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Anecdota Oxoniensia

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SEMITIC SERIES—PART XII

THEOLOGICAL TEXTS FROM COPTIC PAPYRI
EDITED
WITH AN APPENDIX UPON THE ARABIC AND COPTIC VERSIONS
OF THE LIFE OF PACHOMIUS

BY
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The *Anecdota Oxoniensia* comprise materials, chiefly inedited, taken direct from MSS., particularly those preserved in the Bodleian and other Oxford Libraries. These materials fall into five classes: (1) unpublished texts and documents, or extracts therefrom, with or without translations; (2) texts which, although not unpublished, are unknown in the form in which they are to be printed in the *Anecdota*; (3) texts which, in their published form, are difficult of access through the exceeding rarity of the printed copies; (4) collations of valuable MSS.; (5) notices and descriptions of certain MSS., or dissertations on the history, nature and value thereof. They are issued in four Series:—

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

TO THE

PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN
PREFACE

The papyrus fragments here published were acquired in the winter of 1905-6 by the late Lord Amherst of Hackney, who kindly entrusted me with their publication. During the course of printing they became the property of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. Professor Sayce, who had already seen them at the dealer’s in Luxor, was told that they had been brought from Hou, some 30 miles below Denderah. There is no internal evidence as to their provenance. Probably they had been part of the library of one of the monasteries once numerous in that district. It is melancholy to reflect that these poor remnants of some thirty volumes—assuming each script to indicate a distinct volume—are all that have survived.

The language in which the texts are written is a pure Sa‘idic, such as one might expect in the district whence they came. Peculiar however is, in several cases, the superlineation, which I have tried to reproduce in print as nearly as may be. This matter of superlineation is one to which various scholars have given attention—notably M. Amélineau—but as yet no systematic, statistical investigation has shown how it may be used as a means towards determining the dates of manuscripts.

Neither, in the present case, can any very definite indication of age be had from palaeographical features, the script of most of our papyri, including both the finest (No. 13) and the roughest (Nos. 8, 16) types, being of the class which it is still necessary vaguely to assign to about the 7th century. For No. 7 a terminus ante quem is indeed given, since its author was

1 That Prof. Sayce saw these identical fragments is proved by his having seen and there copied part of one, that printed here as No. 25, fol. 14.
2 The presence here of two Lives of Pachomius might suggest one of the Pachomian foundations, seven at least of which lay close around Hou. It may be observed that the position of Tabennése, as being 10 m. from Shenesét (Bo. 25), is confirmed by Av. 12 b تقدير عشرة اميال (cf. Amélineau Géogr. 469 n.). There is still obscurity as to some of these names (cf. Ladeuze 173 ff.). For شُدِسْنَا (Am. 569) = τέε, I would suggest شدسته.
3 Particularly Nos. 1, 4 (fol. 3), 7, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 23. Examples of similar abnormal usage can be seen in Br. Mus. Cat., Pl. 10, nos. 278, 967.
4 The frequent comma in the text of No. 25 is, as elsewhere, merely a word-divider; the + above is the breathing.
5 In the Introduction to his Œuvres de Schenoudi, Paris 1907.
6 Most of the Turin papyri should belong to this period. V. also Brit. Mus. Cat., Pl. 8-10.
patriarch from 578 to 605; and this, considering the paucity of datable uncial hands, is not without importance. It may perhaps be assumed that the rest of the collection also is of about that age.

Though so fragmentary, these papyri include remnants of more than one interesting work: foremost probably, as also most extensive, the new Lives of Pachomius (Nos. 24, 25); then the Sermon attributed to Gregory Nazianzen (No. 9) and that above referred to, bearing the name of Damianus (No. 7). A certain historical value attaches to the evidence, in No. 13, for a Coptic version of the anecdotes embodied by John of Maiuma in his Testimonies; nor is a fresh addition to Enoch literature (No. 3), even when manifestly of late origin, without its interest. Indeed there are few of the remaining pieces but contribute something, either in the persons whom they mention or the relations which they show to other works, to enlarge our knowledge of Coptic literature.

Little need be said regarding the manner of publication. Though all revised once, several (e.g. No. 25) more often, my copies cannot claim finality. The dark colour of the papyrus in some cases, in others faded ink or a damaged surface, made certainty well nigh unattainable. I have preferred to abstain from many a seemingly obvious completion of lacunae, where reflection showed that such was not the sole restitution possible and the several alternatives would have overloaded the page unduly. The translations aim at literalness, so long as that remained intelligible.

In an Appendix I have taken the opportunity to attempt a preliminary estimate of two hitherto unstudied Arabic versions of the history of Pachomius and to give summary accounts of the various Sa'īdic recensions, a critical edition whereof is promised by Professor Théodore Lefort.

A list of the principal abbreviations used will be found at the head of the Appendix.

My grateful thanks are due to Lady Amherst for her kindness in leaving the papyri at my disposal and to the Delegates of the Press for generously undertaking their publication; to Prof. Nau for lending me his copy of the Metaphrastic text of the Pachomian biography (Paris 881), to Prof. Pietschmann for facilitating my use of an important Arabic MS. (v. p. 176), and to Marcus bey Simaika for a valuable communication (v. p. 175); also to Sir Herbert Thompson and Mr. H. I. Bell for help in verifying occasional references otherwise beyond my reach.
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No. 1.

Ruth iv. 5-10, with lacunae. This is clearly by the scribe of no. 9, and lay together with those fragments. But I have assumed that it has merely a fortuitous connexion with them, for it is improbable that the long biblical passage would be cited by the preacher of a sermon. Nor can I recall a Coptic MS. which contained both a biblical and a non-biblical text. Sir H. Thompson's text (A Coptic Palimpsest) is unfortunately deficient here.

→ Recto.  
еЛ[exi-]  
теиИлрο-  
пολиа  
+άγω πετ-  
(lacuna) + (lacuna)  
πητεθη[π]
[π]ολια' - п-  
τοκ' δε' Γι  
παίνε πε[αρ-]  
μοοερ' παρ'  
τυριον' ε[τ-]  
επακε'  
ξεανορ'  +πεταί δε  
πημαξιτε'  
margin

↑ Verso.  
[απεικοτα-]  
[πεξα]γ η-  
[περπε|ελυ-]  
[τεροε η-]  
(lacuna)  
ελι-  
(lacuna)  
μελ[ει-]  
ρογ' - αγω  
νετπον'  
τιρογ' πιξε-  
αλιον  
ελλων'  
πωδοτε' η-  
ποεριαε' - αγω  
margin

* Should be еδο[ε].  
b Here Thompson's text (p. 267), which fills the gap thus: еδολ  
περ παρ μηνεπαμον  еδολ  
διπεπληνη  αγω  
(ℓ. e. probably six lines of our MS.).

1 Unless it be a volume with 'Exodus and the Canons of Apa Athanasius', in the catalogue, Rec. xi. 132.
No. 2.

Fragments of a Lectionary. Text in one column. The sequence of foll. 1 and 2 is obvious; that of fol. 3 uncertain.

I have to thank Dr. Anton Baumstark for the following valuable observations:—'The Bohairic directories indicate Ps. xcvii. 1 ff. and Eph. iv. 20–v. 14 as lections for Low Sunday (Dom. in Albis); v. Lagarde’s Orientalia 8; likewise Ps. xxviii. 3 ff. and Titus ii. 11–iii. 7 for Epiphany; l.e. 10. With the Blessing of the Water at Epiphany Ps. l. 7 might well be connected; note that it was read in Egypt at a similar rite (Foot Washing) on Holy Thursday. The divergences in detail of the lections, here and in the far younger Bohairic uses, are of small moment compared with the remarkable agreement, maintained over so long a period, to which these important fragments testify.'

The only other Lectionary on papyrus known to me is a small fragment (no. 12) in the Strassburg University Library, which shows a lection ending i John iii. 11 (or 2 John v. ?) followed by Acts ix. 36 ff. and, on its other side, an unidentified passage from St. John’s Gospel.

Fol. 1. ↑ Recto (?). → Verso. Ps. xcvii. 1, 2.

| red | (red) nepro[heilemenon] |
| black | co co [red] Xω [epexoeic poyxw hēppe] |
| (red) | (black) xean[epexoeic eire intrigue] |
| | act[oyxo naq nsi teqoynan] |
| | aw [neqsoi etoqalb] |
| | apa[epexoeic oumg ebol apeqoynai] |

* From a Pauline Epistle.


| cynh ape[aro] ebol [nge] |
| [A]. ειμι [xeo[γε] poyxw n– |
| [πa]oeic. aw [πα]prēqe qpoyn– |
| [πn] pai etoqan otmeityna |

* τιμον not elsewhere. Cf.? Ps. lxvi. 2.
No. 3.

These remnants of a new text connected with the once extensive Enoch literature are, owing to my failure to discover elsewhere any guiding version of the story\(^1\), printed in a merely tentative sequence. An alternative order might, for instance, begin with foll. 2, 6, 8. All is so ill preserved that scarcely a phrase can be translated without hesitation. Pronouns, of decisive importance for the intelligence of the narrative, are too often missing or, owing to imperfect context, ambiguous. Needless to say, the order of recto and verso is usually an open question.

\(^1\) The recently published Ethiopic 'Clement' (Gribaut, ROČ. xvi. 230) is of no help.
Both Enoch's mother and sister—assuming 'my son' and 'my brother' to have their literal meaning—have parts in this legend.¹ That the latter is the speaker in foll. 7, 9, is an assumption based simply upon the traditional relationship of the Sibyl to Enoch² and the probability that prophetic information would be ascribed to her wisdom. A gnostic element in the work might perhaps be recognized in fol. 2, but the references to the persons of the Trinity would suffice to separate this text from the more venerable literature relating to Enoch.

Fol. 1. ↑ Recto. margin

→ Verso.

[...] e
[...] e
τ[επαν]η[νε πρ[αν]]
ἀνάφηρε [α–]
[κατα] στοιχείαν[αρ]εισχύλακα
[κατά] στοιχείαν[αρ]εισχύλακα
[αρ]ηστότ. αρι
παρά[τ] ιν[α[τ]] b

[ο]κ[αγορά] eιδ[ω]t
ε[ξω]
[.....] ο [νωρ] ελλ[ε] ιν[α[τ]]
πα[ει]t εισ–
μπ[.....] λεπτομέ

* Or ταλαγ.

b Altered.

Fol. 1. Recto. ... the archangel (ἄρχος) and he placed him (it?) at (upon?) the ba[lan]ces of righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), and broug[ht] other mighty angels (ἀγγελία), ... being flame (?) ...

¹ In an Ethiopic legend his mother's name is Bareka (Livre des Mystères, p. 138, ed. Grébaut, Patr. Or. vi).

² V. my note ZNTW. 1911, 352. I may here add that the sibilant line quotation in the Turin papyrus is to be referred to the Tiburtian Sibyl; cf. Sackur, Sib. Texte u. Forsch. 181; further, as to the invocations of Enoch on grave stones, v. H. Thompson in Quibell's Saggara, 1912, p. 48.

Prof. Pietschmann has referred me to certain versions of the History of Alexander, wherein the Sibyl appears as Solomon's sister (A. N. Vesslovsky's work on the History of the Novel, vol. i, 1886, and his article in Vizant. Vrem, 1897). On Tabitha associated with Enoch and Elias, v. also Steindorff's Ἀποκ. des Elias, 92.
... which is (?) the name (?) of the son of God, sitting on His father's right. He cast himself at His father's feet, saying, 'O (?) my father, do not . . . .

Verso. . . . 'tremble (?) if he behold them in all their wickedness which they do, he shall straightway write them down and all thy image^1 (εἰκόν) shall go to destruction. But (ἄλλα) rather (?) seek for . . . .
. . . nothing intelligible in col. 2.

Fol. 2. → Recto.

↑ Verso.

... 3righteous (δικαίος) man, namely Iar[ed, and he] feared God. [And] the [an]gels (ἀγγ.) of God al[so] loved him^4 by reason of . . . .

Verso. . . . took him up (? ἄναλαμβάνει) to heaven and he knew (νοεῖ) the [myst]eries (μυστ.) that are hidden in the aeons (αἰῶν) of the height, and all the minds (νοῦς) that are hidden in the aeons (αἰ.) of light, and . . . of the (ϕλ.) . . . .

1 The human race.
2 Perhaps: seek out a man to mitigate the severity of the recording angel.
3 Presumably 'son of a], or something similar.
4 Lit. (if my suggestion be accepted) 'And God also, His angels loved him'. But this construction is unlikely.
Fol. 3. Recto. ... while he stood upon the mount, lo, an angel (ἄγγελος) of God appeared unto him, girt about his loins with a golden girdle, a crown of adamant (ἀδαμαντῖνος) being [upon his head] ... .

Verso. ... 'Enoch, son of Jared, [take] this book of my hand and read therein and reveal the (?) name.' Enoch said unto him, 'Who [art thou?] ... .

Fol. 4. → Recto.

↑ Verso.
Fol. 4. Recto. ... 'God [shall grant (χαρίζασθαι)] thee a name (?) famous [above] all men. Thou shalt be taken to heaven in thy body (σῶμα) and shalt be set in the midst of the store-house (? ἀποθήκη)'. ... ...

Verso. ... whereof the angel (ἀγγ.) had told him upon the mount. He found three seals (σφραγίς) and the ... writings ... ...

... the ho[ly one (ἅγιος) of the Lo]rd ... 2 vir[gin (παρθ.)], that ... should spend ... hundred [years] upon [the earth.] all but ... ... 

Fol. 5. ↑ Recto (?). → Verso (?).

jej[ ... ]π[ ... ]α[ ... ]η[ ... ] ε[ ... ]ν[ ... ] ρ[ ... ] ῶ[ ... ] α[ ... ] ο[ ... ] ω[ ... ] ο[ ... ] η[ ... ] η[ ... ] η[ ... ] η[ ... ] ω[ ... ] ε[ ... ] α[ ... ] η[ ... ] α[ ... ] α[ ... ] η[ ... ] η[ ... ] η[ ... ] η[ ... ]

Πραγ [απα]ιωτ[ ... ]

1 In the Book of Enoch 'store-houses' are mentioned, but the Greek words are ταμείον or θησαυρός (ch. xi, xviii).

2 τη[ποοτ τ-] 'send the', might be read; hardly space for ὄγ- 'send a'.
Fol. 5. Recto (?). ... 'a single purpose is in them.' They it is do guide heaven and earth. The name of the Father is written (?) on the third ... that is upon' ... .

Verso (?). ... and he found [it to be the] name [of] the [Holy] Ghost (? πνεῦμα). Enoch said unto him, 'My lord, lo, three invisible (ἄβρατος) names have I found written in the book (?). ... .

Fol. 6. → Recto.

↑ Verso.

Fol. 6. Recto. ... the words of the Greeks (? ἔλλην) ... hear ... .
... outside ... the bed-chamber (κούτων) of the virgin (παρ.), wherein she slept. She said unto him, 'Enoch, my son, let us go into the bed-chamber (?f κού.) and let us (?)' ... .

Verso. ... at the moment when she heard the voice (φωνή) of Enoch, her brother, she said unto him, 'Enoch, my brother, come in unto me and look forth. Be not ... .
... when] I took suck of my mother. It is impossible that I should [be?] again (or other)' ... .

1 ? the Trinity.
2 Reading εικός, though as following prep. εις would be preferable.
Fol. 7. \[ \ \] Recto.

p. \( \overline{PA} \) (or \( \overline{PA} \))

margin

Ενώ[ε]

[....]ο[π] [o-] \( \) πε[κ]

Εθορ[ομη-]

κοιν[ι] πεντ.–

εκοται π' εβολ

πνεον.

Νεξε επωξ

πας ξενογ-

κοιν [. ΕΙ] πεν-

tαχυ· ἀλλα[α]

ποτε [τ] πογ-

εκεκω \( \overline{παι} \)-

τας \( \overline{η} \) [ε-]

πικλαιε[αρί-]

οπ σ[]

\[ \]

→ Verso. margin

\[ \] Π[..]σ

[\( \)π]ςορ[π]

[\( \)ε]α[ι ηνο]ο[ς]

ημιαθασον

ηπωρε η-

πρωμε· σε-

παξ[αρί]τε

πα[ν] ημα-

τα[ε]οι επιτεπ-

αυματεθην

σ[... ]τ[. ]

\[ \]

[. π]πο[κ]

[π]ηρί [πα]σ-

θον π[η]τα-

λους ε[κ]εα

εκπανθαγ

επομενε εγ-

εκων παρα

ημαθασον

ουσε[ε]ενεφ-

γ[ρ]α[ο]ς ετ-

[γ]ητεστίς

[η]μο[γ]αλα[π]

τα[λ]οι εκν-

Fol. 7 (1st fol. of quire 14). 1 Recto. ... 'if] thou fi[nd (?) ... . . . . he sinned through cowardice and error, thou shalt not write their sins against them hastily (ταχύ), but (ἀλλά) thou shalt put the reed into the reed-case (καλαμάριον) . . . .

... delete² it again.' Enoch said unto her, 'Doth not God then (οὐκοῦν) [appoint?] an angel (ἀγγ.) from heaven and (doth) he (not) [set? him]' . . .

Verso. . . . 'first (or before [thou]) write the sins and the good-deeds (ἀγαθός) of the sons of men, thou shalt be granted (χαπίζειν) the angel (ἀγγ.) of mercy' . . . .

. . . 'sins and he taketh the good-deeds (ἀγ.) and placeth them on another side. If he see the sins drawing (down the balance) beyond (παρά) the good-deeds (ἀγ.), he taketh his staff (βασίδος), that is in his right hand, and layeth it upon' . . . .

1 So if this is recto; if verso, it indicates p. 14, or (reading \( \overline{PA} \)) p. 104.

² Perhaps εκεφοτυ 'thou shalt delete'. Enoch deletes sins, CSCO., vol. 42, 236. ³ Lit. 'give'. \( \)π, as part of a 2-rad. verb, is more difficult, though as accus., superlined before ὁγ, it is also unlikely. The passage is to me quite obscure.
Fol. 8. → Recto.

... 'they\(^1\) have not known her, they have not been able to make her (?it) known, except (eιμήτη) thou (first) go and make her (?it) known before (lit. in midst of) thy father and thy mo[ther] .......

... 'Enoch [my?] son'. ....

Verso. ... En[och] ....

... 'of her. Lo, my ... (fem.),\(^2\) what shall (she?) become (?), (she) whom thou didst beget from (her)? Lo, three times hath she spoken great (?) words' .......

---

Fol. 9. → Recto. margin

πιοντε σω- Χεσηνογη
μη ερπαι εξων? πο... αν[α-]
adμαγ εροκ ηλλαβακή []

Verso. margin

[...\]\(\)α\(\)ατηνε... απε[κ-]
[παγ] ερπαι ειτ- πλασε υπ[ε-]
[πε] γινπεγεω- ρωλε νοε

\(^1\) Read? όγτε 'neither'.

\(^2\) ετ might be completed as κετ or εετ, were they not so difficult to adapt to the context.
Fol. 9. Recto. . . . 'God (did) look down upon thee and saw thee, how that thou wast a chosen one and removed from all evil.' He said, . . . . . . . said,] 'Shall not then (οὐκον) [the Lord?] take up (ἀναλαμβάνειν) [any?] man to heaven in his body (?σῶμα), except (εἰμῆτι) me? ' She (?) said unto [him], . . . . Lord (?) . . . .

Verso. . . . shall take two up to [heaven] in their body (σῶμα): one Elias, another Tabitha . . . . the place where . . . . is . . . . . . . except (?pεἰμῆτι) by forming (πλάσσειν) another man, in the fashion of our father Adam, and that he people the earth.' She said unto him, 'Mathusala (?) [is the] fruit (καρπ.) that [shall go] forth from [thee]. . . .

No. 4.

From a version of the Life (?) of the Virgin, identical, in part at least, with Zoega no. cxvii, Clar. Press no. 14 (v. Forbes Robinson, Apocr. Gosp., pp. 10, 14) and Br. Mus. no. 303. In the latter of those fragments there is likewise reference to the Meletians. Our fourth fragment here is perhaps wrongly associated with the other three; it may be from a different MS. and text. So too the third, which has marked differences from the others (v. note on text).

1 For εἰμῆτι (cf. the readings here τοι. and frag. 8), perhaps εἰν μη τεν-. But 1st pl. 'we form' seems incongruous here.
2 Reading instead [μαυρογαλαιο].
3 Cf. also Revillout in Journ. As., 1905, i. 412, 413.
4 F. R., p. 2, ll. 14, 15, 'Say not as the heretics that the Virgin was a "power" (δύναμις, cf. ib. 108, 10); nor say as the Meletians, that she was taken up to heaven in her body.' Mr. Winstedt has kindly collated the text.
Fol. 1. Recto.  

...in place of the days in which Thou didst humble us, when my heart was sad. Thou didst raise me up like a rock (πέτρα) and didst guide me and bring me forth unto a broad-place. Thou didst cause men to ride over our heads and didst bring [us] . . . .

Verso. . . . brought their gifts-of-honour unto Joakim and they spent seven days eating and drinking and rejoicing (εὐφραῖνειν) over the mercy that God had fulfilled with Joakim and Anna . . . .

Fol. 2. Recto.  

. . .

Verso. . . .

1 This ode is made up of various Psalm verses (v. F. Robinson, p. 11).

2 F. R. ποτώμε εβόλ.
Fol. 2. Recto. ... God made him (?) worthy to take her (?) it). Howbeit (πλήν) the Virgin (παρ.) visited not her parents, but (ἀλλὰ) was like to those doves that dwelt always in the temple, until the day whereon she was worthy of this great honour, that she should bear Christ. Let the Meletians¹ be now ashamed, that cast suspicion (? ὑποτευεῖν) . . . .

Verso. . . . and (?) they that [go] with them unto [their] filthy oracles, that is, their dwelling-places; neither (οὐδὲ) any one that believeth (πιστεύειν)

¹ There is little to add to Riedel's account of the Meletians (Can. Athanas. xvi ff. My reference there to Renandot may now be replaced by Evetts, Patrol. Or., v. 200 ff., where their magical practices are specially referred to). Their heretical tenets are condemned in the other copy of the present text (v. note above), their usages attacked by Damianus (Evetts l.c., i. 473 = Synax., 18th Sané, ed. Guidi), and their survival of Siút (Br. Mus. no. 358, if by Bp. Constantine, then also of early seventh century, v. Br. Mus. no. 865 n.), and at Achmim (Mission iv. 740; cf. Wüstenfeld's Synax., 9th Kihak) are recorded. Athanasius, in a Festal Letter (Zoega no. cclxxvii, f. 2 = text of Paris 1291, ff. 87–90, which is same MS. as Br. Mus. no. 173), refers to their trafficking in saints' relics.
with them in their filthy heresy (αἰρ.), who ascribe\(^1\) great impurities unto the divinity of Emmanuel, they ...-ing the holy Trinity (τριάς), the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost (πν.), taking away the μὲ (μύ) and the η (νῦ)\(^2\). . . . .

Fol. 3. ↑ Recto.\(^a\)

margin

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{αγεφραγίζεμ-} & \\
\text{μοι ἔνογεφρα-} & \\
\text{τίς άγω άμπ-} & \\
\text{γαλάι ον έπε-} & \\
\text{πολη λοτ εε-} & \\
\text{κω άμοσ χε-} & \\
\text{ειταφίων τα-} & \\
\text{παγ επταφό-} & \\
\text{νε έπταγκα-} & \\
\text{αφ άμοσ πτ-} & \\
\text{παιμοδι αλ-} & \\
\text{Ερεμά εκ χο-} & \\
\text{ον έπείγε γαλ-} & \\
\text{λαν ίε κε[ρ]-} & \\
\text{ονοσ μ[.]ρ[} & \\
\text{ [. ]ρ[} & \\
\text{[. ]τηυγ] & \\
\text{[. ]τεπ-} & \\
\text{[ει] άμπονιε} & \\
\text{έπιμ άμοσ} & \\
\text{α[ε]μαρτω-} & \\
\text{[σ]υ πετεγιν} & \\
\text{ηπιήων εβόλ} & \\
\text{ημμας πτε-} & \\
\text{ρίτε εβόλ πε-} & \\
\text{ναγ επεκεύω-} & \\
\text{μα ξεννεσκού} & \\
\text{πτεραφοραί} & \\
\text{άγων εγ-} & \\
\text{[κ]οβτε πηεκ-} & \\
\text{[σ]απε επαω-} & \\
\text{[σ]αμεγε-} & \\
\text{[. ]σιρ[x]} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\(^a\) The superlineation here is so peculiar and different from that on foll. i, 2, 4, that one may doubt this leaf being from the same MS.

\(^b\) \[\text{ομήλωσ} \text{τίρφ} \text{πον} \text{έπιρα} \text{άμελο} \text{άμπον} \text{έμπλο} \text{έροχ} \] is improbably.

\(^1\) \text{Lit., 'write.' Or 'speak' (grammatically preferable).}

\(^2\) I can suggest no other translation, and even for this the reading requires manipulation. I suppose the consonants of 'Emmanuel' to be intended and some magical or gnostic use of the name \text{εαυγήλα} referred to. \textbf{Cf.} wholly vocalic forms like \text{εκειογών} (\textit{Rain. Mitth.}, v. 120). That the letters \text{αι}, \text{η} were thus pronounced is seen from Hebbelynck, \textit{Mystèras}, 34, 117, Paris 131\(^a\), l. 77 (on significance of the letters in name \text{μαρία}).
Fol. 3. Recto. ... they sealed (σφραγίζειν) it with a seal (σφραγίς). And after this also she was not comforted at heart, saying, 'If I go not and see the tomb (τάφος), how they have laid Him, I will not sit down.' But (δὲ) these things being so, and moreover (μᾶλλον δὲ) as there was a great . . .

. . . which as the Sabbath, she saying, 'Let us arise at night and go forth with her and take her out and she see His body (σῶ), lest she die on His account (ἀφορμή).' They arose and prepared much spices and . . . (plur.) . .

Verso. . . . that they should go forward, being afraid and trembling. For (γὰρ) the Jews were lying in wait for whoso should go forth to the
grave, that they might do them evil; and the watchers were watching it; lest His body (σῶ) should be taken by stealth; and there was a disturbance on His (?) account, because that . . . . .

. . . words] that He spake unto them, while He was with them, 'Needs must that I should suffer these things and should arise, there being (still) darkness and disturbance.' 1 And they left all these things behind them and went with her, by reason of her need (ἀνάγκη) and her trouble . . . .

Fol. 4. → Recto.

| na[ |  |
| wα[ |  |
| ἐπεγίν[ | et- |
| γίγανα[ |  |
| ερεπεγίν[ a | . . |
| ποι [ |  |
| ἔγγος[ | e- |
| πεν[ |  |
| ἐπεγίνα[ |  |
| ἐγκατά[ | ποι- |
| [μο[ |  |
| γε[ |  |

↑ Verso.

|  |  |
| pe]γογο- |  |
| [ει] άνισογ |  |
| απαχόρη |  |
| ανακαμ[ |  |
| απερ[ |  |
| αμέτροο[ |  |
| των[ |  |
| ἄγεο e- |  |
| ἕολ [ |  |
| ἀπακ[α] [ |  |
| απρ[ |  |

* περίγιν more probable.  
b Inevitable, if not too long. Last letters perhaps above the line.

Fol. 4. Recto. . . . ever. . . on the earth . . . , his (?) heart being . . . like . . . , he being wise (σοφός) beyond all them that had been upon earth, whether (κἀν) when he received 2 the law (νόμος) like Moses, or (κἀν) when he . . . .

Verso. . . . his (?) light; the stars departed (ἀναχορεῖν); darkness was at midday; the dead arose and came forth from the graves. The veil (καταπέτασμα 3) of the temple (?) . . . .

1 Cf. Lemm, Misc. lix.  
2 'accepted', if this refers to Christ.  
3 V. note b.
Presumably from a Sermon (or Encomium), with reference, on verso, to the death of the Virgin. Cf. the passages in Forbes Robinson's *Apocr. Gospels*, pp. 65, 83, and in *PSBA*. xxix. 304. The narrative would appear not to be related here by an apostle.

---

**Recto.**  
... he gave unto him also (?) honours and many gifts (δῶρον). He said unto Joseph,¹ 'Behold, my whole land is before thy father and thy

1. *V.* Gen. xlvi. 6.
brethren. Let them dwell in the good land and buy and sell and share (lit. be) in the honour of my kingdom and the good-things (ἀγαθὸς) of the land. If we (?) . . . .

Verso. . . . to] heaven, the eyes of the apostles (ἀν.) looking after her, beholding her and her unspeakable glory. And when they had attained with her unto the gates (πύλη) of heaven, the door-keepers (θυρωρὸς) of heaven rejoiced and cried out, saying, with the voice that had reached her at the time when her Son had gone up to heaven . . . .

No. 6.

We have here the last words of one Sermon, followed by the title and opening of another; also (fol. 2) a passage, relating to Acts i. 3 ff., which may belong to either or to neither of the preceding. That with its title preserved was pronounced at Christmas, and might be attributed to Basil of Caesarea, if that town's name could be read in the second lacuna. The text, however, does not resemble that of any published sermon by Basil.

Fol. 1. ↑ Recto.

margin

→ Verso.

margin

7 ὁρεῖτίνας ἀιτε [ ]

πεῖνακοινοὶ ἀῖτη[ ]

πτωτοὶ ἱκανὰ[αἰοία
εἴσαξε ἑθῆν[ἀυτῶν] ἀνείπ[ ]

[ . . . ]εὐεργεω-

[he]a ἀπαντή εὐ-

[τε]ς ἀπε-

[περ] τοτε

[πο]ς Ὑπογω-

[ο]γυ-

[ο]γεῖς ἐπι-

[πο]ς τοτε

[ο]μοτε[με]να[τα]

[όθ]ελα[ν] το-

[τ]ε ὡδ[ ]

→ Verso.

margin

[. . . ]εὐεργεω-

[he]a ἀπαντή εὐ-

[τε]ς ἀπε-

[περ] τοτε

[πο]ς Ὑπογω-

[ο]γυ-

[ο]γεῖς ἐπι-

[πο]ς τοτε

[ο]μοτε[με]να[τα]

[όθ]ελα[ν] το-

[τ]ε ὡδ[ ]

→ Verso.

margin

[. . . ]εὐεργεω-

[he]a ἀπαντή εὐ-

[τε]ς ἀπε-

[περ] τοτε

[πο]ς Ὑπογω-

[ο]γυ-

[ο]γεῖς ἐπι-

[πο]ς τοτε

[ο]μοτε[με]να[τα]

[όθ]ελα[ν] το-

[τ]ε ὡδ[ ]

Fol. 1. ↑ Recto.

margin

→ Verso.

margin

7 ὁρεῖτίνας ἀιτε [ ]

πεῖνακοινοὶ ἀῖτη[ ]

πτωτοὶ ἱκανὰ[αἰοία
εἴσαξε ἑθῆν[ἀυτῶν] ἀνείπ[ ]

[ . . . ]εὐεργεω-

[he]a ἀπαντή εὐ-

[τε]ς ἀπε-

[περ] τοτε

[πο]ς Ὑπογω-

[ο]γυ-

[ο]γεῖς ἐπι-

[πο]ς τοτε

[ο]μοτε[με]να[τα]

[όθ]ελα[ν] το-

[τ]ε ὡδ[ ]

→ Verso.

margin

[. . . ]εὐεργεω-

[he]a ἀπαντή εὐ-

[τε]ς ἀπε-

[περ] τοτε

[πο]ς Ὑπογω-

[ο]γυ-

[ο]γεῖς ἐπι-

[πο]ς τοτε

[ο]μοτε[με]να[τα]

[όθ]ελα[ν] το-

[τ]ε ὡδ[ ]

→ Verso.

margin

[. . . ]εὐεργεω-

[he]a ἀπαντή εὐ-

[τε]ς ἀπε-

[περ] τοτε

[πο]ς Ὑπογω-

[ο]γυ-

[ο]γεῖς ἐπι-

[πο]ς τοτε

[ο]μοτε[με]να[τα]

[όθ]ελα[ν] το-

[τ]ε ὡδ[ ]

a εὐαλ εἰσ- less probable because of the division εὐα-λ.

1 Perhaps the supposed quotation does not end here.  2 Sc. the angels.  3 Lit. 'been for her'.

18 THEOLOGICAL TEXTS
Fol. 1. Recto. . . . . our] Lord, He through whom (be) glory to the Father and the Holy [Ghost (πν.)] [for ever] and ever. A[men.]

A Sermon (εξήγησις) of . . . , the bishop (ἐπ.) of . . . , of Cappa[docia] Prima, discoursing upon the [Birthday of our Saviour (σω.) Jesus Christ, [on the 29th day of the month Chōiakh. ] [? In peace (εἰρ.) Amen ?]

When 1 the winter (χιόν) is gone by and the rain hath past (ἀναχωρεῖν), according to (κατά) the words of the wise (σοφὸς) Solomon, and the air (ἄφ) is pleasant, and the sun doth shine; then (τότε) doth the earth put forth a garden of herbs (χόρτος), the trees burst forth in gladness 2 at budding, the sun is fervid in . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . And the birds likewise (?) go forth from . . . .

(Verso) and cover (?) the air while they . . . . . . the sky . . . . . . . . following . . . footsteps gladly, skipping (σκιρτάν) in the . . . pastures. Then (τότε) doth [the] knife (lit. sword) go forth unто its vine, to cut off the

1 Cf. Cant. ii. 11.
2 Lit. 'throw out gladness'.

* Read θογω.  
* ?γνεκτιν.  
* ?ταννογε.  
* Must be τεκέ.  

margin

margin
branch that shall not bear fruit (καρπ.) and to dress (lit. cleanse) that which is about to bear fruit in gladness. Then (τὸτε) doth the husbandman sharpen his sickle to reap those that have made progress joyfully. Then (τὸτε) doth (?) . . . . . . . flower . . . southwind of that (?) which bloweth upon the orchard (κῆπος) of the bride (νύμφη), that its trees may give their perfume. And the fishermen put their nets into the sea (θάλ.) and do their business (ἐργασία) in . . . .

Fol. 2. → Recto (?).

2 illegible lines.

† Verso (?).

margin

tε υτ[ἵππ.]
ερο μύ[τ]ε-
ζογεία ἤται-
πογε· ὁγ-
σε πενταε-
ογομήν παγ
ἡγίττε υσι
πνεοεις πε-
[ΧΣ.].) υτωτι
μ[?] ογοεις[d]
ἀπίσσαχροίνος
κελε ἤπει-
tωσε ἤγο-
κατότομος
eπιμερε•
ἀπωτι ἄπη
cογιη πενο-
εις ἀπι-
χρονος καὶ
πνεοεις

*a One expects μακάμι.  
b Sic. A strange abbreviation; recurs in col. 2, penult.  
c This line may begin εκ.  
d Either MS. or copy is faulty. The proper text of v. 6 follows below.

d Here again more space seems indispensable to the sense. In preceding line ? περιαγ.

1 μ is difficult: possibly 'of Him that'.  
2 Cf. Cant. iv. 16.
Fol. 2. Recto. ... appearing 1 during forty days, doing signs (?) and speaking with them concerning the kingdom of God; and, eating with them, He charged (παράγγ.) them not to go forth from Jerusalem, but (ἀλλὰ) to wait for the promise of the Father, 'the which ye have heard from me.' He said, 'John indeed (μιᾶ) did baptize (βάπτισαν.) ....

they then, that had heard him asking Him, saying, 2 'Lord, dost Thou (μή) at this time (?) ... the kingdom to Israel?' But (δὲ) in what manner shall he that hath not the authority (αὐθεντία) and the power give the kingdom? 'Lord, wilt thou, at this time, give the kingdom to Israel?' When He said unto them, 'The Father shall give the kingdom,' they rather (ἀλλὰ) spake of the ....

Verso. ... the kingdom and the power (ἐξουσία) of divinity. What, then, was it that the Lord [Christ?] answered them? 'Ye 3 ... times] and the seasons (χρόνος), that He might not impute ignorance unto the Son. 'It is not yours to know the times and the seasons (χρ.) which the Father hath set within His own power (ἐξουσία). I behold (θεωρεῖν) ... Son ....

... the Son ... power (ἐξουσία), ... to fulfil ..., saying, 4 'I have power (ἐξουσία) to lay down my life (ψυχή) and I have power (ἐξουσία) to take it up.' And be not astonished, O beloved, that He placed the knowledge of the seasons (χρ.) within the power (ἐξουσία) of the Son, when everything that ... on ....

No. 7.

This Sermon has an unusual interest from containing the mention—so rare in Coptic literature—of contemporary historical persons and events. Not only was it pronounced at Alexandria in the cathedral church 5 by the patriarch Damianus, 6 its author, but this in presence of the emperor Maurice's

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1 Acts i. 3.  
2 Text of following clause not in order.  
3 Nor of this one.  
4 John x. 18.  
5 καθολικὴ ἐκκλ. V. Rossi, Papirt, ii. iv. 59 c  
envoy, Constantine Λάδρυς. With him was Amantius, apparently a prominent eunuch. Constantine’s mission to Alexandria is mentioned, though without year, by John of Nikiou. If it were but possible to identify, among the various earthquakes of this period, one shortly previous to that mission, we might arrive at the date of the latter. It was one, at any rate, which shook Syria (v. below), and, to judge by the title of the present sermon, presumably Egypt also. Evagrius records an earthquake, affecting Antioch and its suburbs, in Oct. 580. In the foregoing (or same?) year Agapius mentions one, likewise at Antioch, and in 591 and 599 others, not localized; while John of Nikiou describes one which devastated Antioch, the east and ‘the isles’ in this reign. The title of our sermon is but a fragment—that a considerable part of it is lost may be estimated from a comparison between the length of gaps in fol. 10 and in the parallel passage in the Turin MS. (v. below)—so that the effects of the earthquake, to which it no doubt made reference, are unknown. Nor can it be decided whether the words here used as to Constantine and the Egyptian magnates are to be connected with those disturbances to which he, according to John of Nikiou, put an end.

This text has further value in being the means of ascribing certain of the Turin fragments to their true author. F. Rossi, I Papiro, ii. iv. 56–62 have been assumed to belong to the sermon of Athanasius, ib. ii. 1. 5 ff.; but their identity in several passages with our text now shows them to be due to Damianus. And besides the passages actually identical, there are among Rossi’s fragments others, which (though neither facsimiles nor descriptions of this group are given) it is tolerably certain must belong to the same work. One of these has importance in that it names four places which suffered through the earthquake—doubtless that referred to in the title of our present text: Berytus and Aradus with Φειν and Ἀγριν. These Lemm seeks (as Στεφάνη and the island Οπευνή) in

1 Theoph. Simoc. viii. 9 and 13, Chron. Pasc. an. 602 (PG. 92, 973). The latter has variant Λάδρυς. The three titles here given him are a usual combination in that age, e.g. Cairo Pap. 67002 (ed. J. Maspero in the Catal. Gén.); the two first in Pap. Oxyrh. 138.

2 A strange coincidence: Amantius had been the name of a powerful eunuch executed by Justin I. When one finds this eunuch (or yet another namesake?) reappearing as Theodora’s envoy to Egypt (Zoega clxvi), one suspects that the name had grown legendary.

3 Pp. 298, 532. What his office in Egypt was is not clearly stated: three words (masfen, maknunen, seyam) are indiscriminately used by the translator, sometimes (as on pp. 295, 296) to designate the same official. De Ricel, PSBA. xxiv. 107, and M. Gelzer, Leips. Hist. Abb. xiii. 33, take him for the prefect.


6 P. 536.

7 P. 532. The Coptic verb here, literally ‘receive’, is not often found as ‘take into custody’, which seems to be the present meaning.

8 By O. von Lemm, KKS. 280, 321 ff. That the Turin collection once included still another homily on the Nativity, and that by Cyril, is clear from the fragment Rossi, ii. ii. 5 = iii. 2. Presumably to this belongs the fragment ii. iv. 77 b, referring to Nestorius as the speaker’s opponent ‘in the midst of the σόνοβοθ’. It may be noted that Rylands, no. 73, is a text very similar to these. (In its 2nd line read ἕκαστος, cf. Rossi, ii. iv. 57 c.)

9 Rossi, ii. iv. 60 c.

10 L. e. 314.
Paphlagonia and Ethiopia respectively; but one would here rather expect localities not so far distant from the Syrian coast. I would propose either for the first name Sophene, and for the second Auranitis\(^1\) (whether the district south of Damascus or that between Palmyra and the Euphrates); or merely δρεινη, 'the highlands,' for the latter, and σεφένη = ? σεφηλά, 'the low country, coast,' for the former.\(^2\)

---

\(^1\) It will be objected that σοφένη (even with possibly preceding article τ-) is a word too short to fill the line, and that the other is an unauthenticated equivalent for Ἀβραβίτης.

\(^2\) Or again Δάφνη for Δάφνη (of Antioch) might be geographically possible, though orthographically improbable, besides being too short for the gap.

\(^3\) Reading γιάλα, though hitherto not found in Sa'idic.

\(^4\) Πάλις would, in the context, seem more likely. The sense is utterly obscure.
Verso. ... the Younger (?)¹ and Constantine the patrician (πατρ.), who was called Lartès ²; when Maurice the king sent him unto Alexandria, to take (into custody ?) all the magnates (ἀρχων) of Egypt. And the patrician (πατρ.) and consul (ὑπατος) and general ³ (στρατηλάτης) was present, and Amantius the ... eunuch ⁴ and all the magnates (ἀρχ.) of Egypt and all the populace (δῆμος) ... of the whole city (πόλις) ... .

Fol. 2. ↑ Recto (?).

margin

δων a θηρογ πεγασσελις-κηνταιος της·

ἡ ριετενωβ- ἀγω πνεαρτυ-

πε ταϊο πως·

βασαλων πως
eικαρθε πογκ πετρος·

[... ]ξαιν b

a δων.  

b ? ἄγω πνεαρτυπελις.

Fol. 2. Recto (?). ... all [Thy] glory (ἄξων ἐγγ.) and Thy honours. O Jesus, whose is all honour and all blessing, I shall be like unto one ... .

... the evangelist (εὐαγ.), and the martyr (μάρτυρος) and head, Peter, and the martyr (μάρτ.) ... .

Verso (?). ... all [the ...] of the church (ἐκ.), down to our sinfulness. ⁶ And they did not find [means to] complete the ... honour of ... .

... of the greatness (μέγεθος) of Thy divinity? Who shall make his understanding (νοῦς) celestial ... .

¹ I do not know whether ἡμα (like ἐπε), with a name preceding it, can = junior. Whether in Lepsius, Denkm. vi. 102, nos. 9, 10, 19 &c., Murray, Osireion, pil. 26, 31, it has this meaning or is mere humility, may be doubted. Perhaps read οὐγία, the town of Ausim.

² Lit. 'the Lartès'.

³ These complimentary titles designate merely Constantine.

⁴ Space would allow πνος π- or παρξι- the chief eunuch'.

⁵ I cannot find this form in literary use, though it had acquired a legal meaning. V. Rylands Catal., no. 139.

⁶ I.e. 'to me, Damianus'.
... shall be able fitly to account for (τεχνεάλογίζειν) Thy coming unto us, O Emmanuel, Son of God according to His divinity? It (?) altereth not, it is not transformed ......

... Who] shall be able to narrate (ιστορίζειν) or (?) who shall record (χρονογράφειν) or (?) who shall trace (γενεάλογειν) Thy birth, O Emmanuel, true (?) God ... man ......

Verso (?). ... divinity; the young in age (ἡλυκία) and the old (λιτ. great) in His days? What lips ... silence ... shall be able to speak ......? What throat shall be able to cry out like a trumpet (σάλ.) and belaud (ἐγκωμίζειν) Thy sojourn (ἐπίδημία) with us, true shepherd, that did lay down His life (ψυ.) for His [sheep ......

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1 Could τεχνεάλογίζω have such a meaning? The verb Rossi ii, i. 34 c would scarcely be the same.

2 Not the phrase of Dan. vii. 9.
THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

 Fol. 4. Recto. ... learn (it?) through whom? Fleshly (-σάρξ) tongue hath not power to trace (γενεαλογεῖν) the birth of our Saviour (σωτήρ). Verily (ἀληθῶς) my ... grow old ... .

 Verso. ... confess (ὁμολογεῖν) unto us what befell. I will not release thee, O Gabriel, neither (οὐδὲ) will we ... .

 Fol. 5. → Recto. ↑ Verso.

 Fol. 5. (Possibly not a part of this M.S.) Recto. ... Hail (χαίρε)
Mary .......... [garment (n)] that is [on thee ?], which is their stone
1
which they .... Ja[co]b .......

..., the Lord is with thee. Hail (χ.) Mary, light (levis) cloud 3 which illumineth them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death. Hail (χ.) thou that hast found [grace], the Lord [is with thee ..... 

Verso. .... Hail (χ.) (Mary), pure meadow, wherein is the pearl (μαργ.) 4 which is our Lord Jesus Christ ......

Fol. 6. ↑ Recto (?).

→ Verso (?).

| [τετ]ερε[ε]| [τπ]αρε[ε]|
| [πο]ν(ε)σ| [ε]τογα[α]η|
| (τσι) η| (τσι) η|
| ιτασω[σ] (η)-| ητα[σο]ν(ε)ι|
| [σα]μ[η]-| [σα]μ[η]-

[... ]ιοσ

[... ]ιοσ

Τετελες


1 Or ‘... to thee’ (fem.), οὐμω being a verb.
2 Or ‘jasper stone’ ὠ[η]κ ἑι(ς) κιν.[ςι].
3 Cf. Cairo, Theotokia 195 (= Tuki 100) and Isa. xix. 1, which verse is similarly used in χαπετανωλ, though differently interpreted, by Joh., Damas. (PG. 96, 693) and Theod. Stud. (ib. 99, 725). It is remarkable that the Ethiopic (Fries, Weddásé Māryám, 38), renders ḥaṣáfiwa by wa-ba-ʾaman ‘true’, taking it for ḥaṣáfiwa: a contribution towards proof of translation from the Arabic. Nothing can of course be deduced from these coincidences as to the early existence of a Saʿidic Theotokia; the specimens in Samannādi’s Scala (Paris MS. 44, f. 21) show indeed true Sa. forms, but may point (in the 13th century) to a version from Bo. But if Simeon Kukaya (ca. 520) be, as Euringer (Or. Christ. 1911, 215 ff.) plausibly suggests, author of the Theotokia, the present passages, in a work dating only some 80 years later, and by a writer of Syrian origin, have an added interest.

4 Cf. Cairo Theot., 178; also, besides Usener’s article (in Theol. Abb. f. Weisßcker), Rossi, l.c. 58 b; Rylands Cat., no. 72; Kebra Nagast, ed. Bezold, p. x1 and § 68; and Lagarde, Aeg. 48, 22 (= F. Robinson, p. 53) where read ωτης for ωτοις.
Fol. 6. Recto. ... 'him whom she hath borne, out of (παρά) the time (χρ.) of bearing.' Tell me, O holy Virgin (παρ.), whither thou goest for (?) this great meeting 1 [and] this great .......

... She who never desired (ἐπιθυμεῖν) the distractions (lit. consolations) of the market-place (ἀγορά) nor the festivities 2 of the drinking-place, nor meetings (συντροφία) for merrymaking. She who never entered a house that was near to the 3 .... She who did not ....

Verso. ... holy Virgin (?) παρ.) Mary, adorned (κοσμεῖν) with all knowledge (ἐπιστήμη), sweet in her tongue, preserving her eyes 4 from vain glances. And the Virgin doth not work with her hands .......

... Tell me, O] Virgin, whither goest thou, this great distance, to the hill-country (δρέανή)? 5 'I hasten and go,' saith she, 'to see the marvel that hath happened .......

Fol. 7. → Recto. margin

V. Verso. margin

1 Ἀπάντημα is rare apparently. Διανόμηα would fit, though less appropriate. Or? ἀπαντῆμα.

2 V. Can. Athan., p. 66 n. To the instances there add Triadon, ed. Lemm, § 368 = p. 55 (parallel to εὐφαίνειν), and Paris 131, f. 9 (?same MS. as Br. Mus., no. 362): ἀκουσίων μμοι εἰπάθηκωρεί μαγάταλ ἁιδόλμ μνογονίν εἴρατοροι ἄγω ἀπαντάς ἐκατράφικεν ἱκλαὼς. There-upon a saint appears, bidding οντως κατ-

3 ματί Λυπεργιτοροι καλαλτ πτιον

4 Lit. 'preserved in her eyes'. Cf. Ps. cxviii. 37.

Fol. 7. Recto. ... the barren woman. Yet (ἐτι) other six months is it, ουκ ἄμωμα. I shall see how that the breasts, which were dried up, after the (proper) time (χρόνος) have become full of milk. Perchance indeed they have deceived me [in that] which [they] ... 

Verso. ... of (?) his Lord, when she came up to his mother, he leaped (σκιρταν), he leaped [in the] womb (ψυχα), ere (?) ...... 

... 'How (?) what) ...... come unto me (?) [my?] Lord and the mother of my Lord' , , , ,

Fol. 8. → Recto.

ερατῆι άνεψ- 
εστρατήρα-
της. 
Ογιστρατώρ 
εσπικα ερα-
τῆι άπεψ-
ρων. 
Ογισκοις επ-
ῖνυ [ερατ]η 
[σί]εισεσογ 
[τ]ς,ος οι 
[σι]εράτε ου-
[μ]πιρετε 
[τ]ούκονομίᾳ

↑ Verso.

[...]ν ὑμαξε μη-
[περ]ερχθη τι-
[ε]ει εγγονοι. 
[Πε]ςαχ ήν πρε-
[πο]σιλθης 
[πα]τρην 
[θα]πισογ απ-
[γροογ] ἵππε-
[kαταρα]κτης 
[γ]οραφίν 
[νη]μη

* Here Rossi, 61 c.

Fol. 8. Recto. ... coming] to his general (στράτηλατης); a . . . . 6 (στράτωρ) coming to his recruit (τίρων); a shepherd coming to his sheep. Howbeit (τέως), 7 O my beloved, a marvel is the dispensation (οἰκονομία) [of God . . . . . .] of the singer (δομεφόδος) David, 8 'Mercy and truth are met

1 Luke i. 36.
2 Cf. the phrases in Rossi, ii. 1. 10 b.
3 Here, I assume, the preacher resumes.
4 Luke i. 44.
5 Ib. 43.
6 'Groom' is the sole meaning offered for this. Probably a mistake for a high military title.
7 'Meanwhile' seems unsuitable. Perhaps read ἀμφά.
8 Ps. lxxxiv. 10.
together; righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) and peace (εἰρ.) have kissed one another.\(^1\)

*Verso.* ... talked one with another, whilst yet (ἐτὶ) they were in the womb. The hieropsalt (ἱεροψ.) David said,\(^2\) ‘Deep answereth unto deep at the voice of Thy cataracts (κατ.)’ . . . .

... be unto me servant (ὑπηρέτης). It is I have taken away the barrenness of thy mother; for she shall bear thee and thou shalt prepare the ways before thy Lord . . . . John, my beloved . . . .

Fol. 9. \(\uparrow\) *Recto.*

margin

Kaθαρίσε ἱπε-  

giοουγε ετσο-  

ome γίον ἀ-  

πεκχοει·  

Ἀτορνέ τια-  

καττίζε α εβολ  

gιοουκ·  

Ἀλεου τενογ  

πλαχιμιηνογ-  

τε ετταίηγ  

πηθαθαρίζε  

[ἰπεδίουγε  

[ἐγι]να ἀπ-\(^b\)

\(^a\) Here Rossi, 61 c.  
\(^b\) πεκχοει·  
\(^c\) Here Rossi, 58 c.

→ *Verso.*

margin

[ἐπ [ταγο] ἀπε-  

[μαρπ-  

τακονία ἢτ-  

[μαρπ-  

μαρια τπαρ-  

σε]κ]ακανε  


[ἀλας]ε]ε]πε ογναρφενος  


[πει] μαγα]ατε  

[εκακα]τ]η]τ]ο ογναφε-  

[π]ος [σ]

Fol. 9. *Recto.* ... Make clean (καθαρίζειν) the crooked paths before thy Lord.\(^3\) Thou it is by whom I shall be baptized (βαπτ.). Come now, honoured bearer of good-tidings, make clean (καθ.) the paths before the . . . .

. . . . Thou . . . . . . . .

*Verso.* . . . signify (σημαίνειν) . . . because of this first-born (?) that . . . out from . . . .

\(^1\) Rossi, ii. iv. 94, Fr. vi ἀπε appears to expatiate on this.

\(^2\) Ps. xli. 8.

\(^3\) The verb used recalls Isa. lvii. 14.

\(^4\) Occurs in Rossi, 62 c, but I cannot identify the two passages.
... reached thee (not). The pangs (ἄγονία) of the first-born¹ befell thee not, O Maria the Virgin (μαρ). Thou didst bring forth, thou a virgin.
Thou didst deliver² thyself, thou a virgin ......

Fol. 10. → Recto.

margin

margin

Fol. 10, Recto. ... dissolved. Thou (fem.) dost nurse³ Him that shepherdeth all creation. He that giveth food unto all creation, thou gavedst Him milk when (ὡς) a child, with thy reasonable (λογικός) milk. He whom no place may hold was confined within....

... swathed Him in bandages ............ O this blessed (μακ.) manger, O these⁴ ......

Verso. ... the] hills [and] the sun and the moon and the stars and the

¹ So far recorded only as a Bohairic form, (though Peyron (280 b) knew the Saʿidic. Perhaps for ταμείον (cf. Steindorff, Gram., § 262).
² Lit. (reading ἀπακουέσω) 'didst act midwife'. Pap. Bruce, p. 259, uses the verb as here. Perhaps for ταμείον (cf. Steindorff, Gram., § 262).
³ Reading γλοολε with Rossi.
⁴ 'Incorruptible bandages' (Rossi).
trees of the field; the summer and the spring (ἐαρ), snow (χιών) and ice (κρύσταλλος).

... the Cherubim] and the Seraphim, the powers (δύναμις) and the seasons (χρόνος)\(^1\) the principalities (ἄρχη) and the powers (ἐξ.) and the rulers (κοσμοκράτωρ), Thou it is art the Creator (δημιουργός) of them all. And he saith, 'There was not place for them in the lodging' . . . .

— Fol. 11. ↑ Recto. 

margin

margin

Fol. 11. → Verso. 

\(^a\) Here Rossi, 56 c. 

\(^b\) Probably = Rossi, 57 b. 

\(^c\) ? π[α]τερ- 

\(^d\) 'Hidden for us' (Rossi). 

\(^e\) First visible letter not very like τ. 

\(^f\) ? επονομαζέ. 

\(^g\) The prolonged stroke over η demanding μ, one cannot read μομπηνηγίςα. 

Fol. 11. Recto. . . . clothe them selves] in garments of great price, of divers sorts, some because of the summer, others because of the winter. But (δὲ) God, the Creator (δημιουργός), is swathed in bandages . . . .

. . . Let [them] be shamed [now], the evil wolves of [here]tics (ἄρετικος)

\(^1\) Read θρόνος with Rossi.
that are] hidden in the city (πόλις), that hear us to-day. Let him be [shamed]...

Verso. ... [Let them] perish, the presumptuous (παράνομος), [they] that name (ὄνομαξεν) three divinities, dividing the Father from the Son and [the] Holy [Ghost (πν.]. Let] them . . . .
... the holy evangelist (εὐαγγ.) . . ., saying, 'There was not place for them in the lodging,' and 'they swathed Him in bandages and laid Him in a manger.' [Him whom] the manger did . . ., thou (fem.) didst take . . . like . . .

No. 8.

From a Sermon, treating here of the Last Judgement. The inability of the righteous to aid the wicked in that day is similarly alluded to in Homilies by John ῾Εφυνατόρ and Θεοφίλου.
Fol. 1. *Recto.* ... wretchedness, (saying,) 'Woe is me, my father! Thou wilt leave me behind thee?' And his father shall make answer, with weeping and groaning, 'Woe is me, my son! [I] have not power [to'].....

*Verso.* ... 'my] father, it were good if thou hadst not begotten me. For... to see [thee?] in these distresses. O my father, I have not power to help (βοηθείν') thee here. Because I was at pains and taught thee'.....

Fol. 2. *↑ Recto.*

→ *Verso.*

margin

margin

Fol. 2. *Recto.* ... groaning and thou shalt (?) find a righteous (δίκαιος) mother there, clasping the hand of her ill-doing daughter and the judgement (ἐποφαίνεις) coming forth from the Lord Jesus.....

*Verso.* ... her daughter, because they are about to cast her to the torments (κόλασις)..... her daughter will cry out, 'Woe is me, my mother! I have not power to help (βοηθείν) thee. Because I was at pains'.....

1 Nominal for verbal forms are not uncommon; lands no. 340.

of this same verb, e.g. Brit. Mus. no. 370, Ry-

2 τοτε probably too long for the gap.
Fol. 3. → Recto.

weeping and groaning, the like of which never was. And thou shalt find a righteous (δικαιος) brother clasping the hand of his ill-doing brother and the judgement (απόφ.)

Verso. ... the like of which never was. Woe [unto us]! Let us arise and weep over ourselves and break our hearts and scatter ashes upon us, ere the

Fol. 4. ↑ Recto.

mostly illegible
THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

Fol. 4. Recto. ... in the midst of the saints [and] the apostles (ἀποστόλοι), upbraiding us for the things we have done. Shall not (μὴ) our mouths be shut and we find not a word to say, whilst they upbraid us for that . . . .

Verso. ... because we fear men more than (παρὰ) God. If thou say . . . .

No. 9.

This Homily does not appear among the works ascribed to Gregory Nazianzen.¹ The connected foll. 5, 6, 7 contain the author's name; they belong therefore to the title-page, fol. 1; while foll. 3, 4, connected by their subject-matter, appear immediately to precede foll. 5. But since the title relates to Rom. iv. 15, therefore foll. 11, 12, 13 must belong to this same text, dealing as they also do with that verse. Again, repentance being the subject of foll. 3, 4, 5, therefore foll. 2 probably comes near these. Finally, I have noted (on my copy) that foll. 8, 10 appear, from their present shape, to lie near to foll. 7; they too, then, should belong to this sermon; while foll. 9, dealing, like the last, with charity,² should probably be placed close to them.

Cf. also No. 1.

Fol. 1. — Recto.

[Oxy]gono]melo]a ἵπτε πασίος τρικω- [ριος] πεθεδόλος πεπικοπος'[πιοι] ζιαντιος' εακταγος' εἴθε-


↑ [+] ἱλια - παγ[λο]ιε[επη] -

[εθεδ]ογ' ἰπα-

[ξοος' ζεεγ'-

[ναει εθολ' ² ο[ιομος']

Above this line another, or an ornament. The six lines of title are in a sloping script.

¹ Nor among those of his namesakes.
² On Zoega p. 19 is the title of a homily by Gregory on charity. Its text is unpublished.
After this I read ii., very doubtfully. It did not seem to be ΔΜΗΝ.

Fol. 1. Recto. A Homily (διμηλία) of St. (Ἅγιος) Gregory the Theologian (θεόλ.), the bishop (ἐπ.) of Nazianzus, which he pronounced concerning . . . . . . . . the holy apostle (ἀπ.), namely, 'The place wherein there is not law (νό.), there is not transgression (παράβασις).'

. . . good (?) . . . . that . . . the word (?) whereby (?) we point out (?) σημαίνειν . . . . .

. . . . . . , cried (-κραυγῇ) after her, saying, We give heed unto . . . . .

Verso. . . . Wherefore? I will tell. (It is because) whenever they come forth from the church, nay (ἄλλα) from the moment that they are seated at service (σύναξις), if they hear the lesson (λέγεις) and there follow another (lesson) after it, straightway they forget what they have heard. Let them (?) hear . . . . . .

. . . Paul, [who] saith, 'the place wherein there is not law, there is not transgression.' What sayest thou, O Paul? . . . .
Fol. 2. Recto.  ... Moses. He gave the law (νόμος), He sent the prophets (προφητεία) and they believed (πιστήν) not. Afterward the Son of God arose upon His Father’s right, and came and spake with us, saying, ‘If I have sent my
holy prophets (πρ.) unto you and they have spoken with you in my name.

... Lo, I am put to shame (?) through . . . . . . . . . all things . . . . they flee from [me']. Hath not God said, 'Come unto me ¹ . . . .

Verso. . . . for (γάρ) my [yoke] is easy and my burden is light' . . . . . . the burden . . . . [If] one betake him to Christ by reason of . . . sin (?) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . disease(d ?) [and?] desire that He would heal them, He doth not [lay a heavy? bur]den . . . .

. . . 'and first thou live strictly (πολιτείαν).' But (άλλα) He saith,² 'Behold, thou hast been made whole; turn not again to commit sin, lest a worse thing than this befall thee,' which is (to say,) 'Thy whole way-of-life (πολιτεία) is (that) thou turn not unto sin again.' Repentance (μετ.) of sin is not returning thereto. If a man turn unto God . . . .

¹ Matt. xi. 28-30.
² John v. 14.
THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

ογέρνετε ομαγ όσιν πνευματικόν + καλ [ ] ρωμεν πως επερκόν ευγ-  
τε- έϊ + μανίογ άε' επερκό 
πτεροδοσιε' + άκ [ ] άροψ' άπτεραοί 
τούγ margin άμονε' . 
+ τα' δωσι' έρω' άμπρω- 
te ήε' αμπρω- 
margin

Fol. 3. Recto. ... desiring to repent (μετανοεῖν) he hath the type (τύπος) of a ladder, the foot thereof fixed upon the earth, its head reaching up to heaven and its steps¹ raised one (above) the other. Like as a man lifeth his foot from the earth and setteth it upon the first step of the ladder, even thus the man......

Verso. ... others² stay in the water, hanging upon the ship; others sit on the outside of (?)³ the ship; others stand upon the ship and have not found place to sit, until they attain unto the shore. But (δὲ) when they attain unto the shore and the ship is in port, they come (+ δέ) up from (?) [the ship......

Fol. 4. → Recto. ↑ Verso.

κ ομ εγ- ὑμοος' κα- λως' ἀπ- πετόματο- ογ' ἴσει 
τηρογε' ἐπ- πετόματο- 
ωο' ἴσε- 
margin

[ικος a] ικος a
κοσμικός, κλιρικός, γαρτικός ?

¹ ποείμεν is a new word.
² The preceding column too dealt with the shipwreck: ξοί is legible.
³ I can find no instance of ὑμοος so constructed. Brit. Mus. Gk. Cat. iv, no. 1609 is too uncertain; Crum, Ostr. no. 351 still more so.
Fol. 4. Recto. ... they remaining (lit. sitting) placidly (καλῶς) with them that are in the water, and all come on to dry-land and are all saved. This is the manner of him who shall find a single grape in his cluster,¹ that is to say, a portion (μέρος) of repentance (μετ.). God’s pitifullness reacheth all of them . . . .

Verso. ... when] he [shall] grow old and be temperate (ἐγκρατεῦειν) and they . . . him ... be temperate (ἐγκ.). But (ἀλλά) [it is] an impossibility that? the] body (σῶμα) . . . . two (?) . . . .

. . . . torment and diist arise (saying,) ‘I will be temperate (ἐγκ.) and will repent (μετ.).’ Thou knowest not that thou shalt live till thou be old and (then) repent (μετ.). Hast thou (μή) established a covenant (διαθ.) with death² in thy youth? A man that, sinning, turneth his thoughts to God’s mercy, saying, . . . .

¹ Cf. Isa. lxv. 8 (Sa’id, ed. Schleifer).
² Cf. Isa. xxviii. 15, 18.
Fol. 5. P. 15. ... 'If I] die, the merciful God shall have mercy with me and forgive my sins,' and he continueth adding sin to his sin and repenting (μετ.) not; such an one as this is estranged from the mercy of God Almighty (πατοκρ.) . . . .

... therein, being a magician (μάγος). Such an one as this, if he die ere he have repented (μετ.), shall reach (καταντάν) the nether hell,¹ the place

¹ Cf. Ps. lxxv. 13.
where no light is, neither (οὐδὲ) shall God remember them that are in that place for ever. A Christian (χριστιανὸς) that shall . . .

P. 16 (last of a quire). . . . that he hath done. A Christian (χριστιανὸς) that shall lie in anything is not a Christian. A man that sweareth by God’s name falsely destroyeth himself many times. God shall destroy him, and he shall be in want of bread ere he die. A Christian . . .

. . . amulet (φυλακτήριον) . . . . shall go (?) . . . at all (δέως) to the place of a wizard or (η) a soothsayer, such an one hath already been stripped [of baptism (?)] 1 . . . .

Fol. 6. → p. 15.

1 Cf. p. 33.
Fol. 6. P. 17 (first of a quire). ... a woman that fornicateth (πορνεῖν), she having an husband ........ out from Christianity (χρηστιανός). I, Gregory, I have not said this of myself alone; I have studied (?) the laws (νόμος.) which our fathers the apostles (ἀπόστολοι) did fix (κανονίζειν) [for them?] that should ......

... If we do the deeds of baptism (βάπτισμα), then (is it) well (καλός) that we have received baptism (βάπτισμα). Let us not boast ourselves that we wear (φορεῖν) the habit (χύμα) of faith (πίστιν), and (then) find faith barren (ἀργός). 'Faith without works is barren (ἀργός).'¹ (It is) well (καλός) thou believe (πιστεύειν) in God; the devils (δαιμόνιον) also believe and tremble² ......

P. 18. (It is) well (καλός) thou believe (πιστεύειν) in the death of Jesus and His resurrection (ἀνάστησιν). Thou hast received baptism (βάπτισμα) and hast clothed thee with Christ. If thou strip thyself of Him through thy evil deeds, then hast thou made thyself barren (ἀργός), every vessel that is becoming old and perished being called barren (useless ἀργός). If thou do not the deeds of baptism (βάπτισμα), thou hast destroyed baptism: thou shalt be stripped ......

... wipe off its (?) seal (σφραγίς) from the brow ...... and they ...... no sign of Christianity (χρόνος). Woe [unto thee], if the sign of Christ's death be not [found] upon thee, which is His cross (σταυρός). For what wilt thou do? ......

Fol. 7. ↑ p. 16.

¹ Jas. ii. 20.
² I b. 19.
Fol. 7. P. 19. ... thou ... cry out, 'I too am a Christian (χρ.) ; I have received baptism (βάπτ.) in the name of Christ; I have received Thy divine body (σώμα) [and] Thy blood ... . . . . shall say ... . . .

... thee because of thy evil deeds. Faith without works is barren (ἀργός). I say once more that every vessel that is becoming old and perished is called useless (ἀργ.), be it (ἐίτε) vessel of bronze or (ἐίτε) vessel

---

1 Jas. ii. 20.
of silver or (εἰτε) gold. If so be that they grow old and perished, they are molten again and made new and cease to be called

P. 20. perishable or (η) perished.1 Thou likewise, if thou know that thou art useless altogether (lit. on every side), hasten, flee unto the altar (θυσιαστήριον); pour forth thy tears before Christ; beat thy breast, saying, 'I have sinned; Lord, forgive me the sins of the past (lit. of behind); I will not continue ....

... hast] groaned ... before the altar (? θυσ.) ... departed far from [thy] sins [and tu]rned not again unto them, I it is will go surety for thee, that thou do [not ...

Fol. 8. → Recto, a p. ?

margin

† αιανη' να'γ

πο' +πτιοει'εινε'

ευπρος

πορα' επη'

ιππογυτε'

ερεπεγεχ'τ

σι' αρικε'

εροογ' ξε

ποτεπ'

προσφορα' 

να' γενρεγ-

πυοβε'νε'

λα'ιμρα' πα-

[ιο]γε' πρω-

Verso, p. ?

margin

επεχ'τ

εκαποεικ'

ειπτοοικ-

πριο' πε'ιεω-

τα' ινωογ'

ππε' ειχε-

+ροκ' ιτοκ'

ο πλαικος' 

ιππρικε

ιπετερε-

πιογυτε'

σωτε' ερο-

ογ' καν' 

+ρεμπιεβε'

πο' 

καπτακ-

τεκw)

a The traces of pagination here might be Χ and a second letter; not Χ and Κα, since these would not, by rights, fall upon the same leaf.

1 Lit. 'they that perish or that have perished'. It is not easy to reproduce this in idiomatic English.
Fol. 8. Recto. ... nought shall save (?) 1 a man except charity (ἀγάπη). 'Charity seeketh not the things that are her own.' 2 There are [some] do......

...to whom charity (ἀγ.) is given that need (-χρεία) it not. There are some do make offering (προσφορά) at the house of God, whose heart accuseth them (saying,) 'Those unto whom we give offerings (πρ.) are sinful men like unto us,' that is, the holy eagles (ἀετός) 3 the clergy (κηρυκός), that do say unto God, with the mere words of their mouth, 'Be favourable (καταξίων), come

(Verso) down upon the bread and the cup (ποτήριον), and He heareth them and doth come. I say unto thee, 4 O layman (λαϊκός), judge (κρίνειν) not them whom God heareth, 5 even (κἀν) be they sinful men: thou hast nought (to do with that). Hast thou been entrusted with them, that thou shouldest intercede (προσβεβειν) for their sins? Rather (ἄλλα) have they been entrusted with your souls (ψυ.), that they may......

...to (?) Ezekiel [shall] come upon you. 6 The blood of [each] one shall come u[pon] his [?]......

1 If so, πειγχα is required. But this scribe is not very accurate. 2 1 Cor. xiii. 5.
3 Cf. Can. Athanas. p. 16, where the same simile is used. A sermon on Epiphany (Paris 131, 114 = MS. of Br. Mus. no. 257 &c.) refers to the deacons at the sacrament as 'the eagles flapping (ταατε) their wings around the body (σῶμα).'
4 V. p. 65 note.
5 The difference achieved by the varying preposition is between mere hearing here and acquiescing, obeying in the preceding sentence.
6 V. Ezek. iii. 18.
7 ? 'hand'; cf. Ezek., l.c.
Fol. 9. ↑ Recto.

Do ye then not (οὐκοῦν) know, O my beloved, that the hand of Christ Jesus [our] Lord . . . . hear David (?), speaking thus, . . . .

... [He hath not] said, 'Thou hast stood at the left of the poor,' but (ἄλλα) he said,1 'Thou hast stood at the right of the poor.' Since (ἐπειδῆ) every man that giveth with his right hand, when the poor stretcheth forth his hand to receive . . . .

1 Ps. cviii. 31. But no text or version that I can find reads 2nd pers. thus, for 3rd.
... bless(ing?) ... Dost thou then not hear that 1 'He that giveth unto a poor (man), lendeth at usury unto God?' I indeed do (?) hear that² 'Inasmuch as (ἐφ' ὀσον) ye have done it unto one of these little ones, it is unto me ye have done it.' Wherefore if thou do evil unto a (?) ...... 
...... [? For (γάρ)] it is better to give charity (ἀγ.) than if thou receive from (?) ³ ......

1 Prov. xix. 17.
2 Matt. xxv. 40. Note the reading.
3 Or 'if thou thyself receive' ......
Hearken and I will tell thee this thing, worthy of wonder. There was a man . . . . .? was wont to give] three solidi (δολοκ.) in charity (ἀγάπη) yearly, one at (κατά) a time. He heard Paul saying, 'Charity (ἄγ.) seeketh not the things that are her own.' He would arise in the morning on the day whereon he should do charity (ἄγ.), and would go forth from his house; the first man that he should meet (ἀπαντάν), whether (κἂν) he were a poor man, (Verso) or (κἂν) a rich, he would give it (sc. the solidus) unto him. He arose that day and met (ἀπὶ) a great rich man of the city (πόλις) and he went toward him stealthily and gave it unto him. After that he had given it unto him he knew him, and stayed doubting (διακρίνειν) in his heart (saying), 'This man is richer than (παρά) I. It is I have need (χρεία) to receive charity (ἄγ.) at his hands.' Afterwards . . . .

. . . and these thoughts contended with him. Likewise (ὁμοίως) he betook himself (?) . . . .

1 i Cor. xiii, 5.
2 "Ομοίως 'however' would seem more suitable.
Fol. 11. Recto. ... the Genesis (γέν.) of Moses. For (καὶ γὰρ) the parents too that begat Moses were not in Genesis, but (?) ἀλλὰ all that ... Verso. ... to (?) whom? 'Where there is not law, there is not transgression.' He said, 'Nay'; the transgression (παράβασις) is not of this sort ....

Fol. 12. Recto. 

τε' αἵπη
+εἰδεναὶ
ἀπαγλος'
ωῷ εἴολ'
ξεπαε' ετε-
ἀππαραβα-
εις'
+ως' αἰο-

Verso. 

+τ[...μνοκεε).
εἰδεναϊ-
+πνομει'
μαι' αἰο-

---

margin

Fol. 12. Recto. ... not ... it. For this cause did Paul cry out, 'Where there is not law, there is not transgression (παρ.).' Likewise (ὁμοίως) also

1 Or 'Verily'.
Reuben, when he lay with Thamar,¹ his father's wife, [and] Abimelek, when he coveted (ἐπιθυμεῖν), and the rest, when they . . .

Verso. . . . sin, because the law (νόμος) hath (had?) been given him and he hath (had?) transgressed (παραβαλεῖν) it. 'Where there is not law, there is not transgression (παρά.)' Lo, how much shall not be ours;³ we Christians (χριστιανοὶ)? Lo, the Gospels (εὐαγγέλια) have been given unto us; lo, the teachings of our holy fathers the apostles (ἀποστόλοι) . . .

---

1 A mistake for Bilhah; v. Gen. xxxv. 22 (21). Yet palaeographically ἀλλά and ἀλλα[p] might well be confused.

2 Gen. xx. 2.

3 I suppose this to mean, 'How great punishments shall not be ours?'
Fol. 13. Recto (?). ... cast them forth from us. Woe, woe! How great are the troubles that await us. If they slew this (man) whom they had found gathering wood in the field, what manner of death, then, is it shall overtake us? Woe, woe! For we wear (φορέων) an angelic (ἀγγελικός) habit (σχῆμα) and have done the deeds [of . . . . . .

Verso (?). . . . the garden . . . . . . . What manner of [remembrance (?)] [is it shall] overtake us? . . . . . . . . . from . . . till . . . . . . . . da[ily.] If . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . that are] not ours (?). Verily (αληθῶς), my beloved, unless God forgive us, there shall not a single one from this generation (γενεά) be saved from the punishment (κόλασις) of the Son of God. ‘Where there is not law, there is not transgression.’ ‘If I had not come and talked with the world (κόσμο), they had been guilty of no sin’ . . . .

No. 10.

From a Sermon, treating here of repentance, as exemplified by Nebuchadnezzar. Repentance is apostrophized similarly in a sermon by Theophilos (Budge, Copt. Hom. 69).

1 Num. xv. 30 (32). σλυμε in Zoega, 337 = συλλέγων ζύλα in PG. 65, 256. Cf. Deut. xxix. 11 = ξυλοκόπος, also Zoega 487 ult. 2 Perhaps ‘We lie (καίσελι) from morn till evening’. 3 John xv. 22. Note the reading.
Fol. 1. Recto. ... Hearken [unto Repentance (μετ.)] ....... them that betake themselves to her. Hearken unto Repentance, she that cleanseth (lit. wipeth out) such as are old in wickedness (κακία). Hearken unto Repentance, that is a fellow unto the angels (ἀγγ.) of God. O Repentance, pure (καθαρός) bread which nourisheth ......

... O Repentance, ......

Verso. ... that] are grown old [in their] sins ... once more. [O Repentant]ce ...... flee unto ......

... bold (τολμηρός), whilst I show forth the state that thou wast in. Nay; so shall it not be. Rather (ἀλλὰ) I tell every one that would live again through Repentance ......

Fol. 2. ↑ Recto. margin

→ Verso. margin

[......] ἑιμικα- [......] ἑιμικα-
[......] σοι ἑιμικα-
[......] σοι ἑιμικα-
Ye have heard the prayer of Daniel concerning the one and twenty years that had been fixed for him . . . .

Verso. . . . power of God, and he betook himself unto Repentance (μετ.) and displayed his weakness. And . . . .

Fol. 3. Recto. . . . caused all the world (ολκομενη) to worship him as (ὁς) God. And the aforesaid (king), after that his heart had been hardened, like the heart of . . . .

Verso. . . . he brought [forth from] the place wherein he was confined and gave unto him his former honour, and he was reckoned unto his fathers. Ye have seen, O [my brethren ?] how . . . .

1 I cannot identify this reference. 'Twenty-one' occurs in Daniel only in x. 13, but in an apparently apocryphal reference to this book it recurs in the Eulogy on Victor (Miss. viii. 195).
Fol. 4. ↑ Recto.  

margin

margin

A 3rd π precludes the proposed restitution.

Fol. 4. Recto. ... (saying,) [Thou] Lord,... merciful and longsuffering, whose mercy is great. Thou givest repentance (μετ.) unto all sinners (?) ....

Verso. ... I am not able to look up to heaven by reason of the multitude of my iniquities. Verily I have angered Thee. I entreat Thee,...-ing with many ....

Fol. 5. ↑ Recto.  

margin

margin

a gorn or gorn.  

b ? μινιμε.
Fol. 5. Recto. ... ye also. For whilst (δοῦν) the rich man disporteth himself in all these sports, evening cometh upon him, which is the end of his lifetime, and he doth forfeit his whole life. There be some of the birds of the world (κοτ.) whose . . . are . . . .

Verso. . . . will draw nigh (or fly) there, without any burden. But the rich man is like unto a great ship, whose freight is heavy, (so that) it doth not . . . anywhere, except (εἰμὴ) in the deep sea (πέλαγος) and is in danger (κυδωνευειν) of a . . . .

No. II.

From a Sermon, treating here of charity and of the Good Samaritan.
Recto. ... and thou] love thy neighbour as thyself;'\(^1\) while he telleth us, 'Thou oughtest to give heed to every [one] whom thou seest in trouble (ἀνάγκης).\(^2\) For (γάρ) by means of these commandments (ἐντολή) shalt thou make manifest that thou dost love the Lord thy God with all thy heart. Because many there be that, when they see one in heavy difficulties (?), whether (εἰτε) an illness or (εἰτε) a . . . . .

... the manner (ὕποσ) of the priest and the Levite . . . . . . . , when they had beheld him, they passed him by; they had not pity on him, neither (οὐδὲ) did they bind up his wounds . . . .

Verso. ... through the compassion that was in him, sai[th? he,] having bound up his wounds, he poured oil and wine upon him and set him upon his own beast . . . .

... the innkeeper (πανδοχεύς). And he bade him, saying, 'Take well (καλῶς) care of him; whatever thou spendest, when I shall return, I will give it thee.' Thou hast seen, O beloved, by how many means (lit. things) compassion may be fulfilled. Compassion is a great matter (κεφάλαιον) . . . .

No. 12.

Apparently from a Dialogue or ἐρωταπόκρισις concerning the interpretation of various passages in the Gospels.\(^3\) The problems are stated by Anatolius (tolerably certain, v. fol. 2 ro.) and Milius (3 ro., uncertain, for Meletius?), and solved by Ba . . . .(perhaps Bachius\(^4\) ). The bible texts incidental are for the most part paraphrased or loosely quoted. The sequence in foll. 2 and 3 is certain; the position of fol. 1 doubtful.

Fol. 1. ↑ Recto.

[αξ[κ-]
[ἀε]
[ιε-]
[ἀνα-]

→ Verso.

[με]
[εδ]
[ει]

\(^1\) Matt. xix. 19, xxii. 39, or Mark xii. 31.
\(^2\) Lit. 'their troubles'.
\(^3\) The literature of such dialogues is described by R. Nachtgall in Arch. f. Slav. Philol. xxiii, xxiv; Berendts in T. u. U., N. F. xi. 34 ff.; and Heinrici in the Leipzig Abhandl., Phil. hist. Kl., xxviii. But I have found nothing resembling the present fragments, either in names or contents.
\(^4\) The obvious Basilius seems too long for the gap, fol. 2 ro., l. 1, though not for fol. 20, l. 8. Bachius is the name (1) of a writer of sermons (Zoega cclxv) and ? of an encomium on James the Persian martyr (to be presumed from the words quoted by Zoega cclxiv. The martyr's relics were in Egypt; v. Synax., 27th Hathor); (2) of a priest in Palestine who converts a Samaritan in a λόγος of Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem (Brit. Mus. Or. 6799, abstract in Synax., 17th Thot).
Fol. 1. Recto. ... rather that the works (?) of my Father may be manifested in him.\(^1\) Verily (δινώς) I am perplexed (ἀπορείσθαι) when I say these words, God Himself (?) testifying concerning this man that ‘Neither did this (man) sin nor (οὔτε) did his parents do (so).’ Apa Ba[....] said [....] saying,\(^2\) ‘He that shall be [wroth] against his brother without cause (εἰκή), is in danger of the judgement (ἐνοχὸς, κρίσις) ......

Verso. ... wash] thy face there and thou shalt see.'\(^3\) I say ....\(^4\) Siloam is the church (ἐκκλ.). The waters are [the water]s of [holy baptism]m (βαπτ.).\(^5\), manifested in ........ the earth, the first time; afterward the giants (γῆς)\(^6\); afterward the flood (κατακλύσμος); afterward the earth that was peopled for the second time; afterward the law (νόμος) that He committed unto Moses upon the mount ......

\(^1\) Cf. John ix. 3.
\(^2\) Matt. v. 22.
\(^3\) Cf. John ix. 7.
\(^4\) Some particle or ‘to thee’.
\(^5\) Cf. Cyril’s interpretation in Lagarde, Catena, 201, 36.
\(^6\) Gen. vi. 4.
Fol. 2. → Recto.

* For c perhaps o or o。

Fol. 2. Recto. . . . with a single faith (πίστ.), perfect in equality, sinless and without offence (σκανδαλιζείν). These are the things that God revealed unto our father A[da]m.¹ Ana[tol]ius said, ‘. . . . A[pa B . . . . ] said, ‘They² . . . . as (ὁς) man.’ An[ato]lius said, ‘At [the time] when He caused the water become wine,³ [did He] do (this) as (ὁς) man or (?) [as (ὁς)] God?’ [Apa] Ba[. . . . ] said, ‘. . . . [He] did . . . . as (ὁς) . . . .’ . . . . said, ‘

Verso. . . . wherewith [He?] cause[d?] the water become wine; or hath He times (or seasons) in His hand,⁴ wherewith He worketh?’ Apa Bal . . . . s said, ‘Nay, not thus is it . . . . heard one . . . . [payeth] heed? (and) . . . . furnisheth (χορηγεῖν)⁵ the Spirit (νεανία) . . . .

¹ Space scarcely allows A[δαμ], but is Adam probable?
² One is tempted to read χειταγη, ‘He . . . .
³ Cf. John ii. 1 ff.
⁴ I.e. ‘at His disposal’. Perhaps a reference to some accusation of magical processes.
⁵ Perhaps χορηγός preferable. Πνεύμα could not be subject unless there were space for Πνεύμα.
... Ga]li[lee . . . . . . there . . . . also Jesus and His disciples (μαθ.) to the marriage. But (δὲ) the [parents ¹] of the bride were kinsmen (συγγενής) of Mary [the mother] of Jesus, and the people there . . . .

Fol. 3. Recto. ... Wherefore He said unto her,1 'Not yet is my hour [come].' Milii[ius?] said, 'We des[ire], O our father, that thou wouldest explain [unto us] this other question (ξητημα?), when he 2 saith, 'When [Jesus was come] up from [the water], after that [He had had?] baptism (βαπτισμα) . . . . take (took?) . . . .

... the] devil (διαβ.) 3, forty days and forty nights, neither eating nor drinking. When the devil (διαβ.) knew that He was an hungered, he betook him unto Him, saying, 'If thou art the Christ, say unto these stones that they may become bread.' Jesus said unto him, 'Man useth not to live by bread alone, but (ἄλλα) by every word that cometh forth from the mouth of God.' And when

(Verse) [the] enemy had fulfilled every temptation (πειρασμός) 4, the enemy brought Him in unto the holy city (πόλις) Jerusalem and set Him upon the wing of the temple. He said unto Him, 'If thou it is art the son of God, cast thyself down from hence. For (γάρ) it is written, He shall bid His angels (ἀγγ. ) concerning thee, and they shall bear thee upon their hands, lest at any time (μὴποτε) thou dash against a stone thy foot.' Jesus said unto him, 'Thou shalt not tempt (πειράζειν) the Lord thy God, [and] the Lord [thy] God [it is to whom] thou shalt pray.' 5 And when he had fulfilled [every] temptation (πειλ.), [Jesus] said [unto him], 'Withdraw [thyself be]hind [me.] [Satan . . . .

No. 13.

Fragments of a version from the Greek of anecdotes embodied by John of Maiuma in his Πληροφορίαι, whereof hitherto only a Syriac translation was known. 6 That this Coptic text is not a translation of the latter is clear from divergences in detail which even its dilapidated condition allows us to recognize. 7 The former existence of a Coptic version of the Testimonies is known from its occurrence in a 6th or 7th century book list, 8 and its mention in the Antiphonary. 9 As in both these the work is definitely ascribed to Peter the Iberian, it may be assumed that John's collection was made from one already existing, and due to that saint himself.

1 John ii. 4.
2 I. e. the evangelist. Cf. Matt. iii. 16.
3 Cf. Matt. iv. 2-4.
5 μαμα 'serve' (Matt. iv. 10) would be preferable.
6 Ed. Nau in Patr. Or. viii (1). Our passages are parallel with the end of cap. xxvi and beginning of xxvii (= l.c., pp. 67, 68). Fol. 2 is not identified; it seems to be absent from John's collection.

7 Recto: 'blessed Timothens', 'his treatises';
Verse : 'rank', 'to-day'.
8 V. my Coptic Ostr., no. 459: 'The Pler. of Apa Peter the Iberian'.
9 V. Rylands Catal., p. 212. The context is:
'Those that would forsake the treachery of Chalcedon, let them take the Book of Testimonies (χωκα πτε πιλετεις) of Peter and the συνάγωνα of Timothy the ὄμολογης and the Letters of Severus.'
Fol. 1. → Recto.
margin

... and I heard it... knew him... to the archbishop Apa Timotheus. And while (ēti δέ) yet... one of them that had... 
syncellus¹... and had] served (ὑπηρετεῖν) [him while he was in] exile (ἐξοριστα). Wherefore... since (ὡς) he had known the... , the blessed (μακ.) Timotheus²... many a time in his [epistles (ἐπ.)] and] also in his treatises (σύνταγμα)... the synod (σύνοδος) of Chalcedon...

Verso. ... the king] Zeno... Palestine... our blessed (μακ.) [father]... with him,³ saying, ‘One [whose name was Pe]ter, being a σχολ[άριος] in his] rank (ἀγίωμα)... to-day, I loved [Nestorius]... And I... of Chalcedon and... [the king Marc]ian. And many [times]... I opposed them that did ac[cuse] (κατηγορεῖν) them. Afterwards... night, one that...

¹ This is accented in the MS.: a very rare feature in Coptic (e.g. Brit. Mus. Pap. v, ed. Winstedt, Coptic Texts, 1910, p. 175).
² Or ‘Timotheus’ might (with preceding πσι) be subject of ‘known’.
³ I.e., in his presence.
No. 14.

This is presumably from apocryphal Acts, in which Andrew plays a part; but it is difficult to say to which story it belongs. Passages on pp. 70, 73-75 of Bonnet’s Acta Apost. Apocr. ii³ relate to sea voyages, and the last of them to the appearance of Christ as a ship’s master, whom the apostle accosts²; but none of these is sufficiently like to be identified with what is discernible here.

Sequence of Recto and Verso is uncertain.

1 Several alternatives are possible here.
2 Cf. the Coptic in Guidi’s Frammenti, pp. 55, 56 (Nota iv); Lemm, Kopt. Apokr. Apost. (= Mélanges Asiatiques x), p. 156; Ethiopic in Budge, Contendings ii. 189, 270, 374.
Recto (?). ... so that (?) the disciples (μαθ.) should ... [until] they reached the city (πόλις) whither they were going, so that they might not disturb the sea (θάλ). Thus did he pray, saying, 'I beseech [Thee']...... ... 'the perils (κίνδυνος) of the sea (θάλ). The hope (ἐλπίς) of them that have (?)..., that is [us] who have [forsaken]..... the hope (ἐλ.) of th[is?] world]..., so that we may [get] for ourselves Thy hope (ἐλ.) which is Thine'.....

Verso (?). ... I go [to...] the place ............, so that they be saved ............ Andrew [said,] 'Behold,'..... ..... the ship to the shor(?)... He said, 'I say (?) unto thee,3 thou sailor of the Lord,4 my ... hath ..... thy'.....

No. 15.

The date in the title and the words of fol. 1 point to the martyrdom of Mark the Evangelist. We have, therefore, it may be assumed, an Encomium upon him. Those known in Greek, whereof the initial words are published, do not appear to correspond with this text.5

1 Grammar demands this. The subject may be 'winds', or the like, in the earlier, lost part of the sentence.
2 This assumes an emendation of my copy.
3 A doubtful location; v. Steindorff, Gram.2 43*, also no. 9 above, l. 8 vo., BKU., no. 183, 1. Peyron 47 and Stern § 26 took it for εἰρή.
4 'Of the ship' is less likely.

But Mk. v. 41 (σωλ λέγω) confirms Steindorff's suggestion. In Bo. it appears as αἰσιποκ ποοκ (Test. Abr., Rendic. 1900, 164, 10), but also αἰσε., CSCO., vol. 41. 17. 47.
Fol. 1. Recto.

... on the last day of the month [Parmoute]. In peace (εἰρ.) [of God]. Amen:—

I owe (χρεωστεῖν) thee, O holy (ἀγ.) Mark, a great debt (χρέως). I confess (σμολογεῖν) that I owe (χρέως) thee not one day nor (οὖν) two, but rather (αλλά) all the (λόγος) time of my life, that I may... as (καὶ)...

Verso. ... conquer... contend (πολεμεῖν)...

... all,¹ before this age (λόγος) these times). And (δὲ) He sent thee not to

¹ The preceding word perhaps ἀμάτην for ἀματᾶνος 'deceive'.
Rakote (Alexandria) alone, but (ἀλλά) He sent thee also to the land (χώρα) of Egypt, that was mad until to-day, with the madness of the idols (εἰδ.). Who shall be able to persuade (πείθειν) the peoples (λαός) . . . to despise (καταφρονεῖν) the demons (δαιμόν) . . . .

Fol. 2. Recto (?).  

margin

→ Verso (?).

margin

Fol. 2. Recto (?). . . . 'give] healing' unto them by his spittle. Them that I shall wound with my darts he will make whole with his word;

1 Cf. εἰδωλομανία.  
2 The devil log.  
3 A reference to the healing of Anianus' hand.
them that I shall lead into dark caverns (σπήλαιον), he will enlighten with the lamp (λαμπάς) of the gospel (εὐαγ.): 1 . . . .

Verso (?). . . . of (?) the gospel (εὐαγ.) . . . the enemy was shamed. He died indeed (μὲν γάρ), yet (ἀλλά) his death incited (προτρέπειν) a multitude and they became martyrs (μάρτυρος). He was (+ μὲν) hidden below the earth, yet (ἀλλά) do his crowns 2 shine forth daily, more than the lightning (ἀστραπῆ) . . . . . . . . body . . . .

No. 16.

From the Martyrdom of Philotheus of Antioch. The story was apparently similar to that abbreviated in the Synaxarium, 16th Tubah. 3 Other remnants of the Saʿidic version are among the copies of papyri made by A. des Rivières 4 and in a Borgian MS., 5 Brit. Mus., no. 330 being another copy of the latter passage. His Martyrdom appears in a 6th or 7th century library catalogue. 6 It is presumably this martyr 7 who is invoked, with other Antiochene military saints, upon grave stelae 8 and in the diptychs. 9 He too appears once as a dragon slayer. 10 The Encomium, attributed to Severus of Antioch, for the building (? بِنيان) of his church and 'invention' (ظهور) of his relics, on the 16th Abib, appears to relate various miracles, but no facts. 11

→ Recto,

[μα]

μηρέ] τοῦτο τε ἡμ[

[..]πιτε τα προμμε επεχραμπε φιλοθεος]


2 Those granted to martyrs for their virginity, piety, sufferings &c.

3 Cf. Bargès, p. 6.

4 And not him of Oxyrhynchus (Hyvernat, Actes, 100). Philotheus of Dronkah (Forget, Synax. ii. 100) suffered in A.D. 1380.

5 Quibell-Thompson, Soqqara, no. 203. Cf. Clédat, Baouit, i, pl. xxi.


7 Paris, MS. arabe 153, 243 b, almost wholly illegible.
The constant phrase is ὄγομεν εἴη (e.g. Lev. vii. 12, ix. 4), rarely ἰόμην (ii. 4). My copy makes either of these difficult here.

* Verso. 

† Verso.
But (δὲ) a young boy ... [of] ... 1 years, whose name was [Philotheus]. And (δὲ) his parents [were] pagans (ἐλλην), knowing not God, but rather (ἀλλὰ) [worshipping (? a] grass-eating (-χόρτος) calf ... . that his parents did, [giving?] him daily three measures [of flour] kneaded [with?] oil ... . they ... from them and ... . of ointment three [times daily. And] he used to drink of ... wine and ... and rose-wine (ῥόσατον). And ... summer and another ... and ... of gold. And ...

Verso. ... his two ears were like ... . his mouth, while his feet were ... pillars (στήλος) of silver upon bases (βάσις) of ... firmly fixed; and he was mild and good (ἀγαθός) [and adorned with] every beauty, even as [Joseph] ... Egypt, being mild 5 at all times [toward] his servants and those of his house and ... those without. They used all to love him because of his joyous ... and his ... him (?) daily ... upon (?) the calf, for they loved [him ?] ... saying (?), ... 6 the God of [heaven and earth and all] that are in [them] ... the boy ... [his ?] words (?) ... mysteries (μυστήρια) ... .

No. 17.

From the Martyrdom of Philotheus. Nothing parallel to the incidents here related is found in the Synaxarium's abbreviated story. It will be observed that Brit. Mus. no. 330 (v. above) gives Raphael as the angel who attended the saint. The last of A. des Rivières' fragments (lxxvii) tells of the emperor's dismay at the destruction of his gods. 7

1 It is difficult to read 'ten' with Ar.; 'nine' were more possible.
2 Perhaps here 'and rose-wine'. This would, here and below, = Ar. 'sesame oil'. Cf. the mixture described by Lane, Mod. Eg. (1836), ii.
3 I.e. Philotheus.
4 Cf. Gen. xxxix. 6.
5 The epithet applied to Moses (= πρῶτος), Num. xiii. 3.
6 Perhaps 'Art thou the God?' Cf. Arabic.
7 'Thou hast destroyed', he says, 'the great god that gave me victory and hast enchanted my three generals and all my army. By the might of the Romans, I will cause thy flesh to ... .'
Fol. 1. Recto. ... Raphael the angel (ἀγ.), standing beside him ... He said unto Diocletian,¹ 'O evil beast (θηρίον), are then ... thy (plural) like this ... this multitude (?) ... 'nineteen idols² ... quickly, that the power of my Lord

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¹ Here (as in PSBA. xxxii. 246 ff.) always 'Dioclet', a form due presumably to the θηρίον, frequently used in Salīdīc dated colophons (Brit. Mus. nos. 162, 398, 490; Paris 1321, ff. 66, 74 &c.) and represented in Arabic as ديفال (Sever. Asbm. in Patr. Or. vi. 126, 127).

² Diocletian is usually given seventy idols: Hyvernart, Actes, 78, 202; Winstedt, Theodore, 58; CSCO. vol. 44, pp. 78, 123; 16. 38, pp. 16, 120 &c.
may be manifested in the midst of this multitude.' And the idol ran quickly . . . . in (or into) the temple . . . .

Verso. . . . Diocletian . . . . . . . . . [saying,\(^1\)] 'Lo . . . . . . . . . the servant of God Philotheus quickly.' And straightway they leapt down from their pedestals (\(\text{βάσις}\)), for the archangel (\(\text{ἀρχάγγελος}\).) Raphael was . . . .

. . . then . . . . come in unto the theatre (\(\text{θέατρον}\)) and stood before Saint (\(\text{ἅγιος}\)) Philotheus\(^2\) in great fear [and] they all said, as if with a [single] voice, 'Lo, we are come, servant of God, [for] thou didst call [us.']. When . . . .

\(^{1}\) Raphael \(\text{log.}\)^?
\(^{2}\) Possibly 'the saintly [Apa] Ph.'
Fol. 2. Recto. ... 'lord. We beheld the Christians (χρ.) ... before ... in places ... , he being like unto a youth ... of about fifteen years.' Diocletian said unto Romanus and all his great (men), ... thy (?) ... [com]mand (κέλευσις) ... to him ... 

... burn them [in] fire, [until they] cease ... then cast [him in] to the sea (θάλ.), so that ... they may not even find (?) his body (σῶ.), at all (δλως), to build for it a shrine (μαρτυρίον); for a shrine (μ.) shall be built for them at the last ... 

Verso. ... the king ... this word ... the soldiers? ... their ... according to (κατά) the command (κέλευσις) of the king. The soldiers [said] unto him, 'We would spare thee for thy beauty's sake, O Philotheus, but (ἀλλά) we [fear?] the command (κέλ.) of the king ... . ... but (ἀλλά) who is delivered (χαρίζεσθαι) unto us, we fulfill the king's bidding.' He signed (φαραγίζειν) himself in Christ's [name] and said, 'My Lord (Jesus) Christ, if this be Thy [will], that I should finish my [fight (ἀγών)] in this torture (κλασις), and that I go (?) ... 

No. 18.

From the Martyrdom of Psate, bishop of Psoi (Ptolemais). The same incident, of the devil, in the guise of a serpent, inspiring the young Diocletian, then still known as Agripidos, is found in the Synaxarion. The only new feature is the name of the saint's native village.

1 Or 'this youth'.
2 Or possibly 'instruction, chastisement', παιδευσις.
3 The number of this and several following pronouns is quite uncertain.
4 Or possibly 'then' (apodosis) ... .
5 Synax., 27 Kihak. The name is as often Psoi. Fragments of the text: Brit. Mus. no. 347; Winstedt in PSBA. xxxii. 195, 246, 283.

8 Doubtless Mangûg, opposite Psoi (Menshây). In our fragment ταμογ- is scarcely possible, though most such names have the article (ταμογθαράθε, ταμογμάρι, ταμογθαράσε), rarely not (Mowaxhû). The full form, though without gen. ταμογ-, is in ταμογθαράστι (Brit. Mus. no. 529). Mangûg is 'in the district of Psoi' (Am. Géogr. 238), in a Cairo Synax. (my copy) أيسو، أيسوو، أيسووو، أيسوووووو، أيسووووووو. Note that either Pkoq, Zoega 34 (= CSCO., vol. 41, 11), should be read Pkoq, to agree with Pkoq, Synax. 5 Mechir (Forget i. 453), now transcribed in another (Forget ii. 270) Pkoq, i.e. Pkoq. Note that either Pkoq, Zoega 34 (= CSCO., vol. 41, 11), should be read Pkoq, to agree with Pkoq, Synax. 5 Mechir (Forget i. 453), now transcribed in another (Forget ii. 270) Pkoq, i.e. Pkoq. Note that either Pkoq, Zoega 34 (= CSCO., vol. 41, 11), should be read Pkoq, to agree with Pkoq, Synax. 5 Mechir (Forget i. 453), now transcribed in another (Forget ii. 270) Pkoq, i.e. Pkoq. Note that either Pkoq, Zoega 34 (= CSCO., vol. 41, 11), should be read Pkoq, to agree with Pkoq, Synax. 5 Mechir (Forget i. 453), now transcribed in another (Forget ii. 270) Pkoq, i.e. Pkoq.
Recto. ... the] same [village], which they call Moun'gou... youth (? youths) .....  
... without displaying their life (βίος) ..... the just (δίκ.) and the unjust (αδίκος), ... the godly (εὐσεβῆς) and the ungodly (ἀσεβῆς), in a fashion such as this. It befell, on a day, that the shepherd left them both with the beasts and went to his house and lay down, [that] day .....  

Verso. ... and the goat-herd boy, him that was called [Akri]pita. God revealed a vision (δραμα) ... wonder (? θαύμα)\(^1\) ... the holy Apa Psate beheld and saw this (sic) great black dragon (δράκων) serpent lying beneath the head of the boy (?) Ak[ri]pita .....  
... He said [unto him], 'My [son] Akri[pita], open [thy] mouth' .....  

\(^1\) I cannot offer a satisfactory reading here.
No. 19.

The Martyrdom of Apa Moui seems to be otherwise unrecorded, though the name, sometimes with 'Apa' prefixed, is frequent. He appears to have suffered at Alexandria, presumably just before his companion, Apa Herwoj, here mentioned. The story is apparently narrated by a certain Pgoi, in presence of other 'saints'; but this narrative again is embedded in an Encomium, pronounced at the martyr's shrine upon his festival day.

Fol. 1. → Recto.

απα

te' acswy ebo[ol]

ζενοανοε ετογ[ar]

πνηρη μανε παρ[ar]

tos' boiwei etamπta-\n
ρωμ' ειππαρακαρει

απεκεκ περαριζε παι π-

ογιηρη μεον εικ γιν-

te' eic πεπλαγ' ίπιτ

μαμαλφ ποσον' ειοα' επ-

φουνοσ πεζωριε-

τια. εκτενισθ' αε

↑ Verso.

[μυο αειοπε απηγ-

[τε καιου ερος αεω' αεαπο']

[μογιηρε [α]μωυτε' επε-

[ρα]μ μπραμ μιμαρτυ-

[ρος] ετογαδ' απα μεογ':

εισωμε αε πεξαγ' μι-

νεστρενεκεμων

μπα μεοι κατα πορ-

τινον' αχιαζε' μιμαρ-

τυρος ετογαβ' εγαμ' α-

μος ξεοηοε νεξιντηε' ε-

τηειρε μεοοο απεευα-

φυλακι.

1 With απα. Brit. Mus. nos. 1027, 1428; Saggara no. 73; without, Brit. Mus. no. 1102; Gayet pl. lviii; Hall Copt. and Gr. Texts, 113; Rylands no. 122 &c. Krall no. viii cites Μούη (whence?), cf. 'Αμαύη of the Αφοπθεγ-

mata. The edition of Synax. 20 Bābah = Μούη (Mus. Guin. xxv. 327). Mabdi Vit. Pachom. § 72 is in the Cairo edition 136 (v. Appendix below), though in Paris MS. 261, f. 218

αμων.


Churches no. 31 (ماربة), with church at Sumustā. The name 'Ανωμγγος, 'Αρ (v. Brit. Mus. no. 1028) is particularly frequent in Aphro-


3 Whether this is Shenoute's predecessor, and the latter the same as the Πχολοι βολον of cer-

tain Diptychs (Cairo Theotokia 82, Leyden MS. no. 41, named with the martyrs κλον Colouthus and Ηαγ) we cannot tell; nor whether

Πχσοι invoked on stelae (Petrie Memphis i, pil. liii, liv; Ann. du Serv. viii. 83) is distinct

from these.
Fol. 1. Recto. ... ‘prison (φυλακή) of [? Rakō]te (Alexandria) and she cried out, “Holy (ἀγιος) saint, unblemished (ἀθανατός) youth, help (βοηθείν) my forlornness, and entreat (παρακαλείν) the Christ that He grant (χαρίζειν) me a child. Verily behold, grief is mine (λυτ. is with me) more than (were I) one in distant (λυτ. great) exile (εἰσοριστία).” And (δὲ) thereupon the saintly martyr (μάρτυρος) had pity upon her and blessed her, and she was made whole and went unto her house, giving glory unto God and the saintly martyr (μάρτυρ).”

(Verso.) [And it] befell that God [blessed] her and she conceived and bare a son, and called his name (as) the name of the saintly martyr (μάρτυρ). Apa Moui. But (δὲ) it befell; said he, ‘after that the praeses (ήγερων) had required him in (κατά) his turn (δρόμων), that he spake with the saintly martyr (μάρτυρ), saying, “What be these things which thou doest in the prison (φυλή)?” And in great wrath (θυμός) he bade (κελ.) them torment (βασανίζειν) the saint with heavy torments (βάσανος) and many punishments (κολασθήσιον), and having raised him upon

Fol. 2. → Recto. margin

↑ Verso. margin

1 Sophocles s. c. gives an instance of such a usage.
2 Presumably no gap between the columns.
... as he the rack, [he tortured] him, until [his blood] flowed upon the ground. And (δὲ) he bade (καλ.) them moreover set glowing helmets (κασσιά) upon his head, till the crown of his head was loosed. Afterward he caused them to pierce his heels with a glowing awl, besides (lit. and) all the other torments (βάσο.) that the brave youth bare (υπομένεις). Howbeit (λοιπῶν) after the wicked (ἄνδρος) præses (ἡγ.) had proved (δοκείας) him with many punishments (τιμωρία), when he knew that he would not hearken unto him, to sacrifice (θυσίας) unto his idols (εἰς).

(Verso.) .... as he ... the cow of bronze and that they should kindle fire beneath it; and he had them lay his (sc. martyr’s) hands in beneath
the wheel and press thereon. And after that they had cut out strips from off his back and had boiled them with fire and oil, it caused him not to pay heed at all (δλος) under these torments (βάσος), for Michael the archangel (ἀρχάγγελος) protected (σκέπασμα) him, strengthening him, and the saintly Apa Herwoj (?) did encourage him. But (δὲ) when the praeses (ἡγ.) saw how that he would not hearken unto him to sacrifice (θυσ.), he was wroth and gave his sentence (ἀπόφασις).

Fol. 3. ↑ Recto.

→ Verso.

[margin]

1 The wheel, CSCO., l.c. 13, 26, 113, 218; Budge, l.c. 113, 178; Rylands Cat. no. 94. Cf. the remarks of Peeters, An. Boll. xxviii. 490, and the text ib. xxvi. 27, 28.

2 Lit. 'divide, separate' Cf. σώλην εβόλον.

CSCo., l.c. 73.

3 Sc. the places thus bared.

(Fol. 3. Recto.) Howbeit {Xolttov), as the praeses (ἡγ.) [gave sentence] upon him, [Apa] Pógôl [spa]ke¹ concerning the mighty (works) of God that had come about through the saintly Apa Moui. The saints made answer saying, 'Many a time did Christ talk with the truly noble one (γευναῖος) of Christ, saying, whilst we heard, "Of a truth (ἀληθῶς), my chosen one, every man that shall pronounce (ὁνομάζειν) thy saintly name and say, God of the saintly martyr (μαρ.) Apa Moui, do Thou hear us in this (or our) need; straightway

(Verso.) [I will hear] them quickly.

[The] good (ἀγαθὸς) God, He that guideth all, O my beloved, He it is also that now guideth us, that we should go to the shrine (μαρτύριον) of the saintly martyr (μαρ.) Apa Moui, and that we should cry out together, 'God of Christ’s holy (ἄγιος) martyr, do Thou hear us and preserve us from the snares of the devil (διάβ.). Martyr of Christ, do Thou make straight our ways and preserve us from the hidden war (πόλεμος) of the adversary (ἀντικείμενοι).' This saintly martyr

Fol. 4. ↑ Recto.
margin

ενι[ϐθα] μα [α] ειπον ωγυρ ογν- ¹
κούινε' γίτ[θελικ] άλι-
λα' ογνοσε' γίτσομα [贸易战]
λήμποιον. Αγγεος άι άι άι

Χερα ονον' απεπικ έ[παρ-
εις τοπικ] επεπογραφοι(ν]
μανογοει' γονεότι-
δον' αγω αγγ' ναο' μανοφ[ω-
τικα] παλικας' ετεοο-
με' επονοιε' 

Νταναρα ροι άι' επρπεε-

→ Verso.

[πάγα εταιν]μη τε[πα-
[ολικ]ήμανος' παρα-
[καλει απνογτε' παορα[τος]
πέκα πενιομε' ήα' εθ[ολ.]
ανει επεκμαρτυριον' ω
πενταμπαραδρο με-
περικαμα' επομον ετη-
κε ποιων' μαν' πα-
πακαλει μανεβε πηρρο' π-
παλων' ηχαριτε' ήα' πα-
άμκω' εθολ' μεπιομε'
Τπακαλει άε μεωτι-

¹ on quite uncertain.

¹ The sense involved by my reading here is scarcely acceptable.
(Fol. 4. Recto.) that we celebrate [to-day], little he is in [age (ἡλικία)], but (ἀλλά) great in the true wisdom (σοφία, ἀληθινός). And (δὲ) they said¹ also(?), 'Many a time did the spirit (πνεύμα) of the Lord catch him up to the celestial (πλατεία) of light, because of his purity; and he was given the baptism (βάπτισμα) of heaven, because of the great power (δύναμις) that went with him at all times.' Then (εἰτὰ) furthermore, I will not keep silence regarding the commemoration of the saintly martyr (μαρτύριον), him that we celebrate to-day. Let us gather, O my beloved, to this great [and honou]red (χρήσις) festival], and may the noble champion (ἀριστερή, γενναίος) entreat (παρακαλεῖται) the invisible (ἄνατος) God that He forgive us our sins. We are come unto thy shrine (μαρτυρίου), O thou that didst give thy body (σῶμα) over (παραδίδοναι) unto death for the sake of Jesus, the life of every one; entreat thou (παρακ.): the Christ, the king of the ages (αἰών), that He grant (χαρίζει) us the forgiveness of our sins. But (δὲ) I beseech (παρακ.) you, O my beloved, let us pray the holy (ἁγ.) martyr (μαρτύριον) of Christ, Apa Moui, that he guide us in this sea (πέλαγος) that is full of trouble, namely the world (κόσμος) and . . . .

No. 20.

From an unidentified Martyrdom. Recto shows Christ appearing to several martyrs, in prison or under torture together; verso, a single martyr, healed after torture.

¹ I. e., the saints, or = 'it was said'.
² Cf. 1 Tim. i. 17.
Recto. . . . 'you (?). Hail to you, O mighty champions, that have endured (ὑπομένειν) with me in my trials (πείρασμός)! For after yet a little (while) ye shall eat and drink with me at the table (τραπέζη) of my kingdom.¹ And . . . .

Verso. . . . Forth[with] he a[rose] all whole, with no wound upon him, his cheeks being whole and his teeth.² And he gave glory to God, saying,³ 'The light [of Thy countenance] hath been displayed upon us' . . . .

² This might recall the martyrdom of Philotheus (v. Wüstenfeld, Synax. 242, 21 ff.), but the
³ Ps. iv. 6.
No. 21.

From an unidentified Martyrdom, as it would appear from fol. 2.

Fol. 1. → Recto.

| έανοιγ[τε] | πισταθ [ | αριστον ἔβολα | ανθων οὐ[ν] | ακµωνε | απειρωτ- | αλλα ανθων | με πραγµατ[ | μωτην[ | ηχη. α | ? |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|------|------|------|

↑ Verso.

| ηπι | σώµατ | ειρατή | εύχ[ | (τε)ποιγε εικ | θεογον[ο]ναρ | παξαξε α- | πιογτε | ματπε απ- | παξας ενη- | πογν η[ ]μαν- |
|-----|------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|------|-------|

margin

Fol. 1. Recto. ... 'them. They sufficed thee not, but (ἀλλα) thou didst go also to'; ... 'God ... wrath ...; blotting² them out. Thou didst go, then (? ὅν), and wast in these men and didst grow strong, until' ... .

Verso. ... 'behold ... toward thee.'³ So now, lo, the Lord hath sent thee unto me. See then, now, [I?] know (? νοεῖν) your' ... .

... 'he shall ....... , woe unto thee, enemy of God and heaven and earth! What wilt thou do when' ... .

Fol. 2. → Recto.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ματ[τω]μ ε-</th>
<th>πογυ σεανο-</th>
<th>ειν ησι ἵνπι-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

→ Verso.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ἦτερογει τε</th>
<th>ενεπτενο</th>
<th>ευτωγε ε-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

¹ This may be a place or personal name, beginning with πογ-, less probably with plur. art. ἵν-; or a word such as στεχυν.² Reading εγγοτογ.³ ειρατ- is rare. In Josh. ii. 5 = διαιω ('follow after'), similarly in Budge Homilies, p. 16 ('towards'), and Pap. Bruce 239.
Fol. 2. Recto. ... 'if [they? he?] shut (the door) upon them, shall the foundations of the prison and the foundations of the earth tremble at the things they have (or that have been) brought forth, and require (?) them) of thee? What thinkest thou?' ...... answered ......

Verso. ... And (δὲ) when they had come to the prison, they knocked at the door and straightway it opened. But (δὲ) the multitude of men that kept watch were as if dead. And (δὲ) when ... had come in ......

No. 22.

From the beginning of a Martyrdom. Diocletian's gods are enumerated and a part of the edict is to be read, whereby he ordered their worship. Some 20 goddesses were named in the space of this fragment; may we conclude that the complete list gave 35, since in the passages usually parallel to this the 70 deities are divided equally into male and female? I know of no other Coptic martyrdom showing a like list of names. If we assume the text to be a translation, there is no need to seek for egyptianized forms of the divinities.

1 This sentence is not necessarily interrogative, but the following question makes it likely. An alternative reading allows 'and they slay thee', which would show that the person addressed is not the devil, as fol. 1 σω. might suggest.
2 Similar edicts: *CSCO*., vol. 42, 89, 157, 200.
3 *Cf. op. cit.* 200; Hyvernat *Actes*, 78, 202.
(p. 3.) ...; Artemis, ...; Persephone, ...; achê, Selene, ...; kê, Thellas, ...; Calliope, ...; Erinys, ...; atê, Pon, ...; nô, Nemesis, ...; Hera, ...; Dyranos, ...; These are the names [of ... god]desses... And (δὲ) [Diocletian] the [king ...].

(p. 4.) ... whether] presbyter (πρεσβ.) or (εἰτε) deacon (διάκονος) or (εἰτε) reader (ἀνάγ.) or (εἰτε) freeman [or (εἰτε)] slave or (?) slave ... sacrifice (θυσιάζειν) ... god(s ?). And whoso [shall say], I am a Ch[ristian (Χρ.),

---

1 k uncertain. Nike, Ananke?
2 Assuming τ the article. But perhaps misspelt (for Θελα-), so 'Hellas'. The name may have continued into next line.
3 a uncertain. Hekate (even Aphrodite) too short for space, which may have held two names.
4 n uncertain.
5 Themis ? (or in 1. r, for Artemis).
6 Or Dyranas. After this probably another name.
his] death shall be adjudged (δημεύειν) with the s[word]. But (δέ) do ye all, [offici]als (ἀξιωματικός) of . . . . , write to the south, [to] all . . . in turn (κατα-) . . . . , so that . . . . .

No. 23.

Perhaps from a Martyrdom. The sequence of recto and verso are doubtful.

→ Recto.

[. . .] ᾿α[γω] πανογ- 

tε εἰκεῖξι μοει-

ῃ ὑτ ἰνε[ί]αγγε 

τηρομ ῥηθαδωκ 

ῃ[ητο]γ] ζει[ . . . ] 

ἀι απολυμλοκ 

էθηὶς ἀμπαξα- 

ζε εφόγη εἴτε ῥ[ι] 

[. . .] ᾿α[ . . . ]

[. . .] ἔμανα[ 

[. . .] ᾿α[γω] η[ 

↑ Verso.

ἐτη[ποι]ωμ[ 

τ ὀυί[α] δαρος ἀξι[-- 

ν[ο[τ]]κ ἀξ[ω[ἰ]μ 

ἠ[γ]ω ἠτερινογ 

ἐκ πιμὴπε πτα[πτ- 

ἀδιος αξιω-

ὀ[υ] ά[ξ]αλδε εξι- 

ὄ[θ]λοολε [νογο- 

[ει][μ] μα[ 

[. ᾿α]ρχατ[ε]λοκ 

[. . .] πε[ 

* Perhaps τό]γη.

Recto. . . . ‘[and] my God, do Thou guide me upon all the ways wherein I shall go; for (?) . . . . hidden war (πόλεμος) with the enemy within, or (ἐτε)’.

Verso. . . . bear (?) it (?) him), and he lay down and slept. And straightway, behold, the Son of Goodness (-ἀγάθος) arose and mounted upon a cloud [? of light] . . . . archangel[?] . . . .

1 Or ‘be publicly executed’; cf. δῆμος.
2 Or ‘[this] rescript’.
3 The text, as I have read it, scarcely allows of this. After ετε, σιθολ seems impossible.
4 Cf. Rossi ii. iv. 65, ‘Son of Compassion,’ as epithet of Christ.
No. 24.

Life of (or Encomium on) Pachomius. There is little to guide us as to the sequence either of leaves or pages here, if indeed all nine fragments belong to one MS. The order I have adopted is merely tentative. Pachomius' name occurs only in foll. 7 and 9, but 4, 5, and 6 may, with much probability, be claimed for the same subject. As to the remainder it is impossible to feel any certainty; they might be from parenetic introductions to or digressions from known incidents of the history. Certain incidents (foll. 6 ro., 9 vo.) are only conceivable as part of this Life if we assume a widely different or much amplified recension to be at the base of our text. It must however be confessed that the reading of scarcely a phrase but is open to question.

Fol. 1. ↑ Recto.  

margin

[Fol. 1 verso]

margin

1 That it is already far removed from the primary recensions of the Life may be gathered from the mere citation of the Psalms by P., before his conversion (fol. 8).
Fol. 1. Recto. ... village (?) ... the king shall grant (?) them, that he would spare their villages and not injure (βλάπτειν) them in aught, lest the king should behold them. For (γάρ) such is the life (βίος) of the saints ........... [the] king shall (?) ... saints (?) exhort (προτρέπειν) them to ... oftentimes ... instruction ...

Verso. ... God it is] knoweth. He was caught up to the third heaven. 1 Give... the grace (χάρις) of God .......... according as (πρός) .......... none. But (δὲ) his true fatherland (πατρίς, ἀληθινός) (was that) he was a fellow citizen (συμπολίτης), one of Jerusalem (ἱεροσολυμίτης) of the seventh heaven, the true church (ἐκκλησία) of the first-born that are in heaven 2 ...

Fol. 2. ↑ Recto.  

→ Verso.

a υ[εινε] is tempting, but a verb is equally probable.  b Perhaps c for o.  c Perhaps πα- for πα-.

Fol. 2. Recto. 3 Do not ......, O Devil (διάβολος ?) 4, saying, I am not a thief (?) of this (sort) ...... my Lord (?) ... 

Verso. ... we (?) will cast death forth from us, for ......

1 2 Cor. xii. 2. The words do not coincide with Ciasca’s text. Cf. the similar words used in Am. 543.
2 Cf. Heb. xii. 23. Such phrases, as to heavenly citizenship, are used by martyrs under trial, e.g. Hyvernat Actes, 197.
3 Scarcely a word can be read here with certainty.
4 If not διάβολος, perhaps σύμβουλος? Ἀγγελός seems still less suitable.
Fol. 3. ↑ Recto. a

margin

[πνε]ωτε ἔνο
[μοι]ς ἀπεχ

Ιτατε-
[

Γεν-

ἢσοχός

αλα

ἀοις

* I am not sure that this fragment does not rather belong to No. 21. b Perhaps ἀπεχ.

→ Verso. margin

ἐπισα[ἀκ

πασιρ[

πετη[

ἐκι[

ἐν[

τι[


Fol. 3. Recto. . . . God gives laws (νόμος) to (?) his . . . which he had
. . . . . . golden . . . But (ἄλλα) . . . Lord (?) . . .

Verso. . . . the enemy . . . will (fut.) . . . his . . .

Fol. 4. ↑ Recto.

[τατε]ανικ

[ἀκει]σι οική

[ὑτιτα]μαμαγ

[ἀμπατ] ἑρωκ

[ἀκεισ] ἰτοοτε

[προ[κ σὺ λααγ]

[εκ][ει[

[τοχα] [ει][

[τοχα] [ει][

[ορφε] [ει][

[ορφε] [ει][

[ορφε] [ει][

[ορφε] [ει][

[. . .], εἴπειο-

[ογ] . καὶ ετε-

[μ]αγεωγτε ε-

[π]οογ ξειταὶ-

[π]ονὰς δε ἓ-

[ταυκεμπε ἓ-

[π]κωμε ἓ-

[π]καλίν ε-

[π]μαγεωγτε ε-

[π]οογ ξεις[μ-

[π]οογ ξειταὶ-

[συνεφορ[γ

[συποτή[σι
Fol. 4. Recto (cf. AS. § 2). ... Thou art my hope (ελπίς) since I took the breast of my mother: I cast myself upon Thee since I was in the womb ... [not] find any place therein.2 But (δὲ) this saint advanced (προκόπησεν) in age (ηλικία). And (δὲ) there was a temple, a little to the south of the village. Now (τάχα) they would send boys to work therein, as (ὡς) ... Verso. ... in the water, which are called 'sprites? 14, but (δὲ) by the authors (ποιητῆς) that have composed the books of the Greeks (ἐλλην) they are called 'the children of Poseidon'.5 On the day therefore (οὖν) when ...
Fol. 5. Recto (cf. AS. § 2). by his parents; for they were zealous (σπουδαίοις) in paganism (-έλλην) and (δὲ) they knew not the portion (μερίς) of Jacob, that it is not of this sort.¹ For our ...² ....... to the temple (?)³ ...

Verso. when the wretched (ταλαίπωρος πλ...) .... had ...

... the gods were ⁴ not content with their children. For (γάρ) it is impossible that thieves (ληστής) should take with them the lamp that lighteth the place where they would thieve; rather (ἀλλά) they go in darkness, lest they be caught .... authority ...

Fol. 6. → Recto.a

κα]με άπε-
πυγμενε ήε-
πογούη τη-
τρικειώτ: άγ-
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Fol. 6. Recto. While yet therefore (έτι δὲ ὁ̚ν̙) the saints were in the house, their father's sister's son fell sick. And they arose and went in, as if (ὡς) they would visit him. And as they (?) ... the city (?) ...

¹ Jer. x. 16.
² 'Our father Pahôm' possible but improbable.
³ Refers to temple whither his parents took the child.
⁴ Tense uncertain.
Fol. 7. → Recto.

margin

πενροσταυ- ἐγγώμ[τ ην-]
μα δε ἰτερογ- τῇ ἰπη[ρο-]γ

Verso.

margin (page no. here ?)

[ἡπτοκ] ἰη πα-
[ἰα] ἰεβ[αιρ]
[ἀ](ηπερηφ-]
[ἀ]
[α]

Fol. 7. Recto (cf. AS. § 3). And (δὲ) when they had brought the order (πρόσταγμα) southward in Egypt, they betook them to the southern part of Egypt. And after they laid hold on many in various (κατὰ) places, they laid hold also on Pahôm, because of the great (πλ.) number (?) that 3 ........ the king. Thus while (ἐτὸς ὁ)...

Verso. ... which had ...... an eagle 4 ... went ...... little in the (πλ.) ...... 5 ...... after it (he ?) had ......

1 Cf. ὁ τὰ πάντα ψαλών (Brit. Mus. Gk. Cat. ii. 328, iii. 253; P. Amh. no. cxl &c.). Νικηφόρος = ἰαίρειμο appears to be applied only to martyrs (v. Cram-Stendoff, Kopt. Rechtsurk. i, Index).
2 Cf. Am. 342.
3 Cf. Bo. 5 infra.
4 ‘Eagle’ (αἱμ) possibly in reference to Pahôm, whose name is compounded with that word.
5 'Thebais' just possible.
... before (him? it?) ; for he is unto me a chosen vessel (σκεύος). But (δὲ) thou,² Pahôm, fight (πολεμεῖν) with the hidden foes, which are the barbarous demons (βάρβαρος, δαιμόν), whom thou hast overcome by the cross (σταυρός); and do thou ...
told us: 'Every man (?) . . . . . . . discernment ([? δια]κρισις) increase in him, even as a tree that is watered with the dew of heaven.'

Thus did he meditate within himself, pronouncing the holy words (lit. voice): 'Teach me and I will do Thy will . . . .'
telling him that it was heathen (pl. ἑθνικός) . . . . pagans (ἕθνος) . . . .
Christ . . . . . . . left behind them . . . . and they dwelt in that place on
account of him (? it) and of the healings that God granted (χαράξειν) by his
(?) means,¹ while yet (ἕρ) he was pagan (ἕθνικός). So (οὖν) when he had
continued in the village . . .

No. 25 (called, in Appendix and elsewhere, SaX).

The history of Pachomius and Theodore. That this MS. did not form
part of No. 24 is evident from the following considerations: (1) the divergent
spelling of the name Pachomius, (2) the absence of the paragraph-mark
such as used by no. 24, (3) the abnormal forms here of certain letters,
e.g. π,² (4) the usually greater number of letters in a line in the present MS.,
(5) finally, the entire dissimilarity between the texts of no. 24 and of Am.,
a version based, as will be shown, strictly upon the present text.

A column of our text is 23 cm. high, and has 26–28 lines. Of the 32 foll.
here preserved, in greater or less completeness, only three still show paga-
nation (foll. 2, 4, 5). Were it not therefore for the uninterrupted text of
Am., it might have been impossible to assign any plausible sequence to the
fragments, which I found dispersed throughout the whole collection of
papyri. As it is, however, a few of them fortunately show the junctures,
upon one and the same leaf, of two paragraphs of AS. (foll. 9 vo.–10 ro.,
11 ro., 12 ro., 13 ro., 18 vo., 24 vo., 25 vo., 26 vo.) ; and it is thence evident
that, not only is the new text verbally identical with Am., but that in
arrangement of paragraphs they likewise agree. This should suffice to
justify the assignment of the remaining paragraphs to positions relatively
such as they hold in Am. The latter offers no parallels to the text of foll. 1,
2, 7, 29, 32. The absence (sarcely fortuitous) of quire-numbers prevents us
from using the relative sequence of horizontal and vertical fibres as a
further guide to the sequence of the leaves. Leaves, the continuity of whose
text allows of no doubt as to their order,³ show the simple sequence hv, vh,
hv, vh.

The practical identity of the two texts SaX and Am. can scarcely be
doubted by any one who will compare the parallel passages (observing at
the same time the alterations to the French translation which I have given
in the notes). The text of Am. is, in no instance, materially longer than
that of the corresponding Sa. passage ; whereas the latter shows, often
enough, phrases, nay whole paragraphs, lacking from the parallel Arabic.
These are proof enough that, as would be expected, the younger is abridged
from the older text.

¹ Sc. the temple's?
² Palaeographical features do not otherwise
³ E.g. foll. 8–14, 16–22.
The chief interest of this new addition to the Coptic recensions is genealogical: we now see clearly the source whence Am. was derived. It has been long recognized that Am. neither translates immediately any of the Sa. versions hitherto known\(^1\) nor Bo. which is derived from certain of these. Am. neither follows them (except intermittently) in paragraph sequence nor in details of phraseology or vocabulary. With our present text, on the contrary, it agrees in both these particulars; as to the last, with often surprising closeness. The new text is of course too fragmentary to allow of our assuming that it alone was the immediate source translated by Am.\(^2\) Prof. Ladeuze has called attention to portions of the latter which appear to be derived from Bo.,\(^3\) \(i.e.\) ultimately from one of the other Sa. versions.

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\(^{\text{a}}\) The position of this fol. is hypothetical.

\(^{\text{1}}\) Nor the lost Sa. represented by Av. \(V.\) Appendix.

\(^{\text{2}}\) I assume, from our foll. 1, 2, that the Palladian version of the Rule (Am. 366-369) did not figure in SaX. But not all MSS. of Am. include it (\(V.\) Appendix).

\(^{\text{3}}\) Ladeuze, \(Étude \&c.,\) 53 ff.
Fol. 1. (The proper positions of this and the next 2 foll. are uncertain.)

Recto. . . . he saw (? seeth) the Lord of all, the Son of God, having become flesh (σάρξ) for our salvation. But (δὲ) above all (μάλιστα) too we hear Him in the Gospel (εὐ.) saying,¹ 'Forbid (κωλύειν) not . . . .

. . . He . . . a little one in the midst of His disciples (μαθ.), saying,² 'Whoso shall receive a young child such as this in my name receiveth me.' But (δὲ) as for the young that have gotten for themselves an evil resolve (προάφροσις), in their³ . . . .

 Verso. . . . saying,⁴ 'Whoso liveth wantonly (σπαταλάν) from his youth shall be a servant.' Now therefore, brethren,⁵ every young child and such as are greater than they in age (ἡλικία), whom the Lord hath brought in unto us for the second birth, let us be zealous (σπουδάζειν) . . . . .

. . . we . . . many times, let us tell them how that God it was did create them. And concerning the heaven also and the earth and the sun and the moon . . . .

Fol. 2. ↑ p. ⁵⁶

margin

margin

αἰμπεξογωμ' ε-

[ὅλος ἀπερεμομοιος·

απεικότω ει

εἶτα εἰναὶ θηρ[ο]γ[υ]

προς ἄνωθεν· εἰτε

οὐο[ε]ιμ· τιτεγταπρο'·

[ἐτ]έδα

[φητ']

[ἀρχή]

[αρι·]

. .

εγερμωπε ἤπνο-

. .

from instructions given by Pachomius, corresponding perhaps to Am. 372 ff. Evidence for the independent existence of the Pachomian Rule is given by the book catalogue, Rec. xi. 133, no 31 (the Blos there figures as no. 34).

² Matt. xviii. 5.
³ An abstract, 'youth'.
⁴ Prov. xxix. 21. So Ciasca; LXX κατα-
⁵ An abstract, 'youth'.
⁶ I assume that this and the next fragment are
Fol. 2. P. 63. ... 'Teach them at all times that they bless Him that created all these things, without ceasing, whether (ἐλέη) with their mouths, or (ἐλέη) with their heart, saying, Blessed art thou, Lord, that they also may become children of David, who saith, 1 I will bless the Lord at all times; at all times His blessing is in my mouth. And (δὲ) afterwards too, (see) that (thou) give unto them Psalms (to learn) by heart 2 (ἀνὰ στὴνθοῦν); and moreover, that they get (by heart) from the other books of holy scripture (γραφῆ). And afterwards, (see) that (thou) teach the young . . . .

P. 64. ... and His will, from out His law (νόμος), and the rules that I have given you therefrom, that they 3 shall love the Lord our God with all their heart and all their soul (ψυχ.) and all their thoughts and all their strength; and that they should love their neighbour as themselves; that they may know of a surety the things that have been written of the Holy Spirit (πνεῦ), so that, if they keep their body (σῶμα) pure from their youth, they shall become temples of the Lord and He shall dwell with them . . . .

1 Ps. xxxiii. 1
3 Corrected from 'that we'. Cf. Luke x. 27.
Fol. 3. ↑ Recto (?).

[...]

[...]

[Fol. 3. Recto (v. Am. 396). ... I] wish [not.] But (δέ) [after that he had] constrained (ἀναγκάζειν) him [again] to take of them, he said unto him, 'I will not.' And he said unto him, 1 'What is [this] word that thou hast [said], I will not, having given [place] in thyself to a demon (δαιμόνιον) of disobedience? 2 If so be (κἂν) thou [wishest] not to take of them, say, [I] wish not [now]; 3 but (μόνον) take them [and lay them] down. But (μόνον) ...

Verso. 4 ... and he determined (?) 5 ... no disobedience thereafter. And it befell from that day, if he saw that (brother) walking in the monastery, he would be ashamed and bend down his head, his eyes shedding tears ...

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1 ἐγὼ πρὸς ἐγράψαν, of earnest or angry talk, e.g. Num. ix. 7, Josh. ix. 12, Brit. Mus. no. 342 Ἐγράψαν, Rossi Novo. Cod. 89, Budge Homil. 127.
2 So Am., not 'pêcher'.
3 Am. should be 'And if it be that thou wishest not to take (thereof), say, I wish (for it) not now, and take and use (? eat) a little; then lay it down'.
4 This is not in Am.
5 Perhaps 'despised'.

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Sir H. Thompson has discovered a fragment with part of this text in the binding of Br. Mus. Or. 7024 (4), and this allows me to fill some lacunae.

\[\text{Not oμω. Perhaps eος.}\]
... walk not in their deeds (πράγμα) and the entreaties of their mouths, we show that we love them not, as (κατά) it is written,2 'Whoso cometh unto me and hateth them not . . . . my name . . . .

. . . the Lord,3 and (he) growing (ἀνέδευσεν) in the instructions that he heard from our father Pahômius,4 walking after (κατά) his likeness and according to (κατά) his manner. And (δὲ) the brethren, when they saw that he . . .

P. 112. . . . he would] pray5 with them thus, with tears, until the Lord gave them rest by his means. And6 it befell that when he came in to the brethren, at the beginning (ἀρχῇ), in his boyhood, he betook him to our [father Pahômius . . .

. . . see Him that created me, what profit is there that I have been begotten into this world (κόσμος)? For (γάρ) it would have been good for me if I had not been begotten.' He said unto him, 'Tell me, dost thou desire to see Him in this world (lit. place) . . .

Fol. 5. → p. 114

margin

The sequence does not continue as in Am. Cf. Bo. 49, 50. 2 Cf. Lu. xiv. 26. 3 V. Am. 406. 4 Here and once again written Pahôm. Elsewhere in this MS. Pahôme, i.e. Pahomius, as Makar = Macarius, Ammône = Ammonius &c.

The form Pahôme in Miss. iv. 607 (sic), Hall Copt. and Gr. Texts p. 143. Cf. παχώμιν, Br. Mus. no. 1252.

5 V. Am. 407. 6 V. Am. 402.

Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. If then an impure thought rise up in thy heart, [or] hatred toward [thy brother], or (ŋ) . . . . . . . or (ŋ) envy (φόνος) . . . .

. . . have power over thee, every fruit (καρπός) that is written in the scriptures (γραφή), meditate (μελετάω) them in thy heart without ceasing, resolving of thyself to walk therein, as it is written in Esaias, ‘Thine heart shall meditate (μελ.) the fear of the Lord ’; and all these things shall cease from thee . . .

1 A slight change would allow of reading ‘all’.
2 Matt. v. 8.
3 Text hence as Am., not Bo. The former should read (402 ἐν.) ‘And if thou woudest that all the thoughts should diminish in thee and not have power over thee, so meditate in thy heart, without ceasing, always, the good fruit written in the scriptures. And do thou be of steadfast mind and sure in all steadfastness, that thou be careful to walk therein, to the extent of thy power; and thus shall the evil thoughts decrease in thee, little by little, and shall grow weak, like the spider.’ (The last word due to confusion in meanings of γάλλογε.)
4 xxxiii. 18.
P. 114. ... For (γάρ) the Lord hath placed the conscience (συνειδήσις) in man, and free-will (αὐτεγόσιον) and judgement (διάκρισις) and understanding (αἴσθησις) and knowledge. For (γάρ) even as the members (μέλος) of the body (σῶμα) that are visible, wherewith man worketh, each according to (κατά) his need ... 

... a] house that hath its door, which is the heart. And further, like as the door hath key and bolt and chain (μοχλός) and ... 2 and every surety, even thus it is with free-will (αὐτ.) and conscience (συν.) and judgement (διακ.) and wisdom . . .

Fol. 6. Recto.

[εἰςωθέ]ε μεν ερεπρῶμεν ὁ ἄντ- 
pοιήσαι ηνιπολοκ 
μακρὰτερ ἡν 
πειρασμῷ καὶ ἕν 
οικίᾳ ἐν 
μακρὰτερ ήν 
κατὰ πειρὰμ 
θαρρόν ἐν 
πειρᾳ 
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Fol. 6. Recto (v. Am. 403). Now (μέν) if the man be ignorant of the law (νόμος), it (sc. conscience) prompteth him, (saying), This thing is not good. Some indeed (μέν), it testifieth to them according to (κατὰ) the knowledge of the heart, (saying), Thou wilt sin against the Lord if thou do this; while (δὲ) others again, to them it testifieth, If thou be discovered, thou shalt be in danger (κινδυνεῖσιν), or (ἡ) indeed, they will [abı slay thee . . . .

. . . . laws (νόμος)] that are written . . . after the prompting (?) of this sort (?) wherewith it hath prompted him, he will destroy his own conscience (συν.) and sear it, so that (ὁς) it shall not thenceforth prompt him, as it is written concerning others of this sort,¹ 'Their conscience being seared for [them']

Verso (not in Am.). . . . but (δὲ) the words: . . . Paul concerning such as these, that they should come in unto repentance (μετάνοια), because they

¹ 1 Tim. iv. 2.
have not known the law (νόμος). It is written thus,¹ 'Our hearts being sprinkled from all evil conscience (συν. πονηρός) and our body (σώμα) washed with [pure] water . . . .

... they [have] a law (νόμος) through their conscience (συν.). Thus doth the herald (κήρυξ) of the Gospel (εὐαγγ.) tell us,² 'For when (ἀπαν γάρ) the Gentiles (ἔθνος), that have not law (νόμος), by nature (φύσει) do the (things) of the law, these, having not law, are a law unto themselves. These teach thee (sic) the work of the law written in their heart, their [conscience . . . .

Fol. 7. → Recto.

margin

¹ Heb. x. 22.
² Rom. ii. 14.
margin
Fol. 7. (The right position of this fol. is uncertain.)

Recto. ... a ... road ... not ... Thereafter [again?], after he hath recognized (aiôsθavéseôsai) the mercies that the Lord doeth with him, even as David saith,1 'What shall I give in exchange unto the Lord, in place of all the (things) that He hath done unto me?' And like too as he doth argue (diakrîneîn) with his own soul (ψυ.), in understanding (aiôsθησις), saying,2 'My soul, bless the Lord, and all (things) that are within me, bless His holy name. My soul, bless the Lord, and forget not all His requitals. Who forgiveth thee all thy iniquities (ἀνομ.), who healeth all thy diseases, who redeemeth thy life from destruction, who setteth a crown upon thee of mercy and compassion, who satisfieth thy desire with good-things (ἀγαθός).'

And (δὲ) so that 3 we may know (?) that it is the members (μέλος) of the [soul (ψυ.)] whereof we have already spoken,4 according to (κατὰ) the words of David, when he doth exhort (προτρέπειν) his soul (ψυ.) to bless the Lord, exhorting (πρ.) besides its members (μέλ.) also, that are one with it ... ., saying of them, 'All (things) that are within me, [bless His] holy name.' For not only (οὐ μόνον) (is it so) that

Verso. the understanding (ail.) doth exist in order that the believing (πιστός) man may recognize (aiôsθavéseôsai) thereby the grace (χάρις) of the Lord, but (ἄλλα) that he may also recognize (aiî.) the benefits that are done him by God's ... . For (γάρ) some He blameth, in that they have not recognized (aiî.) all the graces that He who nourished them hath done...

1 Ps. cxv. 3.
2 Ps. cii. 1-5.
3 The uncertainty of the conjunction renders the logic of the sentence obscure.
4 V. Am. 403 infra. If that were the passage here referred to, the position given to this leaf would be justified.
with them saying, 1 'For (γάρ) I ought to have been commended (συνίστασαι) of you.' And after the understanding (αισθ.), his knowledge is displayed and his wisdom.

But (δὲ) knowledge according to (κατὰ) God (is) that man should know all that is pleasing to the Lord and His will, or (ἡ) else that he know that which shall be revealed unto him by Him, as it is written, 2 'Every thing whereof ye shall think otherwise, this shall God reveal unto you.' For (καὶ γάρ) Daniel, after that the Lord had revealed unto him the dream and also its interpretation, at night, blessed Him saying, 3 'He that giveth wisdom (σοφία) unto the wise (σοφὸς) and knowledge . . . .

Fol. 8. → Recto.

margin

odem ἔρημος ζεατάμων

[ἐξ]εριμμεν ἀω σμο-

νη ὁντ. ἐμπο-

τε πεκοταὶ πτι-

ση ἑ[πι]κομπ. b

ἀπο[κ] ἀ[ε] παίνε

πα[ο]πνο[ε] [ἐκ]μαμ-


[ἐκπο]τ[α] κρήνυ

[ποι ἀθ]ποιρ. ἀω

[. . .] πε[πε]κομοπος

[. . .] ἐ[ραῖ ῥαρ[ο]]

a ἀπο[π]τα. b Perhaps σοτρ ἰπερκὴν. c Apparently not on. d Scarcely space for ἀπητᾶς.

adjective or participle referring to κεφενομορ.  

↑ Verso.

margin

[πεογοβοι[υ].] ἴο[

ϡαρα] ε[πι] ποοο[ς]

[ποι ἀραὶ ῥαρ[

a [ι]παρ[ε]., which I at first read, is difficult to deal with.

1 2 Cor. xii. 11. 2 Phil. iii. 15. 3 Dan. ii. 21.
Fol. 8. Recto (v. Am. 405). ... mee[t] (ἄπανταν) her; for I have been told she weepeth and is distressed; lest (μὴ ποτὲ) thou shouldest hear and be pricked (?) in thy heart. As for (δὲ) me, my joy it is if so be thou art firmly established in all the commandments (ἐν τολή) of life. And ... the bishop (ἐπ.) that (?) did write unto us ......

(v. Am. 406) ... on a] day (that) he should go to a place without the monastery (λιτ. congregation), to work 1 with the brethren. They took her up ... to a roof, which ...... Tabennèse, saying unto her, ‘Lo, he [is there ......

Verso (v. Am. 406). ... in time past. For (γάρ) like as 2 we walk in savagery (ἄγριος 3) until to-day, let us not do more than (παρά) the things written for us (?) in the Scriptures. After that they had ... the Saviour (σωτήρ) ......

... So now I will tell you herein another (manner of) converse (ἀναστροφή) that we will do, (namely,) ... go (?) a little with 4 the men that are without, as Paul (?) saith, ......

1 Ac. 33, 12 (= G ἁλα b) reads 'they arranged a work outside, with the brethren, that they would do;' and they informed her thereof at Tabennèse and said unto her, 'Lo, he is there with the brethren, working &c.' (Unless Wاطلعها عليه refers to bringing her up on to the roof.)

2 I.e. ? seeing that.

3 μεταγριος, e.g. Steindorff, Gram. 55*, CSCO. vol. 42 (Sinuth.), 113.

4 Cf. συγκαταβάινων.
Probably πανογραφία (AS. πανογράφω).  
parαβά seems impossible.  
Am. 
408, 5 through confusion of meanings of γραφ. 
enough.  
Probably μιμοτε.
THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

→ Verso.

margin

[ον] ξειδηκαναλλι-
[ζε] πειτηρ. άγω
πετερ[π]ερείμενε ετ-
πανοπρ[μ]ενε ενταχ-
δε[ο]ντιππαν[μ]πα-
πεςας [αε] πας[ή] ζεπη-
νοογιν' [α]ν] ζεογω-
σε πάρρεπε, ξικεν-
νίπμα' αι 'ππα-
ζε πάλαξι ἤτει-
σε· νόμως μούτε
ερος [ή]ταποε μι-
μος [ή]τερεμμο-
τε [ερος] πεςας
μας [ε]ντεπος
μας [ε]ς τερπα-
κάδ πάρτ ζατη-
tακοτομες' [οιτεμ]-
[ποι] ιτας[ία]ξε
πάλακε ε[ ι] εα'π'p-
πάλακε γλο[κ] χω-
σε πάρρε· επει πι-
ταί αντε τετη-
ςικ· πτος ας θε-
οντρος αμογωμή
έφεξο άμος ζεπη-
νοοεισω άμοιο

margin

αν [ι]
πεις[άξε
[ζης], ζενται αι-
τε τετ[πετε]ει-
μητι ιτ[ο]ς εμα-
[εο]μολο[τ]ε ιτ[πετε]-
τα] προ [εις] ιε ιε-
[εο] ζεπ[ταδωκ]ε
εσαμνησε [πνευμ]ε-
πάτα ουπα[ραδα]-
tνπιε ιε[ιντο-]
αν [ει]θελ[τελι]-
οι [•] φ[πα] ε[ει-
μ[α]νεωμα [ερος]
ες[ε]μολονες[ι']
π[. .] [ποτε θ[ηθει]-
[ε]ξε [σ]εταϊ [α]ντε]
θε ετηπμετ[ε]ςε]
[εις]ος· ιτε[ρεθ'-
ειςε θε ιςι πε[ειμ]-
μαγ [ε]επιθ[εθ']
θε αι ιςι πυ[θρε]
πυμα [καρπ] γομο-
λόπα αγο[μολο]-
τει ζεπ[ομε] ετ-
ιαερε ιπαι'με
εβολ ιπ[ινοδη]
μαζοεσις

* άν seems superfluous.
b Perhaps -νει π[τει'ε]ς. Am. Μακα. c Scarcely space
for ἧπον ο or ετπολ. Am. خماله.
Fol. 9. Recto (v. Am. 407). ... suffer His] disciple (μαθ.) [to go and] bury [his father?] That (brother) answered, saying, ‘He suffered him not, [lest] he should go [and not] return.’ [But (δὲ)] he said unto him, ‘If it befall that one to-day go [to] his kinsfolk according to the flesh (κατά, σάρξ), he hath not (surely) transgressed (παραβαίνει) the command (ἐντολή) of the Gospel (εὐ.)? ’ He said unto him, ‘If he shall but visit them, it is not a sin.’ He said unto him with guile (πανουργία), ‘This is the faith (πίστις) of the men of Tabennése, that say, It is not a sin to transgress (?) the commandments (ἐντ.) of the Gospel (εὐ.). For (καὶ γάρ) I, ere I came hither, did strive (ἀγωνίζειν), so far as (κατά) my youth (permitted), in what was evident unto me that it was the Lord’s will. And when I had heard that ye do walk in perfection (τέλειος), according to the commandments of the Gospel (κατά, ἐντ. εὐ.), I came hither. Now therefore I will not remain, but (ἀλλά) will go again unto my place whence I came.’ And Theodore lifted up his voice and wept, being grieved for him. Straightway then that (brother) went to [tell?] our father Pahómius, saying, ‘Come, that we comfort this young brother, lest (μὴ ποτὲ) he be offended (σκανδαλίζειν).’ He told him the word that he had said

Verso (v. Am. 408, 409). (saying,) ‘I am offended (σκανν.) thereat.’ And when he knew the guile (παν.) that he had wrought, by the wisdom of the Spirit (πνεῦμα), he said (+ δὲ?) unto him, ‘Knowest thou not that he is a neophyte? It was not meet for thee to speak so to him. Howbeit (δύνασται) call him and I will persuade (πείθειν) him.’ When he had called him, he said unto him, as if (ὅς) persuading him, ‘Be not grieved at that thou hast heard (?) from the brother] that spake with thee . . . . go with thee, as a neophyte. For (ἐπεί) this is not his belief (πίστις).’ But (δὲ) as for Theodore, he answered saying, ‘Thou wilt not be able to persuade (πείθειν) me,

Ο, my father with] this word [that thou sayest, that this is not] his [belief (πίστις), except (εἰμὴτι) he shall himself declare (ὁμολογεῖν) with his own mouth that he that shall go to visit his kinsfolk is a transgressor (παραβάτης) of the commandments of the Gospel (ἐντ. εὐαγγ.). If [I] hear [him] declare (ὁμ.) thus (?), then (τότε) shall I know that not thus doth he believe (πιστεῦειν).’ And (δὲ) when that (brother) knew (?) that the youth would not be persuaded without a declaration (πείθειν, χωρίς, ὁμολογεία), he declared (ὁμ.), saying that the man that shall do [this un]doeth (?) the commandments (ἐντ.)? of the Lord . . . .

1 Am. should be ‘said to him in deceit’.
2 Accented in the text: a rare occurrence.
3 Gaps filled from Am., although I cannot satisfactorily complete the Coptic text.
THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

Fol. 10. → Recto.

[\textit{\textsuperscript{a}} as \textit{\textsuperscript{b}} or \textit{\textsuperscript{c}}.]

[\textit{\textsuperscript{a}} as \textit{\textsuperscript{b}} or \textit{\textsuperscript{c}}.]

Size of following gap uncertain, as the two fragments do not join.

\textit{\textsuperscript{a}} Or \textit{\textsuperscript{b}} or \textit{\textsuperscript{c}}. Size of following gap uncertain, as the two fragments do not join.

\textit{\textsuperscript{b}} Or \textit{\textsuperscript{c}}. Size of following gap uncertain, as the two fragments do not join.

\textit{\textsuperscript{c}} Perhaps \textit{\textsuperscript{d}}.

\textit{\textsuperscript{d}}
Verso.

[pet]οψή [νοθτι]
[σα]μοσομ' [μιου]
ε[(τ]οψοιν χω
ώμπλασα [μα]-
σ[οι]νιαδρασ:
χ[γω] ναωπε
[η[π]σανθοτ'
[νιγ]ουε πεςαχ
[ν][στι θεαςωρος ε-

ρουν ηπμον ε-

ερεαγ' ηεμαρ[πι-

]π[ε] [πηναγμε]μ ητο-
[σον άπαλ]α[ο-
[λος παλ ετε][ι]μ[μ]
[ετωρι νε][μπ-]

margin

a Should be άναπτα.
Fol. 10. Recto (v. Am. 409). ... And (δὲ) [it] befell again, when Theodore found another brother grieved (λυπεῖν) at heart because that our father Pahômius had reproved him in a matter for the salvation of his soul (ψυ.), so that (δοτε) his heart was inclined that he should separate from the community . . . . . . . 'thought (?), for even so is it also that I am sad at heart. For this stranger ... he ... wish that he ... find grace . . . . 

... let us two stay therefore (οὖν) together and console one another, until we see ... perhaps he will [cease] ... reproving [us. But (δὲ)] if we shall know that will not cease, we will go and betake us (ἀναχαρεῖν) elsewhere . . . .

Verso (v. Am. 410). ... not with our father Pahômius openly. But (δὲ) in the middle of the night, many a time, he would go and meet (ἀπαντᾶν) him, many a time (sic), and tell him of the grief of that [brother] . . . . . . [saying.] 'Help (βοηθεῖν) [us, O] our father, . . . . . . [who is] my brother,¹ [and?] save [us from the devil (διάβολον), that roareth [to devour?] our souls (ψυ.) . . . .

... [that] dwelleth in [thee] hath power to save us. And there is no impossibility with Him.'² And it befell, after the month of days, that Theodore spake to that brother, saying, 'Let us . . . . . . [and we] speak with [him. And] if . . . . . . with us, he . . . . . . we will [go else]where and [separate ourselves from] him. [But (δὲ) if] he should . . . . . . with . . . .

Fol. 11. ↑ Recto.

μυτέραμετος
[ἀπὸ]γυνοῦ ἀμεττί-
[ἀνα]θοῦ. ἡπτε
[ἐτ]ρηπεργυῆν τῆ-
[t]οι ἐματε ἀμε-
[ει]λαγ. ἄγω ταῖ-
[τε ο]ε ἐπαγαγ-
[ξο]υ. ἤνι θεοῶ-


² Am. sic.
→ Verso.

margin (?)

a Perhaps ἢμα].
... return him unto [us hither?]. And it befell, after that they had gone [in] unto his house, [his people]... him. [And] afterwards...... in a......, that [they might eat]. And......

Verso (v. Am. 411). ... But (δὲ) he, when he had heard these words, remembered the manner in which our father Pahôm,² saying, 'Do thy utmost to bring him (hither) again......

... Pahôm, spent a great while beseeching the Lord, saying, 'Forgive me; for I am not different from a man that hath fornicated (πορνεύειν), in that which I have done. For I have transgressed (παραβάλειν) the laws (νόμος) which Thou didst commit unto Thy servant.' For (γάρ) he had heard our father Pahôm, on a day, saying, 'Since the [day whereon I] became a monk (μον.),

Fol. 12. → Recto.

margin

οὑχάλα[ν] ἡμεν-]
σινυ ἐφα[τεο]![
τε ἡπασιεις [ὡ-]
πε ἡμίθητι · ἡε-
ἀρατεύσκης·
χιταχεῖ ερωθ[η]
ἐνεσινυ · ἀγ[ω]
παϊ ἰπερεσφ-
ταί ἡελεσθ[γ]
βορ' επεχτ

1 So ? for usual 'Pahome'. There is not space for second ε in the text.
² Am. should be, 'until thou bring him (back) hither.'
³ Am. should be, 'Make with him all efforts until thou bring him unto me again. And he stretched forth his hand and did eat with him a little; then he withdrew his hand. And Theodore, by reason of this thing that he had done, in stretching forth his hand to eat, so as to bring back the youth unto our father P., spent &c.'
πιν' εσειρεί μελο-
[0]γ· εύη· εοογ· χας
[α]γω ερογωψ
[ἀ]ρος' εβόλ· πνε-
[ε]ρη θρογ· χε-
[ο]γ'απε υπερ-
[ε]ρας'αλ'

[Αρχονς]κε πο-γ-
[οογ] ετρεγξρια
[π]ασαρισλε ἀ-
[π]κοι πο[επ]ετε[ε]
[αεμογ]τε εροει-
[νε τ]ις κεςιντ γε γ-
[σκο]μαμ' ακβων
[επεσ]ητ' ερογ

a Probably more here: μοογε ε?  
b Or αρχονς κε.  

↑ Verso.  

margin

ογαρ]ελος π-
[τε] ποοειτετεγ-
[εμε]κε εροψ' εναι
[ε]ρογμε εραγ· ερ-
[ω] μελος χεξι
τις· πεπερ-
δωον· τα παπ πρω-
με· αλα ετετι-
δωα' υπεραλ

ζεεπεζοεις ς[ι]
εβόλ μελοι μπε-
τις μεμπατ-
πατε μελεβατ[α-]
ἀλευ' πρωοοε 
μπογγτε· αγω
μπομετεγε χε[ε-]
δωα' με εσειρε [ε-]
μοογ· εσειρε μελο[ο-]
ογ υπογεογγτιν [ι]
THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

Perhaps εushed, as space is short.

Fol. 12. Recto (v. Am. 411). no worldling (-κοσμικός) hath beheld me eating or (η) drinking water,¹ that herein also the Lord might be glorified.' But (δε) as for our father Pahomius, the Lord was with him in everything he did, glorifying him (Pahomius) and displaying him unto all the brethren for one of His servants.

It befell now (δε) on a day that they had need (χρεία) to cleanse (καθαρίσεω) the well of the monastery, and he called certain of the brethren that were strong and went down to it . . . .

... an old man among the brethren, in whom the fear of the Lord was not yet; it was not yet long since he had come in among the brethren. And he, when he heard that the brethren had gone down to the well, murmured saying, 'This man is pitiless, distressing the sons of men,'¹ in that (ὅστε) he sendeth them down unto the well at this time.' It befell, on that night, that that old man beheld a dream (δράμα) . . . .

¹ Am. differs slightly. ² Am. should be '... sons of men.' And as he beheld the brethren working, he beheld an angel of the Lord in their midst, and he crying into their faces (v. note on fol. 3), 'Receive ye &c.' Then he beheld him looking up to him, saying to him &c.
Verso (v. Am. 412). an] angel (ἀγγ.) of the Lord in their midst, crying out at them, saying, 'Receive unto yourselves a holy spirit (πνεῦμα); for (γὰρ) ye labour not for man, but (ἀλλὰ) ye labour for the servant of God.' And (δὲ) he beheld him (the angel) likewise, looking up at him, saying, 'Murmuring and faithless (ἀπίστος) old man, receive for thyself a spirit (πνεῦμα) of unbelief.' And it befell at morning, the brethren being within the meeting-place (συνάγεις), praying, he [came into their] midst and [cried out . . . . .]

... that the Lord take from me the spirit (πνεῦμα) of faithlessness, for I did slander (καταλαλεῖν) the man of God and believed (πιστεύειν) not that everything he doeth, he doth it in uprightness.'

And (δὲ) the brethren being about to go to a place, to reap a few reeds, and our father Pahomius being with them, but (δὲ) having appointed Theodore concerning a (certain) matter in . . . ., and he (Th.) went not [with the] brethren; but (δὲ) when the brethren had [gone] forth with [him], speeding him, Theodore being with them also, . . . .

Fol. 13. ↑ Recto.

margin

Greek: ἐκποίησις ἡ ἀρτι πε[ν]-

εἰστὶ παρακελευ[θ]· ἀγ-

ωνισκηνη ἡμέρας ἀγ-

αρ[κ]αι ἀν[θ]ρωπίνων ἀγ-

ων [πρ]ο[δ]ὶ 

ο[γ]ίτε περικο[ομ]έ

[ε]τεραι αποστ[ε]-

[θ]ο[γ]ι[ε]νη[θ]α άγ-

[ω] ἀνεμο[υ]ο[γ] αγ-

[ε][ε][ω] ἀγαπη[ε]ρ[θ]


1 Συνάγεις as the place of service in AS. §§ 56

(= Miss. 553, Mus. Guim. 105), 88, 92; Miss. 559 (= Mus. Guim. 283 ἱεραπόστολ), 823; Mus. Guim. 92 (= ib. 318 and our present text), 132, 171. So far as I can ascertain, not thus used outside the Pachomian texts.
THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

[ Apparently not λο nor ογ]ω; καμ grammatically difficult.  

→ Verso.

ehol'a ëtetipó π-

کام' ετείχως' ë-

tante' ëtegin [']

αραθ'ε ρατι ëteγ-

ίνου αμπρι νει-

στια' εhol' αρσαυ'

κακ' εhol' ένποινος

ίκαιν αμπλιαλ' 

eγεινήλαε' αι-

πιουτε ετινι-

tοι ετειονβο-

θεία ύπο ιναγ

ehol' ειτοοτη' 

margin

tαιγαγ [proy ze-]

eραβσο[pe π-]

κεσιγ [μπ-]

κατρεφη[οτι ']

πτερογοσ[βτε άε]

πικεσιγ, [etreg-]

ογωε' ερογα[ε-]

αγω ιτογ [μπ-]

ογωε' θεοσ[ρο]

ζε πεπητηε[με-]

πε επητας[μω-]

πε' πεαρφο[ογη]

ςαρ' μπογα' [ξινε-]

a αρπογα] εhol : v. below.
Fol. 13. Recto (v. Am. 412, 413). ... unto] Theodore, 'Go aboard the boat quickly (ταχύ).' And as for him, he doubted (διακρίνειν) not at all\(^1\) and went aboard the boat and took not his coverlet with him, neither (οὐδὲ)\(^2\) his book wherein he learnt by heart (ἀπὸ στήθους). And forthwith he blessed in his heart, saying, 'Blessed art Thou, Lord, for that Thou hast made me also worthy to be a child of Abraham, in the matter that hath happened (ἀπαντάν) unto me now, even as he came forth from his country, knowing not whither he went.'\(^3\) [And] it befell, after that [they had ceased?] to load ...... the] boat (?) ......

Now (δὲ) as our father Pahomius was loading (the boat) and the brethren with him, he looked with his eyes and beheld a terrible revelation. For (γὰρ) he beheld and lo, certain of the brethren were in the jaws of wild beasts (θηρ.) ; others again (δὲ) in the jaws of crocodiles ; and some were in the midst of a fire, others at the bottom of a cliff, desiring to come up, (yet) not being able. And they all were crying out, being in these tribulations (θλίψεις), and saying, 'Help (βοήθει) us.' And (δὲ) when he had seen them (?) ......

\(^1\) Am., asked concerning naught, neither refused, but &c.
\(^2\) his—neither om. Am.
\(^3\) Am. add. \(\text{sic, 413, 1}\).
... he cast down the load of reeds that was upon him, midway in the road, and stood still forthwith and spread forth his hands and cried out with a loud voice and prayed, beseeching (ἔπικαλεῖν) God concerning them, that help (βοήθεια) might be unto them from Him. And it befell, as each one of the brethren came up to him laden, they also cast down their loads and prayed. And he stayed, continuing thus to pray, until evening fell. And while yet he prayed . . . .

. . . the revelation that he had seen, that it should befall the brethren after he had fallen asleep. But (δὲ) after they had made ready for the brethren that they should eat, even and as for him (sc. Pahomius) he ate not. But (δὲ) Theodore had not known of what had befallen, for (γάρ) he had sent [him] with one [from among the] brethren for (?) an [affair ?]. And when he afterwards came (back), they told him all the fashion of its happening; and furthermore they informed him that he (sc. P.) had not eaten because he was sad at heart concerning the revelation that [he had beheld]. But (δὲ) he (?). . . .


1 Am. sic.
2 Am. sic.
3 Am. sic.
4 Am. should be, 'And each one of the brethren was bearing his load. And when they saw him cast down his load, each one of them cast down his load also, and stood and prayed. And he stayed continuing thus until the time of evening. And as he prayed, he was informed as to the vision, that it should befall the brethren after his death.'
5 Am. sic, in all this sentence.
ροψ· ἀχαρχεῖν, ἦς ὀργανῇ ἱππαγρίᾳ ἑγερμαθαὶ ἦς ἁκαγ' ἤγερ' ὡς εὐθαμ[ρικ]ῇ' εροφ.' ἄγῳ ἄνεφαμ' ἢ[σ] ἁκαγ ἀξηρὶμε ἦς-
[κε] εἰ[ραγυ] epxoeic [πο] ενταριμε [δω οἴ] αχογω-
[μι] ἂλ᾿ ἢ[σι] οὐα [τι-
[πε]ξωταὶ εροφ

margin

† Verso.

πζεκ-
[εκαγ] ἤγερ' ἄγῳ [α]νον πινακαλω-
[λι]· ἤτος ἂν πε-
[ζας] ἡναύ ἂν ἢτο-
[νι ἦτεταμι-
ἀκασμε' ἂν ἑκα-
[λτ ἢπεσκαγ' εἰ-
κατ ἢτεογα'

os ἀκογωμε' ἂι[ογ]· ἢτον ἤγερ' ἄγῳ ἀδόμ[ωπ]ε ε[η]-
[τιθαωρος μαγ-
[α]ς' εψακογ' ἄγειμεν ἀσι ε]ον
ἐπαγ χεβληπε[ι'] ἄγγ̣ πεγοὶ ερο[η] 

πεξαγν 

[πε]ξενογὺ πο[τ]-
[υ]ι [κ]ολν[ίπ] 

σια· πεξαγν ἰ[α]
χεβληαψιε
... neither hath \(^5\) Theodore eaten to-day.\(^6\) He said unto him, ‘Leave ye him; let him not eat, but (rather) (ἄλλα) let him weep.’ And he (sc. P.)

---

\(^1\) Am. \textit{sic}. \(^2\) Am. \textit{sic}. \(^3\) Am., ‘because he had said unto him.’ \(^4\) Am., ‘And one of the brethren heard him while he spake unto him, and he said &c.’ \(^5\) Am., ‘Theodore also hath eaten naught to-day.’ And he said, ‘And what have ye (to do) with him (misunderstood for ἀγωνὶς ἀμαρτίαν)’? Let him &c.’
forthwith sat down and did eat with his mind at rest.\(^1\) And it befell, as Theodore\(^2\) sat apart alone, sad at heart, two brethren knew that he was grieved (λυπεῖν) and they betook themselves unto him and said unto him, 'Speak a word unto us.' But (δὲ) he said unto them, 'Now indeed I it is have need (χρεία) to get comfort from one.' They said unto him, 'It may happen . . .

\[V\text{erso (v. Am. 414, 415).}
\] thy [sadness] of heart and we will comfort thee.' But (δὲ) he said unto them, 'Not ye it is will together be able to console me, except (εἰ μὴν) one alone console me.' But (δὲ) the word that he spake, they knew not what (it meant). And (δὲ) whilst yet (ἐτὶ) he spake with them, he looked and lo, the semblance of a man did sit at his feet\(^4\) and began to speak with him, being like to them that revile our father Pahōmius, tempting (πειράζειν) him and saying, 'Who is Pahōmius? [Is he (μὴ)] not an ignorant (ἰδιώτης) man, knowing nothing?' But (δὲ) he (sc. Theodore) was indignant (ἀγακτεῖν) (and) said, 'Our father Pahōmius knoweth (then) nothing? Perchance too thou wilt say concerning the apostles (ἀπ. ) that they know nothing, for that it is written\(^6\) concerning them that they were ignorant men (ἐπ.), knowing not how to write.\(^8\) For (γάρ) he solveth for us the mysteries (μυστήριον) of the Scriptures (γρ.) and [teacheth] us holy writings, as it is written.\(^7\) But not only (οὐ μόνον δὲ) . . .,\(^8\) he knoweth more than thee.' And after that he had said this, he that spake with him gave him means that he should know him for an angel (ἀγ.) of the Lord.

\[Fol. 15. \quad \uparrow \quad R e c t o .\]
THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

Χος· ἀγ[ω] ὑπερεψ'-
απαν[τα] ἐροφ' ἀγ-
μάζε πάντας ἀγ-
σε ἐρο[φ] ἔπειτα [e]ποιήτω-

[...]a ἀγω ἀγρων
[e]τοτεγ ἄτνεον
ἐποπταίστ[φ]ρο' πει-
νετή ετρεψεί-
πε ἀπος ἐρογιν

[κοντα]πο[φ]χε ἥν ἐφ-
[ποτρί]ο[φί] ἐφ' ἐφ-
[παθών ἐρο]γιν ετ-

b

ϕύρ[ε] ἀε-
ει[έ] ἐπ[α]
ε[ε] ἐφ[ολ]

[πέ]τεγ[ν]οῦ ἐτα-
ἀγρ' ἦ[]

[μνεπεπ[]
[ἄτνεον ἐπ[ταχ]-

χος ἐφ' ἐφ[α]-

[τι] εἰν[ε] [ἀπο-

ἐρο]γιν ετ[

εξ[α]

ρωμ[ε]

[π]

a I do not think there is a line missing between this and last; cf. verso.

or ταλτε. So too in col. 2. b τεοογζε

→ Verso.

[ποκα]

εβ[ολ] π'-
[τεγνοֹ] πεναĥ
[πακ] πεθώκ] π'-
[αογτε επι]α' π-
[πον γιν]α' αγω
[περουγει] πε-
[πα] παγ[υ] γωνος χε-
[παλ]χος ἐντῆ
[χογρ'] πεναĥ πακ

Δε[

ἐκ] πε-

χα[ν] χε[τή]

ταφορα[ι] [απο-

βε εντα[λ] π'-

ουλιτατεο[γν] ὁ

θεωρε: επουκα-

ζε ετρεψωπε

πτ[ε]ι σιογνιτ-

ἀθωθε πογοευ-

πα] πο ενταϊ-

επιτιμα[α] πακ' ε-

* Scarcely space for ϊο, though it seems needed.
Fol. 15. Recto (cf. Am. 416). ... everything that ....1 But (δέ) a man also came unto him, once on a time, desiring to become a monk (μον.). And after that he had met (ἀπαντάν) him, he talked with him and found him fitted (lit. upright) before him (i.e. in his opinion) for the matter .... And he bade the brother that was at the gate of the monastery, that he should bring him in unto the brethren. But (δέ) when he had gone forward a little, as if (ός) he [would go in] unto the [congregation]2

... in that hour .... the brother to whom [he] had said to [take] him and bring [him] in unto the ..., saying,3 .... man (?) ....

Verso (v. Am. 418). ... went] forth at [once?]. He said [unto him, 'Go (?)] and [call] such a [brother and] such an one.' And [when they were come,] he [said unto them] likewise, ['What] said [I] unto you?' They said unto him, 'Thou didst say, ['Go] and depart (ἀναχωρεῖν).'].4 But (δέ) he, when he heard, sighed. He said, '... I [spake with] you, [I beheld a] spirit (πν.) of .......

... and said unto him, 'Because of the occasion (ἀφορμή) of sin that I (sic)5 have given (lit. done), in ignorance, [O?] Theodore, strive (σπουδά-

---

1 Apparently not as in Am.'s context. What follows (§ 46) differs also considerably from Am. 2 Or 'midst'. 3 An imperative followed here. 4 Am. sic. 5 Am., 'By reason of this sin which I have done.'
(εἰς) for thy part to be alway without sin, as I admonished (ἐπιτιμᾶν) thee freely, with¹ . . . . But (δὲ) if perchance on a time thou call a man and he forthwith hasten away, be not wroth with him, but (ἀλλὰ) rather say in thy heart, 'Surely (πάντως) he hath not understood . . . .

Fol. 16. → Recto.

¹ Am. should be, 'As I reprimanded thee freely, with reproof, do thou also, if thou call a man &c.'
Fol. 16. Recto (n. Am. 424). ... the end (συντέλεια) [...] of the] age (ἢ ἁλῶν), they not ... ¹ them from out their pollutions wherein they ... themselves .......

... When our father Pahômius saw a spirit (πν.) of fornication (πορνεία) and pollution passing (παράγειν) among the brethren, while they worked in a (certain) place, he gathered them together at evening, according to (κατά) their custom (συνήθεια). He said unto them, 'Remember the word that is written,² that Belief (πίσος) is of [hearing .....  

Verso (n. Am. 424). ... wherein they have been, they are therein ³ now also and do walk in the world (κόσμον). Now (μέν) I know that ..... will not give place in themselves unto a demon (δαίμον) such as this, in anything. But (ἄλλα) it (were) good (ἀγαθός) for them that they bear ......  

... by the words that he (?) ⁴ spake unto you. But (ἄλλα) fulfill ......

Fol. 17. ↑ Recto.

τι

πει[ερχέω]

ποιοει. [ἐβολ']

ζελητό[μοι ὡς]

πειρητ [ἀπίθι ὡς]

μοογ ἐγ[eί

² Or ἠκολούθωσαν. ἀκί

³ Or ἠκολούθωσαν. ἀκί

¹ Perhaps εἰσὶν e

² Apparently not ἐγκολούθωσαν or ἐκείνων μοισ.

³ Or 'have been ashamed, they are ashamed now also'.

⁴ Or 'that I'.
THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

margin

a Paragraph-mark very doubtful. Can the similar mark and words in smaller script, below the text, have reference to this?  

b One is tempted to read ἐμπογενέος ἐν πτειμείν[ε] το[ρ] (or -ο[γ]) ἐν[τ]αγαγ[ε] [ε]γραγ[α] [γ].

→ Verso.
Fol. 17. Recto (v. Am. 425). ... unto everlasting ... the Lord, because they have decided in their own heart, being ..., that [All] the time [where]in we ... upon the earth, we will not decline from Thy will, even (kāv) shouldest Thou suffer us until the end (συντέλεια) of the age (aiōn).

Those of this sort, whether (kāv) it be a single year that they shall pass, waiting for (ὑπομένειν) the Lord, or (§) ten years, or (§) more than these, living (πολιτεύειν) according to (κατά) the decision of heart [which ... ... 3 afterwards (?) ... desist ... while ... ... ... 4 all their perseverance (ὑπομένειν) that they have done, 4 pleasing the Lord and resisting the devil (δι.), so that (ὡστε) ... ...

1 Am. should be, 4 And those shall be like unto the Lord; they have decided in themselves saying, in presence of the Lord, with a good conscience and sure, If Thou leave us on the earth unto the end, we will not decline from Thy will; but all our time for which Thou shalt leave us on the earth, we will continue in Thy will, even shouldest Thou leave us unto the end of the age. 2 Am. síc. 3 This passage not in Am. 4 Slight alterations would give, ‘afar off, all such-like things that they have done’; but grammatically the changes are hardly admissible.
Verso (v. Am. 425, 426). ...1 the devil (διαβ.) ... ... that pleased him ... he was (?) sinless before Him ... Jericho and Sodom and ... and (?) Elam (?) and Seboim,2 that did ... ... shall be for ever in the kingdom that hath been prepared for them since the foundation (κατ.) of the world (κόσ.) ; because that they have been faithful unto the Lord, according unto the covenant (κατά, διάθ.) which they did establish with Him. And3 this likewise is the fashion of the sinners that have decided to sin4 and those that remain in pollution, whereby the devil (διαβ.) and his demons (δαιμ.) have lordship over them; unto whom they are become children; as it is written in the Gospel (εβ.). ... 

Fol. 18. ↑ Recto.    

→ Verso.

[pνος]· αλλά[α]

ανὸν ἀπικάπεο-

ούν ἀνισοῦντε, ἀ-

πεισμονε ετρεπ-

εὶ εγουα ἐνεῖξω-

ότε ἐτείμωνε:

ἀγο ἀγοτευμ[θ]

τῆς ἑτερογ-

ωτίας τος ἐν αἰ-

ηνὴν ἡγοτού:]  

εθείμωνε εὐ

περετσματε 

ὁμοιομον 

ἀξιον φρο

αλλατε ἑλ

* Or ταξισ.

1 This passage not in Am.
2 Cf. Gen. xiv. 1, 2. It is difficult to complete the names satisfactorily.
3 Am., 'Even thus also the sinners that have decided to sin and that remain in pollutions which do rule over them by means of the devil and his demons; these (it is) that are become children unto him, and they shall be children also unto him in punishment for ever.' 
4 'Those (for whom) it hath been decided that they should sin' is grammatically possible.
Fol. 18. Recto (v. Am. 427). ... while they are awake, not (?) to ask that which it is meet to ask and he hath not been sent, lest the enemy have profit of you at all, as it is written. But (δὲ) when certain of them heard these (words), that were aforetime anchorites (ἀναχ.), ere they had come to the community (κοινωνία), they were much grieved (λυπεῖν) in their heart, saying, 'What are words such as these? He would make us ill-disposed (ἀγριος) one to another. Is there (μὴ) any woman among us? Are (μὴ) not we all according to (κατὰ) . . . .

Verso (v. Am. 427). ... the world (κόσμος). But (ἀλλὰ), after the knowledge of God, let it not be that we descend to pollutions such as these.' And they passed all that night sad at heart and murmuring because of the words that they had heard. But (δὲ) when they arose in the morning, when the brethren were about to go forth to work, they went not with them, being indignant (ἀγανακτεῖν) at that which they had heard. And (δὲ) at the fourth hour, lo, there came monks (μον.) to meet with (ἀπαντᾶν) our father Pahômius . . . .

1 Difficult to accommodate this to Am. Relates perhaps to the precepts as to sleeping.
2 I.e. unless he hath been sent = Am. 'without a mission.'
3 Ps. lxxxviii. 22.
4 Am. should be, saying one to another, 'What is this word? He hath made us odious and estranged one from another.'
5 Am. om.
Fol. 19. → Recto.

Theological Texts

dei ... cpi-
deo [epxw μμος]
 χεν[πτοογή]
ετε[π]
πε[π]
πσοογ[πε πεωτ-]
πε [εγε[πογε γαρ-]
την αγ[ω συνπε-]
[c]ήγυτε[ος]
? [ margin

a dei inserted in order adequately to fill the gap, be read, but what remains guarantees the citation ('epistle').

→ Verso.

[ω
κι[α+
[ποτ.".
]. πε,
[ποτ.-
[ππογτε]· εωκ-
[πε μεν εκ]σαντ+
[μετανο]α παχ
[τινα+] ωω[ον εκ-
]ε πογκε

margin

tεκμ[πρεσβυ-]
tεροκ· [ε[πογή]
εβολ [πτ[πογε]
ετυμήγτε· μα-
ρεπ[λων' εκέει
πκαναχωρε' πκ-
ειρε πογρ[οπε
[δεπ[α ε]μεαγ.
ίτετελααγ
[μαλ' μεμαγ.
ογκε εφωμε· αγω

margin

b Here (and in line 6) scarce a letter can

c ep[αιον ('letters') or ep[αι μμος
Fol. 19. Recto (v. Am. 428). ... But (? δὲ) love unto strangers neglect not; for (γάρ) thereby have some received unto themselves angels (ἄγ) and knew it not.¹ For (γάρ) this man that I see, an angel’s form is his.² But (δὲ) Theodore answered and said, ....

... had] written [it ?] thus, [saying,] ... [that I] send [thee] ... of sackcloth is [the father] of a con[gregation under] us and (?) [a pres]-byter (πρεσβ.) ....

Verso (v. Am. 429). ... the judgement that thou] shalt (? ) give ...... from [God³]. Now (μέν) if thou wilt grant repentance (μετάν) unto him, [we] also will [grant (it)]; but (δὲ) if thou cast him forth, .... cast [him forth ....

... his presbytership (-πρεσβ.) and (let them) cast him forth from the [congregation] where[in] he is. [Let] him go unto another place and live apart (ἄναξοποιείν) and pass a year there, and let none pray with him, neither (οὐδὲ) eat. And ......

Fol. 20. ↑ Recto.

[...γαρ τεσσαρι[μ]ψ] [τῆς] [καχος]
ετρεπών [αγω]
στὰς γινομεν ποιή-
ς τῆς πνος [εἰ]
κον αὐξάνει ει[σο]
ετρεπών, αὐ-
ογεγονεὶ ηθεν ἐν
ἐν γενεσεωθ’, αὐ-
διογε επικούτί ετ[ι]
αγγελίας εἰς [ε]-
margin

¹ Perhaps καρθγ̄ or καμαγρ.
² Stern, Gr. § 298/4).
³ Am., ‘from Him.’

¹ Heb. xiii. 2.
² Heb. xiii. 2.
³ Heb. xiii. 2.
Verso.

Fol. 20. Recto (v. Am. 429, 430). ... him. The brethren laid hold 1 on him ....

... [the robe of] monkhood (μονη) that was upon him [and] he put upon him [a] worldling's (κοσμικὴς) garment and let him go that he should depart. 2 And (δὲ) he bade moreover bring staves and he beat that young(er) one. Thereafter ....

Verso (v. Am. 430). ... but (δὲ) [counsel] him that he walk not [with a] man of whom he getteth not profit. But (δὲ) if he shall not hearken unto you, but (ἀλλὰ) remain unteachable, cast him [forth ....

... [O] our fath[er, 3 thou it is] dost seek after [our] souls, to save [them.]

Here an ornament, indicating the end of a section.

1 Am., 'hindered.' 2 Am., add. to the world (sic). 3 Am. om.
Fol. 21. → Recto.

\[\text{[\ldots]}\]

margin

* Perhaps π[τεχνογ].

↑ Verso.

\[\text{[\ldots]}\]

margin
THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

Fol. 21. Recto (v. Am. 431). ... wherein our father Pahômius was [wont to] stand, while our father Pahômius stood as if (ὁς) (he were) one ... .

... [at all] times, [he] began (ἀρχεῖν) [?] forthwith] to instruct (κατηχεῖν) the brethren. This is the first word (ῥητῶν) that he spake from the scriptures (γρ.),2 'Call the mourning women; let them come. Send for the wise women; let them open [their] mouths ... .

Verso (v. Am. 431, 432). ... And [how] is it ye have been in pride of heart, having turned you back, not to hear the word of God? Or (ἤ) perchance ye have not heard concerning the Lord, how ... .

... Now [I say] unto you, this sin that ye [have] done, [it] shall not be forgiven.

Fol. 22. ↑ Recto.


→ Verso.


Fol. 22. Recto (v. Am. 432). ... [saw?] it3 [him]self, entering into his body (σῶμα). And (δὲ) many also of the elders (lit. great-ones) that lived religiously (πολιτεύειν) among the brethren, by reason of the purity [of] their heart and [their] body (σῶ.), beheld many revelations and visions (δραμα) ... .

1 That this is the true equivalent of the persistent Coptic form καθηκεῖν is clear from e.g. Luke i. 4, Acts xviii. 25, 1 Cor. xiv. 19.
2 Jer. ix. 17.
3 The pronoun being masculine, must refer to ψυχῆ, not to ψυχῆ.
Verso (v. Am. 433?). ... this faithless (ὁμισθός) act (lit. thing) before him, that it should befall. He was indeed (μέν) with him (or me or them) as a man of God; yet (ἄλλα) in this matter ... him. And (δὲ) it befell, after they had ... .

Fol. 23. → Recto (?).

[Leaf reading]

[Fol. 23. Recto (?) (v. Am. 433?). ... If so be [he should] say unto me, Live, ... ¹ that I shall [live. But (δὲ)] if he should say ... .

Verso (?). ... remem[bering] the word [that is written in] the Gos[pel],² 'Love ... .

Fol. 24. ↑ Recto.

¹ Perhaps 'I know', 'I believe', though Am. has nothing.
² There is, I think, only one phrase in the Gospels beginning with ἀμετ' ἐν-, viz. Matt. v. 44 = Luke vi. 27 ('Love thine enemies').
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[. . .] memorandum: Αγς
[περαγε] μηπεν-
[τα]χαγε τροχ Τι-
πάπου[α] ητα-
παο[ε]ς επιποο[ως]
αποκαθιστεί 
μάν 
τοι 
ηρή 
ξύρεια 
επε 
θε 
επε 
ταχαγε
[. . .] αποσωλαπ εβολ'
[ε]ηρε 
[τε] τιτε 
επε 
τα 
εβ 
ε 
[α]π 
ε 
[ο]υ 
[ε] 
[ε] 
[ε] 
[p] α 
[ε] 
[ε] 
[ε] 
[ε]
margin

* αγ - must refer to τας, ας - in line 1 to ειωτε.
* entr[αγ] is inevitable here. Am. (G μιν) التى صارا لله.

→ Verso.

[ει] .

π]αμ[ε] πε[τ-]α
[ταθ απαγε]γιτρ'
[εαδ]τε ο εβολ' 
[εγε] πε[μ] μι 
πηπι 
ποπ εγικ 
πη 
θα 
πη 
[αγ] ας-
[θομ[ε] περεογ-
[σ] το 
[p] [α] [α]
[ο]

* Or κενταθάδω or κεντάθην γεμ.
* Doubtful; equivalent to من هذه باسر.
... vision (δραμα), and he remembered that which he had beheld in the vision (δρ.) from the Lord, on the day whereon he was being instructed (κατηχετω) towards becoming a Christian (χρηστος); how he had beheld in that revelation the dew of heaven descending upon him, (how) afterwards it had collected and had become a cake of honey ....

... and it fell [upon the ground] and it had been [said to him] in the vision (δρ.), 'Give heed unto this word, for it shall be fulfilled upon thee after a time.' And as for him, he was informed [by the] Spirit (πνευμα) that 'this [cake of honey] that did [collect] in [thy hand] and fall upon the [ground, these (sic)] are all the gifts (χαρισμα) that came to thee [from] the Lord. And they shall come also unto thy brethren, that is, the earth. When they shall have become born again, being cleansed from [all] pride [of heart] ....

1 Am. should he visions from the Lord, he remembered the revelation of the vision that he (they) had seen at first, on the day whereon he had been instructed (وعظ) that he should become a Christian (مسبيط); how he had beheld that the dew of heaven descended upon him and thereafter became in his hand a cake of honey and fell upon the ground; and (how) it was said unto him in the vision &c.'

2 So G μοικ, omitting Am.'s علي (435, 1).
Verso (v. Am. 435). ... of 1 a truth that [purify] their hearts greatly (?) from every evil (ποι.?) thought, discerning (διακρίνειν) between good and evil. And it befell [that a] youth [was] sick.... comely [in his] appearance (?). [And] he, when they had brought [him] to the place wherein the sick brethren used to eat, to feed him, that brother 2 that served (διακονεῖν) the brethren and was very ascetic (ἀσκητὴς) and (God-) fearing, whose name was Titoue, being a .......

... discerned] between good [and] evil. But (δὲ) that one, when he saw the gladness of his heart that he should serve (διακονεῖν) the youth well (καλῶς) and prepare (food) for him, would sigh 3 within himself and doubt (διακρίνειν), saying, 'Lord, what is this gladness .......

Fol. 25. → Recto.

[Am. should be, 'And thus they of a truth shall become pure in their hearts from all this and from every evil thought.'  
2 Am. should be, 'And the brother that served the sick brethren, his name was Didûye, and he was pious and discerned (the nature of) his thoughts aright. And when he saw &c.'  
3 Am. should be, 'He sighed to himself alone and set about doubting within himself, saying, 'O Lord, what is this gladness &c.'
margin

↑ Verso.

[πογ]ωρ ενεσίνυ
[μ]πενταχμαγ
[ερ]ογ εφνασισε
εαθ εμπατη-
σιον αγω νι-
τηςει νι[σο]ττι
ηισι πι[βαρβαρος]
πεπηραστε αγω
[αγικτωο]γ επαγογ
[κατα θ]ε επταγ-
[ζοος]ο [μ]μακαγ:
[γοοιν] αε εγχαρι-
[ειτ ηισι πιβαρβα-
[ρος] αγεθ εγκοοα-
ξιν εφηνασισωρει
ποσεα αγανξεια-

ποι γε πεζαε ζε-
θιασσαν ετεθην-
σι τιτοπλιε εν-
ταγμολε πισι π-
βαρβαρος πογαπε
ηισε ινογο ιαι-
ζεπνωοιε μεα-
ζενηειδοε εγγ

[πογ]ωρ [. . . τεο]

ναπ· [π]ε[β]

παγωωπ· [π][τε]

πογαγ αε [ζ][μ]

πεφωτε [ν]ε[ω]

ογ [αγ]ξιπ πογε-

κοντ εγγω [μ]μος

να[ε] επαγωτι

εβο[α] ευαπ τε-

μοι ταλακο-

ει: αγω πτερεο-

ροτε ζειπεγ-

κοντ [μ]μος. αγ-

ογωτι εβο[λ]

αγω [μ]μιςωε αγ-

τεογι [μαντογ]

a Or [παξε], cf. recto, l. 10.

b These lines may be π]υορπ μ[μιςωε τεο] ναυ·

πιιογ αε μ], or π]υορπ μ[μαντικεο].
Fol. 25. Recto (v. Am. 438). ... [And? he] called another of the brethren and sent him with him. It befell, when they had done half of the journey (lit. road of walking), he looked and lo, a youth came forth from some thorn-bushes, even as our father Pahomius had said unto him. But (δὲ) when he beheld him, he told the brother that walked with him how the word that he (sc. P.) had spoken was fulfilled. And moreover he told him that he had bidden him, saying, Be not afraid, for (γάρ) he shall not be able to do you any ill ... .

... After]wards he turned about and departed. And (δὲ) it befell thereafter, as our father Pahomius prayed, lo, an angel (ἀγ.) of the Lord appeared unto him and said unto him, 'What wilt thou vow [to] give in [charity], if so be the [Lord] hinder (κωλυεῖν) [the wrath (ὀργή)] in that He [impede] the barbarians (βάρβαροι)?' And (δὲ) he said, 'I will send unto the church (ἐκκ.) of the city (πόλις) which the barbarians (βάρβαροι) have laid waste many (lit. an amount of) hundred(weight) of corn, with books and other things (εἴδος) [whereof] they have need (χρεία) ... .

Verso (v. Am. 439). ... related to the brethren what he had seen that should befall ere it had beenfallen. And thus were the barbarians (βαρβάροι) conquered on the morrow and were driven back, even (κατά) as it had been said unto him. And while yet (δὲ) the barbarians (βαρβάροι) were

1 Am. should be, 'they looked and lo (lil), a youth came forth from the bushes.' (The word, two lines above, translated cilice, is not مص) but مص (spade).
2 Am. om. you.
3 Am. (Ac. 73 infra), 'What wilt thou vow (تاندر) to give as charity, if the Lord should calm (هدأ) the (sic) wrath &c.'
4 Am., 'an hundred artabae,'
5 Am. sic.
6 Am., 'as the angel had said unto him.'
victorious, they found a monk living apart (μον., ἄναχωρεῖν) in a (certain) place and they took him captive (αὐχαλωτίζειν). And it befell on a time, when they came and would drink wine, they said unto him, 'Gird thyself' and pour (wine) for us.' And when . . . .

... ere [thou give] us [to drink.' But (δὲ) he (?) would not. And (δὲ) when they saw that he hearkened not unto them, they took a spear, saying unto him, 'Pour forth; if not, we will slay thee.' And when he was afraid lest they should slay him, he poured forth. And afterwards he gave them to drink until they were drunken and slept; and the monk (μον.) fled. And thereafter his heart was broken, so that (ὡστε) he was not able to stretch forth . . . .


1 Am. 439, 2 (G ἱππ.), read σαβ. 'captured him'.
2 Am., 'thy middle.'
3 Or 'and afterwards give us to drink'. Am., should he, 'Sacrifice unto our gods ere thou give us to drink.'
4 Am., 'and he did not.'

5 Lemm., KKS. xlv, p. 403, accepts Peyron's
6 Am., 'Raise an offering unto our gods.'
7 Am., 'arose and fled.'


Completion of first three lines uncertain, as Am. differs somewhat.
Fol. 26. Recto (v. Am. 439, 440). How [shall I entreat] Him that I have denied (áρνασθαι)? For (γάρ) it is written,¹ Whosoever shall deny (ἀρ.) me, him will I deny (ἀρ.).' And (δὲ) then he thought within himself, saying, 'I have heard that there is a man of God (that) is father of the community (κοινωνία) of Tabennese, namely Pahômius. I will arise and go to him and will tell him of all that I have done. If so be (+ μέν) that he give me repentance (μετ.), I believe (πιστεύειν) that the Lord shall give (it) me. But (δὲ) if so be that he say, There is not for thee repentance (μετ.). . . .

. . . there is not repentance for me until I meet with (ἀπαντάν) [thee ²] first and thou [show me] the certainty [of the matter.]' He said [unto him, 'O] wretch[ed one (ταλαίπωρος)], after [that the an]gel (ἀγ.) ⁴ of the Lord had stood by [thee], the crown being [in . . . .

Verso (v. Am. 440). . . . [bade] him to [fast (? νηστεύειν) daily ⁵] and not to [eat aught] of things [cooked], save by (χωρίς) necessity (ἀνάγκη) of sickness. And he said unto him,⁶ 'If thou act in this wise, the saints shall be . . . .

. . . And] I likewise with them, [in] the hour when the enemy shall accuse⁷ (κατηγορεῖν) thee.'

And it befell, at the beginning (ἀρχή), when he had set Theodore to be father for the congregation of Tabennese, and Theodore for his part, knowing how our father Pahômius was wont to speak daily unto the brethren the word of God, would be diligent (σπουδάζειν + δὲ), after that he had ceased to do his work, [for] he wove ⁸ mats, . . . .

¹ Matt. x. 33.
² Am. sic.
³ Am., 'until I meet with thy paternity.'
⁴ Am. sic.
⁵ Am., 'to fast until evening daily,' for which there seems not space in the Coptic.
⁶ Uncertain according to my copy.
⁷ So Am., not 'rejoice.'
Theological Texts

Fol. 27. → Recto.

\[\text{Δε \varepsilon}.\]

\[\text{β. \nuς}\]

\[\text{[πογρωμε] εγγραξ-}\]

\[\text{[δέκ Μανοδ] ογτωγι'}\]

\[\text{[μικος εκτ]ε\textsuperscript{a} αγω}\]

\[\text{[τετεγε]λε e-}\]

\[\text{[βολ ἵν]ταπείλιν}\]

\[\text{[μεσα ε]τταιλιν}.\]

\[\text{[αγει ε]γραξ αφ-}\]

\[\text{[πωτ μαξ eβολ']b}\]

\[\text{[ηΓ ṣ] ?}\]

\[\text{[θήλα αερωστι}\]

\[\text{αμιαγ αγω εις ηνι-}\]

\[\text{ητε τω ετεκεί-}\]

\[\text{ητ αεωπηε πως}\]

\[\text{ηογηνα} τηρε'}\]

\[\text{αγω πεςσω} ειν-}\]

\[\text{ταπεινειν ογωιν}\]

\[\text{ναχ εβολ Μανιαγ}\]

\[\text{ετταιλιν παινε}\]

\[\text{εις πεςσω} ηογ-}\]

\[\text{ηνα ιως ηος ηογ-}\]

\[\text{ταπεινειν εινγο-}\]

\[\text{πως εβολ ειτω ι-}\]

\[\text{ηνα} αγω εεργ-}\]

\[\text{εντεκαλε ιςι}\]

\[\text{ογκλοε} εκμπωηι}\]

\[\text{μεουε} λεπεθεουγ-}\]

\[\text{αγω πεςωκαπε-}\]

\[\text{κλοε} εκκωτε\textsuperscript{c} ι-}\]

\[\text{ςι γενειν\textsuperscript{d} πες-}\]

\[\text{εναυε} εκμπωηι[ογ]}\]

\[\text{?} \quad ?\]

\[\text{a Does ογτωγ allow of the construction thus given it by the following words? For the recon-}\]

\[\text{struction here, cf. Bo. 105.}\]

\[\text{b Or \textsuperscript{e}βολ [π.}}\]

\[\text{c ι has been altered, probably to γ.}\]

\[\text{d ι erased, leaving εινε.}\]

↑ Verso.

\[\text{καιοσι εν\textsuperscript{a} τρ[ι-}\]

\[\text{ις ης} \text{περιβιο} ις-}\]

\[\text{εγν η τεκποι-}\]

\[\text{a τακ[καιοσι] εν = Am. البقر.}\]
margin

" Possibly elsewhere.

Fol. 27. Recto (v. Am. 443). . . . even as (?) [a man] that is straitened between [two walls], and [since (lit. when) he] was oppressed (θλίβειν) by reason of the danger (? απειλή) of that place, he [went?] down and [fled?] forth [from . . .

. . . whilst he] prayed. He looked and beheld and lo, the wall upon the eastern side became all as it were of gold. And the form wherein the Lord did then reveal Himself was this: lo, the form of a great face in the likeness of a table (τράπεζα), appearing upon the golden wall, and upon its head a crown of immeasurable glory. And there were upon the crown precious stones round about, of great price . . . .

1 This whole sentence is uncertain. I have failed to reconstruct a text corresponding with Am.
2 Am. sic.
3 So G παντάτοι for παντάτοι.
4 Am., 'around the crown divers colours, like to jewels of great price.'
Verso (v. Am. 443, 444). ... righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), peace (εἰρήνη), humbleness of heart, longsuffering, kindness (-χρηστός), meekness, temperance (ἐγκράτεια), joy in (sic) hope (ἐλπίς), love. And (δὲ) there were in his presence two great archangels (ἀνάρχαγ.), honourable exceedingly, and (δὲ) they ceased not to look upon the likeness of the Lord that had been revealed. But (δὲ) our father Pahōmius prayed, beseeching the Lord and saying, 'Let all Thy fear ......

... let [Thy fear (?) ...... fear] Thee (?), while he] prayed [and] beseeched concerning [this,] lo,......

Fol. 28. ↑ Recto.

[...]

a Bo. p. 107 has οὐχ.

b totē seems unlikely.

c Probably nothing here.

1 Cf. Gal. v. 22 (also Budge, Hom. 67, Leyden MSS. 335). The enumeration corresponds exactly to Am., to the μεταφράσεις, and differs from Bo. 106 (= Av. 46 b). For 'joy in hope', cf. Rom. xii.

12. Lemm KAΣ. 432 ff. has discussed similar lists.

2 Am. should be, 'And while he prayed and beseeched on account of this, lo &c.'
margin

margin
Fol. 28. Recto (v. Am. 444). ... the sun, rising upon the earth. And (δέ) [its] appearance (lit. likeness) was bright exceedingly. It befell that when the fear had reached him, he fell down and continued twitching (lit. leaping) upon the ground, [even] as a live fish twitcheth upon the ground, after it (sc. the fear) had entered into his limbs (μέλος) and his joints (ἀρμός) and his marrow [and] all his body (σῶμα) and his soul (ψυχ.). But (δέ) when he had been so sorrowful, even unto (ἀοτε) giving himself over unto death, [the angels] looked toward him with a part (μέρος) of their face(s). . . .

... not bear all [the fear] of the Lord? After he had been troubled (θλίβειν)..., he cried [out] many times, 'Lord, have mercy upon me.' Forthwith the ray (ἀκτίν) of fear went, little by little, and returned to its [place]. And (δέ) thereafter too the [image] of mercy moved, little by little, until it reached [him]. And its appearance [was] like unto oil exceeding thick. And (δέ) when it had come to him, forth[with]? . . .

Verso (v. Am. 444). . . . thus . . . . . this figure that the Lord had shown [him], how that every fruit (καρπός) of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) that is in any (lit. every) man doth come forth upon them from Him, according to (κατά) the word that James spake, saying, 'Every good gift (δωρόν) and every perfect gift (δ.) is from heaven, coming down from the Father of lights.' And he knew also . . .

... with you. But (ἀλλα) I am with you in the Spirit (πνεῦμα), in the type (τύπος) of the [sun], which riseth upon all the [earth], and men that are in all countries (χώρα) do walk in his light. This is the manner of all such as are reckoned [of the] second birth [in?] the Gospel (εὐαγγέλιον), albeit (καίρι) they know not one another by sight (lit. face), yet (ἀλλα) do they that (?) are in every place know one another at once, and are in (?) . . .

1 Am. should be, 'like the sun, when he riseth upon the earth. And their appearance was green exceedingly.'
3 Am. misunderstanding. 
4 Am., 'were broken, injured,' sc. his limbs.
5 Am., 'the place without bones,' translating Bo. δι-κακ.
6 Am. om. 'of the Lord'.
7 Am. should be, 'And when the anxiety had reached him.'
8 Am. sic, sing.
9 G sic, Am. 'and'.
10 Am. should be, 'a very heavy perfume.'
11 Am. should be, 'And thus passed this similitude that the Lord showed him;' G πήθη b reading 'And thus it passed. And this similitude the Lord showed him, so that'.
12 Am. should be, 'upon men.'
13 Jas. i. 17.
Fol. 29. → Recto (?).

margin

↑ Verso (?).

margin

Γαπά [ος ενημοσ-]
νησ αι, α[γο ξια-]
† [με] πειμ[αxe]
δε σεκαπνω[ε ενη-
ψοςεσ αι αγ[ω]
ξια] μαχ. ετε-
παίνε ετ [πογ-
ον ιμη' δ[μ]ογ[πί-]
γαπλουε ισι πν[ο-]
eις, επημοσιες [πι-
λαυ γιαταιτ[ετ']
μιμωφ πανάξ-
δε εροι [μα] αθύμας-
τε [μα] μαχ
μπεκαϊς[μπτ]
μαχ η[μο η][πετ]
ατει' δ[μο] η[μνο[μ]]
etήματη πεια-
ρεθατεί ηπογι-
πνεις, επημακρι-
τε ιλααυ νι, ετ[ε-]
 Fol. 29. (The right position of this fol. is uncertain.)

Recto. . . . 'If I am not among you in the flesh (σάρξ), yet (ἀλλά) am I with you in the spirit (πνεῦ).' And since then (ἐπείδὴ δὲ) there are some of the faithful (πιστῶς) have brought forth for themselves a portion (μέρος) of the fruits (καρπὸς) of the Spirit (πνεῦ) of the Lord, while (δὲ) as for the other portion (μέρος), they have not been able to bring them forth; for this cause doth the servant of God, James, exhort (προτρέπειν) such as these, saying, 'He that lacketh wisdom (σοφία) among you—that is, some . . . .

. . . liberally (ἀπλῶς), upbraiding not, and he shall give unto him.' And (δὲ) this saying: 'liberally (ἀπλῶς), upbraiding not, and he shall give unto him,' it's meaning is this: the Lord giveth unto every one with liberality (ἀπλῶς), upbraiding not any one of them that ask (αἰτεῖν) Him, (saying,) 'Thou hast sinned against Me, or (ἡ) Thou hast done iniquity; I will not

1 Col. ii. 5.
2 Jas. i. 5.
3 An explanatory insertion; so too at end of this page.
grant thee thy request (αἰτημα).’ Rather, of him that asketh (αἰ.) he saith,‘Let him ask (αἰ.) in faith (πίστις), nothing doubting (διακρίνειν)—that is . . . .

Verso. . . . the place [where] in a man is, through God’s will. Even as a woman conceiving, little by little, and afterwards bringing forth, and the little (one) growing by small degrees, until he reach completion (-τέλειος) in age (ἡλικία); such is the fashion of the fruits (κα.) of the Spirit (πν.), a man bringing them forth within himself, little by little, in the measure of his heart, until he be complete (τέλειος) therein, as it is written, . . . .

. . . cause abortion; [but] then, after that she hath brought forth, straightway the little (one) dieth. This is the fashion of a man who, after that he hath established a covenant (διαθήκη) with God, to do His will and to keep His commandments (ἐντολή), and hath progressed (προκόπτειν) according to the covenant (κατά, διαθ.) that he hath established, doth afterward renounce the fruits (κα.) of the Spirit (πν.), wherein he had made beginning (ἀρχεῖν). He . . . .

Fol. 30. ↑ Recto.

This does not sufficiently fill the space. Perhaps οἰκτᾶτε; ἕνωσε is too rare to be probable.

1 Jas. i. 6.
2 Cf. Lagarde, Aeg. 240 πνεῦμα δύναται ποιεῖν. πολλάκις εσεχθείς; Curzon MS. 188, πα.
[αλλά αὐ]καρωκε' ε-
[μερεὶ λ]αυγ παυ,  
[αὐ]τὶ ε]μπρω'-
[παὶ ἅμα]τε ἁεσι-
[τωμ]ὶ ἅμα]δε' ετε-

margin

→ Verso.

ἀμφιϊκος πυ-

σε αὐ ἐροὶ έογεμ

σε ὑάματες.

ἐβολ' ζεογογοοτε-

πε εὑτρεπρω-

με ἡμιος. ἀμπ-

κατρεπταξω σε Ἔ-

πεῖσαζε αὐγ-

περ' εματε ἁμπετ-

ητ' ἤσι ζεοξω-

ρος εὑρω ἅμος ζε-

μεικαρ' ἁμογιον

ἀποξοει ανπε

πυάζε επταίξα-

ος' ἁζομπροαρμ

ητ' ψαμττω-

δε ὑπερπροδα-

πειε αἵματ ζεν-

margin

[π]  

ζεοξωρος σε ἦ-

τερε[ειμε] ἁε-

πει[ν]θω ουγ-

σο' ετ[οοτ] εογ-

εμ' ἦ[σ] τη

σε ἅ[ματε ἦ-

ταρφ]ον οὐγα-

ρεγ' ερφ[ε] εταογ-

όμ' επ[τρ] ὧν-

νεγογ[ε] ερπα-

eic ἁμ[πε] [πεκυμεν]

margin
Fol. 30. Recto (v. Am. 458). ... Have ye [(μή) brought him unto me [that I should give] judgement [upon him? What then (?) is] your [affair?]¹ De]part (ἀναχωρεῖν). And (δὲ) he wished [not to say.] It [was not] he, lest they should (?)² suspect (?) another; [but³ (ἄλλα) he] kept silence, [saying] naught unto them, except (εἰμητί] [this a]lone: 'I have [ordered the] matter that . . . .

... in the] days of his youth, while making ready for the brethren, he observed one of them that did eat, eating many leeks at table (τράπεζα). But (δὲ) it was not long since he had come to the brethren. And (δὲ) Theodore thought within himself, saying, 'It is not a good (thing) for this brother that he eat many leeks, for he is a youth . . . .

Verso (v. Am. 458, 459). ... monk⁴ (μονε) it befittheth him not to eat leeks until he be sated; for it is a herb that causeth a man to be strong.' But (δὲ) when Theodore had said this word, he was much grieved (λυπεῖν) at heart, saying, 'If so be it is not the Lord's will, the word that I have spoken, seeing I had not patience until he should be stirred up by his own purpose (προαίρεσις) and he . . . .

... [But (δὲ) Theo]dore when [he] had [known that this] [brother . . . not] continued to eat leeks⁵ . . . . . . that he had spo[ken, he kep]t himself [from ea]ting (them) at all, [until] the day where[on] the Lord visited him . . . .

Fol. 31. → Recto. margin

1 Am. 'Have ye brought him &c.? What is it to you?' Cf. AS. § 58 end, Bo. 112.
2 Copy inadequate. Am. has 'think'.
3 Am. sic.
4 Preceded by an adjective, or by προει or the like.
5 The 2nd μέ 'leeks' must be wrongly read.
THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

[\text{m}] \text{on} \cdot \text{toq} \ \text{de} \ \text{et}-
[\text{p}] \text{e} \text{ex} \text{en} \text{toq} \cdot \text{on} \text{te}
[\text{m}] \text{ne} \text{soo} \text{on} \text{naq}
[\text{a}] \text{ce} \text{ek} \cdot \text{toot} \text{ne} \text{erok}
[\text{a}] \text{la} \ \text{a} \text{f} \text{w} \text{w} \text{y} \text{t} \ \text{y}-
[\text{c}] \text{e} \text{re} \text{ne} \text{re} \text{re} \text{re} 
[\text{e}] \text{ne} \text{w} \text{og} \cdot \text{p} \text{e} \text{e} \text{s} 
[\text{e}] \text{te} \text{p} \text{e} \text{n} \text{a} \text{g} \ \text{de} \ \text{e}-
[\text{p}] \text{roq} \ \text{n} \text{y} \text{s} \text{i} \ \text{de} \text{w} \text{roc}
[\text{e}] \text{re} \text{ne} \text{ne} \text{ne} \text{al} \ + \ \text{p} \text{w} -
[\text{e}] \text{en} \ \text{a} \text{f} \text{w} \text{a} \text{w} \text{y} 
[\text{p}] \text{e} \text{x} \text{a} \text{g} \ \text{naq} \ \text{zea} -
[\text{e}] \text{roq} \ \text{e} \text{p} \text{r} \text{e} \text{e} \text{e} 
[\text{e}] \text{ne} \text{z} \text{a} \text{y} \ \text{naq} \ \text{zea} -
[\text{e}] \text{the} \ \text{ze} \text{na} \text{g} \ \text{e} -
[\text{p}] \text{on} \ \text{en} \text{w} \text{on} 
[\text{e}] \ \text{on} \ \text{en} 

\text{margi} 

\text{a} \ \text{Or} \ \text{neq} -.

\text{b} \ \text{a} \ \text{is} \ \text{faint} \ \text{; \ read} \ \text{mensa}.

\text{\text{V}erso.}

[\text{w}] \text{ne} \text{e} \text{g} \text{o} \text{y} \text{e} \text{p} \text{r} \text{o} \text{i} \text{m} 
[\text{p}] \text{ar} \ \text{ne} \text{sc} \text{w} \text{ome}
[\text{ite} \text{ge} \ \text{e}] \text{p} \text{e} \text{n} \text{e} \text{se} -
[\text{i} \ \text{ne} \text{s} \text{c} \text{w} \text{y} \text{h} \text{t} \text{ro} -
[\text{t}] \text{m} \text{a} \ \text{er} \text{p} \text{een} -
[\text{to} \ \text{p} \ \text{e} \ \text{m} \text{t} \text{o} \text{g} \ \text{e} \text{go} -

\text{margi} 

\text{oomr} \ \text{itai} \text{p} \text{acte}
[\text{p}] \ \text{man} \text{ophe} \ \text{am}
[\text{e} \text{roo} \ \text{a} \text{f} \text{w} \text{y} \text{t} 
[\text{e} \ \text{neq} \ \text{n} \ \text{y} \ \text{n} \ \text{e} \ \text{p} \ \text{e} -
[\text{e} \ \text{w} \ \text{t} \ \text{p} \ \text{a} \ \text{w} \ \text{le} [\text{e}]
[\text{a} \ \text{e} \ \text{e} \ \text{n} \ \text{e} \ \text{w} -
[\text{e} \ \text{ne} \ \text{m} \ \text{e} \ \text{e} \ \text{m} -
[\text{e} \ \text{e} \ \text{n} \ \text{t} \ \text{a} -\text{cal}[\text{e}]
[\text{e} \ \text{e} \ \text{p} \ \text{e} \ \text{n} \ \text{e} -

\text{a} \ \text{Per} \text{hap} \ \text{a} \ \text{m}.
Theodore had covered him with the mat, he put forth his hand to a vessel full of dates and filled his hand and reached them forth unto him (sc. Pachômius), that he might take and eat them. But (δὲ) as for him, he took them not, neither (οὐδὲ) said, Draw back thy hand. But (ἀλλὰ) he looked at him, while his tears flowed down. And (δὲ) when Theodore beheld him, his eyes shedding tears, he also wept. He (Pach.) said unto him, ‘What (lackest) thou, (that) thou weepest?’ But (δὲ) he said unto him, ‘Because that I see thee sick. Not [only (οὐ)
μόνον) that thou] wouldest not [cover thee with this woollen] coverlet, but (ἀλλὰ) even the hand[ful of dates also], thou wouldest [not receive it] at my hand.' ¹ But (δὲ) [he answer]ed and [said unto him,] 'Thinkest thou I desired them not, to eat them? Ra[ther (ἀλλὰ) do I] fear because of the judgement of Christ (Χρ.), lest I be condemned ² (κρίνειν).' He said unto him, 'Where[fore] shouldst thou be condemned (κρ.)? All they that are sick among the brethren, do we not (μὴ) charity unto them? Or (ἡ) if they have need (χρεῖα) of a woollen coverlet or (ἡ) aught besides, do we not give it unto them? But (δὲ) he said unto him, 'Hast thou vis[ited] the cells (καλύβη) of [the] brethren at this [time] and hast found (lit. known) that that there is [not

Verso (v. Am. 553). any among them] that is more sick than I? Nay, [let it not] be [thus, while] the things (σκεύη) [of the] brethren are in our hands ³ (?),... have our com[fort there]from more than [they.]' It befell on that day that brethren came [to] Pbow (?) ⁴ in a boat, at eventime, that they might load a... of reeds therewith. ⁵ But (δὲ) as for Theodore, he had cooked food for the brethren that day. And when he had looked, he beheld the brethren in the boat, ⁶ ere it had come to land; and he thought within himself forthwith, being sad at heart, (saying,) 'Perchance the food that I have cooked shall not suffice for them.' But (δὲ) our father Pachômius looked toward him and knew the thought that had risen into his heart; and he said unto him, 'What is this thought that thou hast thought, Theodore? Vanity is it indeed (γάρ). For (ἡπεί) rather the more when thou sawest the brethren coming unto thee,[thou shoulddest have said?] in thy heart, in thankfulness, [' O] Lord, even as [Thou hast] brought the [brethren] unto us, that we may see [one another] in this world (lit. place ⁸), [make us] also wor[thy] that we may [see one] another in [the other world (lit. place)].'

¹ Am. om. 'at my hand'.
² Or ' He condemns me'.
³ I.e. 'in our keeping'. But if πτωτικὴ ἄνα, '... are not in our hands, that we should have ...' Am. differs somewhat. For couverture, read nourriture et vêtement. ⁴ Or 'unto them'. ⁵ ?'a load'. Am. should be 'that they might load it with halfβ'. ⁶ Am. should be, 'And when he looked, he beheld the brethren that had come, and he thought within himself, Perchance the cooked food that he had cooked should not suffice for all.' ⁷ Or imperat., 'say', if tense of preceding clause would permit. ⁸ Am. 'here'.
Fol. 32. → Recto (?).

margin

αἰ Ὁ [ἡγεν ἀλλ] ἐρωτή πιετρ-
ποιήσε [εἰρήνη]-
ῥ ἡμι[ογιαί ἀν]-
ἡγοσο[ε ἤταμε]-
τάποια [εὐογι ε-]
προσ[έ αγω]
προς[ει εὐομ]
ἐπεζ[οει εἰ πε]-
Χε ή[
πτε[
ἐε [
κελ[
π[  

margin

Verso (?).

margin

οὐκειμ' ἡμ-
[τε πρεσφ.-
ε· πτερεχ-
τε]ταΐτε τστ-
[ὁρ ἡμ]ησογια-
[τε] τεπει [ε-
τε] τεπει[ε-
τε]
τενε

margin

[πταχξοε] ετβ̄-
[πτογ ἢςι αδ]γεια'

Fol. 32. (The position of this fol. is quite uncertain.)

Recto (?). . . . 'I ¹ have not [hidden aught] from you [of the things that are] profitable, [testifying] to the Jews and Gentiles (ἐθ.,) repentance (μετάν.,) [toward] God [and] faith (πίσ.) toward our Lord [Jesus the] Christ (Χρ.) . . . .

Verso (?). . . . time of the . . . . . When he had [seen?] how this was the manner-of[-life of] the saints . . . . . the Lord had . . . . . light . . . . . he took (?) . . . . . time of . . . . . . [where]of David [spake] . . . .

¹ Acts xx. 20, 21, but differing considerably from Budge and Woide.
No. 26.

This story of Apollo, φίλος [ὑ]παντελος, and Ammonius of Thône figures in the account of the latter in the Synaxarium. A woman had attempted to beguile Ammonius, but had been converted by him. The devil, jealous at this triumph, spreads scandalous reports of the saint among the monasteries, and induces Apollo to visit him and be convinced. Apollo finds there the penitent woman, who, after eighteen years passed in Ammonius’ cell, expires in their presence.

→ Recto.

[...]

[περακεμανατη]
[τηρυλαμε]
[δικε ταμε]

περειωτ α-...

1 His Life by e p e n a n o c e in Paris arab e, 4888, f. 139 b, whence in Synax. 25 Bâbêh. That this is the Apollo of Bawit has already been pointed out (TSBA. xxix. 291). The Antiphonarium, at the latter date, calls him περακεμανατη [ὑ]παντελος. He appears in the Diptychs, usually confounded with the martyr, son of Justus (e.g. Renaudot, Lit., ed. 1847, i. 18), rarely distinct (e.g. Cairo Eucholog. 358). Clédat’s Baouit ii. 91 gives Hamoi as his father’s name; cf. Synax. اماني, Life آماني, Arabic أماني. To what has been elsewhere collected regarding Apollo and his namesakes (Br. Mus. no. 322 n., Aeg. Z. xl. 60), I may add: Miss. iv. 818 (= Paris 12913, f. 63) relates probably to this saint. A Life of A. was in the White Monastery Library (J. Th. St. v. 566). He is repeatedly invoked at the Jeremias Monastery, alone or with Phib and (or) Anoup; indeed, two Apollos are there commemorated (Quihll-Thompson, Sâqqâra nos. 27, 76, 226). The calendrical mention of him with πα περειωτ (= απα φίλα), Leyd. MSS. p. 216, remains obscure. The pilgrimage of Herinos and Hôr, related in the Life of the former (Paris arab e 148), took them to the church of Apa Apollo. There they beheld the saint’s corpse ‘adorned and mitred’ مزينة منوچا (f. 322 b). Their preceding visits had been on the W. bank to Apa Jeremias (of Saqqâra), then alive; thence to the church of Elias the Syrian; while from Apollo’s relics they proceeded to those of Apa Mina in Gebel al-Khaṭṭâf (? Lybian Desert) (f. 323 a). This itinerary is too erratic to make it more than probable that its Apollo is he of Bawit. From the Arabic Life (f. 159 b &c.) it seems that the site of ‘The Monastery’ (πατορτ Bawit) was ادكوه. I. e. ? أدكوه = [ν]πανατη, where a legend placed the cell of Phib (Zoega 367). (Paris 4787, another copy, reads ادكوه, i.e. A further corruption of this may be ادكوه, Synax., i.e. Several other names in this text await elucidation from its Coptic original, announced as in the P. Morgan collection (Journ. d. Sav. 1912, 181). J. Maspero points out that the monastery of A. at (?) Aphrodito is named after its historical founder, otherwise identifiable (Pap. Cairo no. 67096). Can this be the same with that near Kom Esfah (Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh 39), where the patron A. is often called ἀγνος?

2 20 Bashans (Forget ii. 130), Tûnah el-Gebel, W. of Ashmunain, is some 25 miles N. of Bawit. But Apollo was perhaps not, at this time, resident at Bawit; v. Aeg. Z., l. e. Thône often occurs in Ashmunain MSS., e.g. Br. Mus. 1042, Rylands 119, Krall Rechtsurk. exxiv. This Ammonius is invoked, Deir el-Gebrawi ii, pl. xxix, Clédat Baouit ii. 91.
πα ἀπόλλων
τοίς οὐκο-
μάχοις εἰς
ἀπαντὴν
ἀπὸ
εὐρυχῦν
εἰς
ἀπάντα
ἐ-
τεκνίσειως

Ἡτερογιὰ

ποιῶν ἡ
to
παν ἀπο-
[Ἀλώ

a Reading ἕπαπα.
He said unto the door-keeper (-πῦιη), 'Go, tell our father Apa Apollo that, lo, (here is) a monk (μου), namely one from Apa Ammône, of the hill of Thône, who desireth to meet with (ἀπαντᾶν) thy paternity.' But (ὁ) when they had brought the news to Apa Apollo . . . . .

... come[1] in unto him, the devil began (ἀρξέων) to weep. Apa Apollo said unto him, 'Friend, what (αἰλεθ) thee, that thou dost weep? Is then (ἀπε) my brother Ammône dead?' That one, who was the devil, said, . . . .

Verso. . . . 'The devil (διάθ) humbled him and he fell with a woman. And after that he had fallen with her, we were at pains, beseeching him, (saying,) 'Cast her forth from thee, lest others perish by thine example.' He ceased not from his iniquity, rather (ἀλλὰ) he . . . much . . . .

. . . lest[2] others perish on his account (ἄφορμή). Or (η) if not, send ten brethren with [us] and we will take him and give him over (παραδίδοναι) unto the authority (ἐξουσία), that they may hear and be afraid; lest all the monks (μου) perish on his account (ἄφοι). [For (γάρ)] it is easier[3] that we should cast forth one whilst yet (? -δοσώ) . . . .

No. 27.

This narrative relates (here at least) to a saint named Hôr. Seven of this name can, I believe, be distinguished,[1] and it is impossible so far to decide which of them is here in question. He appears to have visited Alexandria and presumably in peaceful times; he should therefore not be sought among the martyrs.

1 A, Anchorites (1) Hist. Lant. ix (in Nitria) = Sozomen vi. 28 (in Thebaid); (2) companion of Hatre, Vitae Patr. v, lib. xv, § 43 = Zoega 299; (3) companion of Ambrosius (cf. ? the name 'Apa Rasios', Crum, Ostr. no. 116, and ? بدأ سيروس = إبراسيوس Synax. 23 Tûbah) IPSBA. xxix. 290, Quibell-Thompson, Saqqâra nos. 26, 295; (4) hermit of 2 Kihak, in Ludolf's Calendar 'the younger', and identical with biographer of Hermi- nos, for in that story his and that saint's deaths are foretold for same date (Paris arabe 148, f. 328 b). Cf. too his epithets 'Dyer.'

القصص
Recto (?). ... Apa] Hôr,\(^1\) giving glory unto God and His angels (ἀγγ.). The Saviour (σωτ.) gave (?) him peace (εἰρηνή) and went up to heaven. The righteous? ... .

Verso (?). ... in unto the church (τόπος) of Mark the evangelist\(^2\) and passed seven days fasting (νηστεία) in . . . .

No. 28.

From the history of Apa Cyrus, the hermit, narrated by Pambô.\(^3\) Cyrus, reputed a brother of Theodosius I, dwelt in a κατάγαλον,\(^4\) 'at the edge of the world, nigh unto hell.' On Pambô's arrival he falls ill, and, before his death, is aware of that of Shenoute, which, in the Calendar, occurs on the day preceding his own.

\(^{1}\) May be subject of a foregoing verb.

\(^{2}\) V. Amélineau, Géogr. \(37\), A. J. Butler, Arab Conq. \(372\).

\(^{3}\) Br. Mus. Or. 6783 has a complete Life, differing slightly from the other versions (v. Rustafjael, Light of Egypt \(137\)). Fragments in Sa'îdîc: Paris 129\(^{18}\), f. 26, 131\(^{3}\), f. 37. V. Synax. 8 Tûbeh (Hamlé). The Ethiopic text, ed. Traaieff, Zaphiki, Orient. Sect. Imp. Russ. Archæol. Soc., xv. (1903), is but a slightly longer form of the Synax.; but Br. Mus. Or. 701 (Eth. Cat., p. 184) appears to be different.

\(^{4}\) Paris, l.c. So used Miss. iv. 763, Rossi i. ii. 11.
→ Recto.

τὰ νῦν ἔό 

παῖς ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τὸν 

κατασκηνών 

κυττάρος 

ἐπὶ 

δεῖπνον 

οὖν ἀπαρίτητον ἡμᾶς ἑτεροτοι θεω 

καὶ ἄλλοτε οὐδὲν ἔμενε 

ἐπὶ 

καὶ ἄλλοτε οὐδὲν ἔμενε 

ἐπὶ 

καὶ ἄλλοτε οὐδὲν ἔμε

margin

→ Verso.

...οὐ 

καὶ ἐπὶ 

καὶ ἔτε 

καὶ ἤ 

καὶ ἄλλοτε οὐδὲν ἔμενε 

καὶ ἄλλοτε οὐδὲν ἔμενε 

καὶ ἄλλοτε οὐδὲν ἔμενε 

καὶ ἄλλοτε οὐδὲν ἔμε

margin

...οὐ 

καὶ ἐπὶ 

καὶ ἤ 

καὶ ἄλλοτε οὐδὲν ἔμε

a n'ta.  
b I have noted that αι cannot be read.  
c Or ἔμεγῃ.  
d Or ἔμεγε.
... take this small stone and place it beneath my head; verily I am no longer able to sit down, for my body (σῶ) is become powerless.' [But (δὲ)] I took (?) the stone [and I placed it] beneath him . . . . . . . , that He would 1 receive him unto Him in peace (εἰρ.). And also his stomach (στόμ. was 2 . . . .

No. 29.

This should be part of one of those tales of wandering visits through the desert, paid by a devout inquirer to the cells of various ascetic celebrities, and met with in the collections of Apophthegmata, in the Life of Onnophrius, 3 that of Cyrus, 4 of Paul of Tamman, 5 and the like. 6 Here the scene is presumably in the far south, as certain of the characters are connected with Nubia.

Of fol. 3 no translation can be attempted.

Fol. 1. margin p. 167

μῶινε καὶ παλομοιόν εφ- πογκε μοογ ςόλ ἄτα δε ετε- ρεπενώεικ ιω μοος ξεκλι- ψις επιπογκη μαγαγε φα- πος εβόλ εγγοογ κεγας μυ- μερος παπεκκογκε εβόλ επ- νευρ[αθ] ετογκαθ γαω πε- [μαγ . . . .]πε ςόλ εγγοογ ελελετα
πεγοογ ἀπτεγμιν . . .
]. ξε ἀπτεγμιν θι-

[πε] [πε] a ζενα παϊ
]. . . των b εροογ
] . . . ωτ

a Not μοο[η]οί.
b ? ητων.

1 Or 'when He should'.
2 This might be read variously: 'was not able to . . . .', 'was pouring forth . . . .'
3 Acta SS., June 12, Amelineau in Rec. vi. 166.
4 Synax., 8 Abib (Forget 11. 215. The Ethiop., 8 Hamlé, differs much).
5 Miss. iv. 759. The true title of this narrative is not known.
6 E.g. the Life of Herminos, alluded to in No. 26.
THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

Fol. 1. P. 203. ... maladies and the devils (δαιμόνιον) that he cast out; according (κατά) as our Lord saith, 'A good tree doth not bring forth evil fruit (καρπ.).' He got many portions (μέρος) by heart (ἀπὸ στηθοῦσ) from the holy scriptures (γραμμ.). And [he used to . . . . . .], repeating (μελετῆσαι) . . . . . . , day and night . . . . . all the night . . . . Have mercy upon me . . . . . . resemble (?) them . . . . .

P. 204. . . laughter 2 at all times.' I said unto him, 'Seeing, then (επείδὴ οὖν), that I have come to speak before thee, I desire that thou wouldest tell me of the life (βίος) of all the brethren that are in thy neighbourhood, as to whether there be any other to the south of us.' He said unto me, 'I came upon two brethren . . . . . among the Nubians,'

1 Luke vi. 43.
2 Or as an adjective.
3 Cf. a phrase in Br. Mus. no. 336.
4 This form, πανογγα (sing. οιανογγα, pl. πενανογγα) is used throughout Br. Mus. Or. 7029, where the barbarians about Philae are so called; also in Miss. iv. 642. (Wessely's 'Ἀνωφιατοπάσσων, Ein biling. Majestätgesuch 44, is confirmed by Wileken, Chr. i. i, p. 13.) In Paris 131, f. 62 (homily of Philip, bishop of
[the name of the one] of them being Thara . . . , [the name of] the other Jacob (?) . . . . God sent them to [the bishop (ἐπισκόπῳ)] Apa Hermias, ² that [he should teach them] to write. After that (?) . . . .

Fol. 2. → Recto.
margin (page no. here)


a πηγιοτογ aγ[ε ώγου z-]


Fol. 2. Recto. . . . their request (αἰτήμα). Afterwards God heard their prayer and (δὲ) after some days their parents went to the war (πόλ.) and were slain. But (δὲ) when the bishop (ἐπίσκοπος) heard the news, he fulfilled their request (αἰτήμα) and gave them baptism (βάπτισμα). But (δὲ) when he heard of the fear of God [that dwelt ³?] within them, he put upon them [the habit (συνήμα)] of monkhood (-μοναχός) and [taught] them to write. And when . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ..
Verso. '... him and he grieved (λυπεῖν) them not as to fulfilling their request (αἰτ.), according (κατά) as they had said. And they departed southward to their place, distant from us about two days' walk, when they had made for themselves a dwelling place and a little church (ἐκ.), and therein they dwelt. And they gave heed unto themselves in everything and became profitable unto every one that beheld them; and we heard of many “virtues” (ἀρετή) [which were] theirs, like those of our [ancient (?) ἀρχαῖος] fathers’. But (δὲ) I [, when I had heard?] these things, I besought (παρακαλεῖν) . . . . . . . (saying), '.....
APPENDIX

ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED.

GREEK TEXTS:

AS. . . . . . . . . . . . . . Vita in Acta Sanctorum, Maii iii.
§ . . . . . . . . . . . . . refers to paragraphs of the above.
Par. . . . . . . . . . . . . . Paralipomena, ibid.
Nau A . . . . . . . . . . . . . Patrol. Or. iv. 425-503.
Nau D . . . . . . . . . . . . . ibid., 504-511.
Sur. . . . . . . . . . . . . . Surius, De Prob. SS. Vit., iii and Nau’s
copy of the Greek original.

COPTIC TEXTS:

Sa (1 to 6) . . . . . . . . . . . . . Sa‘idic recensions, v. below, pp. 183ff.
SaX . . . . . . . . . . . . . The new text, No. 25 above.
Bo. . . . . . . . . . . . . . Bohairic recension, ed. Amélineau.

ARABIC TEXTS:

Ac. . . . . . . . . . . . . . Cairo, printed edition.
Am. . . . . . . . . . . . . . Amélineau’s printed text.
Av. . . . . . . . . . . . . . Vatican, Cod. Arab. 172.

The main object of this Appendix is to draw attention to two hitherto unnoticed Arabic versions of the Life of Pachomius. Three texts are indeed here described, but two of them (Ap. and Ac.) are, in great part, so closely related that they may be regarded as representing a single version.

M. Amélineau, in publishing his Arabic text, was aware of the existence of the MSS. in Rome and Paris, besides those which he employed\(^1\); but one must suppose that he did not examine either, since he says nothing of their wide divergence from his own text; and it has thence been hitherto assumed\(^2\) that but one form of the Arabic Life exists.

To the descriptions of these I have added what can provisionally be said as to the six Sa‘idic recensions,\(^3\) awaiting for their final valuation the investigations which, it is to be hoped, Professor Lefort will before long publish.

I have no pretext for attempting here a rediscussion of the question of origins; neither our new Sa‘idic text nor the new Arabic versions contribute anything six came) once possessed twenty (sic?) copies of the Life of P., besides that of P., Horsese and Theodore together, such an amount of variation is not surprising (J. Th. Stud. v. 566).

\(^1\) Mus. Guin. liv.
\(^2\) Ladeuze 52.
\(^3\) Each of the extant MSS. represents a somewhat different recension. When it is remembered that the White Monastery alone (whence all these
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available as arguments against Ladeuze's contention in favour of a Greek text as the original basis whence the other versions sprang. Yet a reader of AS. and Par., having the requisite familiarity with the popular literary idiom of Egypt in the earlier Byzantine period, and if conversant too with Coptic, would probably be struck by the uncouthness of much of their phraseology, and would incline to admit at least the possibility of certain parts of these texts having been directly translated from Coptic—whether written or oral—and so incorporated in the Greek biography. Not a few examples occur of those ambiguous locutions which, being of identical usage in both languages, it is difficult to assign as original property to either. Such are χεῖρα δοὺναι ἥλπ (Nau D. 511, 15), τὸπον εὑρεῖν (AS. § 76 sup., but cf. N. Test. τὸπον δοὺναι), ὄνομα λαβεῖν (AS. § 80 sup.). Are these to be reckoned evidence for a translation from the Coptic or merely for a Greek composition, written in a Coptic 'atmosphere'; or are they in fact passable Greek and their identical Coptic counterparts simple translations, naturalized and current, like many another Greek phrase and idiom, in the native language?

PARIS, MS. ARABE No. 261 (= Ap.).

De Slane's catalogue assigns this MS. to the end of the 14th century. A reader's note on the last fol. is dated A. M. 1066 = A. D. 1350. The title runs: 'In the Name of the Father . . . the History of our father, the great Pachomius, the saintly, and his favourite disciple, Theodore, the beloved.' Cf. the title of Am., where the latter is not mentioned. The limits of this recension are practically conterminous with those of AS. + Par. (s. the Table, p. 189). It is indeed a direct translation from the Greek, as we learn from the subscriptions to the MSS. in Cairo; and confirmation of their statements may be had from many of the personal and place-names, where the transcription often reproduces even the Greek case-endings (e.g. in § 3 ἀναμνήσθων, but Am. 531, 9, in paraphrasing that (and translating probably the missing parallel from SaX), has enemy. As to στροφιοῦ, cf. Jerome's comment on Eccles. xii. 4, namquam passrem in malam partem legisse me novi, PL. 23, 1109. But v. Par. § 26, where the word is scarcely open to the explanation here offered.

1 The main argument against this now generally accepted view (e.g. Butler, Law Hist. ii. 206) is of course its inherent improbability. Despite Prof. Ladeuze's ingenious marshalling of reasons why the Life should have been first composed in Greek, one cannot but feel that such a literary product, in such a time and place, is scarcely credible. (Cf. C. H. Turner, in J. Th. St. vi. 324.)

2 Hence there might be instances of mistranslations which have resulted in obscure or improbable readings in the Greek. One case of probable misunderstanding of the Coptic appears to me to be the simile of the devil, bound and placed under foot διὸς στροφιοῦ (Par. § 4 = Nan A § 15). I suggest that the Coptic here read ΣΑΑΕ enemy, which the translator mistook for ΣΑΑΕ sparrow. The corresponding AS. § 67 has θηρίον,

3 Ladeuze 43, 44, quotes Tillemont to like effect, but criticizes his remarks. The late E. A. Sophocles (Lexicon, List of Authors) appears to have taken the Greek for a 'barbarous translation'. If the much needed revision of the edition of AS. be ever undertaken, we shall learn how far the Hollandists adhered to one MS., how far they compiled their text (v. Nan, 409 n.).

4 V. description of Ac.
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§ 7 طانسین 20 acc., § 20 تنشرون gen. pl., ib. سبینس gen., § 84 مرین gen., § 38 السین gen., § 72 فیولس gen., ib. ممرضو gen.,) while discarding those forms usual in the parallel texts of Coptic origin. Of features positively significant of a non-Coptic origin, the most noteworthy is the transmutation of the date of Pachomius' death, 14th Pachôns, into its Syrian (or ? Melkite) equivalent, 15th Ýyar, and similarly that of Theodore from 2nd Pachôns to 16th Ýyar; further, the fantastical 'Coptic' etymology of the name Panopolis,1 and perhaps such omissions as that of the local names in § 52 (fol. 188 b).

The precise relationship between this and the various Greek recensions could only be ascertained by a series of comparisons far more systematic than I have undertaken. This much however may be said: that Ap. is a patchwork of (1) a version following closely AS. + Par.,2 (2) another, once substantially identical with Am., but since provided with stylistic embellishments—here a further epithet or synonym, there a longer phrase3—and (3) independent alterations or additions, sometimes of considerable length. Of these elements (1) is represented, for example, in §§ 1-19, with the exception of §§ 7, 15 (partly), again in §§ 22-25; (2) in §§ 35, 71-96 and in the sections taken from Par. As examples of (3) we may cite (a) many additional biblical quotations, throughout the whole text; (b) several homiletic developments, e.g. in §§ 11, 12, 24, 31, 46, 49, Par. 6, 22, this last of over 7 pages; (c) additions or changes in detail, presumably due to the translator, e.g. § 2 Abyssinia the scene of P.'s military service; §§ 4, 25 P. and Theodore both tonsured; § 22 P.'s sister writes to him, asking to see him (the whole section is peculiar); § 36 after έεόνον θεόν, reference to the Ode of Habakkuk, which, if the wise man meditate, he may dispense with the rest of the Prophets; § 39^ P. asks water to wash his hands, lest he defile the book he reads; Par. 5 'Permit us to bury him, lest the jackals devour him'; Par. 6 begins with P.'s question, 'Have ye yet more words and blame? They answered, No.'4; Par. 26 P. exorcises the phantom with a charm5; Par. 12 P. in his reply quotes 'a sage'6; § 62 (?) referring to P.'s innumerable virtues, 'Who may number the flowers of the desert or the waves of the sea?'; § 65 subsequently P. gave to some the interpretation of his vision, 'and what I long after heard from them I tell to you'; § 72 P. says his monasteries have 7,000 monks.7 Further, certain additions

1 Fol. 186, 13 (§ 51b) باللغة القبطية.
2 An instructive specimen of their combination is §§ 66, 67 (ff. 121-129 b). Practically all of AS. and of Par.2, 3, 4 is included, but the narrative is made up of regularly alternating sections from these two sources.
3 Often with the object of effecting a rhyme (cf. description of Ac.).
6 Fol. 179, 11. Begins بعض للحكاء, 'Who setteth fire and water in a vessel without understanding hath done so in madness.'
7 Cf. Am. 380, Ladenze 204.
would seem to aim at exalting the monastic dignity: § 25 Pekusius first asks P.'s leave to introduce Theodore; § 49 Theodore, before preaching, begs P.'s blessing; Par. 5 the funeral procession reverently salutes P. and takes his blessing; § 50 Petronius, on arrival, performs the humblest menial service during three years (guot. Mat. vii. 14); § 51 the bishop's deference to P., as if he had been his disciple. Of sheer misunderstandings we may note the name 'Archelaus', given to the anonymous brother in § 42 and originating presumably in the words ἀρχάιος ἀδελφὸς.

As is natural in a recension of non-Coptic origin, Ap. shows none of those additional passages which make up so much of Am. (i.e. those in Butler's table without Greek, though often with Coptic, equivalents), excepting where taken from the Laus. Hist. (viz. Am. 366–9, 377, 382–4) and the two anecdotes on Am. 641, which figure in Nau D (v. Patr. Or. iv. 509, 43) and are, here as there, followed by the passage l.c. 510, 6, ending with Gal. ii. 2. Indeed a number of the minor peculiarities which differentiate the texts printed or analysed by Nau from those of AS. and Par. reappear in Ap., which likewise has not a few features in common with the pseudo-metaphrastic text of Surius. The following references will suffice to confirm the former statement: Par. 6 ends in Ap. as in Nau D (l.c. 440); § 50 Ap. more like Nau D than AS., but much longer; § 52 Ap. = Nau D in certain details, but is longer; § 53 Ap. = Nau D in ref. to προφητεία (l.c. 507, 27); § 55 Ap. has συνχωροϊναι κτλ., as in Nau D; § 57 Ap. has τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος; § 58 Ap. = Nau D in omitting 2nd section (AS. καὶ πολλάκις), reading ὑπακοῦετε—Θεοῦ and in 3rd section ὦ μόνον—ἀμαρτία; § 71 last two lines om. Ap. and Nau D. Thenceforth Nau D as well as Ap. generally = Am.

As regards sequence of the paragraphs in Ap., it will be seen from the table, p. 191, that there is an undeniable similarity between their grouping here and in Ac., while in several of the other texts groups appear, identically composed with those in Ap., though at relatively different intervals.

**The Cairo Edition (= Ac.).**

This print, edited in 1891 by the hegumenos of the monastery of El-Baramūs for the Coptic Orthodox Educational Society in Cairo, professes (s. Preface) to be reproduced unaltered [from the MS.], so far as the sense remained intelligible. Nothing is said as to sources; but from the colophon in a modern copy in the

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1 A Boh. version of the 2nd in Br. Mus. no. 915.
2 Instead of being direct translations from AS., the additions in Am. 'from another copy' (Am. 599) must now appear more likely to have come from Ap. (fol. 76 a), which text contains moreover the other passages regarded as directly from AS. (r. Ladeuze p. 60).
Patriarchal Library, very kindly communicated by Marcus Bey Simaika, we learn that the print was made from it. My informant tells me that the original of this copy (as well as of another in the same library, which expressly states as much) was a MS. in Deir Abū Makār, dated a.m. 975 = a.d. 1251 (sic). A third copy of this is, I am further informed, at Deir el-Moharrak and was made in a.d. 1842. Now this last copy bears the important statement (copied for me by Simaika Bey) that the old MS. at Abū Makār was 'translated from the Greek into the Arabic in the handwriting of one of the Greek Melkites, named John, son of Metri, son of Hamzah, in Cairo.' Apparently therefore the date of the MS. is that of the translation itself, which was made only in the 13th century; and if so, we further obtain a terminus ante quem for the writing of Ap. The scribe of the Patriarch's copy whence the print was made further observes that from the latter many clauses in rhymed prose (الكلام المسمى) have been omitted, while, at the same time, such of the more important dates have been inserted as the editor was able to ascertain.

The text as printed is, like Ap., a mixture of the two recensions: the majority of its sections show the same version of AS. + Par. as Ap., and in all but identical wording, while a lesser number agree with Am., though often with modifications in phraseology. But, beyond this, the compiler of Ac. has made a large selection from those independent additions of Am. which Ap. discards (e.g., Ac. p. 8 has Am. 348 inf., p. 29 Am. 390, p. 33 Am. 406, p. 37 Am. do., p. 61 inf. Am. 432, p. 65 Am. 562, p. 80 Am. 592, pp. 89-91 Am. 509-18, p. 112 Am. 435, p. 126 Am. 448, p. 136 Am. 591), while in a few cases omitting passages to be found in Ap. (conspicuously that from Laus. Hist. = Am. 366 ff., § 271 and Par. 32 + § 401). There remain, as elements peculiar to Ac., besides a homiletic development of § 71 (p. 131) and a short apophthegm (p. 163), a long section consisting of excerpts from P.'s sermons (pp. 115, 2-121, 7). Their Sa. original is to be found in Br. Mus. Or. 7024, ff. 18-49 b, while short extracts, partly identical with these, are in Arabic in Or. 4523 (v. below), f. 182b ff. For the sequence of paragraphs, v. the table, p. 191. How far this is the arrangement of the modern editor it is impossible at present to ascertain.

1 These occur on pp. 4, 8, 12, 141, 168 of the edition. The Coptic month-names are of course here employed; cf. Ap.

2 'By what road can a man expel Satan from within him?' Theodore replies that, as a guest cannot be expelled except his belongings be first put without, so only by first casting forth the vices, can Satan be himself expelled.

3 Sa. is about to be published by Dr. Budge. It is entitled: 'An Exhortation (καθήξιον) pronounced by ... Apa Padamî, concerning a brother that had been wroth, being one of the time of Apa Ebôn, who had brought him to Tateniæ.' Ebônî is presumably the abbot of Shenehât (§ 35). Cf. perhaps Br. Mus. no. 268. It may be noted here that, among these extracts added after the text in Or. 4523, there is one (f. 185) from the Life of Herminus (= Paris 148 f. 320 inf. Cf. No. 27 above).
Amélineau's Text, Musée Guimet xvii. 337 (= Am.).

It is not necessary to describe afresh this recension. Of the four MSS. available to me only that at Göttingen (Universitätsbibliothek, Nr. 176, here G) is of any antiquity; it is assigned to the 16th century.¹ The others are all modern copies, the age of whose originals I do not know. M. Amélineau says (Introd. liv, lvi) that he had at his disposal copies of three practically identical MSS., in Luxor, El-Moharrak, and the Patriarchate, but that his text and translation were made from the last of these. Confronting this statement with Simaika Bey's information (v. above), it would appear that the Patriarchate (if not El-Moharrak also) possesses copies both of the Ap. and Am. recensions. The MS. which M. Amélineau printed is now Or. 4523 of the British Museum (A.D. 1816), his other two being Nos. 4783 and 4784 (A.D. 1886 and 1839 respectively) of the Bibliothèque Nationale. And yet it is difficult to believe that the translation was indeed made, as one would gather from the author's words (Introd. liv), strictly upon his printed text.² Wide divergence in detail between them is incessant, and often enough it is possible, by reference to the Am. sections in Ap. and Ac., to account for the discrepancy (e.g. Am. 595 ' . . . dont Dieu l'avait sauvé,' cf. Ac. 137, 30; Am. 699 'Une certaine nuit . . . ', cf. Ac. 166, 18; Am. 413 'Quand on eut préparé . . . ', cf. Ac. 51, 8; Am. 418 ' . . . près de moi ', cf. Ac. 53, 20; Am. ib. ' . . . Satan qui se montre ', cf. Ac. ib., 23). The translation in such cases clearly follows the readings of a second MS., more closely related to that whence Ac. (and doubtless Ap.) derived its Am. sections.

As regards the older MS. G, its text is not seldom preferable to that of the printed Am. and agrees occasionally with Ac. Its chief interest however lies in its length as compared with that of Am. For, while containing nothing not found in Am., it omits the incident of Hieracapollo (Am. 365),³ the passage from the Laus. Hist. (Am. 366–9), two other passages (Am. 373, u. l.–380, 6 and 382, 6–384, 6) and, finally, the long section consisting mainly of Par. (Am. 599, 7–644, 5).⁴ The text ends with the death of P., thus, so far as I know, alone of the MSS. of this recension, justifying its title, which in all copies is practically the same as that printed Am. 337 (cf. above, title of Ap.).

It may be doubted whether comparative study of the Coptic materials can ever attain to distinguishing among the sources whence Am. was compiled. Help towards such an object might at any rate be had from a tabulation of the Arabic forms under which the commoner personal and place-names appear. It would, I think, then be

² In order to be sure that no other of the three MSS. would account for the peculiarities of the translation, I have collated a number of passages of the latter with each of them. They agree in differing constantly from it.
³ Otherwise omitted only by Bo. Av.
⁴ The connecting link reads as follows (G. ČRKH b), after 'Ainsi faisait notre père [P., sic], 'And when he had said this to the brethren, and he lying sick', il resta trois jours &c.'
found that Tabennëse and Pbow\(^1\) occur as طناسي in both the earliest and latest portions of the text, while in the intermediate sections\(^2\) they are written باوا and دوزن. So too Cornelius is written ترانياليا in its earlier and later occurrences, but between these. The name Pachomius offers more confusing evidence; for the form پاپامیوس (or پاپامیوس), far less common here than the native پاپامیوس—it occurs only 19 times—is found generally in close proximity to the other, sometimes in the selfsame section.\(^3\) The Greek form does not occur between pp. 380 and 600; 14 of the instances are between p. 600 and the end.

It may be noted here that, while Amélineau supposes the 13th–14th century as a probable date for the execution of this translation, Casanova considers that its linguistic character points rather to the tenth.\(^4\)

From some form of Am. is clearly derived the compressed biography of the Synaxarium (14 Bashans): cf. the forms of place-names, reference to P.'s objection to ordained monks (cf. Am. 372), his vision of heaven and hell (Am. 547 ff.), and to his forty years (sic) as head of the congregation (Am. 650). Only Athanasius’ use of Lu. vi. 48, in praising P.'s institution, does not appear to come from known texts.

**VATICAN, Cod. arab. 172, foll. 1–98 b (= Av.).**

This MS. is dated a.m. 1061 = a.d. 1345. We have here a text of an entirely different type from those already described and one, to all interested in the reconstruction of the Coptic Lives, of far greater importance. Indeed for that purpose Ap.+Ac. are practically negligible, except in so far as their recension affords further testimony to the text of Am. The first 9 leaves of the MS. were unfortunately long ago lost and replaced by a hand probably not much younger than the original scribe’s,\(^5\) but from a quite incongruous source, namely the recension Ap.\(^6\) The last words written by this second scribe (fol. 9 b ult.) are the first of § 5 and correspond to Ap. f. 15, 5. They are ‘And on a certain day’, and they are followed in Ap. (and Ac.) immediately by ‘there came to them a certain one of the monkish brethren, visiting them; and this brother had been conquered by pride and self-conceit’. But in Av. the two recensions are clumsily pieced together as follows: (f. 9 b) ‘And once on a time, (f. 10) in the morning, and they working at their handiwork and repeating by heart (the Scriptures), a brother knocked at the door who dwelt near them.’ The preceding context, identical in Ap. and Av., makes it practically certain that the sequel too should have been identical; whereas, with our return to the original scribe, the narrative, forsaking Ap., proceeds as in Bo. (18) and Am. (353).

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1 Sa. 1 (v. p. 183 below) uses the form Pbow. Cf. the two Greek forms Πβου and Παβαβ (Παβαβ).
3 On pp. 380, 632–3, 668, 699. It may be noted that the sections of Ac. coinciding with Am. constantly prefer the Greek to the native form.
5 So Prof. Guidi, who kindly examined these folios for me.
6 The opening passage in Ac., on the contrary, belongs to the Am. recension.
With the exception, then, of the extraneous title and opening sections (§§ 1–4), we have in Av. a complete, uninterrupted text, closing with P.’s death—a limit which further demonstrates the incongruity of the title transferred here from Ap. Yet the abruptness of the ending (f. 98 b), ‘... lest he should fall into bodily weakness (which would have been) contrary to His will’ (cf. Am. 650, 3), may point to Av. being but the translation of a first volume, the sequel to which would, like certain of the Coptic Lives, have carried on the story beyond the death of Theodore. Now this abrupt ending happens to coincide exactly with that of an excerpt from the Life in a Sa. anthology of various popular writers,¹ the MS. of which is already known by its extracts from P.’s sermons (= Miss. 612–616). The passage here in question is in Paris 129³, 43 (paged *ňe, *ňe) and corresponds to Am. 649 *infra–650, 3. Hence we may assume that one Sa. version did in fact end just as does Av. Moreover the subscription² to the excerpt is of some interest: for after A portion (μέπος) from the Life (βίος) of our father Pahom, we read Apa Theodorus, the archimandrite of Tabennese, which is proof that in the 11th century at any rate (for that is doubtless the date of the MS.), one Sa. version of the Life was attributed to Theodore himself.³ Indeed the colophon of Av. (fol. 98 b) refers to the work as a Discourse or Encomium,⁴ and P. is, in the course of the narrative, often called my father, Apa P., instead of the elsewhere usual our father. However, in face of the unvarying reference to Theodore in the 3rd person, these arguments cannot have much weight.

To judge from the identity in sequence between Av. and Bo. up to the point where the latter breaks off (Bo. 214), it may be assumed that what is thereafter lost of P.’s Life followed a course parallel with the remainder of Av. (i.e. from f. 88, 5 (ظهر له ملائك)). Turning now for parallel texts to Am., we find the following correspondence: Av. ff. 88, 5–98 b, 2 = Am. 562, 7–564, 8, 542, 1–548, 5, 643 *infra* (only approximate), 596, 5–599, 7, 596, 9–597, 2, 644, 7–650, 3. But though parallel here in matter, details of narrative and phraseology differ widely; and this is true of Av. and Am. as a whole. I have collated many parallel passages and found nowhere more than a transient identity: a relationship about as close—and this was indeed to be expected—as that between Bo. and Am.

For, at first sight, Av. might be taken for a translation of Bo.: the sequence of paragraphs is identical, and identical too is much of the phraseology, down often to the words Apa Athanasius, the archbishop of Rakote; then follows an account of Anthony’s death, headed Likewise upon the death of &c.

¹ Besides Pachomius and Athanasius, other foll. (Paris 131², 66, 87) have extracts from John of Hermopolis, Severus and Epiphanius; possibly too from Acta (Claudius, Paris 129³, 43).

² V. Br. Mus. no. 184, note. That this is the subscription and not the title is clear from the succeeding piece, headed Likewise (διόπος) upon the great Antonius, the anchorite, the text of which is by me Athanasius, and is closed by the words Apa Athanasius, the archbishop of Rakote; the title of Anthony is therefore the English translation of the Latin标题 Likewise upon the death of &c.

³ Prof. Lefort had arrived at the same conclusions from these facts (Letter of 12. II. 1911).

⁴ ميهمير القديس آنا نقوم, But ميهمير is not an uncommon title where the work is merely narrative and biographical: e.g. Bodl. Hunt. 470 (Mart. Pshai and Peter), Paris 148 (Life of Herminos).
the closest details of wording. Yet a comparison with Sa. shows indisputably that it, and not Bo., was the source translated. I have collated them through all passages where the three texts are extant, and have found that, in an overwhelming majority of places—some 140 against 30—Av. agrees with Sa. rather than with Bo. The following examples will illustrate their interrelationship:

I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bohairic (Mus. Guim. 91)</th>
<th>Sa'edic (Mus. Guim. 318)</th>
<th>Av. fol. 41</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>avec joie</td>
<td>om. et toi vieillard</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dans les saints</td>
<td>om.</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en présence de tous les frères</td>
<td>om. glorieuse</td>
<td>= Bo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>les saintes Écritures</td>
<td>om. couverts &amp;c.</td>
<td>= Bo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terrible</td>
<td>om. faisceau</td>
<td>= Bo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pleuraient &amp;c.</td>
<td>= Bo. falaise</td>
<td>= Bo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communauté</td>
<td>om. de sorte ... la mort</td>
<td>= Bo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sortir</td>
<td>om. continuèrent</td>
<td>= Bo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fosse</td>
<td>où il arriva (sic leg.)</td>
<td>= Bo. om.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>je pense</td>
<td>= Bo.</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om.</td>
<td>om. de sorte ... la mort</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrivés</td>
<td>continuèrent</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>à la barque (20)</td>
<td>où il arriva (sic leg.)</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>près de tous</td>
<td>= Bo.</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>envoya (ουφη)</td>
<td>om. envoya (σεγ)</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>41 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dans ta cellule</td>
<td>des esprits</td>
<td>be delivered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de l'esprit</td>
<td>(fit manger) le frère</td>
<td>= Bo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om. (sic leg.)</td>
<td>t'êt dit</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ordonnait (sic leg.)</td>
<td>ô mon père</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om.</td>
<td>aussi dit</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lui dit aussi (sic leg.)</td>
<td>= Bo.</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Je sais que</td>
<td>patience, sagesse</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>démon, démon</td>
<td>des esprits</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en tout ce qu'il fait</td>
<td>(fit manger) le frère</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vers le Seigneur</td>
<td>t'êt dit</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om.</td>
<td>ô mon père</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dit</td>
<td>aussi dit</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>promptement, beaucoup</td>
<td>répondit</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 In these illustrative passages all variant places are, of course, recorded.
## APPENDIX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bohairic (Mus. Guim. 91)</th>
<th>Sa’idic (Mus. Guim. 318)</th>
<th>Av. fol. 41</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>si quelqu’un l’ennemi om. 96 inspirant ... âmes en dessus de la barque Le lendemain &amp;c.</td>
<td>si un homme (sic leg.) = Bo. 322 comme assis sur un trône om. l’endroit ... abordé et ensuite &amp;c.</td>
<td>= Sa. the lord (? of the house) = Sa. concerning their salvation (cf. Bo.) beside the boat = Sa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bohairic (Mus. Guim. 119)</th>
<th>Sa’idic (Miss. fr. 547)</th>
<th>Av. fol. 51 b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
### APPENDIX

#### III.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bohairic (Mus. Guim. 175)</th>
<th>Sa'idic (Zoea cccix)</th>
<th>Av. fol. 72 ult.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>et qu'ils reçussent la vie éternelle vains.</td>
<td>even as he that asked the Saviour, saying, What shall I do &amp;c.</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le besoin du corps volonté de Dieu qu'ils fussent... éternel</td>
<td>the cares of their maintenance will of Him that created them</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om. (sic leg.) se trouvaient dans parce que... égarés</td>
<td>and be saved</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qu'ils se connaissent (sic leg.)... temps ainsi, il fait que</td>
<td>Likewise too (he prayed) remain complacently in</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pendant le jour afin... besoin nous</td>
<td>that they should know... worthy of life</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om.</td>
<td>and all the other created-things that He hath created for their satisfaction daily</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177 que l'on sème dans les champs</td>
<td>which He hath fixed for them which He hath made on their behalf</td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>73 b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>= Sa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a further illustration we may take the passage §§ 26–34, where Sa. chances to be available in two decidedly, if slightly, differing forms.\(^1\) A comparison in their variant places of these two and Bo. with Av. shows, as before, a large preponderance of agreements between Av. and Sa.:

- Av. and both Sa. agree 58 times
- Av. and Sa. 1 " 8 "
- Av. and Sa. 1 + Bo. " 13 "
- Av. and Sa. 5 " 6 "
- Av. and Sa. 5 + Bo. " 16 "
- Av. and Bo. " 5 "
- Av. against all\(^2\) " 34 "

If it has been sufficiently demonstrated that Av. is translated from Sa., it yet remains to decide which version of that recension was used. The solution of this question involves a comparative examination of all the Sa. material with Av. such as I have not undertaken. In the case of the passage last analysed the claims of the two Sa. versions represented are practically equal; for another, still more fragmentary and

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\(^1\) Miss. 800–810, here called Sa. 1 (= Mingarelli Cod. ix), and Miss. 521–534, here Sa. 5.

\(^2\) Including of course mere omissions.
only partially parallel Sa. version (Brit. Mus. no. 342) the terms of comparison must be different, for here Bo. is wanting. Pp. ποιημα of this Sa. correspond to Am. 542–544 and Av. ff. 89–91; there are some 30 variant places, whereof 20 show agreement between Av. and Sa., 7 between Av. and Am., 3 between Sa. and Am., Av. being independent.1 As regards the relation of Av. to the other Copto-Arabic text, Am., their paragraph-sequence will, of course, differ, since that of the former coincides with Bo. (v. Table, p. 191); while the collation of a number of passages—among them those where no Bo. is extant—has shown that they diverge widely, in detail of phrasing, even where not in the construction of the narrative.

Testimony to the Sa'edic origin of Av. could however be had without recourse to comparative methods such as the above. The proper and place-names, to begin with, are, in cases where the Arabic transcript might be ambiguous, generally added (interlined) in Coptic. Of 21 such names, it is true that the majority are not such as to show forms distinctively Sa'edic. πεσομαι (sic) Av. 17 b, for instance, persists in Bo. 44, 48, beside the true πεσωμαι, ib. 32. But ἑπτάκει Αv. 16 b (Bo. ἑπτάκειν), τάκαι Αv. 17 b (Bo. ὀκακίαν), ἄποιμα Αv. 35 b (Bo. φωνήμα), πνευπαράτε ib. (Bo. πνευπαράτε)2 and θανείν Av. 65 b (Bo. θανείν) speak clearly enough.3 Then there is a word of frequent occurrence throughout the text which alone goes far to support the claim we make. ‘Monastery’ is, in Bo. with rare exceptions, represented by μονή (μονή). This corresponds normally to Sa. γενετος4 and in Am. to در. So too in Av., this last is the usual Arabic equivalent. However, in 11 cases5 γενετος is simply transcribed as هنادت (هنادت). But γενετος is a word unknown so far in Bohairic literature. In this Arabic form, it is to be met only as a place-name6; the dictionaries do not record it.

It is probable moreover that careful examination of the text would reveal unintelligible or questionable readings explicable only when retranslated into Sa'edic. I am only able to point to one undoubted case: Sa. (Miss. 526, 2) αὐγών εροτῇ ‘he approached him’ = Bo. 62, ἐνταξιώτε ἐξον ‘when he approached’ = Av. 57 (v. Bo. 133), φόρος 95 b (cf. ποιημα), ἀναρπεσίας 96, καμάν 96 b (cf. τελετια).6

1 One other independent reading of Av. (90 b) المراجع, where Am. 544, 7 Sa. πεσωμαι, might be due to resemblance in sound between the Arabic words, though neither represents the Coptic accurately.

2 Prof. Mallon confirms this reading, but doubtless Sa. is correct; v. Griffith, AZ. xxxviii. 88.

3 Conversely in Bo. εκοινων, πεσομαι, φωνησε (cf. φωνησε), τελετη confirm the Sa. origin of that version. The remaining Coptic glosses of interest in Av. are: μενεστῆ, εκοινων 31 b, πεσω 32 b, ἑπτάκεισαι 35 b, ταμαγο( = μα μαγο) 43 b, also ματ, μαγο ib., πατλοκα 57 (v. Bo. 133), φόρος 95 b (cf. ποιημα), ἀναρπεσίας 96, καμάν 96 b (cf. τελετη).


5 Av. foll. 22 b, 35 b, 36, 37 a, 51 b, 52, 54, 66 b, always = Bo. μονή. Once, 32 b = Sa. (Miss. 535) σοφος.

6 Abu Salih 89a gives a monastery so named at Rifaib, S. of Siut, while in Synax., 21 Hatür (Basset ii. 322, Forget i. 305), it is the name of one at any rate close by Siut, presumably the same. The same too probably is the γενετος of Siut in the colophons Zoega 453 and Paris 1321, 67, though this is hardly a true place-name.
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f. 28, 10 'he bade him', the translator mistaking Sa. γων 'approach' for γον 'bid', a mistake impossible if his original had been Bo., since there the two words are different. That the right meaning here is 'approach' is proved by AS. § 29, πληρόωσας. Perhaps the following also is an error of like origin: Sa. 528, 2 αξόνωγ 'he sent' = Bo. 64, 8 αξόγωμ = Av. f. 29, 6 فَقَلَ 'he said', reading apparently αξόνω, though elsewhere αξόνωγ is rightly recognized. Had we a more complete Sa., further conclusions might doubtless be drawn from the numerous corrections in Av., made, with scarcely an exception, by the original scribe, in the actual course of writing. That these are not subsequent alterations is clear; for, in some instances, a word but half written is cancelled and immediately followed by the correction or preferable alternative, e.g. f. 95b, 4 بحرون was begun, but altered to بحر. This would seem to point to Av. being, not a copy from another Arabic MS., but the original holograph of the translator, written directly from the Coptic before him. The nature of many of the alterations—different readings generally, seldom mere errors corrected—may point to the text being the result of an eclectic process, the translator having perhaps drawn upon more than one of the Coptic versions.

The Sa'dic Recensions.

The prospect of an exhaustive edition of all the Coptic recensions by Professor Théodore Lefort relieves me of the necessity of more than a short description of the MSS. Professor Lefort has expended much labour upon the disentanglement of their mutual relationships; we may therefore leave to him the statement and solution of the various problems involved.

Besides our two new papyri (Nos. 24 and 25 above), fragments are known of six parchment MSS. preserving parts of the Lives.

1 (Lefort No. 4). The Life of P. alone. The script of this MS. is of about the 12th century: facsimile, Mingarelli p. 223, no. 9. Its fragments are:


" " f. 60 = Miss. 537

Venice (Ming. no. 9) = Miss. 800

Paris 12912 f. 47

1 The frequent Coptic transcripts of names (v. above) may testify to this.

2 E.g. Av. 14, 9 altered to تمر = Sa. (Paris 12912, 11) ماق 'were drenched (with blood)'; Bo. wanting; cf. Am. 361, 2. Av. 18 b, 8 لام 'altered to لام. Bo. 35, 4 has both. Av. 21 b, 15 لدات the alphabet, αυστροφος had been mistaken for τροφος, v. Bo. 46, 11. Av. 62, 13 تتمتنة altered to تتمتنة = Bo. 148, 10

episkopis. Av. 69b, 5 "↑

وا قد ما أرادوا أن 5

يرسوا إلى البر ليطلعوا إلى الإسكندرية

و في كل يوم يبدوا إلى البر في حال

مضتهم إلى الإ

3 The same as that of Zoega excii, cxiii**

(Shenoute).
Vienna, Hofbibl. = Wessely, Stud. xi, no. 112 a, b pp. \( \pi_\text{HA} \), \( \pi_\text{RA} \) = §§ 52, 35\(^2\).

Paris 129\(^1\) ff. 48-54 = Mus. Guim. 317

Vienna, ut supra = Wessely, l.c., 112 e-h \( \pi_\text{RA} - \pi_\text{CA} \) = §60, cf. Miss. 553 inf.

The text corresponds with another Sa. version in three passages, as here indicated; but, so far as extant, it offers no material not to be already found elsewhere.

2 (Lefort No. 2). This would also appear to consist of the Life of P. alone, although, as in the last case, we have only the argument \textit{e silentio} to support the assumption. The MS. may be of the 6th or 7th century: the script much resembles Br. Mus. Cat., pl. 2, no. 971 (datable about 650). Described with extracts, l.c., no. 342. Its text seems to be generally parallel with Am. (cf. sequence of sections), though in detail they differ considerably. One of the passages (p. \( \pi_\text{RA} \)) omitted by Am. (543) reappears in Av. (f. 90, 3-8), and in the same context as here.

3 (Lefort No. 1). Neither is there any evidence here that the MS. included more than the Life of P. The script should be of about the 6th century: facsimile, Hyvernat, \textit{Album}, pl. 2, 2. The two extant fragments are published Miss. 538-543 and correspond apparently to §§ 13, 11, 16, though both text and sequence are very different from those of any other recension.

4 (Lefort No. 6). This MS. related solely to Theodore, for on p. \( \pi \) we see that P. is already dead. The script is of an easily datable type: it must belong to A.D. 1000 or thereabouts: facsimile, Wessely, \textit{Studien} xi, p. 152 (9440). Its fragments are:\(^1:\)

Paris 129\(^2\) ff. 67+65 = Miss. 560 pp. \( \pi \), \( \pi \) = § 75.


Paris 129\(^2\) f. 54 = Miss. 823

Berlin, \textit{Kopt. Urk.}, Nr. 191 \( \pi_\text{SA} \), \( \pi_\text{CA} \), cf. Miss. 594.

Paris 129\(^2\) f. 63 = Miss. 586 \( \pi_\text{SA} \), \( \pi_\text{CA} \) = § 81.

Paris 129\(^2\) f. 62 = Miss. 584 and Muséon xi. 215 (v. Bo. 238).

Berlin, Kgl. Bibli., Or. 1607, f. 3 pp. \( \pi_\text{SA} \), \( \pi_\text{CA} \) = § 84 (?).

Vienna, Hofbibl. = Wessely, l.c., no. 111 a, b \( \pi_\text{SA} \), \( \pi_\text{CA} \) = §§ 82, 83, cf. Miss. 588.

Paris 129\(^2\) f. 60+129\(^2\) f. 58 \( \pi_\text{SA} \), \( \pi_\text{CA} \) = § 93 (?).

Paris 129\(^2\) ff. 55-57 = Mus. Guim. 328 ult. \( \pi_\text{SA} \), \( \pi_\text{CA} \) (v. Bo. in Leipzig, Univ. Bibl., vol. xxv, f. 3).

\(^1\) On this list cf. Lefort in \textit{Muséon} xi. 206, to whom the identification of two of the Paris fragments is due.
APPENDIX 185

The three passages here which have parallels in another MS. (Sa. 5) make it probable that the present is but the second volume of the combined Life, since in the parallel MS. they occur midway in the work, which afterwards proceeds with the history of Theodore.

5 (Lefort No. 5). This is the only MS. which unquestionably combined the history of Theodore with that of P. It was written most probably in the 9th century. Facsimiles: Mingarelli p. 30, nos. 7, 8, Cairo, Catal. Gén. no. 8016. Its fragments are:

Paris 129\textsuperscript{12} f. 11
Naples (Zoega clxxiii) = Mus. Guim. 295
Paris 129\textsuperscript{12} ff. 18–25 = Miss. 521
, f. 26 = Miss. 545
Brit. Mus. no. 355, f. 1
Paris 78 f. 40 = Miss. 552
, 129\textsuperscript{12} f. 27 = Miss. 553
, , f. 39 = Miss. 555
Brit. Mus. no. 355, f. 2
Paris 129\textsuperscript{12} f. 28 = Miss. 557
Naples (Zoega cccix)
Leyden no. 88
Venice (Ming. no. 7) = Miss. 562
, (Ming. no. 8) = Miss. 577
Paris 129\textsuperscript{12} f. 37 = Miss. 588
, , ff. 29–35 = Miss. 592
Brit. Mus. no. 355, f. 3
Paris 129\textsuperscript{12} f. 36 = Miss. 604
, , f. 38 = Miss. 559

To the following fragments I do not venture to assign a sequence:

Cairo Museum no. 8016 (v. Am. 515).
Cairo, a fragment in Patriarch’s collection (v. Bo. 243–5), cf. Mus. Guim. 306–8 and p. 129\textsuperscript{12} of next MS.

6 (Lefort No. 3). This is the MS. of which the largest number of fragments are extant; but so bad is the state of preservation of many, and so obscure or unfamiliar the contents of others, that the character of the recension is hard to define. Its
most obvious feature is the homiletic element, more or less prominent in the majority of fragments, and consisting of discourses (or prayers), attributed usually to Theodore, but having little or no visible relation to the narrative or indeed to the incidental discourses of the other recensions or versions. It relates the history of both P. and Theodore. The following list gives the paged fragments, in their order of pagination and irrespective of their contents:—

Naples (Zoega ccxcvi, f. 1)  
Br. Mus. Or. 6954, 40  
Berlin, Kgl. Bibl., Or. 1350, f. 1  
Br. Mus. no. 356  
Paris 12912 f. 59 = Miss. 543  
Naples (Zoega ccxcvi, f. 2)  
Br. Mus. no. 343, f. 1  
Naples (Zoega ccxcvii, 1 fol.)  
Br. Mus. Or. 6954, 36  
Paris 13112 ff. 29–33  
Leyden no. 70  
Br. Mus. no. 343, f. 2 (last of qu. r£)  
Naples (Zoega ccxcvi, f. 3)  
Paris 13112 f. 50  
Naples (Zoega clxxvii, ff. 1–4) = Mus. Guim. 299  
Oxford, Clar. Pr., no. 35 (v. below)  
Naples (Zoega clxxvii, ff. 5–7) = Mus. Guim. 308–314  
Berlin, Kgl. Bibl., Or. 1350, f. 2  
Paris 12912 f. 42 = Miss. 605  

Here follow those fragments which lack pagination, in a sequence, as far as possible, parallel to Bo. or Am.:—

(a) Narrative passages:
Br. Mus. Or. 6954, 35.  
Cairo, a fragment in the Patriarch’s collection  
Naples (Zoega ccxcvi, f. 4)  
Br. Mus. no. 343, f. 2  
Paris 12912 f. 61

\[\text{pp. r, } r = \$ 1.\]
\[\text{Bo., } \text{Am.} = \$ 10 (?).\]
\[\text{Bo., } \text{Am.} = \$ 12.\]
\[\text{Bo., } \text{Am.} = \text{§§ 16, 17.}\]
\[\text{Bo., } \text{Am.} = \text{§§ 16, 17.}\]
\[\text{Bo., } \text{Am.} = \text{§§ 94, 95.}\]
\[\text{Bo., } \text{Am.} = \text{§§ 80, 96.}\]
\[\text{Bo., } \text{Am.} = \text{§§ 80, 96.}\]
\[\text{Bo., } \text{Am.} = \text{§§ 80, 96.}\]
\[\text{Bo., } \text{Am.} = \text{§§ 80, 96.}\]
\[\text{Bo., } \text{Am.} = \text{§§ 80, 96.}\]
\[\text{Bo., } \text{Am.} = \text{§§ 80, 96.}\]
(δ) Homiletic passages:
Br. Mus. no. 343, f. 3.
Naples (Zoega ccxxvii, 2 foll.).
Br. Mus. Or. 6954, 2 fragments (the subject is closely related to that of pp. ṡח, 7ח above).

Besides these 6 MSS., mention may be made of others relating to the founders of the Pachomian institutions, although they do not contain biographies of them:

α. Paris 129 exploring ff. 43, 44 (v. above, p. 178). This is an extract from the Life of P., narrating his death and burial. The MS. was written about A.D. 1000.

β. Paris 129 ff. 70–72 = Miss. 609–611. From an Encomium (? ) on P., attributed, no doubt falsely, to Athanasius. The MS. may be of the 11th century.

γ. Paris 129 ff. 68 = Miss. 590 ult., 591. Hand of about the 11th century: facsimile, Cairo, Catal. Gén. no. 8017. This leaf is from an anecdote of Horsiesius. The paging in the edition, \( \overline{\text{5}} \overline{\text{4}} \overline{\text{5}} \), \( \overline{\text{5}} \overline{\text{4}} \overline{\text{5}} \), shows that, if indeed it is from the same volume as the other extant leaves by this hand, we may (as M. Amélineau has suggested, Miss. 488) have to do with an independent Life of Horsiesius; for the preceding leaves, paged \( \overline{\text{6}} \overline{\text{6}} \), \( \overline{\text{6}} \overline{\text{6}} \), \( \overline{\text{6}} \overline{\text{6}} \), \( \overline{\text{6}} \overline{\text{6}} \), all relate to the patriarchs Peter I and Achillas of Alexandria and the suppression of paganism: they have, that is to say, no apparent relation to the Pachomian communities.

δ. Paris 129 ff. 74 = Miss. 812. The hand may be of the 9th century. This small fragment refers indeed to certain of P.'s companions, but it cannot—if we have regard to the other leaves by this hand and their pagination—belong to any of the Lives. The other extant work of the same hand is: Zoega no. ccxxx, Paris 130 ff. 59–74, 130 ff. 131–162. There is nothing in the pagination of these long fragments to forbid their being, together with our leaf, all parts of a single volume. On the leaves from 130 see Leipoldt's observations (Schenute, p. 11 n.). The fact that those from 130 are certainly Shenoute's supports his opinion that Zoega's text has at least been edited by that writer.

ε. This fragment is obviously concerned with P. and his disciples, but its relationship to the Lives is obscure, no such incident being discoverable in any other text. I print it from a copy kindly given me (1899) by Professor Guidi, who says the hand is that of the late E. Teza. The copy offers not the slightest information either as to the MS. copied or the number and pagination of its leaves.

1 I have not noted any pagination. Possibly it has (as too often) disappeared in binding.
3 The title \( \overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{A}} \), without following name, rightly claimed by Leipoldt for Pachomius, is however applied to other venerable persons besides, e.g. Jeremias of Saqqara (Quibell-Thompson, no. 226, l. 14 n.), Peter of Alexandria (Texte u. Unt., NF. v. 4 b, p. 10), Zoega p. 303, 19, Br. Mus. nos. 691, 597 (?). See also the text here following.
'And thereafter he turned about\(^2\) again and came up again to him and said unto him the second time, "The house that the man did build, how many stories hath it?" He was not able to give him account (ἀπολογία). Again he turned about the third time and came up again to him and said unto him, "The house that the man did build, how many stories hath it?" He said unto him the third time, "It hath ten stories." When he had said unto him, It hath ten stories, the angel smiled and departed. When Apa had told it us, we asked him, saying, 'Tell us its meaning.' He said unto us, 'The Man is God. The ten stories of the house are the seven heavens, with the firmament (στερέωμα) and the earth and hell (amente).' He said unto us, 'Supposing I had been ignorant the third time, not finding what to say unto him, so would ignorance not have ceased from\(^8\) the brethren evermore.' We said unto him, 'Thou hast saved us and our seed (σπέρμα) for ever.' These be the words that Apa spake unto me, I being on board the boat with him, I and my father Cornelius. Apa Cornelius said unto him, 'Tell us the words (spoken) on the day when thou wast taken up to heaven.'\(^4\) He said unto us, 'I have not told you the tenth part of my heart (?)'.\(^5\) Apa Cornelius said unto him, 'That which reacheth (?) = concerneth) us, tell it us.' He said unto them, 'The first place whereunto I was brought (sic expl.).'

\(^1\) The copy has eιπεν ταί &c.  
\(^2\) προτ seems equivalent to κωτε a little below. Recurs perhaps in Rylands Cat., no. 368. Whether = ὁ γὰρ (Exod. xxxii. 27 &c.) is doubtful.  
\(^3\) Cf. this rare use of ιμία in Acts v. 42 = παίωσα,  
\(^4\) Cf. ? Am. 543.  
\(^5\) σελειρί = ῥποχώνδρα (or καρδία) in 1 Sam. xxxi. 3. Cf.? σπλήν. Seems not impossible here.
Table I, showing where the paragraphs of AS. and Par. occur in the unpublished Arabic texts.

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* The two additional sections in Nau D (pp. 509–10); cf. Am. 640 infra.
Page 1, note a, read Should be env[eroc.
   "  9, note 2, read vol. 43.
   "  31, note 1. ομίλε occurs in 1 Sam. vi. 7.
   "  57, No. 11, verso, l. 8, read εισανακτοι.
   "  71, note 1. διογόν in Rossi, Papiρί I. iii. 24, 26, 31 &c.
   "  73, note 6, for 42 read 43.
   "  75, note 1. [Ap]a Moui might possibly be a variant of Hamoi. Cf. their Arabic
      forms, here and p. 162, note 1.
   "  77, note 1, read vol. 43.
   "  83, note 2, ditto.
   "  98, note 1. With εγνυ egνx- cf. εγνυ egν- Num. xiv. 11, Rossi i. i. 19,
      and εγνυ gn- 2 Sam. iii. 31; v. also Stern § 572.
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No. 24
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Χιννόμοιος Ἀλκαχοκλύς

No. 28

Ποιαῖθες ἐν Νεκωλίν ἡ Κωτάεττι έκποίηκε Ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ἐκοῦ Ἀθάνατοι ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑποτελείας Ἄρης κατῆλθεν τῷ Ὀστέρεχς

No. 29