμντζηт ἠψῖμο. Unlike the negative ἠντατζηт 'the state of not being in one's mind', the positive ἠντζηт does not seem to be very common, cf. CD 714ff.

205 Kuhn suggests: θεωρια εсμεζ . . .

calling out to bring him inside and the other seeking to turn away, both were called quickly from this life. While still in the early stages of their considerations, our father became aware of this and assembled the brothers and told them how they had died. His testimony came from the Lord: "Believe, brothers, that this faithful man died through the uprightness of his heart towards God. He has joined the ranks of the holy brothers. The brother who died when his heart was estranged remained a stranger to the crowns of his endurance. Our Lord rightly says: "Be vigilant, for you do not know the day or the hour."<sup>206</sup> For the reward is according to the choice and the completion of life, the life of each and everyone. If one is wondering why this one did not die at the time of his virtue, I will say that his initial endurance to be sure exists in outward show, God never abandons the one who does his works in accordance with God. Let the great David persuade you: 'He will never allow the just to be moved.'<sup>207</sup>

15. ΟΥΣΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΦΖΗΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΜΠΕΥΟΕΙΩ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ· ΑΥΩ ΠΑΙ ΕΝΕΦΜΕΕΥΕ  
ΖΜΠΕΦΠΝΑ ΕΥΜΝΤΖΗΤ ΝΩΜΜΟ ΕΤΡΕΦΡΩΜΜΟ ΕΤΜΝΤΣΟΝ· ΖΙΤΝΤΕΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ  
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΦΕΙ ΕΠΜΑ ΜΠΡΟ ΝΒΙΚΕΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΙΣΤΟΣ· ΕΦΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΕΖΟΚΦ  
ΕΠΕΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· Ω ΤΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΝΝΑΤΤΑΖΟΣ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ· Ω ΘΕΡΙΑ  
ΕΦΜΕΖ ΜΜΝΤΕΒΙΗΝ· Ω ΖΑΠ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΖΝΟΥΦΠΝΩΠ ΓΑΡ ΑΙΤΕΙ ΕΥΜΟΖΚ ΝΖΗΤ  
ΕΠΜΕΡΟΣ ΣΝΑΥ· ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΦΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΕΧΙΤΦ ΕΖΟΥΝ· ΠΑΙ ΖΩΦΦ ΕΦΦΙΝΕ  
ΝΣΑΚΤΟΦ ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΥΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΣΝΑΥ ΖΝΟΥΒΕΠΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΙΩΝΖ· ΑΙΤΕΙ  
ΕΥΖΙΡΝΝΜΠΥΛΗ ΝΝΕΥΜΟΚΜΕΚ· ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΖΩΦΦ ΜΠΕΠΑΙ ΖΩΠ ΕΡΟΦ ΑΛΛΑ  
ΑΦΣΟΥΩΖ ΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ· ΑΦΧΩ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΤΔΙΑΘΕΣΙΣ ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥΝΚΟΤΚ· ΑΥΩ  
ΝΕΦΡΜΝΤΡΕ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ· ΧΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΝΗΤΝ ΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΧΕΠΡΩΜΕ  
ΜΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΤΑΦΝΚΟΤΚ· ΖΙΤΜΠΣΟΟΥΤΝ ΜΠΕΦΖΗΤ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΑΦΟΠΦ  
ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΑΓΜΑ ΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΠΕΙΣΟΝ ΖΩΦΦ ΝΤΑΦΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΩΣ  
ΕΦΦΟΟΠ ΖΝΟΥΜΝΤΖΗΤ ΝΩΜΜΟ· ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΟΝ ΑΦΡΩΜΜΟ ΕΝΕΚΛΟΜ  
ΝΤΕΦΖΟΠΟΜΟΝΗ· ΚΑΛΩΣ ΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΝΒΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΧΕΡΟΕΙΣ ΧΕΝΤΕΤΝΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ  
ΜΠΖΟΟΥ ΟΥΔΕ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ· ΕΦΑΡΕΠΤΟΥΙΟ ΓΑΡ ΦΩΠΕ ΠΡΟΣΤΕΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ· ΑΥΩ  
ΠΡΟΣΠΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΒΙΟΣ· ΠΒΙΟΣ ΜΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ· ΕΡΨΑΝΟΥΑ ΑΠΟΡΕΙ ΧΕΕΤΒΕΟΥ  
ΜΠΕΠΑΙ ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΩΦΦ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΦΑΡΕΤΗ· †ΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΖΩΩΤ ΧΕΠΑΝΤΩΣ

---

206 *Matth.* 25, 13

207 *Ps.* 54, 23

ΤΕΦΚΕΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΝΨΟΡΠ ΕΣΨΟΟΠ ΖΝΟΥΖΥΠΟΚΡΗΣΙΣ· ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΠΕΤΕΙΡΕ  
 ΝΝΕΦΖΒΗΥΕ ΚΑΤΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΜΕΡΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΑΛΩ ΝΣΩΦ ΕΝΕΖ· ΜΑΡΕΦΠΙΘΕ  
 ΜΜΟΚ ΝΒΙΠΝΟΒ ΝΔΑΥΕΙΔ· ΕΦΧΩ ΜΟΟΣ ΧΕΝΦΝΑΚΩ ΑΝ ΜΠΑΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΕΚΙΜ ΨΑΕΝΖ·

16. Another time, when he was standing at prayer during the night, he saw the devil, as has been written about him that he was walking about growling like a lion<sup>208</sup> and putting his nostrils on each of the sleeping brothers, as if smelling them, to see if they had a smell. The holy shepherd meanwhile, the true pastor of the flock of the Lord, when he saw this, cried out: "Cruel one, unless my children are troubling you while they sleep or unless they are persecuting you through prayer and firing arrows at you through meditation, why do you not let them sleep a little in peace?" That one<sup>209</sup> replied: "By your grey hairs, Apollo, I was not being in any way spiteful to them just now, but was astonished at how they could bear to sleep at all when this great kingdom is waiting<sup>210</sup> for them, If they were to ask me for forgiveness for everything that is painful, I would relent."<sup>211</sup> The Enemy said this as if he were offering counsel for good, but in fact<sup>212</sup> he was mocking, for, it is said, the enemy mocked the Lord<sup>213</sup>. The greatness of some<sup>214</sup> of the miracles of this just man prevents me from passing them by. But the discourse that is before us requires me to leave out most of them, An angelic man of this sort, the earth beneath him has put him on a level with the prophets through their words.<sup>215</sup> As he was once passing with the brothers, a believer came to him in great faith. He removed some earth from beneath the feet of the saint, took it and cast it over his bread. At that moment, the vessel containing the bread filled to the brim and overflowed on to the earth. So, is this miracle any less than those of the prophets? Even if you include the blessing of the widow's handful of meal by Elijah or the small amount of oil by Elisha the prophet.<sup>216</sup> But I tell you that these are no better than what has just been displayed by our father. For they became sources of nourishment at a time of need through the prayer of the prophets, as the

---

208 *1 Pet.* 5, 8

209 ΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ: perhaps used to convey the same sort of dismissive contempt as Latin *iste* often does.

210 ΣΒΤΩΤ lit. 'ready'

211 As it stands the reading ΝΕΙΝΑΡΨΧ ΑΝΠΕ would be translatable as 'I would not be a thief'. It is difficult to extract coherent sense from this in the present context. If, however, one understands the verb ΨΡΧ, one can translate the whole clause as 'I would not be firm.' (*CD* 530a). Kuhn has no note here, and I do not know what he has done in his translation. There is perhaps irony in play here.

212 This is not a translation of ΕΠΕΙΔΗ but it does fit the context.

213 *Ps.* 74, 18

214 One might perhaps understand ΖΝΟΥγ 'some' cf. *CD* 470a

215 The reference to the earth seems to be clarified in the following sentence.

216 *3 Kg.* 17, 8ff (Elijah) and *4 Kg.* 4, 1ff. (Elisha)

remnants occasionally bring forth what has been taken from them. But here, without a single word, the earth beneath his feet became like a good leaven<sup>217</sup> in the bread on which it was cast and which became very plentiful, as the Lord once blessed them in the desert.<sup>218</sup> Once, when this beacon of the Holy Spirit, our holy father Apa Apollo, was coming out of the monastery, a woman of strong faith with an issue of blood approached him and touched the hem of his garments, and what happened through Our Saviour He granted to Apollo. She touched the hem of his garments and the flow of blood stopped.<sup>219</sup> She then went off glorifying the Lord and Saint Apollo. For it was the Lord who promised: "He who believes in me will do the things that I do, and more."<sup>220</sup> Once, as he was about to sail in a boat with the brothers, when we were some way off from the bank,<sup>221</sup> a woman ran up to him, like the Canaanite woman in the Gospels.<sup>222</sup> She called out: "Man of God, have mercy on me. Remember me before the Lord so that my field puts forth human fruit." For she was infertile. The saint accepted her faith. As she was boiling with the spirit, Apollo stretched forth his hand and made the sign of cross over the waters and said to the woman: "Fill your hand and drink it in the name of the Lord and go, believing in Him. She did this twice with great fervour. Our father said to her: "Will you be able<sup>223</sup> to support these two branches, my child?" And within another year she was found to be the mother of two children. She sent them to the saint to be blessed, as the fruits of his prayers.

16. ΚΕΣΟΠ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΦΑΖΕΡΑΤϞ ΕΠΩΛΗΛ ΝΤΕΥΨΗ· ΑΦΝΑΥ ΕΠΑΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ  
 ΚΑΤΑΠΕΣΜΟΤ ΝΤΑΥΣΖΑΙ ΕΤΒΗΗΤϞ ΧΕΕΦΜΟΩΕ ΕΦΛΖΗΜ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΜΟΥΙ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΝΕΦ† ΝΝΕΦΒΩΑ ΕΧΜΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΕΤΝ̄ΝΚΟΤ̄· ΖΩΣ ΕΦΩΛΜ ΕΡΟΟΥ  
 ΧΕΕΙΕ ΟΥΝΨΝΩΨ ΝΤΑϞ ΝΖΗΤϞ· ΝΤΟϞ ΔΕ ΠΩΩΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΦΑΙΡΟΟΥΨ ΖΝΟΥΜΕ  
 ΖΑΠΟΖΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ· ΖΜΠΤΡΕΦΝΑΥ ΕΠΑΙ ΑΦΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΡΟϞ ΧΕΩ ΠΝΑΨΤΖΗΤ· ΕΙΜΗ†  
 ΝΑΨΗΡΕ †ΖΙΣΕ ΝΑΚ ΟΝ ΕῩΝΚΟΤ̄ ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΣΕΔΙΩΚΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΟΝ ΖΙΤΜΠΨΛΗΛ· Η  
 ΣΕΝΕΧΣΟΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΖΙΤΝΤΜΕΛΕΤΗ· ΕΤΒΕΟΥ ΝΤΟΚ Ν̄ΚΩ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΝ Ε̄ΡΠΕΥΚΟΥΙ  
 ΖΙΝΗΒ ΖΝΟΥΣΒΡΕΖΤ· ΠΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΔΕ ΑΦΟΥΨΨ̄ ΧΕΨΕ ΝΕΚΣΚΙΜ Ω ΑΠΟΛΛΩ·

<sup>217</sup> CD 457b

<sup>218</sup> Mk. 6, 35-55

<sup>219</sup> Matth. 9, 20, the Sahidic version of which uses the same idiom of the issue of blood ΕΡΕΠΕΣΝΟϞ ΨΟΟΠ ΖΑΡΟΣ.

<sup>220</sup> John 14, 12

<sup>221</sup> ΖΜΠΤΡΕΝΟΥΕ ΕΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ: Kuhn cites the Sahidic version of Acts 21,1 because both texts use the verbal phrase knowns as the Causative Infinitive.

<sup>222</sup> Matth. 15, 22ff.

<sup>223</sup> Cf. the parallel text on p. 47 of Kuhn

ΝΕΙΕΠΕΡΕΑΖΕ ΝΑΥ ΑΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΑΑΥ ΤΕΝΟΥ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΙΟ ΝΩΠΗΡΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΥΑΝΕΧΕ  
 ΕΝ̄ΚΟΤ̄Κ̄ ΕΠΤΗΡΦ· ΕΡΕΤΕΙΝΟΒ ΜΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΣΒ̄ΤΩΤ ΝΑΥ· ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΧΑΦ  
 ΕΝΕΦΑΥΧΙΜΕΤΑΝΙΑ ΝΤΟΟΤ ΦΑΖΡΑΙ ΕΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΜΟΖΚ ΝΕΙΝΑΡ̄ΩΧ ΑΝΠΕ·  
 Ν̄ΤΑΦΧΕΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΒΙΠΧΑΧΕ ΖΩΣ ΕΦΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΕΥΕ ΕΠΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ  
 ΟΥΡΕΦΝΟΒΝΕΒΠΕ· ΠΧΑΧΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΑΦΝΟΒΝΕΒ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ· ΤΜΝΤΝΟΒ ΝΟΥΑ  
 ΝΝΕΩΠΗΡΕ ΜΠΕΙΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΣΕΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΣΑΤΟΥ· ΠΑΛΙΝ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΦΑΠΕΤΕΙ  
 ΜΜΟΙ ΕΚΩ ΝΣΩΟΥ ΜΠΕΥΖΟΥΟ· ΝΒΙΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΤΚΗ ΝΑΝ ΕΖΡΑΙ· ΟΥΡΩΜΕ  
 ΝΖΙΣΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ Ν̄ΤΕΙΒΟΤ ΕΑΠΚΑΖ ΕΤΖΑΡΑΤ̄Φ ΨΩΨ ΜΜΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΖΙΤ̄Μ̄ΠΕΥΨΑΧΕ·  
 ΠΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΦΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΝΟΥΣΟΠ ΜΜΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΑΥΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΙΣΤΟΣ † ΜΠΕΦΟΥΟΙ  
 ΖΝΟΥΝΟΒ ΜΠΙΣΤΙΣ· ΑΦΩΛ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ Ν̄ΚΑΖ ΖΑΝΕΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΜΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΦΦΙΤΦ  
 ΑΦΝΟΧΦ ΕΧΝΝΕΦΟΕΙΚ· ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑΠΑΓΓΙΟΝ ΕΤΟῩΝ̄ΖΗΤ̄Φ ΜΟΥΖ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΡΩΦ·  
 ΖΩΣΤΕ Ν̄ΦΨΟΥΟ ΕΧΜΠΚΑΖ· ΑΡΑ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΤΕΙΩΠΗΡΕ ΒΟΧΒ ΕΝΑΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ· ΚΑΝ  
 ΕΚΨΑΝΤΑΥΟ ΜΠΕΣΜΟΥ Ν̄Τ̄ΒΙΧ ΝΝΟΕΙΤ ΝΤΕΧΗΡΑ ΖΙΤΝΖΗΛΙΑΣ· Η ΠΩΗΜ ΝΝΕΖ  
 Ν̄ΤΕΧΗΡΑ ΖΙΤΝΕΛΙΣΣΑΙΟΣ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ· ΑΛΛΑ †ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕΝΑΙ ΟΥΟΤΦ ΑΝ  
 ΕΤΕΝΤΑΣΟΥΩΝ̄Ζ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΖΙΤΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ· ΝΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΑΥΨΩΠΕ  
 ΝΡΕΦΣΑΑΝΨ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΝΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΖΙΤΜΠΕΨΑΛΗ ΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ· ΖΩΣ  
 ΕΡΕΝΕΤΨΟΧΠ ΒΕΕΒΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΜΠΕΤΟΥΦΙ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΣΟΠ· ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΔΕ  
 ΧΩΡΙΣ ΨΑΧΕ ΖΟΛΩΣ ΕΑΠΚΑΖ ΕΤΖΑΡΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΦΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΡΘΕ ΝΟΥΘΑΒ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΦ·  
 ΖΝΝΟΕΙΚ ΝΤΑΥΝΟΧΦ ΕΧΩΟΥ· ΕΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΖΝΟΥΝΟΒ ΝΟΥΨΩΛΕ· ΜΠΕΣΜΟΤ  
 ΝΝΤΑΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΖΜΠΧΑΙΕ ΜΠΕΥΟΕΙΨ· ΕΦΝΗΥ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΣΟΠ  
 ΖΜΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΒΙΠΕΙΦΑΙΛΑΜΠΑΣ ΝΤΕΠΠ̄Ν̄Ᾱ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ  
 ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ· ΛΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΡΕΠΕΣΝΟΦ ΖΑΡΟΣ † ΜΠΕΣΟΥΟΙ ΕΡΟΦ ΖΝΟΥΝΑΖΤΕ  
 ΕΦΤΑΧΡΗΥ ΑΣΧΩΖ ΕΝΕΤΩΤΕ ΝΝ̄ΖΟΙΤΕ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΨΩΠΕ ΖΙΤΜΠΕΝΣΩ̄Ρ̄  
 ΑΦΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΜΠΕΦΖΜΖΑΛ· ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΤΑΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ ΧΩΖ ΕΝΕΤΩΤΕ· ΑΣΒΩ  
 ΝΒΙΤΠΗΓΗ ΜΠΕΣΝΟΦ· ΑΣΒΩΚ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΕΣ̄Τ̄ΕΟΟΥ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΜΠΠΕΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ  
 ΑΠΟΛΛΩ· ΝΤΟΦ ΓΑΡ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΕΡΗΤ ΧΕΠΕΤΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΙ· ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ  
 Ε̄Τ̄ΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΤΟΦ ΖΩΩΦ ΦΝΑΑΑΥ· ΑΥΩ ΝΦ̄Ρ̄ΖΟΥΟ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΕΦΝΑΠΛΕΑ ΔΕ ΟΝ  
 ΝΟΥΣΟΠ ΖΝΟΥΧΟΙ ΜΜΝΕΣΝΗΥ· ΑΥΩ ΖΜΠΤΡΕΝΟΥΕ ΕΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ· ΕΙΣ ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ

ΑΣΠΩΤ ΕΡΑΤϞ ΜΠΕΣΜΟΤ ΝΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ Ν̄ΧΑΝΑΝΑΙΑ ΜΠΕΥΟΕΙΨ· ΤΑΙ ΕΤΣΗΖ  
 ΖΗΝΝΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ· ΑΣΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ ΝΑΙ· ΑΡΙΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ  
 Ν̄ΝΑΖΡΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΤΡΕΠΑΚΑΖ †ΟΥΩ ΝΝΟΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΝΡΩΜΕ· ΝΕΟΥΑΘΡΗΝ ΓΑΡΤΕ·  
 ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΔΕ ΑΨΩΠ ΕΡΟϞ ΝΤΕΣΠΙΣΤΙΣ· ΑΨΩ ΖΩΣ ΕΒΒ̄Ρ̄Β̄Ρ̄ ΖΜΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α  
 ΑΨΟΥΤΩΝΤΟΥΤϞ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΨΦΡΑΓΙΖΕ ΝΝΕΜΟΥΝΕΙΟΥΕ· ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ  
 ΧΕΜΕΖΤΕΒΙΧ ΝΤΕΣΟΟΣ ΖΜΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ· ΑΨΩ ΝΤΕΠΩΤ ΖΝΤΕϞΠΙΣΤΙΣ· ΝΤΟΣ  
 ΔΕ ΖΙΤΝΠΡΩΖ̄Κ̄ ΜΠΕΣΖΗΤ ΑΣ̄Ρ̄ΠΑΙ ΝΣΟΠ ΣΝΑΥ· ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΑΣ  
 ΧΕΝΤΕΡΕΝΑΨϞΙ ΑΝ ΖΑΠΕΙΚΛΑΤΟΣ ΣΝΑΥ ΤΑΨΕΕΡΕ· ΕΙΤΕ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΖΜΠΧΩΚ  
 ΝΤΚΕΡΟΜΠΕ ΑΥΘΝΤ̄Σ̄ ΕΣΟ ΜΜΜΑΥ Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ ΣΝΑΥ· ΑΣΤ̄Ν̄ΝΟΥΣΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΤΡΕϞΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ· ΖΩΣ ΕΖΕΝ†ΟΥΩ ΝΝΕϞΨΛΗΛΕ·

17. Many other deeds were performed by the man of God, who truly glorifies God, our father Apa Apollo. If I wanted to tell them one by one, I would die uttering them. In fact, it is impossible for me to say them, as it is impossible to anyone to count the stars and to count the rest of the things God has created.<sup>224</sup> But is it necessary to do this before you, before faithful Christians ?<sup>225</sup> These are signs that belong to the faithless and those who do not believe, as the great Paul said.<sup>226</sup> This gift too was granted by God to our blessed father through the perfection of his virtues that he might know things that were to happen before they happened. Things that happened in far-off countries, he would see them in the spirit, as he too had the spirit of the prophets, and utter them to those with him to the glory of God who revealed them to him. Once he was told: "The patriarch Severus has to<sup>227</sup> come and pray in your monastery."<sup>228</sup> And this happened. The light of Severus shone. The righteous one was in a different region.<sup>229</sup> The one who saw, Samuel, came, and David

224 Ν̄ΝΤΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ . . . : read Ν̄ΝΕΝΤΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ . . .

225 I take this to be a rhetorical question, highlighting the difference between that faithful and the unfaithful mentioned in the following sentence. ΟΥΝΤΕ- should read ΟΥΝ-

226 *I Cor.* 14, 22

227 The verb ΖΑΠΙΣ (CD 696a) seems to imply obligation rather than compulsion.

228 Severus (465-538) spent three periods of his life in Egypt: the first, as a student in Alexandria, just after 485; the second, in 518, when he was warned by Theodora that Justinian wanted to arrest him and remove his tongue; the third, in 536, again to escape, with the help of Theodora, from an arrest warrant issued by Justinian. In the final period he seems to have enjoyed the hospitality of Dorotheus at Sakha (Central Nile Delta) until his death in 538. He was patriarch from 512 onwards, either to his first flight in 518 or his death in 538, according to ecclesiastical politics.

229 Here the foreign word κλίμα and a little later the Coptic ΤΟΥ.

was in the field. Moses went to Aaron.<sup>230</sup> The patriarch Severus came, and Saint Apollo was in a different region. Thus, this one<sup>231</sup> prayed wearing a foreign monastic habit. He set out. Our father knew of this. At that moment he went to meet him. The saints know the way of the saints. The harts met each other.<sup>232</sup> The image of the prophets, the stamp of the apostles, the patriarch said to our father: "You are Apollo, the one who is worthy of the fruition of the saints. Indeed, when I was in Antioch, I saw the light<sup>233</sup> of your prayers and your conduct rising to heaven in glory towards the Lord. I therefore came to the winepress of the just,<sup>234</sup> and its fruits were ready for the winepress of just, blessed by the Lord forever." When our father prostrated himself at his holy feet and asked him to return and spend the rest of his days in the monastery with him, the patriarch entreated<sup>235</sup> him: "The time of my release has drawn near and I am hastening to my dwelling place, the place in which I will settle, away from<sup>236</sup> the burden of my body." In this way, therefore, they embraced each other, and Severus set off on his way, while our father returned to his monastery in great joy over his enjoyment of the person of Christ,<sup>237</sup> Saint Severus. I have made my way to a great sea, that is, the life of this admirable saint and great beacon. I do not know how I am to cross the wave of his holy virtues.<sup>238</sup> So I will assume the form of small boys unable to swim, who enjoy themselves perfectly at the water's edge. Accordingly, as I am unable to reach the heights of the encomia<sup>239</sup> that are fitting to the perfection of the prophet, this apostle and martyr, I will pass over or leave behind me the rest of his extraordinary deeds and we will come to the end of his blessedness, by means of which he is safely moored in the harbour of heaven. If every measure is acceptable to God,<sup>240</sup> according to the wise Solomon, they are certainly acceptable to men of God also. And lest anyone think that I have been at a loss in the honours befitting his holiness, having structured the speech in this way, the things that we have said will suffice as proof enough for the right-

230 *I Kg.* 16, 1ff, in which the prophet Samuel 'comes' to find a new king, who turns out to be David. at that moment tending a flock of sheep. Also *Ex.* 4, 14ff., in which Aaron is chosen to be the spokesman of Moses.

231 The Gk μέν . . . δέ construction, with similar wording, is used when juxtaposing the two saints a few lines later in the departure scene, in both cases και referring to Severus.

232 *Is.* 34, 15 (LXX)

233 The literal rendering of ΝΕΙΨΟΟΠ ΖΗΤΑΝΤΟΧΙΑ ΤΗΝΑΥ ΕΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ is 'I was in Antioch. I see the light' seems to be the sort of paratactic construction so often used in speech, and it may be a faithful record of what was actually said. I understand the whole to mean that Severus became aware of Apollo when he was still at Antioch and now that he is Egypt, he feels obliged to visit him.

234 An allusion to *John* 15, 1 or *Rev.* 19, 15 perhaps ?

235 In the sense perhaps of polite refusal.

236 For ΝΤΕ- cf. *CD* 427a

237 ΠΕΠΡΟCΩΠΟΝ ΜΠΕΧ̄C: whether this is meant as a 'statement' of monoprosopic orthodoxy I cannot say.

238 Expression of authorial self-doubt is usually found at the beginning of texts such as this.

239 ΝΝΕΝΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ makes better sense

240 *Prov.* 11, 1

minded faithful of what I have not said. Similarly I will set out a reliable proof for those who think in this way. So the one who wishes to know the greatness of the achievements of our father in fact and not only in word, it is possible for him to know these portions from the things that he sees. For if they know God by His creations, as the Apostle says, <sup>241</sup>and if they know the tree by its fruits,<sup>242</sup>according to the voice of God. If, according to what other wise men say, the man is known by his children,<sup>243</sup> know for certain the greatness of Apollo from the fruits of his uprightness. For if our father had not made the effort, the Lord would not have granted him this beloved community. Strength in this way is made manifest where there are many children.

17. ΖΕΝΚΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΝΑΨΩΟΥ ΕΝΕΦΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΒΙΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΑΥΩ ΠΡΕΦΤΕΟΟΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝΟΥΜΕ ΠΕΝΙΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ· ΝΑΙ ΕΙΨΑΝΟΥΨΩ ΕΧΟΟΥ· ΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ· ΠΕΥΟΕΙΨ ΜΠΑΩΝΖ̄ ΝΑΚΑΤ ΕΧΩ ΕΙΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ ΟΥΑΤΒΟΜ ΝΑΙΠΕ ΕΧΟΟΥ· ΝΘΕ ΕΤΕΟΥΖΩΒ ΝΝΑΤΒΟΜΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΟΥΑ ΨΠ ΝΝΕΣΙΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΦΧΙΗΠΕ ΜΠΚΕΣΕΕΠΕ Ν̄ΝΤΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΑΜΙΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΝΤΕΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΝΝ̄ΡΠΑΙ ΝΝΑΖΡ̄Ν̄ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν̄ ΝΝΑΖΡ̄Ν̄ΝΜΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΧΡΙΣΤ̄ΑΝΟΣ· ΝΕΙΜΑΕΙΝ ΝΑΝΕΑΠΙΣΤΟΣΝΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝΑΝΝΕΤΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΑΝΝΕ ΚΑΤΑΘΕ ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ Ν̄ΒΙΠΝΟΒ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ· ΠΕΙΚΕΖΜΟΤ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΜΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΖΙΤΝΤΜΝΤΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΝΝΕΦΑΡΕΤΗ· ΖΩΣΤΕ ΕΤΡΕΦΕΙΜΕ ΕΝΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΑΤΟΥΨΩΠΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΝΤΑΨΩΠΕ ΟΝ ΖΝΝΕΧΩΡΑ ΕΤΟΥΗΥ ΝΕΦΘΕΩΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΜΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Ᾱ ΕῩΝ̄ΤΑΦ ΜΜΑΥ ΖΩΨΦ ΜΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Ᾱ ΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ· ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΨΤΑΨΟ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΝΕΤΖΑΖΤΗΦ ΕΥΕΟΟΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΤΒΩΛΠ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΑΦ ΕΒΟΛ· ΝΕΑΥΤΟΥΝΕΙΑΤΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΝ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΧΕΖΑΠΙΣΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ ΕΙ Ν̄ΨΛΗΛ ΖΜΠΕΚΤΟΠΟΣ· ΑΥΩ ΠΑΙ ΑΦΨΩΠΕ· ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ ΑΦΨΑ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡΕΠΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΖΝΚΕΚΛΗΜΑ· ΠΕΤΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΣΑΜΟΥΗΛ ΑΦΕΙ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΦΨΟΟΠ ΖΝΤΨΩΨΕ ΝΒΙΔ̄ᾹΔ̄· ΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΝΕΦΤΟΥΟΙ ΝΣΑΑΡΩΝ· ΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ ΑΦΕΙ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡΕΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΖΝΚΕΤΟΥ· ΝΤΕΙΖΕΒΕ ΟΥΝ ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΑΦΨΛΗΛ ΖΝΟΥΣΧΗΜΑ ΜΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΝΨΗΜΜΟ· ΑΦΤΑΑΦ ΕΤΕΖΙΗ· ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΔΕ ΜΠΕΠΑΙ ΖΩΠ ΕΡΟΦ· ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ

---

241 *Rom.* 1, 21

242 *Matt.* 12, 33

243 *Eccl.* 11, 23

ΑΡΠΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΡΑΤΩ ΣΕΣΟΟΥΝ ΝΒΙΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΤΕΖΙΗ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΝΙΕΙΟΥΑ  
 ΝΝΟΒ ΑΥΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ· ΘΙΚΩΝ ΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ· ΠΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ ΝΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡΕΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΧΕΝΤΟΚΠΕ ΠΕΤΜΠΩΑ  
 ΝΤΑΠΟΛΛΑΥΣΙΣ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΟΝΤΩΣ ΧΕΝΕΙΩΟΠ ΖΝΤΑΝΪΟΧΙΑ ΪΝΑΥ ΕΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ  
 ΝΝΕΚΩΛΗΛ· ΜΝΝΕΚΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ ΕΥΠΗΤ ΕΠΧΙΣΕ ΝΝΜΠΗΥΕ ΖΝΟΥΘΕΟΟΥ ΨΑΠΧΟΕΙΣ·  
 ΑΙΠΩΤΒΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΖΡΩΤ ΝΝΕΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΡΕΝΕΚΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ  
 ΖΝΤΕΖΡΩΤ ΝΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ· ΕΥΣΜΑΜΑΑΤ ΖΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΨΑΕΝΕΖ· ΖΜΠΤΡΕΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΖΤΩ  
 ΕΧΝΝΕΚΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΥΩ ΝΪΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΩ ΕΤΡΕΚΚΤΟΩ ΝΪΡΠΩΧΠ  
 ΜΠΕΖΟΥΪ ΖΑΖΤΗΩ ΖΜΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΕΡΕΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΖΩΩΩ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ  
 ΧΕΑΠΕΥΘΕΙΨ ΜΠΑΒΩΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ· ΑΥΩ ΪΒΕΠΗ ΕΜΟΘΩΕ ΕΤΡΑΠΩΖ  
 ΕΠΜΑΝΒΟΙΛΕ· ΠΜΑ ΕΪΝΑΟΥΩΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΧΩΩ ΝΤΕΤΠΩ ΜΠΑΣΩΜΑ· ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΟΥΝ  
 ΖΜΠΤΡΕΥΑΣΠΑΖΕ ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΠΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΑΪΤΑΑΩ ΕΤΕΖΙΗ· ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΔΕ ΑΪΚΤΟΩ  
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΖΝΟΥΝΟΒ ΝΡΑΨΕ· ΕΧΝΤΒΙΝΑΠΟΛΛΑΥΕ ΜΠΕΠΡΟΣΟΠΩΝ  
 ΜΠΕΧ̄Σ ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ· ΑΪΪ ΜΠΑΟΥΟΙ ΕΥΝΟΒ ΜΠΕΛΑΓΟΣ ΕΤΕΠΒΙΟΣΠΕ  
 ΜΠΕΙΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΤΖΑΨΠΗΡΕ· ΜΠΕΙΝΟΒ Ν̄ΡΕΚ̄ΡΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΪΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕΝΑΨ  
 Ν̄ΖΕ ΕΙΝΑΨΪΑΠΕΡΑ ΜΠΖΟΕΙΜ ΝΝΕΚΑΡΕΤΗ· ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΪΝΑΧΙ ΝΑΙ  
 ΜΠΕΣΜΟΤ ΝΝΩΗΡΕ ΚΟΥΙ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕΝΣΕΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΝΝΗΗΪΕ·  
 ΕΨΑΥΧΕΚΤΕΥΑΠΟΛΛΑΥΣΙΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΖΤΝΝΕΚΡΩΟΥ ΝΝΕΙΕΡΩΟΥ· ΚΑΤΑΪΖΕ ΖΩΩΤ ΟΝ  
 ΖΩΣ ΕΜΝΒΟΝ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΠΩΖ ΕΠΧΙΣΕ ΝΝΕΚΕΝΓΩΜΙΟΝ ΕΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΕΤΜΝΤΤΕΛΙΟΣ  
 ΜΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ· ΠΕΙΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ· ΠΕΙΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ· ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΪΝΑΠΑΡΕΛΘΕ Η  
 ΪΝΑΚΩ ΝΣΩΙ ΜΠΩΧΠ ΝΝΕΚΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΤΖΑΨΠΗΡΕ· ΝΤΝΕΙ ΕΧΜΠΧΩΚ  
 ΝΤΕΚΜΝΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ· ΤΑΙ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤ̄ ΝΤΑΪΜΟΟΝΕ ΕΠΛΙΜΗΝ ΝΤΠΕ· ΕΨΧΕ ΓΑΡ ΨΙ  
 ΝΙΜ ΣΟΤΠ Ν̄ΝΑΖΡΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΑΤΑΠΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΣΟΦΟΣ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ· ΣΕΣΟΤΠ ΟΝ  
 ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΝΝΑΖΡΝΝΗΚΕΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΑΥΩ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕΟΥΑ ΜΕΕΥΕ  
 ΧΕΝΤΑΙΑΠΟΡΕΙ ΖΝΝΕΤΑΕΙΟ ΕΤΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΝΤΕΚΖΑΓΙΟΣΥΝΗ· ΕΑΙΣΧΗΜΑΤΙΖΕ ΜΠΨΑΧΕ  
 Ν̄ΤΕΙΖΕ· ΣΕΡΩΨΕ ΝΝΑΖΡ̄ΝΝΜΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΕΥΓΝΩΜΟΝ ΝΒΙΝΕΝΤΑΝΧΟΟΥ  
 ΕΥΑΠΟΔΗΖΙΣ ΝΝΕΤΕΜΠΕΙΧΟΟΥ· ΖΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΪΝΑΚΩ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΝΟΥΑΠΟΔΗΖΙΣ ΕΣΟ  
 ΝΖΟΤ ΝΝΑΖΡ̄ΝΝΕΤΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ· ΠΕΤΟΥΩΨΒΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΕΣΟῩΝ̄ΜΜΝΤΝΟΒ

ΝΝΕΚΑΤΟΡΘΩΜΑ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΖΜΠΖΩΒ· ΑΥΩ ΖΜΠΩΑΧΕ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΑΝ· ΕΞΕΣΤΕΙ ΝΑΪ  
 ΕΝΟΙ ΕΝΕΙΑΠΟΜΕΡΟΥΣ· ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΝΕΤ̄ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΨΧΕ ΕΥΣΟΟΥΝ ΓΑΡ  
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝΝΕΪΤΑΜΙΟ· ΚΑΤΑΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΕΨΧΕ ΨΑΥΣΟῩΝ̄ΠΩΗΝ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΪΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΤΕΪΦΩΝΗ ΝΤΟΪ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΑΥΩ ΕΨΧΕ ΚΑΤΑΨΑΧΕ  
 ΝΚΕΣΟΦΟΣ ΕΨΑΥΣΟῩΝ̄ΠΡΩΜΕ ΖΝΝΕΪΨΗΡΕ· ΟΥΚΟΥΝ ΝΟΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΤΜΝΤΝΟΘ  
 ΝΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΖΝΝΕΚΑΡΠΟΣ Ν̄ΤΕΪΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ· ΝΣΑΒΗΛ ΓΑΡ ΧΕΛΪΨΠΖΙΣΕ  
 ΝΒΙΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ· ΝΕΡΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΑΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΪ ΑΝ Μ̄ΠΕΙΣΨΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΨΟΥΜΕΡΙΤ̄·  
 ΕΨΑΡΕΤΘΟΜ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΟΥΩΝ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΡΕΖΑΖ Ν̄ΓΕΝΕΜΑ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄·

18. Lift up your eyes and see this angel-like camp, this host of spiritual soldiers pursuing their opponents.<sup>244</sup> They were not filling their belly irrationally, but like reasonable people they were taking just enough to satisfy the requirements of nature. See them put their concealed opponents<sup>245</sup> down by destroying their water stores, which means suppressing the body,<sup>246</sup> as the great Severus said, and seize that lamp of reason, as they prepare to meet the bride who belongs to heaven. For you will find among them elders who have overcome the feebleness of their grey hair, running out of the stadium of virtue,<sup>247</sup> young men who have defeated the wicked, of the sort that have received instruction from the crown of Christ, young boys who have, since they were children, been brought up in the purity of the angels. If you see these, turn your face to the north and see this 'place of virgins',<sup>248</sup> which is not weaker than these in strength of virtue, I mean the number of miracles of those virgins who struggled to generate for themselves the impassibility of the bodiless. See for yourself the number of sacrifices made by those who made their home with the Lord in his second monastery from the day when they became increasingly firmer, the chorus of martyrs who became sacrificial offerings for the Lord and who were like valuable<sup>249</sup> precious stones set in a beautiful crown. Have you come to know the greatness of the one whom we are honouring? Have you seen the beauty of this spiritual tree that has flourished in the channels of the living waters, the one who was not afraid of the scorching heat<sup>250</sup> of the heretics who descended upon him, the one who yielded the fruit of his maturity, I mean his life. And then, in

244 ΝΕΜΑΝΤΙΝΝΑΙΟΣ: perhaps for ΝΕΥΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΣ. Based on one of Kuhn's suggestions

245 ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ: perhaps for ΑΝΤΙΠΑΛΟΣ, Kuhn's suggestion.

246 *1 Cor.* 9, 27. The passage in Severus cannot be identified.

247 *1 Cor.* 9, 24.

248 ΠΑΡΘΕΝΕΩΝ: probably intentionally gen. pl. The term παρθενών (Lampe p.. 1040b) means 'convent' (for women).

249 ΠΟΛΗΜΙΤΟΝ probably for ΠΟΛΗΤΙΜΟΝ.

250 A Greco-Copticism along the lines of ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ.

God, his fruit-bearing began to perished through the grace of the sower of the good seed, Our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>251</sup> If He promised this to the sons of Ionadab<sup>252</sup> in the Old Testament,<sup>253</sup> then how much more is He going to promise His presence to the sons of grace ! And so, even if we had said nothing to honout our father, the deeds would announce his excellence. For I have not written this as if I were telling the story of his life. I am not capable of a subject of this sort. I have done it as if I were carrying out this apostolic injunction. which says: "Remember your greatnesses."<sup>254</sup>For the one we honour is truly great on earth and in heaven. There is no-one greater than the one who fears the Lord, as it is written.<sup>255</sup> As therefore he is a great one in this way entirely, the president of the games in heaven, God, brought him to another exercise of the virtues so that the excellence of the victor might reveal the type of noble champions to whom great contests accrue. You have the proof of this with Paul and Job, who have been victorious in these contests. So do not be surprised when you hear that the saints too have been ill. Let Paul convince you when he says about him and those who resemble him in excellence: "Whereas the outer man will perish, the inner man will be renewed."<sup>256</sup>

18. ϸΙ Ν̄ΝΕΚΒΑΛ ΕΖΡΑΙ Ν̄ΓΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΙΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΗ ΝΖΙΣΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΠΕΙΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ  
 ΝΝΖΟΠΛΙΣΤΗΣ ΝΝΟΗΤΟΣ· ΕΥΠΗΤ ΝΣΑΝΕΜΑΝΤΙΝΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΤΖΗΠ· ΝΕΥΤΣΙΟ ΑΝ  
 ΝΤΚΑΛΖΗ ΖΝΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΛΟΓΟΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΖΩΣ ΛΟΓΙΚΟΣ ΕΥΧΙ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΜΜΑΤΕ  
 ΕΤΒΕΤΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΝΤΕΦΥΣΙΣ· ΑΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΥΤΑΥΟ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΝΝΕΥΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ  
 ΕΘΗΠ· ΖΙΤΝΤΒΙΝΟΥΩΩΠ ΝΘΥΔΡΙΑ ΕΤΕΤΒΙΝΩΒΕ ΜΠΣΩΜΑΠΕ· ΚΑΤΑΘΕ Ν̄ΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ  
 ΝΒΙΠΝΟΒ ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ· ΜΝΤΕΥΒΙΝΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΝΤΛΑΜΠΑΣ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΝΕΥΛΟΓΙΚΗ· ΕΥΣΟΦΤΕ  
 ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΑΠΑΝΤΗ ΜΠΝΥΜΦΙΟΣ ΕΤΗΠ ΕΤΠΕ· ΚΝΑΒΙΝΕ ΓΑΡ ΖΝΝΑΙ ΕΝΖΕΝΖΑΛΟ  
 ΕΑΥΖΩΜ ΕΧΕΝΤΑΣΘΕΝΙΑ ΝΝΕΥΣΚΙΜ ΕΥΠΗΤ ΖΜΠΕΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕΤΗ· ΖΝΖΡ̄ΩΙΡΕ  
 ΕΑΥΧΡΟ ΕΠΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ· ΝΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΝΕΤΕϸ†ΣϸΩ ΝΑΥ ΝΒΙΠΕΚΛΟΜ Μ̄ΠΕΧ̄·  
 ΖΕΝΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΜ ΕΑΥΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΧΙΝΕΥΟ ΝΚΟΥΙ ΖΜΠΤ̄ΒΒΟ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ· ΕΩΧΕ  
 ΑΚΘΕΩΡΕΙ ΝΝΑΙ ΚΤΟ ΜΠΕΚΖΟ ΕΠΣΑ ΜΠ̄Μ̄ΖΙΤ Ν̄ΓΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΙΚΕΠΑΡΘΕΝΕΩΝ  
 ΕΝϸΒΟΧΒ ΑΝ ΕΝΑΙ ΖΝΤΜΝΤΧΩΡΕ ΝΤΑΡΕΤΗ· ΕΙΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΑΩΗ ΝΝΕΩΠΗΡΕ

---

251 *Matth.* 13, 37

252 *Jer.* 35, 18-19 (LXX). There seems to be little consensus among Biblical scholars about the structure of the book.

253 The term does not occur in LSJ or Lampe, so my translation is only a guess.

254 *Heb.* 13, 7

255 *Sirach* 10, 24

256 *2 Cor.* 4, 16

ΝΝΕΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ· ΝΑΙ ΕΤΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ ΕΧΠΟ ΝΑΥ ΝΤΗΝΤΑΠΑΘΗΣ  
 ΝΝΑΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ· ΑΝΑΥ ΝΑΚ ΕΤΑΩΗ ΝΝΕΘΥΣΙΑ ΗΤΑΥΑΠΟΔΗΜΕΙ ΨΑΠΧΟΕΙΣ·  
 ΖΜΠΕΦCΝΑΥ ΗΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΧΙΝΠΕΖΟΥ ΝΤΑΥCΜΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΥ· ΝΖΟΥΟ ΝΖΟΥΟ  
 ΠΕΧΩΡΟΣ ΝΝΗΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ· ΝΤΑΥΩΠΕ ΝΖΟΛΟΚΑΥΤΩΜΑ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΑΙ ΕΤΤ̄ΝΤΩΝ  
 ΕΖΕΝΩΝΕ ΜΜΕ ΜΠΟΛΗΜΙΤΟΝ ΖΗΤΜΗΗΤΕ ΝΝΟΥΚΛΟΜ ΕΝΕCΩΦ· ΑΡΑ ΤΕΝΟΥ  
 ΑΚCΟῩΝΤΜΗΝΤΝΟC Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄ΝΤΑΕΙΟ ΜΜΟΦ· ΑΚΘΕΩΡΕΙ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΜΠCΑ Μ̄ΠΕΙΩΗΝ  
 Μ̄Π̄Ν̄ΙΚ̄Ο̄Ν· ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΡΩΤ ΖΙΧΝΗΜΜΑΝΖΑΤΕ ΝΝΗΜΜΟΥ ΕΤΟΝ̄· ΠΑΙ  
 ΕΤΕΜΠΕΦ̄ΡΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΦ ΜΠΩΑΡΒΑ ΜΠΚΑΥΜΑ ΝΝΖΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟC ΝΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΧΩΦ· ΠΑΙ  
 ΝΤΑΦ̄ ΜΠΕΦΚΑΡΠΟC ΖΜΠΕΦΟΥΘΕΙΩ· ΕΤΕΠΑΙΠΕ ΖΜΠΕΦΩΝ̄· ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΖΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΝΕΦΩΧ̄Ν ΕΦΤΑΥΕΚΑΡΠΟC ΕΒΟΛ· ΖΙΤΝΤΕΧΑΡΙC ΜΠΡΕΦΧΟ ΜΠΕΘΡΗC ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΦ·  
 ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ῙC ΠΕΧ̄C· ΕΨΧΕ ΑΦΕΡΗΤ ΓΑΡ Μ̄ΠΑΙ ΝΝΕΨΗΡΕ ΝΝΙΩΝΑΔΑΒ  
 ΖΗΤΠΑΛΕΟΓΡΑΦΗ· ΠΟCΟ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΦΝΑΡ̄ΠΑΙ ΝΝΕΨΗΡΕ Ν̄ΤΕΧΑΡΙC ΝΤΕΦΠΑΡΡΟΥCΙΑ·  
 ΖΩCΘΕ ΟΥΝ ΚΑΝ Μ̄ΠΕΝΧΕΛΑΑΥ ΖΟΛΩC ΕΠΤΑΕΙΟ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ· ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΤΑΨΕΘΕΙΩ  
 Ν̄ΤΕΦΜΗΝΤCΩΤΠ· ΟΥΔΕ ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΤΑΙCΖΑΙ ΝΝΑΙ ΑΝ ΖΩC ΕΙΖΙCΤΩΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΚ ΜΠΕΦΒΙΟC·  
 ΝΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΖΙΚΑΝΟC ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΝΝΑΖΡ̄Ν̄ΤΕΙΖΥΠΟΘΕCΙC ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ· ΑΛΛΑ ΑΙΡ̄ΠΑΙ ΖΩC  
 ΕΙΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΟΥΕΖCΑΖΝΕ ΜΠΑΙ ΝΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΙΚΟΝ· ΠΑΙ ΕΤΧΩ ΜΜΟC  
 ΧΕΑΡΙΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΝΕΤΗΝΝΟC· ΟΥΝΟC ΓΑΡ ΑΛΗΘΩC ΖΗΤΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΖΙΧΜΠΚΑΖΠΕ  
 ΠΕΤ̄ΝΤΑΕΙΟ ΜΜΟΦ· ΜΗΠΕΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΝΝΟC ΕΠΕΤ̄ΡΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΦ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC·  
 ΚΑΤΑΠΕΤCΗΖ· ΖΩC ΟΥΝ ΟΥΝΟCΠΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΤΗΡC· ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΑΠΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗC  
 ΕΤΖΗΤΠΕ ΕΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕΠΕ ΕΝΤ̄ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΚΕΝΟC ΝΚΥΜΝΑCΙΟΝ ΝΑΡΕΤΗ· ΧΕΚΑC  
 ΕΡΕΤΜΗΝΤCΩΤΠ̄ ΜΠΡΕΦΧΙΚΛΟΜ ΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕCΜΟΤ ΝΖΕΝΓΕΝΝΑΙΟC  
 ΝΨΟΕΙΧ· ΕΨΑΥΟΥΩΖ ΕΡΟΟῩ ΝΖΕΝΝΟC ΝΑΓΩΝ· ΟΥΝΤΑΚ ΜΜΑΥ Ν̄ΤΑΠΟΔΗΖΙC ΜΠΑΙ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Π̄ΑΥΛΟC ΜΝΙΩΒ· ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΥΧΡΟ ΖΗΝΝΕΙΑΘΛΟΝ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ· ΖΩCΤΕ ΟΥΝ  
 ΜΠ̄Ρ̄ΨΠΗΕ ΕΚCΩΤ̄Μ̄ ΧΕΑΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΟΥΝ ΨΩΝΕ ΖΩΟΥ· ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΡΕΦΙΘΕ ΜΜΟΚ  
 ΝΒΙΠΑΥΛΟC ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΕΤΒΗΗΤ̄ ΜΝΝΕΤΕΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΖΗΤΜΗΝΤCΩΤΠ̄·  
 ΧΕΕΝΖΟCΟΝ ΠΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΖΙΒΟΛ ΝΑΤΑΚΟ· ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΤΖΙΖΟΥΝ ΝΑΡ̄Β̄Ρ̄ΡΕ·

19. The same sort of thing happened to our father Apa Apollo, whether through the labours of asceticism or

as an affliction imposed on him by the Lord. He became gravely ill. When his insides were attacked, he continued to cough blood and phlegm for the rest of his days. So, he was ill in this way, and his illness was for others a source of healing. One day, while sitting and talking to believers who had come to receive blessing from him, there was one of them who had an affliction. O the spittle that came from the mouth of the saint ! O the illness that made the healer of the illness of another ! For the illness began to oppress our father to produce for such people spittle that became holy as soon as it fell to the earth. For the one who was ill seized it in complete hope and swallowed it. At once, the grace of faith became a cure for the one who believed through the agency of the holy spittle. And in this way the person was cured. The saint, however, continued in his illness. Indeed, the illness was becoming more serious, and he then started to prepare himself for the way to heaven. His brothers were distressed about him, knowing that nothing would be able to console the loss of such a father. The blessed man kept consoling<sup>257</sup> their grief, with words such as: "Why are you weeping and making yourselves faint-hearted ? For even if it is important to you that I remain in my body, it is preferable to me that I depart to be with the Lord.<sup>258</sup> For the dwelling-place of those who rejoice is preferable to that of Kedar.<sup>259</sup> The land of the living is better than the land of darkness and the shadow of death.<sup>260</sup> Do not let your heart be troubled or weak. The one who has promised to be with us all at all times until the end of time,<sup>261</sup> Our divine Saviour, is the one who has prepared and confirmed you and gives you strength and foundation forever.<sup>262</sup> If only you continue in the laws and your traditions, which I have expounded to you and which I have taken from the laws of the first father of the community, Apa Pachomius,<sup>263</sup> which have further been strengthened by the maker of neophytes and legislator, Apa Shenoute. Before and above<sup>264</sup> all, keep the apostolic faith scrupulously without infringing it in any way, this for the sake of which I have come here and this which I will take with me intact<sup>265</sup> when I depart from this life. If you do<sup>266</sup> these things, you will never falter.<sup>267</sup> I, when fighting in the good fight, completed my course and

---

257 παραμυθέομαι

258 *Phil.* 1, 23ff.

259 *Ps.* 119, 5ff.

260 *Ps.* 26, 13ff. and *Is.* 9, 2: combined allusion.

261 *Matth.* 28, 20

262 *1 Pet.* 5, 10

263 I take this to mean Pachomius as the one who first instituted cenobitic life.

264 **ⲁⲚⲛ**: here it has to be a variant of **ⲉⲁⲛ**, but in the next line it means 'without'.

265 Translates **ⲉⲥⲠⲟⲩⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ**.

266 The Circumstantial of the Coptic translates the Greek Present Participle **ⲡⲟⲓⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉⲥ** .

267 *2 Pet.* 1, 10

perfected my faith.<sup>268</sup> It is good for me to go to the one I believe in and take him to myself in perfection. Be strong and let your heart be firm and endure for the Lord, knowing that the one who endures will be saved, in accordance with the promise of the Lord."<sup>269</sup> With all this and similar statements, the saint continued to mitigate the severity of the misfortune happening to them because of him, as he saw himself approaching his departure from them.

19. ΠΕΙΣΜΟΤ ΟΥΝ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΑΦΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ· ΚΑΝ  
 ΖΙΤΗΝΕΖΙΣΕ ΝΤΑΣΚΗCΙC· ΚΑΝ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΜΗ ΝΑΦ ΖΙΤΗΠΧΟΕΙC· ΑΦΖΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΥΝΟC  
 ΝΑΝΑCΘΕΝΙΑ· ΖΜΠΤΡΕΠΕΦCΑΝΖΟΥΝ ΠΛΗΓΗ· ΕΑΦΘΩ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΕΦΝΕΧCΝΟΦ ΕΖΡΑΙ·  
 ΖΙΠΛΕΧΜΑ ΜΠCΕΕΠΕ ΝΝΕΦΖΟΟΥ· ΝΕΦΩΦΝΕCΘΕ ΖΜΠΕΙΤΥΠΟC ΝΕΡΕΠΕΦΩΦΝΕ ΔΕ  
 ΟΝ ΦΟΟΠ Ν̄ΤΑΛΒΟ Ν̄ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ· ΕΦΖΜΟΟC ΓΑΡ ΝΟΥΖΟΟΥ ΕΦΩΑΧΕ  
 ΜΝΖΕΝΡΩΦΜΕ ΜΠΙCΤΟC ΕΑΥΕΙ ΕΡΟΦ ΕΧΙCΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ̄· ΝΕΥΕΝΟΥΑ ΔΕ  
 ΟΝ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΡΕΟΥΠΑΘΟC ΝΦΩΦΝΕ ΝΜΜΑΦ· Ω ΠΤΦ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΝΤΑΦΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΝΤΤΑΠΡΟ ΜΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ Ω ΠΦΩΦΝΕ ΝΤΑΦ̄ΡΕΦΤΑΛΒΟ ΜΦΩΦΝΕ ΝΚΕΟΥΑ· ΠΦΩΦΝΕ  
 ΓΑΡ ΝΕΦΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΕ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΑΥΟ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΕΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΟΥΤΕΒ ΕΦΟΥΑΑΒΠΕ·  
 CΧΕΔΩΝ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ Ν̄ΤΑΦΖΕ ΕΧΜΠΚΑΖ· ΑΠΕΤΦΩΦΝΕ ΒΟΠΦ ΖΝΟΥΖΕΛΠΙC ΕCΧΗΚ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΑΦΟΥΟΜ̄· ΑΥΩ ΖΝΟΥΦΠ̄ΝΦΩΠ ΑΤΕΧΑΡΙC ΝΤΠΙCΤΙC ΦΩΠΕ Ν̄ΤΑΛΒΟ  
 ΜΠΕΤΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΖΙΤ̄ΜΠΤΕΦ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΑΥΩ ΠΑΙ ΑΦΤΑΛΒΟ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ·  
 ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΔΕ ΝΕΦΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΦΩΦΝΕ· ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΦ ΝΕΦΝΗΥ Ν̄ΡΟΦ  
 ΕΧΩΦ ΝΒΙΠΦΩΦΝΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΦCΟΦΤΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΕΤΕΖΙΗ ΝΝ̄ΜΠΗΥΕ·  
 ΝΕΡΕΝΕCΝΗΥ ΜΟΖ̄ ΝΖΗΤ ΕΤΒΗΗΤ̄· ΕΥCΟΟΥΝ ΧΕΠΦΩΦΤ ΝΟΥΕΙΩΤ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ  
 ΜΝΛΑΑΥ ΝΑΦΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ· ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤCΜΑΜΑΑΤ· ΝΕΦΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΙΖΕ  
 ΝΤΑΥΠΕΙ ΖΝΖΕΝΦΑΧΕ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ· ΧΕΛΖΡΩΤ̄Ν ΤΕΤ̄ΝΡΙΜΕ· ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤ̄Ν†ΜΝ̄Τ̄ΒΑΦΖΗΤ  
 ΜΠΕΤ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΩΤ̄Ν· ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΦΧΕ ΟΥΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ ΝΗΤΝΤΕ ΤΑΒΙΝΘΩ  
 ΖΝΤCΑΡΖ· ΑΛΛΑ CCΟΤΠ ΝΑΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΝΒΙΤ̄ΒΙΝΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΦΩΠΕ ΜΠΠΧΟΕΙC· ΦCΟΤΠ  
 ΓΑΡ ΝΒΙΠΜΑΝΦΩΠΕ ΝΝΕΤΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ ΕΖΟΥΕ ΠΜΑΝΦΩΠΕ ΝΚΗΔΑΡ· ΑΥΩ ΝΑΝΟΥC  
 ΝΒΙΤΕΧΩΡΑ Ν̄ΝΕΤΟΝ̄Ζ ΕΖΟΥΕΤΕΧΩΡΑ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ· ΜΝΘΑΙΒC̄ ΜΠΜΟΥ·

<sup>268</sup> 2 *Tim.* 4, 7: 3rd verb in the Sahidic NT is *ζαρεζ*.

<sup>269</sup> *Matth.* 10, 22. Lit. 'in accordance with his promise, he the Lord.'

ΜΠῚΡΤΡΕΠΕΤῚΗΤ ΨΤΟΡΤΡ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠῚΡΤΡΕΦῚῚΩΒ· ΠΕΝΤΑΦΕΡΗΤ ΓΑΡ ΕΨΩΠΕ  
 ΝΜΜΑΝ ΝΝΕΖΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΨΑΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΣΥΝΤΕΛΙΑ ΜΠΑΙΩΝ· ΕΤΕΠΕΝΣΩΤΗΡ  
 ΝΝΟΥΤΕΠΕ· ΝΤΟΦ ΠΕΤΝΑΣῚΤΩΤΤΗΥΤΝ· ΝῚΤΑΧΡΕΤΗΥΤῚ· ΝΦῚῚΟΜ ΝΗΤῚ  
 ΝῚῚῚΝΤΕ ΝΗΤῚ ΨΑΝΙΕΝΕΖ· ΜΟΝΟΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΨΑΝΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΩΤΤΗΥΤΝ  
 ΖΝΝΕΝΟΜΟΣ· ΜΝΝΕΤΝΠΑΡΑΔΟCΙC ΝΤΑΙΚΑΑΥ ΖΝΤΕΤῚΜΗΤΕ· ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΙΧΙΤΟΥ ΖΩ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤῚΝΝΕΝΟΜΟΣ ΜΠΨΟΡΠ ΝΝΙΩΤ ΝΤΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΟΜΟ· ΝΑΙ ΟΝ  
 ΝΤΑΦΒΕΒΑΙΟΥ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝῚΠΡΕΦΕΙΡΕ ῚΠΕΙΤΩῚΕ ΝΒῚῚΡΕ ΠΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΗC ΑΠΑ  
 ΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ· ΖΑΘΗ ῚΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ· ΑΥΩ ΑΧΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ· ΖΑΡΕΖ ΖΝΟΥΑΚΡΙΒΙΑ ΕΤΠΙCΤΙC  
 ΝΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΙΚΗ· ΑΧῚΨΦῚῚC ΚΑΤΑΛΑΑΥ ῚCΜΟΤ· ΤΑΙ ΕΤΒΗΗΤῚ ΑΙΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ· ΑΥΩ ΟΝ  
 ΕΙΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΙΒΙΟC ΝΜΜΑC ΕCΟΥΟΧ ῚῚΤΟΟΤ· ΝΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΕΤΝΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ  
 ῚῚΤΕΤΝΝΑΖΕ ΑΝ· ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΖΩC ΕΙΜΙΨΕ ΖΜΠΑΓΩΝ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΦ ΑΙΧΕΚΠΠΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΝΤΠΙCΤΙC ΑΥΩ ΠΖΩΒ ΝΤΠΙCΤΙC ΑΙΧΟΚΦ ΕΒΟΛ· CCOΤΠ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΡΑΠΩΤ  
 ΖΑΖΤΝΠΕΤῚΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΦ· ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑΧΙΤΦ ΝΑΙ ΖΝΟΥΜΝΤΤΕΛΙΟC· ΧΡΟ ΑΥΩ  
 ΜΑΡΕΠΕΤΝΖΗΤ ΤΩΤ ΝΤΕΤῚΖΠΟΜΙΝΕ ΕΠΧΟΕΙC· ΕΤΕΤΝCΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ  
 ΠΕΤΝΑΖΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ ΨΑΒΟΛ ΠΑΙ ΠΕΤΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ· ΚΑΤΑΠΕΦΕΡΗΤ ΝΤΟΦ ΠΧΟΕΙC· ΖΝΝΑΙ  
 ΟΥΝ ΜΝΝΕΤΕΙΝΕ ΝΝΑΙ· ΝΕΡΕΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΚΟΥΦΙΖΕ ῚΖΗΤΟΥ ΜΠΕΖΡΩΨ  
 ΝΤCΥΜΦΩΡΑ ΕΤΖΙΧΩΟΥ ΕΤΒΗΗΤῚ· ΕΦΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΦ ΕΑΦΖΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΤῚΝΑΠΟΔΗΜΕΙ·

20. Before leaving, he asked for water and washed his face, hands and feet. He said that they should lay him beside the little well to the south. What an abundance of cures there was from that blessed water ! He also prayed for the holy community, the bread and all the needs of the monastery. Then, as everything befitting the perfection was gradually<sup>270</sup> completed on Paône 20, he took up residence in the temples of his king, Christ, to remain forever in his presence, to make himself lord in his house, not just over five or ten cities.<sup>271</sup> For this sort of dominion is that of those who are independently<sup>272</sup> safe in their city, those of the soul and

270 ΖΝΟΥΖΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΟΥΖΟΟΥ cf. CD 730a.

271 Lk. 19, 17ff.

272 ΖΑΡΙΖΑΡΟΥ (CD 634a) used three times in this paragraph, apparently to underline the independence or apartness of the monks.

those of the body, according to the storehouse of knowledge of Saint Severus.<sup>273</sup> But since our father too is a first-born, according to the grace of the birth of the spirit and according to the convocation of the saints of the community, for this reason his abode is rightly heavenly Jerusalem, the acropolis and beacon of all the cities in heaven, built and made by God,<sup>274</sup> containing tens of thousands of holy angels, the joy of the just, the festival of the church of the first-born which is written in heaven,<sup>275</sup> the one currently occupied by our father, who is enjoying the contemplation of the light of the Holy Trinity which exists in Oneness. So now, you my father and leader of souls, as you become one of them and those like them, and as you go into the veil<sup>276</sup> to be for us an ambassador with the Lord forever, remember your convent<sup>277</sup>, which you created for yourself from the beginning, this monastery in which you lived. Receive our supplications. and prayers before the one who has power, Christ, so that we the flock of your inheritance, those who live alone in the desert in the middle of Carmel,<sup>278</sup> that is, the pure life, will enjoy growth and perfect advancement in every way until we all come from the wondrous tent to the house of God, which is more than wondrous. the place where you are now with the Lord. This people too, orthodox and of the same belief, for themselves ask the Lord to preserve for them his peace full of grace and tend them with all good things. This brief discourse I have written to commemorate you, father, It is insignificant when measured against the greatness of the honours appropriate to your all-holiness, the two being as far apart as heaven is from earth. But since blessing you is a lawful obligation, and not just seven times a day,<sup>279</sup> but all our life, as long as I have been familiar with your considerate nature, in accordance with which you are a disciple of the one who did not reject the two small coins of the widow and the unguent of the woman of Bethany.<sup>280</sup> Even if my gift . . . 2 words missing . . . of/for their choice, the Lord did not reject it.<sup>281</sup> For this reason, our father, my soul will find<sup>282</sup> grace in your sight. But will you, Lord, be pleased<sup>283</sup> with what I have said, enable us those who love

---

273 Source cannot be identified.

274 *Heb.* 10, 11.

275 *Heb.* 12, 23.

276 *Heb.* 6, 9

277 **ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ.**

278 *Micah* 7, 14

279 I take this to refer to the times laid out for the performance of the Daily Office

280 *Mk.* 12, 42ff. and *Matth.* 26, 6ff.

281 I have added a pronominal object where the text has none.

282 3rd Future: **ερε . . . εσχηρισ.**

283 **ΝΙΡ̄ΖΝΑΚ:** on the independent use of the Conjunctive cf. Till *Grammatik* § 325, so I have framed my translation as a question/request.

you to do things well<sup>284</sup> and strengthen me<sup>285</sup> with your blessing and prayer. These things will be a comfort and strength to us when passing through you<sup>286</sup> from this abode and cross the river full of fear until we reach the great light that is above everyone, the never-ceasing, unsurpassable and immeasurable light, the holy Trinity which is One, the Almighty, the Logos and the Paraclete, this one to whom all glory of his lordship is fitting, together with all worship and thanks, not only<sup>287</sup> from us humans but also from the power above the cosmos, now and at all times, forever and ever. Amen.

20. ΖΑΘΗ ΔΕ ΕΤΡΕΦΩΩΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΦΟΥΕΖΣΑΖΝΕ ΕΤΡΕΥΕΙΝΕ ΝΑΦ ΝΟΥΜΟΟΥ  
 ΑΦΕΙΩ ΜΠΕΦΖΟ· ΜΝΝΕΦΒΙΧ ΜΝΝΕΦΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ· ΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΕΤΡΕΥΠΑΖΤΦ ΕΠΚΟΥΙ  
 ΝΨΗΙ ΕΤΣΑΡΗC· Ω ΧΕΛΟΥΗΡ ΝΤΑΛΒΟ ΨΩΠΕ ΖΗΠΜΟΟΥ ΝΡΕΦΧΙCΜΟΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ·  
 ΑΦΩΛΗΛ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΧΜΨCΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΤΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΑΥΩ ΕΧΜΠΟΕΙΚ  
 ΜΝΝΕΧΡΙΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΜΟΝΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ· ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΖΩC ΕΑΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΕΤΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΝΤΦΜΝΤΤΕΛΙΟC ΖΝΟΥΖΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΟΥΖΟΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΝCΟΥΧΟΥΩΤ  
 ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΠΑΩΝΕ· ΑΦΟΥΩΖ ΖΝΝΕΡ̄ΠΕ ΜΠΕΦ̄ΡΡΟ ΠΕΧ̄C· ΕΤΡΕΦΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΝΨΑΕΝΕΖ ΜΠΕΦΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ· ΕΤΡΕΦΑΑΦ ΝΧΟΕΙC ΖΜΠΕΦΗΙ ΕΧΝ† Η ΜΗΤΕ ΜΠΟΛΙC  
 ΜΜΑΤΕ ΑΝ· ΤΕΙΜΝΤΡΕΦΑΡΧΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΤΑΝΕΤΟΥΟΧΝΕ ΖΑΡΙΖΑΡΟΟΥ ΖΝΤΕΥ†  
 ΜΠΟΛΙC· ΝΑΤΕΦΥΧΗ ΜΝΝΑΠCΩΜΑ· ΚΑΤΑΤΜΝΤΜΝΤΡΕ ΜΠΕΘΥCΑΥΡΟC ΝCΟΟΥΝ ΝΙΜ  
 ΜΠΖΑΓΙΟC CΕΥΗΡΟC· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΟΥΨΡ̄ΠΜΙCΕ ΖΩΩΦΠΕ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΧΑΡΙC  
 ΜΠΕΧΠΟ ΜΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α ΑΥΩ ΚΑΤΑΠΤΩΖ̄Μ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΤΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ· ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΟΝ  
 ΔΙΚΑΙΩC ΠΕΦΜΑΝΨΩΠΕΠΕ ΘΙΕΛ̄Η̄Μ ΝΤΠΕ· ΤΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙC ΑΥΩ ΤΛΑΜΠΡΟC  
 ΝΝΕΠΟΛΙC ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΖΝΤΠΕ· ΤΑΙ ΕΤΕΠΕCΤΕΧΝΙΤΗC ΑΥΩ ΠΕCΔΥΜΙΟΥΡΓΟCΠΕ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΝΖΗΤ̄C ΝΒΙΖΕΝΤΒΑ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΥΟΥΑΑΒ· ΠΡΑΨΕ ΝΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC  
 ΠΨΑ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΝΝΨ̄Ρ̄ΠΜΙCΕ ΕΤCΗΖ ΖΝΝ̄ΠΗΥΕ· ΤΑΙ ΕΤ̄̄ΝΖΗΤC ΤΕΝΟΥ  
 ΝΒΙΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΕΦΑΠΟΛΑΥΕ ΝΤΕΘΕΩΡΙΑ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΤΕΤΡΙΑC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ  
 ΕΤΖΝΟΥΜΝΤΟΥΑ· ΝΤΟΚΒΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ Ω ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΠΡΟCΤΑΤΗC ΝΝΦΥΧΗ· ΖΩC

284 ΝΓΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΝΟΥΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ ΕΝΑΝΟΥC ΝΝΕΤΜΕ. . . : lit. 'you will grant good energy to those who love . . .'

285 ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ add emphasis.

286 ΤCΙΝΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΜΜΟΚ: I understand the preposition Ν- as the one than can be replaced by ΖΝ- cf. CD 215b, thus ΜΜΟΚ or ΝΖΗΤΚ.

287 Example of Graeco-Copticism: ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ . . . ΑΝ.

ΕΑΚΩΠΕ ΖΗΝΑΙ ΜΗΝΕΤΤΝΤΩΝ ΕΝΑΙ· ΖΩC ΕΑΚΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠCΑ ΝΖΟΥΝ  
 ΜΠΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑCΜΑ· ΕΤΡΕΚΩΠΕ ΝΑΝ ΜΠΡΕCΒΕΥΤΗC ΝΝΑΖΡΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΨΑΕΝΕΖ·  
 ΑΡΙΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΚCΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΝΤΑΚΧΠΟC ΝΑΚ ΧΙΝῆΨΟΡΠ· ΠΕΙΤΟΟΥ ΝΤΑΚΟΥΩΖ  
 ΝΖΗΤQ QI ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΑΡΟΝ ΝΖΕΝCΟΠC̄ ΜΝΖΕΝΤΩΒΖ ΝΝΑΖΡΜΠΕΤΕΥῆῆΒΟΜ ΜΜΟQ  
 ΜΠΕΧC̄· ΧΕΚΑC ΝΕCΟΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ· ΝΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΑΡΙΖΑΡΟΟΥ  
 ΖΜΠΕΔΡΗΜΟC ΖΗΤΜΗΤΕ ΜΠΚΑΡΜΕΛΟC· ΕΤΕΠΒΙΟCΠΕ ΕQΤῆῆΒΗΥ ΕΝΝΑΩΠΕ  
 ΖΝΑΥΞΗCΙC ΝΙΜ· ΜΗΠΡΟΚΟΠΗ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕΛΙΟΝ· ΨΑΝΤΝΕΙ ΤΗΡΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΖῆΠΕΙΜΑ  
 ΝCΚΥΝΗ ΝΨΠΗΡΕ· ΨΑΠΗ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟ ΝΖΟΥΕΨΠΗΡΕ· ΠΜΑ ΕΤΚΝΖΗΤQ ΤΕΝΟΥ  
 ΜΗΠΧΟΕΙC· ΠΕΙΛΑΟC ΔΕ ΖΩΩQ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΝΝΟΡΘΟΔΟΖΟC· ΑΥΩ ΝΖΟΜΟΔΟΖΟC·  
 ΑΙΤΕΙ ΟΝ ΜΠΧΟΙC ΖΑΡΙΖΑΡΟΟΥ ΕΤΡΕQΖΑΡΕΖ ΝΑΥ ΕΤΕQΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΕΤΜΕΖ ΝΧΑΡΙC·  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΕQΜΟΟΝΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΖΗΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΝΝΑΓΑΘΟΝ· ΠΚΟΥΙ ΝΛΟΓΟC ΝΤΑΙCΖΑΙΤῆ  
 ΕΠΕΚῆΠΜΕΕΥΕ Ω ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ· ΟΥΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟΝΠΕ ΖΟCΟΝ ΠΡΟCΤΜΗΝΤΝΟΒ ΜΝΕΤΑΕΙΟ  
 ΕΤΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΝΤΕΚΜΗΤΠΑΝΖΑΓΙΟC· ΝΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕΤΠΕ ΟΥΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΚΑΖ· ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΟΥΧΡΕΩCΤΕΙ ΝΝΟΜΙΜΟΝ ΝΑΝΤΕ ΤΒΙΝCΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ· ΝCΑΨῆ ΝCΟΠ ΜΜΑΤΕ  
 ΑΝ· ΑΛΛΑ ΜΠΕΝΑΖΕ ΤΗΡῆ· ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΝΖΟCΟΝ ΕΙCΟΟΥΝ ΜΠΕΚCΥΝΚΑΤΑΒΑΤΙΚΟΝ·  
 ΚΑΤΑΘΕ ΝΤΚΟΥΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΜΠΕΤΕΜΠΕQΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΛΕΠΤΟΝ CΝΑΥ  
 ΝΤΕΧΗΡΑΜΗΠCΟΒῆ ῆΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΝΒΗΘΑΝΙΤΗC· ΑΥΩ ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ ΠΑΔΩΡΟΝ ... 2 words

*missing* ... ΝΤΕΥΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕCΙC ΜΠΕΠΧΟΕΙC CΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ· ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΕΡΕΤΑΨΥΖΗ  
 ΒΝΧΑΡΙC ΝΑΖΡΑΚ· ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΓῆῆΖΝΑΚ ΖΗΝΕΝΤΑΙΧΟΟΥ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΝΓΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΝΟΥΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ ΕΝΑΝΟΥC ῆΝΕΤΜΕ ΜΜΟΚ· ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΝΓΤΑΧΡΟΙ  
 ΖΜΠΕΚCΜΟΥ ΜΗΠΕΚΨΑΗΛ· ΝΑΙ ΟΝ ΕΥΝΑΩΠΕ ΝΑΝ ΝΤΑΧΡΟ ΖΙΝΑΨΤΕ  
 ΝΤΒΙΝΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΙΜΑΝΒΟΙΛΕ· ΜΗΤΒΙΝΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΜΠΕΙΕΡΟ ΕΤΜΕΖ  
 ΝΖΟΤΕ· ΨΑΝΤΗΚΑΤΑΝΤΑ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΝΟΒ ΝΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΤCΑΤΠΕ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ·  
 ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΝΑΤΖΩΤΠ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΤΧΟΟΒῆ· ΑΥΩ ΝΑΤῆΨΙ ΕΡΟQ· ΤΕΤΡΙΑC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ  
 ΖΗΤΜΕΝΤΟΥΑ· ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΠΛΟΓΟC ΠΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΟC· ΤΑΙ ΕΡΕΕΟΟΥ ΝΙΜ  
 ΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΝΤΕCΜΗΤΧΟΕΙC· ΖΙΠΡΟCΚΥΝΗCΙC ΝΙΜ ΖΙΜΗΤΡΕΨΠΖΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ· ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤῆ ΑΝ ΝΕΡΩΜΕ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΝ ΖΙΤΗΤῆΒΟΜ ΕΤCΑΤΠΕ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC

ΤΕΝΟΥ ΑΓΩ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ ΨΑΕΝΕΖ ΝΕΝΕΖ· ΖΑΜΗΝ