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## **Another Athanasius : four Sahidic homilies attributed to St. Athanasius of Alexandria. Introduction, editions, translations**

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**Another Athanasius**

Four Sahidic Homilies attributed to St. Athanasius of  
Alexandria

Introduction, Editions, Translations

Academisch Proefschrift

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de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,

op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,

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door

**Ibrahim Saweros**

geboren te Sohag, Egypte, in 1980

Promotores: Prof. dr. O.E. Kaper

Prof. dr. J. van der Vliet

Commissie: Dr. A. Boud'hors

Prof. dr. H.L. Murre-van den Berg

Prof. dr. P.M. Sijpesteijn

To my three angels:  
Arsany, Fady and Mary

Photograph frontispiece: Pierpont Morgan Library, M 602, f. 110v.

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## Abbreviations

AB	Analecta Bollandiana.
AJSLL	The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers.
BSAC	Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte.
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
CPG	M. Geerard, <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> , 5 vols., Turnhout, 1974-1987.
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature.
JCS	Journal of Coptic Studies.
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies.
JJP	The Journal of Juristic Papyrology.
JThS	Journal of Theological Studies.
MMAFC	Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire.
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.
NTS	New Testament Studies.
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica.
PG	Patrologia Graeca.
PO	Patrologia Orientalis.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.



## The Manuscripts

In this dissertation, I aim to edit a corpus of four Sahidic homilies attributed to St. Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 296-373). After a brief introduction about the al-Hamuli find to which the principal manuscripts that contain these homilies belong, I will explain the reasons for my selection of these texts and present the principal manuscripts and the parallel fragments for each of the homilies. Examination of the fragments may shed light on the textual transmission of the homilies. In the course of this presentation, I will also briefly comment on the language of the manuscripts.

### *The al-Hamuli find.*

The four homilies edited below survive in a complete or near complete form in three codices that now belong to the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. They were discovered in 1910 among a large collection of codices somewhere around the site of a monastery of St. Michael, which is located three miles away of the present-day village of al-Hamuli, in the western part of the Fayoum. The famous millionaire and collector J. Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913) bought the greater part of this collection in Paris and it is kept now in the museum and library which bear his name in New York.<sup>1</sup> The collection of Pierpont Morgan grew later on through the help of H. Hyvernat and others.<sup>2</sup> Hyvernat also prepared a preliminary catalogue of the collection which

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<sup>1</sup> Some information on the history of the collection and some coloured pictures of the codices are available on the official website of the library: <http://ica.themorgan.org/list>. Consulted several times in 2015-2016.

<sup>2</sup> The whole story of the discovery, the collection and the efforts of Pierpont Morgan to enlarge his collection can be found in the introduction to L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, Louvain, 1993, p. XLV-LIII. For more about the collection, see also L. Depuydt, *Historical Study and Catalogue Raisonné of the Coptic Collection in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 1990, p. 26-38.

## The Manuscripts

remained unpublished till today, but which was used by L. Depuydt in preparing his own catalogue.<sup>3</sup>

The site where this priceless collection was found is located in the far west of the Fayoum. There are no important remains to be seen at the site nowadays, but we know that it once must have been an important monastic centre. The latest dated Coptic manuscript from the al-Hamuli find goes back to the year 914. After that year no more Coptic manuscripts were archived as far as the colophons of the manuscripts of the al-Hamuli find tell us. It is probable that the site was deserted and the local production of Coptic manuscripts came to an end.<sup>4</sup> As no archaeological excavations have been undertaken at the site, we quote M. Ramzy's topographical handbook, which provides the following brief information: "It derived its name, al-Hamuli, from the man buried in the famous mausoleum there. Its recent history starts in 1898 when its name was Kafr al-Hamuli. It used to belong to the province of Itsa, but in 1929 when the province of Ibshaway was established, al-Hamuli was annexed to it."<sup>5</sup> According to the many colophons of the manuscripts found in the collection, it would be a difficult mission to identify the medieval site precisely, as the colophons give a significant number of different names for the monastery and the surrounding area.<sup>6</sup>

To understand the exceptional importance of the collection of al-Hamuli manuscripts, H. Hyvernat's words about the collection may be quoted: "America may well feel proud that one of her sons has endowed her with such a treasure of art and ancient literature. Thanks to Mr. J. P. Morgan, our country is coming

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<sup>3</sup> L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. XLVII-XLVIII, n. 16.

<sup>4</sup> L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. CIII.

<sup>5</sup> M. Ramzy, *The Geographical Dictionary of the Egyptian Provinces since the Ancient Egyptian Times till 1945*, vol. 2/3, Cairo, 1953, p. 74 (in Arabic).

<sup>6</sup> L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. CIV-CXII, esp. tables on p. CIV-CV. A full edition of the al-Hamuli colophons (plus much more colophons from other collections) can be found in A. van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte*, vol. I: *Les colophons coptes des manuscrits sahidiques*, fasc. 1: *Textes*, fasc. 2: *Notes et tables*, Louvain, 1929.

gradually to the point where it will have nothing to envy the European countries for".<sup>7</sup> W. E. Crum also referred briefly to the importance of this collection in the introduction to his dictionary.<sup>8</sup> There is a consensus among scholars about the exceptional value of the al-Hamuli collection, even after the discovery of the Nag Hammadi codices in 1945.<sup>9</sup>

We do not know much about the details of the discovery of the collection. By the end of the year 1910 the discovery took place, somewhere near the ruins of St. Michael monastery at al-Hamuli. Sometimes it is said that the manuscripts were found in a stone box, sometimes in a vat together with ancient writing tools and sometimes in the ruins of the monastery without any specific details.<sup>10</sup> The discoverers - as usual - thought of dividing the codices into single sheets or groups of sheets to secure better prices and to stamp the collection with the names of their tribes and families in order to gain fame.<sup>11</sup> The local discoverers offered their treasure for sale to an antiquarian whose name is still unknown. This anonymous antiquarian helped them to offer their find to E. Chassinat, the director of the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology in Cairo at that time, who managed to persuade the discoverers to sell the collection as a whole and guaranteed them that he would give them whatever price they asked for.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> H. Hyvernat, "The J. P. Morgan Collection of Coptic Manuscripts", *JBL* 31/1, 1912, p. 56.

<sup>8</sup> W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1939, p. V-VI.

<sup>9</sup> For example, S. Emmel, "The Library of The Monastery of the Archangel Michael at Phantou (al-Hamuli)", in G. Gabra (ed.), *Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis*, Cairo, 2005, p. 63-70.

<sup>10</sup> H. Hyvernat, "The Morgan Collection", p. 56; J.-B. Chabot, "La bibliothèque du couvent de Saint-Michel au Fayoum", *Journal des savants* 10, 1912, p. 180; "Dr. Henry Hyvernat and the Morgan Coptic Manuscripts", *The Catholic University Bulletin* 28/7-9, October-December 1922, p. 15.

<sup>11</sup> H. Hyvernat, "The Morgan Collection", p. 56.

<sup>12</sup> H. Hyvernat, "The Morgan Collection", p. 56-57.

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The collection was offered to Pierpont Morgan and he asked Hyvernat to evaluate it. Hyvernat persuaded Morgan to make the deal and buy the collection for his own library. The price was kept secret, but Hyvernat mentioned that at his time one sheet of an ancient manuscript might cost eighty American dollars,<sup>13</sup> while the entire collection amounts to 7,248 pages.<sup>14</sup> The collection left Egypt to Paris where it was quickly examined by Hyvernat and acquired for Morgan's library. The collection arrived in New York on the 28<sup>th</sup> of December 1911. Then it was decided to send the manuscripts to the Vatican Library to be restored. They arrived at the Vatican Library in July 1912 and stayed there for a long time due to the World War I.<sup>15</sup> Probably the collection visited the British Museum before returning to New York in 1929.<sup>16</sup>

The al-Hamuli collection is mostly written in the Sahidic dialect of the Coptic language with very few items in Bohairic and Fayoumic. Some Biblical books are found in this collection in a complete form for the first time in the Sahidic dialect. Thus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy and Kings I-II were found complete and in a very good condition. Furthermore, there are almost complete versions of Isaiah, the four Gospels, the Pauline and the Catholic epistles.<sup>17</sup> A version of the Book of Psalms was lacking.<sup>18</sup> Many apocryphal texts, a large number of homilies, acts of martyrs and lives of hermits have come to our knowledge for the first time through the Hamuli collection. Ten codices were found in their original bindings. Twelve codices kept their

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<sup>13</sup> H. Hyvernat, "The Morgan Collection", p. 56.

<sup>14</sup> "Dr. Henry Hyvernat and the Morgan Coptic Manuscripts", p. 15.

<sup>15</sup> More details are provided in E. Tisserant, "Note sur la restauration à la Bibliothèque Vaticane des manuscrits coptes de la Pierpont Morgan Library", in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*, Boston, 1950, p. 219-221.

<sup>16</sup> J. L. Sharpe III, "The Catalogue of the Coptic Bindings in the Pierpont Morgan Library", in D. W. Johnson (ed.), *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Washington 12-15 August 1992*, vol. 2/1, Rome, 1993, p. 418.

<sup>17</sup> J.-B. Chabot, "La bibliothèque du couvent de Saint-Michel", p. 180-181.

<sup>18</sup> S. Emmel, "The Library of The Monastery of the Archangel Michael at Phantoou", p. 64.

coloured frontispieces. One biblical book was kept in a golden cover.<sup>19</sup>

The collection attracted the attention of scholars quite soon. Hyvernat prepared a checklist of the collection in 1919.<sup>20</sup> Then he had twelve facsimile copies made of the whole collection, which he distributed to the major libraries and museums of the world in order to make the collection accessible to scholars.<sup>21</sup> Hyvernat started working on a full catalogue of the collection, which he finished in 1930. It was never published, however. Hyvernat's student, Th. C. Petersen, prepared a catalogue of the bindings of the manuscripts, which knew the same destiny as Hyvernat's catalogue.<sup>22</sup> Both catalogues were kept at the Pierpont Library and were used by L. Depuydt to produce the first comprehensive catalogue of the collection, published in 1993.<sup>23</sup> Since, the collection is accessible to scholars and many editions of the texts have appeared.

*Selection of the texts.*

In the present work, I am editing four homilies preserved in manuscripts from this collection. I chose these four homilies because they are comparable to each other in a number of ways. All of them are attributed to St. Athanasius of Alexandria and have never been edited before. They were copied at the same place and around the same time. They share a number of themes, such as the cult of the angels, and are imbued with Christian morals, warning against specific sins and preaching the proper use of wealth and poverty.

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<sup>19</sup> H. Hyvernat, "The Morgan Collection", p. 56.

<sup>20</sup> H. Hyvernat, *A Checklist of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, 1919.

<sup>21</sup> H. Hyvernat, *Bibliothecae Pierpont Morgan codices coptici photographice expressi*, 57 vols., Rome, 1922.

<sup>22</sup> J. L. Sharpe III, "The Catalogue of the Coptic Bindings", p. 418.

<sup>23</sup> L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, Louvain, 1993.

In their composition and language, the four homilies are quite similar. Their authors are fond of specific Biblical quotations and allusions. Three of the four homilies favour a certain style of storytelling. In two of them, St. Pachomius, the archimandrite from Upper Egypt, plays an important role as a friend of St. Athanasius. The most important, however, is that these homilies shed more light on the mental image of St. Athanasius among Egyptian Christians several centuries after his death. Editing them together may therefore lead to a further understanding of Egyptian Christian literature in general.

### *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels.*

The first homily is called an encomium. It occupies f. 89r - 98r of codex M 602 of the al-Hamuli find. Its Latin title: 'In Michaelem et Gabrielelem', 'On Michael and Gabriel', which derives from the original Sahidic title, appeared first in the facsimile edition<sup>24</sup> and was later adopted in M. Geerard's *Clavis*.<sup>25</sup> L. Depuydt describes it under nr. 116.6 in his catalogue and provides an edition of its title.<sup>26</sup> The facsimile edition appeared in 1922.<sup>27</sup> The text is written in Sahidic and has never been edited before.

Codex M 602 is a parchment codex consisting of 111 folios from which a few pages are missing. It is written in two columns, the page size is 36.5 × 28.2 cm., and the written area is 27.4 × 21.8 cm. There are 30-34 lines in every column. The ancient pagination is found on the versos only. Unfortunately there is a significant loss of text due to damage at the fore-edge of the bottom of the codex.<sup>28</sup>

The codex contains seven texts mostly on Saints Michael and Gabriel, the archangels, attributed to various authors, three of

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<sup>24</sup> H. Hyvernat, *Codices*, vol. 25, p. I.

<sup>25</sup> M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. II, Turnhout, 1974, nr. 2197.

<sup>26</sup> L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 228-230.

<sup>27</sup> H. Hyvernat, *Codices*, vol. 25, p. 179-197.

<sup>28</sup> For a full description, see L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 224.

them to Athanasius. Apparently these texts were collected and gathered in one single codex for liturgical purposes. The codex has no colophon, although it can be dated roughly between the years 800 and 950, the time-span of the dates found in the colophons of the al-Hamuli collection. The superlineation used in the codex is non-standard. Raised dots with space are used for conjugation and tremas are used over vocalic *i*. The scribe prefers 3-stroke *ⲙ*, short *ⲣ*, *Ⲯ*, and *Ⲛ*, and narrow *ⲉ*, *ⲟ*, and *ⲥ*. Capital letters and a *zeta*-shaped coronis were used to mark the paragraphs, and headpieces to mark the beginning of every text in the codex.

The pages which contain *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels*, start with a headpiece over column b (f. 89r) that looks like a rectangular filled with knotted rope interlace, then comes the title followed by a separation area filed with dots and short horizontal strokes.<sup>29</sup> The title itself is written in the so-called colophon-script in which the letters appear sloping to the right.<sup>30</sup> This manuscript was copied by an excellent but anonymous scribe, whose work is clearly readable.

As the other homilies edited here, this encomium was written in Sahidic, with only very few deviations from standard Sahidic. For example *ⲃⲓ* appears instead of *Ⲛⲓ*, 'to take', in (§1),<sup>31</sup> and *ⲃⲉⲕⲏ* instead of *ⲃⲉⲕⲉ*, 'wage', in (§11).<sup>32</sup> Sometimes the scribe has an *ⲁ* instead of an *ⲟ*, especially before the suffix pronouns. Some examples can be observed in (§11). As in the other homilies, influence of the Fayoumic dialect may be suspected here.

It is well known that the Fayoumic dialect was a living spoken language until the tenth-eleventh century in the Fayoum and the

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<sup>29</sup> More information about the decoration of the codex can be found in L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 229.

<sup>30</sup> L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 229.

<sup>31</sup> W.E. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 620a.

<sup>32</sup> W.E. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 30b.

neighbouring districts.<sup>33</sup> At some point in the ninth century, however, the scribal centres of the Fayoum stopped copying in Fayoumic and switched to Sahidic.<sup>34</sup> Following this shift, the scribes were not always able to avoid Fayoumic influence on their new production in Sahidic. Also in the epigraphic sources from this period and region, the scribes followed the same pattern, deserting Fayoumic and producing some 'local brand of Sahidic'.<sup>35</sup> As a result almost all of the manuscripts of the al-Hamuli collection are marginally tainted by the Fayoumic dialect.<sup>36</sup>

Some singular words or expressions can be observed. In (§10), the text has σν ϩαχε εχω, which literally means 'to find a word (of complaint)',<sup>37</sup> in order to say 'not to be found fault with'. In (§1), εζηρανε is used, which most likely derives from the rare Greek verb ἐζηραίνω, 'to dry up'.<sup>38</sup> The scribe used καιπερ in the very rare sense of 'even' in (§17).<sup>39</sup> In (§25), the verb χνοϩ, 'to ask',<sup>40</sup> is used in the opposite meaning, 'to answer'.

In one of his stories, the author used the expression εϩλοριϩον, Greek εὐλόγησον, 'bless (me/us)', as a formula of salutation (§34). He then explained that it means σμοϩ ερον, which is its Coptic

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<sup>33</sup> E. Barbra, *Coptic Noun Phrases*, PhD Dissertation, Eötvös Loránd University, 2012, p. 24-25; R. Kasser, "Fayoumic", p. 124-125.

<sup>34</sup> A. Boud'hors, "Manuscripts and Literature in Fayoumic Coptic", in G. Gabra (ed.), *Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis*, Cairo, 2002, p. 21-27.

<sup>35</sup> J. van der Vliet, "Reconstructing the Landscape: Epigraphic Sources for the Christian Fayoum", in G. Gabra (ed.), *Christianity and Monasticism in the Fayoum Oasis*, Cairo, 2002, p. 87.

<sup>36</sup> See L. Depuydt (ed.), *Encomiastica from the Pierpont Morgan Library*, CSCO 544, Louvain, 1993, p. XIX-XX.

<sup>37</sup> Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 614a-b.

<sup>38</sup> H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1968, p. 475a.

<sup>39</sup> For examples and more attestations, see G. Bauer, *Die Zettelkästen*, p. 27-28, available only via <http://research.uni-leipzig.de/ddglc/docs/GertrudBauerCardindex.pdf>. Consulted in 2016.

<sup>40</sup> W.E. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 774b.

equivalent.<sup>41</sup> This suggests that the author was knowledgeable in both languages, Greek and Coptic, but preferred to use the Greek expression since it was used in daily life.

When the author wants to stress a certain message and makes sure that he delivers it in the correct way to his audience, he uses equivalent expressions in the course of the same sentence. Thus he uses, in (§10), ΜΠΝΑΥ ΝΤΕΚΑΝΑΓΚΗ 'at the moment of your agony', and again ΜΠΕΞΟΥ ΝΤΕΚΑΝΑΓΚΗ, 'on the day of your agony', to remind his listeners of the true judgment of God. Most likely, this was a way to catch the attention of his audience.

Jacques van der Vliet discovered that another manuscript version of this encomium must have existed. He recognized that the fragment British Library Or. 8802, f. 5 (formerly in the British Museum), contains part of the same encomium. The fragment in question was obtained by R. Curzon in 1838 at the Syrian Monastery, Wadi al-Natrun. It is a palimpsest parchment sheet. The erased older text is parallel to f. 96v - 97r, (§36-38), of the manuscript from the al-Hamuli collection. Its size is 27 × 22 cm. and it is bound together with five other reused parchment sheets which are not consecutive. Folios 2-5 of British Library Or. 8802 were turned upside down to be reused; the erasure of the original text was not complete and the earlier text could be read with ultraviolet light.<sup>42</sup> Most probably the earlier text was copied at the White Monastery before it came to the Syrian Monastery, since it is written in the Sahidic dialect and its scribe is the same as the one of British Library Or. 6954(50)(51), which was found at the White Monastery.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> W.E. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 533b.

<sup>42</sup> For full description, see B. Layton, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired since the year 1906*, London, 1987, Nr. 174; p. 215-216.

<sup>43</sup> B. Layton, *Catalogue*, nr. 156, p. 183-184.

The British Library fragment was published by van Lantschoot.<sup>44</sup> Its text shows a slightly different version compared to the text from al-Hamuli. The White Monastery version looks more elaborate. Thus, the lacuna of M 602, f. 96v, (§36), cannot be filled with the help of its British Library parallel due to the differences between both versions. Although the fragment is quite brief, it contains several scribal errors. British Library Or. 8802 attests the presence of the encomium *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels* in the library of the White Monastery to which a massive number of manuscripts is attributed.<sup>45</sup> Judging from the colophons of the al-Hamuli find, it is apparent that there must have been a strong link between the scriptorium where the al-Hamuli find was produced and the library of the White Monastery, a relationship which remains to be studied in details.<sup>46</sup>

Finally, in his publication of Sahidic fragments from the collection of the library of University of Louvain, L. Th. Lefort observed that some of these fragments may present evidence of another version of the encomium *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels*.<sup>47</sup> Depuydt repeated Lefort's statement in his catalogue without reservation.<sup>48</sup> Upon careful examination of these fragments, I found that only one can be attributed with certainty to St. Athanasius of Alexandria.<sup>49</sup> Although the text of this fragment is too short to give us any useful information, it is sufficiently clear that it provides no parallel to the present encomium.

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<sup>44</sup> A. van Lantschoot, "Les textes palimpsestes de B.M. Or. 8802", *Le Muséon* 41, 1928, p. 236-239 and 244-246.

<sup>45</sup> T. Orlandi, "The Library of the Monastery of St. Shenoute at Atripe", in A. Egberts et al. (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*, Leiden, 2002, p. 211-231, esp. 212-213.

<sup>46</sup> See Ch. Nakano, "Indices d'une chronologie relative des manuscrits coptes copiés à Toutôn (Fayoum)", *JCS* 8, 2006, p. 151-152.

<sup>47</sup> L. Th. Lefort, "Fragments coptes", *Le Muséon* 58, 1945, p. 99.

<sup>48</sup> L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 228.

<sup>49</sup> L. Th. Lefort, "Fragments coptes", p. 102.

*On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel.*

The second homily edited in this dissertation directly follows the last one in the same codex, M 602. It occupies folios 98v - 110v. It is called 'Homilia de homicidis et auaris', 'Homily on murderers and misers', in the facsimile edition, after the original Sahidic title. This Latin title was adopted in Geerard's *Clavis* and other scholars followed him.<sup>50</sup> Its appeared in a facsimile edition in 1922.<sup>51</sup> Depuydt describes it under number 116.7 of his catalogue and edited its title.<sup>52</sup> An Italian translation of this homily appeared in 1981.<sup>53</sup>

It is clear that the encomium *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels* was written by the same scribe as the homily *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel*. He uses the same technique of shaping letters and marginal signs, such as the zeta-shaped coronis and the capital letters to mark paragraphs. There is considerable loss of text due to the damage of the bottom corners of every page. The last leaf of the codex, f. 110, (§50-51), is much corroded which makes its reading extremely difficult.<sup>54</sup>

As in the encomium described above, some Fayoumic influence can be noted, such as the use of  $\mu\eta\zeta\epsilon$ , 'to wake up', instead of  $\mu\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$  (§29).<sup>55</sup>

Again a second manuscript of this homily once existed in the library of the White Monastery. Manuscripts from this library are scattered all over the world often in a very fragmentary state.

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<sup>50</sup> M. Geerard, *Clavis*, nr. 2191.

<sup>51</sup> H. Hyvernat, *Codices*, vol. 25, p. 198-222.

<sup>52</sup> L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 228-9.

<sup>53</sup> T. Orlandi, *Omelie copte*, Torino, 1981, p. 58-70.

<sup>54</sup> A black and white photo of M 602, f. 110v is available in L. Depuydt and D. A. Loggie, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library: Album of Photographic Plates*, Louvain, 1993, pl. 226. A coloured high resolution photo of the same page is available via <http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/icaimages/6/m602.110v.jpg>. Consulted in 2015-2016.

<sup>55</sup> W. E. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 254b; R. Kasser, *Compléments*, p. 40.

Even though good catalogues of some collections are still lacking, Alin Suciu managed to reconstruct a virtual codex out of many scattered parchment fragments.<sup>56</sup> This codex bears the *siglum* MONB.FQ.<sup>57</sup> According to Suciu, it contained at least two texts attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria.

The first text is *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel* which occupies forty-five pages of the codex. Pages 1-6 are missing. Pages 7-10 are kept in fragments Paris BnF 131<sup>6</sup>, f. 28 and Paris BnF 131<sup>7</sup>, f. 32. The fragments were identified by Suciu who published photos of them in a recent article without an edition of the texts.<sup>58</sup> They are parallel to M 602, f. 100r-101v, (§7-14). Pages 11-12 of codex MONB.FQ are missing. Pages 13-16 are preserved in fragments Paris BnF 129<sup>12</sup>, f. 72+70 and Paris BnF 129<sup>12</sup>, f. 71+133<sup>2</sup>, f. 57 which were published first by Amélineau<sup>59</sup> and then by Lefort.<sup>60</sup> They are parallel to M 602, f. 102r - 103v, (§17-24). Pages 17-26 of the White Monastery codex are missing. Pages 27-28 are kept in fragment Naples I. B. 09, f. 25, which was published first by Zoega<sup>61</sup> and then by Lefort.<sup>62</sup> This fragment is parallel to M 602, f. 106r-106v, (§35-36). Pages 29-34 are missing. Pages 35-36 are kept in fragment Cairo 9286. This fragment was edited a century ago by Munier<sup>63</sup> and was

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<sup>56</sup> A. Suciu, "Further Leaves from a White Monastery Codex Containing Texts Attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria", *Orientalia* 81, 2012, pp. 87-90.

<sup>57</sup> The name is following the *sigla* system of *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* database, directed by T. Orlandi and available only on the web via: <http://www.cmcl.it/>. Consulted several times in 2014-2016.

<sup>58</sup> A. Suciu, "Further Leaves", pl. 22-25.

<sup>59</sup> E. Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne au IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles*, vol. 2, Paris, 1895, p. 609-611.

<sup>60</sup> L. Th. Lefort, *S. Pachomii vitae Sahidice scriptae*, Paris, 1933, vol. 1, p. 347-350.

<sup>61</sup> Zoega skipped part of the recto in his edition, see G. Zoega, *Catalogus codicum Coptiorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, Rome, 1810, nr. 229, p. 553.

<sup>62</sup> Lefort gave the *variae lectiones* of the parallel part of codex M 602 in his apparatus, see L. Th. Lefort, "Analecta philologica", *Le Muséon* 62, 1949, p. 12-14.

<sup>63</sup> H. Munier, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire Nos 9201-9304: Manuscrits coptes*, Cairo, 1916, p. 150-152.

recently identified by Lucchesi.<sup>64</sup> It is parallel to M 602, 107v-108r, (§41-43). Pages 37-38 are missing. Pages 39-40 are kept in fragment Strasbourg 248. This fragment is parallel to M 602, f. 109r-109v, (§47-48). It was identified first by Morard<sup>65</sup> and then by Lucchesi<sup>66</sup> and was edited by Youssef.<sup>67</sup> Pages 41-42 of this codex are preserved in fragment Paris BnF 161<sup>6</sup>, f. 38, which is parallel to M 602, f. 109v-110r, (§48-50). This leaf was first identified by Morard.<sup>68</sup> E. Lucchesi correctly suggested that its original place is towards the end of the homily *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel* of M 602.<sup>69</sup>

According to Alin Suciu's reconstruction, pages 43-44 of the White Monastery codex are missing and page 45 is preserved in fragment British Library Or. 6807, which contains the end of the 'Homilia de homicidis et auaris' and the title of the next text, 'Epistula ad Orsiesium et Theodorum', 'Letter to Horsiesius and to Theodorus'. The fragment bears the name of the copyist, Aurelius Flavius Philotheos, son of Markos.<sup>70</sup> However, careful examination of the text of fragment British Library Or. 6807 convinced me that it is not related to the epilogue of the homily *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel* (§50-51) and offers a totally different text. Thus, I consider pages 43-45 of MONB.FQ as missing.

The scribe of codex MONB.FQ used a smaller parchment size and the number of lines in every column is less compared to the

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<sup>64</sup> E. Lucchesi, "Identification de Strasbourg copte 248", *Orientalia* 78, 2009, p. 92-93.

<sup>65</sup> F. Morard, "Les recueils coptes d'actes apocryphes des apôtres. Un exemple: le codex R", *Augustinianum* 23, 1983, p. 81.

<sup>66</sup> E. Lucchesi, "Identification", p. 94.

<sup>67</sup> In his edition of this fragment, Youssef was not aware that it was identified earlier by Morard; see Y. N. Youssef, "The Archangel Michael and the Patriarchs in Exile in the Coptic Tradition", in N. Bosson and A. Boud'hors (eds.), *Actes du huitième congrès international d'études coptes, Paris, 28 juin-3 juillet 2004*, Louvain, 2007, p. 648-650.

<sup>68</sup> F. Morard, "Les recueils", p. 81-82.

<sup>69</sup> E. Lucchesi, "Identification", p. 95.

<sup>70</sup> B. Layton, *Catalogue*, p. 179-180, nr. 153.

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al-Hamuli codex. Instead of using the *zeta*-shaped coronis as a paragraph mark, the copyist of MONB.FQ used decorated capital letters. In general, the margins of the White Monastery codex are left blank, unlike the Hamuli codex. The White Monastery codex is further distinguished by dots inside of some letters such as o and ϕ. The scribe used rectangular headpieces for containing titles.

This virtual codex attests another version of the homily on *Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel* which is less elaborate than the al-Hamuli version. Paragraphs are shorter compared to the lengthy ones of codex M 602, but the White Monastery codex has an extra paragraph in our (§36). The language of the White Monastery codex is standard Sahidic. Both versions may derive from an older Coptic *Vorlage*.

In the following table 1, I provide a summary of the information given above.

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MONB.FQ	Fragments	M 602	Edition
P. 1-6.	---	f. 98v-100r.	§1-6.
P. 7-10.	BnF 131 <sup>6</sup> , f. 28. BnF 131 <sup>7</sup> , f. 32.	f. 100r-101v.	§7-14.
P. 11-12.	---	f. 101v-102r.	§15-16.
P. 13-16.	BnF 129 <sup>12</sup> , f. 72+70. BnF 129 <sup>12</sup> , f. 71+133 <sup>2</sup> , f. 57.	f. 102r - 103v.	§17-24.
P. 17-26.	---	f. 103v - 106r.	§25-34.
P. 27-28.	Naples I. B. 09, f. 25.	f. 106r - 106v.	§35-36.
P. 29-34.	---	f. 106v - 107v.	§36-40.
P. 35-36.	Cairo 9286.	f. 107v - 108r.	§41-43.
P. 37-38.	---	f. 108r - 109r.	§44-46.
P. 39-40.	Strasbourg 248.	f. 109r - 109v.	§47-48.
P. 41-42.	BnF 161 <sup>6</sup> , f. 38.	f. 109v - 110r.	§48-50.
P. 34-45.	---	f. 110r - 110v.	§50-51.

Table 1

### *On Luke 11: 5-9.*

The third homily edited in this dissertation occupies folios 37v - 49v of codex M 577 of the Pierpont Morgan collection. Its Latin title 'In Lucam 11, 5-9', 'On Luke 11, 5-9', was used first by H. Hyvernat<sup>71</sup> and then also in Geerard's *Clavis*.<sup>72</sup> It is known to scholars via the facsimile edition.<sup>73</sup> L. Depuydt gave it number 172.4 in his catalogue and partly edited its title.<sup>74</sup> An Italian translation appeared in 1981.<sup>75</sup>

Codex M 577 contains four texts. The first one is a Life of St. Stephan the Protomartyr, followed by the Testament of Isaac. Then follows a homily on Luke 7: 36-50, attributed to St. John

<sup>71</sup> H. Hyvernat, *Codices*, vol. 53, p. I.

<sup>72</sup> M. Geerard, *Clavis*, nr. 2194.

<sup>73</sup> H. Hyvernat, *Codices*, vol. 53, p. 70-98.

<sup>74</sup> L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 354-5.

<sup>75</sup> T. Orlandi, *Omelia*, p. 47-57.

Chrysostom. The last text is the present homily. The relationship between the four texts assembled in the codex is not clear.

M 577 is a parchment codex, each page measuring 33.7 × 25.9 cm. The written lines on every page number between 27 and 31. The title is preceded by a headpiece which consists of a rectangular decorated with a knotted rope interlace.<sup>76</sup> All pages are complete and well preserved. The scribe used very large letters in the margins, but not the *zeta*-shaped coronis. He also put dots within some letters such as ε and o. The copyist looks expert and his text is clearly readable. The title is written in the so-called colophon-script in which the letters appear sloping to the right. The scribe prefers the 3-strokes μ, narrow ε and o, and short ρ, γ and q. He uses non-standard superlineation.

Codex M 577 is dated and subscribed. In the upper margin of folio 38r, the name of the copyist is written, Samuel. He is a deacon and known from one more codex of the al-Hamuli find, namely as the copyist of codex M 574 which contains various hymns.<sup>77</sup> A detailed colophon is found on f. 49v. The donor is Petros, son of Severos, from Narmoute in the Fayoum together with Nonna, his daughter. He donated the manuscript to the monastery of St. Michael, the archangel, of Phantoou in Sopehes.<sup>78</sup> The date of the donation is AM 611, i.e. between 29 August 894 and 29 August 895.

This homily, again, is attested in a White Monastery version. In 1810, G. Zoega described twenty-two leaves, kept at the Vatican Library, of which leave numbers 15-18 contain text parallel to parts of *On Luke 11: 5-9* in M 577. These leaves contain the story of the friendship between Jonathan and David and the confrontation between Archbishop Alexander and the heretic

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<sup>76</sup> For a full description, see L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 355.

<sup>77</sup> L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 119.

<sup>78</sup> An edition of the colophon is found in A. van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons*, vol. 1/1, p. 39-40. For more information about the locations, see L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. CIII-CXII.

Carpocratius at the Council of Nicaea. Zoega edited the portion that introduces Carpocratius and starts with ⲧⲛⲁⲧⲁϥⲟ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲏ ⲛⲟϥϣⲓⲧⲱⲣⲓⲁ, 'I will recount to you a story', ending with ⲛⲉϥⲛ ⲟϥⲁ ⲗⲉ ⲗⲉ ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ 'there was someone called Carpocratius'.<sup>79</sup> These leaves are parallel to M 577, f. 45v-47r and f. 47v-49r, (§30-35) and (§37-41). Their language is standard Sahidic. The scribe uses large marginal letters, filled with dots, as paragraph markers.

Tito Orlandi and the team of the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* were able to assign the leaves described by Zoega to a virtual parchment codex, reconstructed from scattered fragments kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Vatican Library.<sup>80</sup> According to the *sigla* system of the *CMCL* database, the codex is called MONB.EE. This codex contains four texts, the second of them is parallel to our third homily, *On Luke 11: 5-9*.

The leaves from codex MONB.EE that contain parts of our homily are parchment palimpsests. The earlier text could not be identified, but some traces are still visible as the erasure of the older text was not perfect, in particular in the upper parts of the leaves. The scribe of the White Monastery text committed many errors while copying *On Luke 11: 5-9*, probably because of the bad state of the parchment, that is reused. The scribe left out letters in some words and these letters were added later over the lines (§30-32, 34, 37, 39). I am unable to tell whether it was the same scribe or another who added the missing letters. Sometimes, the scribe does not observe the rule that morphs ending in ⲛ- are replaced by the allomorph ⲛ- if followed by non-syllabic ⲙ or ⲛ (in §31, 33).<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> G. Zoega, *Catalogus*, nr. 145, p. 239.

<sup>80</sup> <http://www.cmcl.it/cgi-bin/chiamata.cgi>. Consulted several times in 2015-2016.

<sup>81</sup> B. Layton, *A Coptic Grammar with Chrestomathy and Glossary: Sahidic Dialect*, Wiesbaden, 2000, p. 20.

In general, the version of codex MONB.EE of the homily *On Luke 11: 5-9* is more elaborate than the version of M 577. For example, in fragment Vat. Copt. 145, f. 16v, (§34), the scribe unnecessarily repeated the expression: εἰο ναδιακονος, 'when I was a deacon'. The scribe of MONB.EE writes lengthier paragraphs and adds phrases that make no serious contribution to the argument. As in the case of the homily, *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel*, discussed above, it seems that both versions, the one from the White Monastery and the one from Hamuli, are independent redactions of a common *Vorlage*.

### *On Pentecost*

The fourth homily edited here occupies folios 118v-140v of codex M 595. It is entitled 'In Pentecostem', 'On Pentecost'. This Latin title appeared first in the facsimile edition<sup>82</sup> and then was adopted in Geerard's *Clavis*.<sup>83</sup> This homily is known to scholars through the facsimile edition.<sup>84</sup> L. Depuydt described it under number 170.9 in his catalogue and provided an edition of its title.<sup>85</sup> M 595 is a parchment codex, its pages measuring 34.2 × 27.7 cm. It contains ten different homilies attributed to various Church Fathers. All of these texts concern Eastertide. Apparently, this collection of texts was destined for use in the liturgy of that period of the year.

Codex M 595 has a number of colophons on folios 148r-148v which show us that the codex was copied by a group of copyists, a certain Apima, a deacon Kyrillou, Apa Kyri and a priest Gabri. The donors are Papa Kosma and a deacon Thoter, his brother, who ordered it for the monastery of St. Michael of Alli.<sup>86</sup> The date of copying is 8 Barmuda 571, i.e. 3 April 855.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> H. Hyvernat, *Codices*, vol. 43, p. II.

<sup>83</sup> M. Geerard, *Clavis*, nr. 2192.

<sup>84</sup> H. Hyvernat, *Codices*, vol. 43, p. 238-282.

<sup>85</sup> L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 345-350.

<sup>86</sup> For this monastery, see L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, CV.

<sup>87</sup> A. van Lantschoot, *Colophons*, p. 16-18.

Exceptionally, in one of the colophons, the whole codex is entitled in Coptic τχουμ <η>ταναστασις ετουααβ, 'The Book of the Holy Resurrection', confirming the liturgical use of the codex. This codex, including the pages of our homily, is perfectly preserved apart from a few holes which have no serious influence on the continuity of the text.

It is clear that one single scribe copied the entire homily. Towards the end of this lengthy homily, he started to make errors. This manuscript is marked by the same features as the ones described earlier, such as the non-standard superlineation and the shape of the letters. The head piece has the shape of a rectangle decorated with a twisted rope interlace. The lower margin of the first page of the homily is adorned with a simple drawing of a bird (f. 118v). When the surface of the parchment was not good enough to be written, the scribe skipped the bad spot and continued writing after it (f. 135r-v, 139r-v). Final η at the end of a line is sometimes rendered by an abbreviation stroke (e.g. in πην- in §35). When *nomina sacra* occur at the end of a line, the scribe writes the full name; in most cases, the name of David is given in its full form f. 138v, (§37).

The language of this homily shows some more deviations from standard Sahidic than the others. Again these seem to be due to Fayoumic influence. For example, the scribe frequently uses † instead of τει in the demonstrative (§16, 42, 52 and 56). This feature is known from dialect *F5* which is the chief subdialect of classical Fayoumic.<sup>88</sup> The most notable feature is the free interchange ο and α; thus in (§3, 11, 35, 50, 57, 60, 74 and 76). Sometimes the scribe writes the same word once with ο and once with α in the same paragraph, as for example ροιβϥ and ραιβϥ, 'shadow', in (§38).<sup>89</sup> He also uses the Fayoumic form of the verb

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<sup>88</sup> For examples of the same feature, see W.-P. Funk, *A Work Concordance to Late Standard Fayoumic Texts (Excerpts and Fragments)*, Québec, 1993, p. 299.

<sup>89</sup> W.E. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 657b.

ⲙⲁⲕⲉ, 'to be painful, difficult', instead of the Sahidic form ⲙⲟⲕⲉ (§39, 62).<sup>90</sup>

Furthermore, the scribe often uses a double ⲁⲁ instead of a single; for example ⲉⲁⲁⲕⲉ, 'earring', instead of ⲉⲁⲕⲉ (§36). The second person singular masculine pronoun ⲕ appears as ⲕⲕ e.g. in (§9). Several times in the homily, the scribe doubles ⲛ/ⲙ.<sup>91</sup> See for example, ⲙⲛⲛ ⲉⲙⲑⲟⲣⲛⲛ, 'with the prostitutes' (§11), ⲉⲛⲛ ⲉⲙⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ 'in the thoughts' (§17), ⲉⲛⲛ ⲛⲑⲛⲩⲉ, 'in the heavens' (§23), and more in (§4 and 36). He freely interchanges ⲧ and Ⲙ in words or names of foreign origin, for example ⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓⲘ 'David', instead of ⲘⲁⲩⲉⲓⲘ, in (§14 and 16), and ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲘⲓⲙⲛ, instead of ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲧⲓⲙⲛ, 'their value, price', in (§57).

As far as the vocabulary is concerned, the text often prefers Greek words, even when indigenous ones are available, such as ⲘⲓⲘⲁⲥⲕⲁⲗⲗⲟⲥ in (§20). In (§2), the author used the Greek verb ὀνομάζω, 'to name',<sup>92</sup> in the meaning 'to recite', which is a very rare usage, for which only a few examples are known, mostly in magical texts.<sup>93</sup> It is important to observe that the author or translator used the verb ⲕⲛⲟⲩ, 'to ask', in (§40), to give the opposite meaning, 'to answer', since the same feature occurs in the first encomium *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels*. It would need more research to see whether this represents a pattern or a mere error.

Finally, it is noteworthy that Tito Orlandi and the team of the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* identified fragment Bibliothèque nationale de France 161.016 as a parallel to this homily.<sup>94</sup> Upon examining this fragment, it appeared that its recto

<sup>90</sup> W.E. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 163a.

<sup>91</sup> For which see W.C. Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik mit Lesestücken und Wörterbuch*, München, 1931, p. 7.

<sup>92</sup> H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1232b-1233a.

<sup>93</sup> A. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*. vol. 1, *Textpublikation*, Bruxelles, 1931, nrs. E 59, K 54, p. 31, 53.

<sup>94</sup> <http://www.cmcl.it/cgi-bin/stolet01.cgi?0052>. Consulted in 2015.

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contains Luke 16: 9-11 and its verso Luke 16: 24-25 in standard Sahidic. The team of the *CMCL* mistakenly identified it because the author of the homily *On Pentecost* comments exactly on the verses quoted on the verso of the Parisian fragment when speaking about wealth and poverty in (§55). Probably the fragment, which is marked by its beautiful circular letters, is a page from an early Sahidic version of the Gospel of Luke from the White Monastery. As yet, no other manuscripts are known that contain *On Pentecost* either partly or totally. I will discuss the possibility that this homily has been translated from a Greek original in my chapters on the literary analysis of the homilies and on their authorship, date and place of origin.



## Literary Analysis

In this chapter, I intend to give a summary of the contents of each homily edited in this dissertation and the messages that their authors tried to convey. I will try to divide each homily into textual units and look for the textual sources that may have influenced them. This chapter also examines the standard of the literary preaching of the homilies and investigates the elements that the authors used to shape their homilies in this particular way such as storytelling and Biblical quotations.

### *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels.*

The title calls this work  $\sigma\upsilon\epsilon\rho\kappa\omega\mu\iota\omicron\nu$ , 'an encomium', a laudatory speech. This literary genre, related to the biography, has ancient roots in classical Greek literature. In Christian Egypt, the encomium became a very common genre quite soon due to the rise of the cult of the saints.<sup>1</sup> In an encomium, the author is aware that his audience already has heard something about the figure that he honours. The main character of the encomium receives all kinds of praise and, in certain cases, the author cannot avoid exaggeration in order to make sure that at least part of his spiritual message is well delivered to his audience.<sup>2</sup> Thus, such historical nuggets of information that one may find in encomia should be considered with due care and compared with other historical sources. In our case, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, are presented as a supreme examples of sanctity. By explaining their sanctity, the author urges his audience to purify themselves in

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, G. Garitte, "Panégyrique de saint Antoine par Jean, évêque d'Hermopolis", *OCP* 9, 1943, p. 100-134, 330-365; T. Orlandi, *Studi Copti. 1. Un encomio di Marco Evangelista. 2. Le fonti copte della Storia dei Patriarchi di Alessandria. 3. La leggenda di S. Mercurio*, Milan, 1968, p. 12-52; D. W. Johnson, *Panegyric on Macarius Bishop of Tkôw Attributed to Dioscorus of Alexandria*, 2 vols. CSCO 415-416, *Scriptores coptici* 41-42, Louvain, 1980.

<sup>2</sup> T. Hägg and Ph. Rousseau, "Introduction: Biography and Panegyric", in T. Hägg and Ph. Rousseau (eds.), *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, 2001, p. 3-5.

order to receive the blessings of the angels and to present their offerings at their shrines.<sup>3</sup>

The title of the encomium states that the author is "the son of the Apostles, the holy Apa Athanasius, the archbishop of Alexandria". In most of the writings attributed to Athanasius in Sahidic, he receives the same titles and epithets like 'the man who bears Christ' or 'the man who is the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit'.<sup>4</sup> Athanasius also gets the title 'Pope' in the text of this homily (§25).

In her study of the titles of Coptic literary works, P. Buzi classifies them according to their size. The size of the title of *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels* is the one usually found in the Sahidic writings attributed to Athanasius. These titles are characterized by one or more element whose function is to fix the subject of the title in time and space, naming the occasion for which the work was created, and specifying the place where it was to be read. Buzi called this kind of titles 'extended simple structure titles'<sup>5</sup> and they are very common in the al-Hamuli find.

This present encomium was composed in honour of the two archangels, Michael and Gabriel. Both of them have many feasts in the Coptic calendar. The Coptic church celebrates Michael on the twelfth day of every month, especially on the twelfth of Hator

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<sup>3</sup> For this part of my research, I made use of J. Leemans' introductory essay in Leemans et al., *'Let us die that we may live': Greek homilies on Christian Martyrs from Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria (c. AD 350-AD 450)*, London, 2003, p. 38-47.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, the second homily of this dissertation (title) and F. J. Martinez, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period: Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Athanasius*, Washington, 1985, p. 285; and J. B. Bernardin, "The Resurrection of Lazarus", *AJSLL* 57.3, 1940, p. 278.

<sup>5</sup> P. Buzi, *Titoli e autori nella tradizione Copta: studio storico e tipologico*, Pisa, 2005, pp. 107-8; P. Buzi, "Titles in the Coptic manuscript Tradition: Complex Structure Titles and Extended Structure Titles", in M. Immerzeel and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies*, Louvain, 2004, p. 309-316.

and Bauna.<sup>6</sup> Gabriel has feasts on the 22nd of Kyiahk, the 26th of Bauna and the 30th of Baramhat and perhaps on the thirteenth of every month.<sup>7</sup> The text of the encomium shows that it is to be delivered on the feast of the twelfth of Hator since that date is mentioned as the date when the miracles, which the author narrates, happened (§14 and 19). The place of delivering the encomium must be one of the shrines of the archangels, since these are mentioned in the title and throughout the encomium as a sacred place where Michael and Gabriel do justice to the oppressed (§16, 18 and 34). It is not clear from the text where exactly the shrines meant in the homily were situated.

Following the title, the author starts with a short prologue by which he tries to attract the attention of his audience. Such prologues are also common in Coptic homilies. The author informs his audience that he is going to speak about the miracles of God and how He saves them by granting the flood of the Nile (§1).

Then he moves to his first theme which are warnings against fornication (§2-5). The author persuades his audience that fornication is a grave sin. In the past, fornicators used to die instantly, but in the present days, if one repents, one may be saved. In this first part of the encomium, the author intends to scare his listeners by giving examples, quoted from the Holy Scripture, of the thousands of people who died because of adultery (§6-8). While speaking about fornication, he incidentally objects to offending God by complaining that He gives the just and the unjust alike, just like a potter makes special and common pots from the same clay.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, God is righteous, but it is man who makes the wrong choices.

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<sup>6</sup> C. D. G. Müller, *Die Engellehre der Koptischen Kirche*, Wiesbaden, 1959, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> C. D. G. Müller, *Die Engellehre*, p. 38.

<sup>8</sup> Rom. 9: 22-21.

## Literary Analysis

In the many Biblical quotations which are used to describe the evil end of fornicators, the author adopts a historical order starting from the book of Numbers, then Judges and so on. It seems that the author quotes the Biblical verses from his own memory, not from a written Bible, as he mixes up some of the Biblical events. For instance, the author refers to the death of three thousand men due to committing adultery, a story unattested as such in the Bible (§7). Probably he confused them with the three thousand people who were killed by Samson.<sup>9</sup>

The next theme is that Michael and Gabriel bless the pure ones and punish the evil ones (§9-12). In this second part of the encomium, the author states that the archangels watch the behaviour of man. Here he gives an indirect message to the listeners, that they should confess their sins and repent, in order that the angels will not reveal their sins. Then Athanasius teaches his audience that fornication causes attachment to the flesh, but the flesh will perish and the impure spirit will be punished. He asks his audience to abstain from intercourse on particular days, then God will bless them during their lifetime, and the angels will intercede in favour of them on the day of judgment.

In support of this theme, Athanasius recounts his first story about George, a follower of Arius, who is depicted as a blasphemer and a persecutor of the church (§13-15). Michael punishes George on his feast day. Through George's story, the audience is taught that Michael can stop the harm of the demons. The angels are the agents of God and have a potential destructive force. Here one can learn how Athanasius was seen among the people of the author's time. He is the hero of the church who defends the faith against the Arians. He is on the right side in the theological debate, thus he receives heavenly support. No word is said about the type of ideas that Athanasius really supported or defended.

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<sup>9</sup> Judg. 16: 27-30.

## Literary Analysis

The author has a spiritual message which he is keen to deliver. Whatever falls outside of his moral lesson is not his concern.

Then the author embarks upon his second story in which he narrates about the rich man from Pentapolis who cheated a young man and stole a big amount of money from him (§16-20). Here, the audience is told about another major activity of the angels, that they may bring to light sins. The underlying message of the story is: if you have transgressed, repent and confess, for the priests are patient, just as God was patient with the people of Israel after the exodus. If you do not make a confession yourself, the archangels will reveal your sins on their feast day, the day in which this homily is read, so the audience is warned.

Then, the author moves to his third theme which is meant to show that God listens to whoever loves him even when they are pagans. He emphasizes the extreme importance of repentance and give a quick comparison between Christians and pagans and their respective chances to be redeemed (§21-24). In this particular part, the author quotes *The Jewish Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus (c. AD 37-100).<sup>10</sup> Due to the loss of the text in this part, it is difficult to discover why the author quotes these particular passages of Josephus, but it is clear enough that he concentrates on the sufferings that the Jews caused to God. The author, apparently, thinks that pagans are rather closer to redemption than the Jews.

He illustrates this with his third story, which relates about a young pagan boy who desired very much to see the Lord. The Lord revealed himself to the boy and he converted to Christianity together with the whole of his family (§25-33). From the story, one receives the message that God is there for all, believers and outsiders. He is ready to defend anyone and receive him into His flock. To stress the same message, Athanasius speaks about his

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<sup>10</sup> R. Marcus, *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities, Books VII-VIII*, London, 1934, p. 174-185 (Greek text and English translation on parallel pages).

## Literary Analysis

own personal experience with God. He tells how God listened to his prayers when he asked God to protect him against the Arians and saved him in the end.

The fourth theme of the encomium concentrates on the Holy Communion. It shows the protection offered by daily prayers and how impurity will be revealed. It urges a direct message to remain pure and not to neglect the Holy Mass because the Holy Communion protects you from evil. Athanasius here uses a story about a young man who fell down in the church in powerless state (§34-36). Later the audience is informed that this young man was an adulterer and yet dared to come to share in the Holy Mass. He was prevented of receiving the Holy Communion by heavenly powers and thus his sins were brought to light. Athanasius evaluates the events in a positive sense, explaining that this man was punished during his life; if he had died without making confession, he would have ended up in the fiery furnace.

Athanasius focuses on the close relationship between man and the church and that one day without prayers in the church may have disastrous effects. He illustrates this with another story about a pious builder who used to go to the church daily to pray before going to his work (§37-40). On the only day that he did not manage to enter the church, he fall in the hands of a demon. The message of the story is simple: prayers protect you; do not neglect them even once in order not to be harmed.

The same theme is addressed in a homily on the archangel Gabriel, attributed to Celestine, archbishop of Rome. The manuscript that contains this homily was copied in the year 974, a date close to that of the Hamuli manuscript which contains *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels*.<sup>11</sup> Celestine narrates a story very similar to the one of the pious builder of our (§37-40). In Celestine's version, we find a pious baker who daily goes to the

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<sup>11</sup> W. H. Worrell, *The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, New York, 1923, p. 379.

shrine of Gabriel. When he once missed his daily visit, he was seized by a demon. The spiritual message is, of course, the same.<sup>12</sup>

The author of *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels* ends his encomium with a short conclusion in which he describes how Michael and Gabriel are important intercessors and encourages his audience to ask them for help (§41-43). For this purpose, he attributes various important roles to them, quoting both apocryphal and Biblical sources. He briefly refers to Michael as the angel who went to Adam in the waters of the River Jordan to give him the seed of life because of his penance. This apocryphal tradition, perhaps of Jewish origin, goes back to the old and popular *Life of Adam and Eve*.<sup>13</sup> It is circulated in many recensions in the various languages of the Christian East, including Coptic.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the same story is found in *The Mysteries of St. John, the Apostle*, preserved in a manuscript copied around the year 1000 which belongs to the so-called Esna-Edfu find.<sup>15</sup> The *Mysteries* narrate about what St. John saw when he visited Heaven and add many details which are not provided by our encomium.<sup>16</sup> The same apocryphal tradition is shortly reported in *The Book of the Investiture of Gabriel*, preserved in Sahidic in the al-Hamuli collection.<sup>17</sup>

The author of *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels* also refers to apocryphal narratives about Enoch and records his title of

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<sup>12</sup> Worrell, *The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, p. 226-239 (Sahidic text), 351-356 (English translation).

<sup>13</sup> M. E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's penance: Three Notes on the Books of Adam and Eve", *JThS* 44, 1993, p. 148-149.

<sup>14</sup> M. E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan", p. 144.

<sup>15</sup> E. A. W. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1913, p. XXXII-XXXIII.

<sup>16</sup> E. A. W. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, P. 63-64 (Sahidic text), 245-247 (English translation).

<sup>17</sup> C. D. G. Müller, *Die Bücher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel*, CSCO 225, Louvain, 1962, p. 71 (Sahidic text); CSCO 226, p. 87, with n. 50 (German translation). For more, see C. D. G. Müller, *Die Engellehre der Koptischen Kirche*, Wiesbaden, 1959, p. 21.

'scribe of righteousness'. Enoch enjoyed an important place in the Coptic tradition. As a celestial scribe, he is the one responsible of registering the sins and the righteous deeds of the humans in Heaven.<sup>18</sup>

The author also mentioned that Michael helped somebody in interpreting the dreams of the king (§41). Due to a lacuna in this part of the text, the name of the person concerned is missing. It may be the prophet Daniel (cf. Dan. 5). Other literary works preserved in Coptic attribute the same role to Michael. Thus, a Bohairic homily attributed to John Chrysostom<sup>19</sup> and a very fragmentary work attributed to Peter of Alexandria.<sup>20</sup>

The use of these apocryphal traditions may give an idea how popular they were among the audiences of the time, as it is to be expected that the author of our homily used traditions and sources which would enhance the persuasive force of his words.

Below, I provide a table which briefly analyses the contents of *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels* (Table 2).

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<sup>18</sup> For more details about Enoch in the Coptic tradition, see B. A. Pearson, "Enoch in Egypt", in R. A. Argall et al (eds.), *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, Pennsylvania, 2000, p. 224-230.

<sup>19</sup> J. Simon, "Homélie copte inédite sur S. Michel et le bon larron, attribuée à S. Jean Chrysostome", *Orientalia* 3, 1934, p. 230-234 (text); *Orientalia* 4, 1935, p. 225-228 (French translation).

<sup>20</sup> W. E. Crum, "Texts Attributed to Peter of Alexandria", *JThS* 4, 1902-1903, p. 395-397.

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Themes	Edition	Manuscript
Prologue.	§1.	f. 89r-89v.
Warnings against fornication.	§2-5.	f. 89v-90r.
Examples from Holy Scripture about the end of adulterers.	§6-8.	f. 90r-90v.
Michael and Gabriel bless the pure ones.	§9-12.	f. 90v-91v.
The story of the Arian George.	§13-15.	f. 91v-92r.
The story of the son of the rich man from Pentapolis.	§16-20.	f. 92r-93r.
The importance of repentance.	§21-24.	f. 93r-94r.
The story of the pagan student.	§25-33.	f. 94r-95v.
The story of the fornicator who fell down in the church.	§34-36.	f. 65v-96v.
The story of the pious builder.	§37-40.	f. 96v-97v.
Final praise of Michael and Gabriel.	§41-42.	f. 97v-98r.
Conclusion.	§43.	f. 98r.

Table 2

### *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel.*

In codex M 602, three homilies, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria, are preserved: the encomium analysed above, the present homily, *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel*, and a third one, *On Leviticus 21: 9 and 19: 22, and on Michael, the Archangel*. The titles call the first  $\sigma\upsilon\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omega\mu\iota\omicron\nu$ , 'an encomium', and the second and third  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , 'a homily'. The two compositions entitled  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  differ as much from each other as from the one which is entitled  $\sigma\upsilon\epsilon\gamma\kappa\omega\mu\iota\omicron\nu$ , whereas all three are clearly moralising homilies. It is clear that not much store can be put on the different genre attributions given by the copyists. Scribes circulated their production under several labels. In addition to the two terms mentioned above, also  $\rho\omicron\mu\iota\lambda\iota\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\gamma\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha$ ,  $\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\rho\omicron\lambda\gamma\tau\iota\alpha$  and  $\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\kappa\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$  were used.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> M. Sheridan, "Rhetorical Structures in Coptic Sermons", in J. E. Goehring and J. A. Timbie (eds.), *The World of Early Egyptian Christianity: Language*,

Although these terms may originally have designated different literary genres, they can replace each other freely in homilies preserved in Coptic. Inversely, the scribes may use one term to label different literary genres.<sup>22</sup>

One more issue to be considered in this context is that we received these homilies in their final redactions, whereas little can be known about their genesis, not even by means of careful literary analysis. At the last moment in the process of transmission, their current titles were attached to them, in the process that Tito Orlandi calls 'the synaxarial systematization'.<sup>23</sup> This process took place from some time around the ninth century, when the production of original homilies in Coptic almost stopped and Arabic was on its way to submerge Coptic. The purpose of this 'synaxarial systematization' was to collect existing homiletic works and re-arrange them for liturgical purposes.<sup>24</sup> The labels that were attached to these homiletic works, rather than reflecting their original genre, were assigned on the basis of their function at a particular date of the liturgical calendar.

The title of the homily *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel* attributes it to Athanasius who is said to have delivered it in the presence of St. Pachomius, who is called archimandrite. It is said to be about murderers and greedy people and about St. Michael the archangel. The title clearly states that Michael is not the main subject of this homily because the author is only mentioning him  $\gamma\eta\ \theta\alpha\eta\ \mu\pi\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , 'by the end of this homily'. It is therefore indeed not an encomium since there is no central character who receives praise throughout the homily and who is at the focus of the stories that are told.

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*Literature, and Social Context: Essays in Honour of David W. Johnson*, Washington D.C., 2007, p. 28-29.

<sup>22</sup> M. Sheridan, "Rhetorical Structures", p. 29. n. 13.

<sup>23</sup> T. Orlandi, "Coptic Literature", in B. A. Pearson and J. E. Goehring (eds.), *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, Philadelphia, 1986, p. 80.

<sup>24</sup> T. Orlandi, "Coptic Literature", p. 81.

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The author starts with recalling the festival of the archangel Michael on which the homily is delivered. He urges his audience to rejoice and celebrate the feast (§1). After this brief introductory paragraph, he plunges right away, in his main subject which occupies most of the homily. He starts with a general warning against transgressing God's commandments (§2) and then focuses on murder and greed (§3-14). His main message is that Christian should be fully pure. When you are greedy, a murderer, or have any relation with pagans, then you are not a Christian. The author warns in particular against the heretics who insult God as a great danger. One should not even greet them. Then come the stories that serve to underpin the author's spiritual message by relating various miraculous events (§15-36).

The first story starts with an interesting introduction. Athanasius praises Pachomius, the archimandrite of Tabennese. After the Arian persecution had come to an end, Pachomius visited Alexandria, where he was welcomed by the archbishop himself (§15). This introduction about Pachomius serves a couple of goals. The first is to show how holy Pachomius was and to persuade the audience to believe the visions that Athanasius is going to recount. The second is to underline the mutual ties of respect and support between the head of the church of Alexandria and Upper-Egyptian monasticism and its leaders.

It deserves to be mentioned here that the way of welcoming Pachomius in Alexandria as described in this homily resembles the welcome that Athanasius himself received in Thebes when he went south to visit the Pachomian communities according to the First Greek and Bohairic Lives of Pachomius. In both cases, the guest was received at the harbour/the Nile and psalms were sung in his way to the church/monastery.<sup>25</sup> It seems that the author of *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel* is aware of

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<sup>25</sup> A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1, Kalamazoo, 1980, p. 51-52, 317-318.

this episode in Pachomius' life and considers this welcome by the archbishop to be some kind of reciprocation.

Athanasius and Pachomius spend the night of Michael's feast in prayers. When the time comes for the celebration of the Eucharist, Pachomius retired to a far corner of the sanctuary because he has no rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Here Athanasius himself intervenes as the narrator and, directly addressing his audience, warns the priests not to let any layman enter the sanctuary. When Athanasius starts to spend the Holy Communion, Pachomius sees that the angel of the sacrifice prevents one of the deacons to receive the Holy Communion. Pachomius tells Athanasius what was revealed to him and Athanasius orders all the clergy of Alexandria to assemble in order to find out who is that unworthy deacon. It appears that the unworthy deacon is a murderer. He killed his neighbour and looted his money because he was wealthy and the deacon very poor (§26-32).

The spiritual message of the story is direct and simple: all sins will be revealed. The sinner is tortured all the time by his fear to be caught and haunted by nightmares. In the end he wishes to be punished by God rather than living in such a self-torment. It is better for a killer to be killed on earth than to end in the fiery furnace after the true judgment (§30). The story itself contains vivid pictures of late-antique urban life (the poverty of the deacon, the action of the police) and may even be called an early example of a ghost story.

Then the author moves on to his next subject, which is about whether the sinful Christian will be punished in Hell just like the pagans or not (§33-36). The subject is presented as a mini-dialogue between Athanasius and Pachomius. The latter answers Athanasius' question by recounting a revelation. He claims that a reliable hermit saw a vision of Hell and told him its details. Athanasius later reveals that the reliable hermit is Pachomius himself, and that this is how the holy fathers hide their sanctity.

The hermit saw how the sinners among the Christians were punished together with the pagans behind a huge iron door and in a great fire while crying out from pain. Pachomius, or rather the hermit whom he quotes, spells out the religious message of the vision: the Christian who falls into sin after receiving baptism will be considered a pagan and deserves the same place in Hell.

Also the Bohairic life of Pachomius narrates revelations in which Pachomius is carried away to see the destination of the sinners in Hell. In one of these revelations, an angel tells Pachomius that there are monks among the tortured sinners in Hell.<sup>26</sup> One may conclude that there are must be also secular Christians among the sinners in Hell. Both categories receive the same kinds of torments by fire and cry out loudly while nobody listens to them.<sup>27</sup> In the same way, the vision of Hell in *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel* seeks to warn its audience.

In particular the present homily appears to be inspired by the *Apocalypse of Paul*, a very influential apocryphal text that may have roots in the earliest centuries of Christianity, but is now generally dated to a time around the year 400.<sup>28</sup> The *Apocalypse of Paul* circulated in many recensions and languages including Coptic.<sup>29</sup> A version of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, that is attested in both Sahidic and Arabic, even attributes it to Athanasius instead of Paul.<sup>30</sup> The author of *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel* adheres to the view that the victim of a murder has the right to accuse his murderer before the divine judge (§5 and 30). The same idea is presented in the same way in the

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<sup>26</sup> A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1, p. 114.

<sup>27</sup> A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1, p. 116.

<sup>28</sup> See e.g. J. N. Bremmer, "Christian Hell: From the *Apocalypse of Peter* to the *Apocalypse of Paul*", *Numen* 56, 2009, p. 298-325; for an earlier point of view, cf. R.P. Casey, "The Apocalypse of Paul", *JThS* 34, 1933, p. 28-31.

<sup>29</sup> For the Coptic version, see K. B. Copeland, *Mapping the Apocalypse of Paul: Geography, Genre and History*, PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2001.

<sup>30</sup> E. Lucchesi, "Une (pseudo-)apocalypse d'Athanase en copte", *AB* 115, 1997, p. 244-248.

*Apocalypse of Paul* (§17-18).<sup>31</sup> In (§10), the author of *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel* briefly mentions the idea of the torture of the sinners in Hell concentrating on murderers. The White Monastery version of the same homily provides more details from which we learn that sinners were to be hanged from their hair and their eyebrows. The same motif occurs in the *Apocalypse of Paul* (§39). There it is told that female adulterers end up in Hell hanging from their hair, while male adulterers are hung from their eyebrows.<sup>32</sup>

The *Apocalypse of Paul* is member of a far larger family of apocalyptic literature. In particular it belongs to the literary genre of the so-called 'Tours of Hell/Heaven'.<sup>33</sup> In the representatives of this genre, we frequently see that a saintly figure is allowed to be taken to Hell or Heaven in order to see what is going on there. This figure, often an apostle, is guided on his tour by an *angelus interpres*, who is assigned to him to show him around and often to explain to him what he sees. In (§36) of the al-Hamuli version of our homily *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel*, the author out of the blue mentions this *angelus interpres* by having the visionary say: ἀνοκ δε λιπαδε μι πετταβο μοι εναι, 'I spoke with the one who showed me these things', without introducing him to his audience. In the White Monastery version of the same homily, one cannot decide whether the author introduced the *angelus interpres* to his congregation or not due to its fragmentary state. Interestingly, however, the White Monastery version of this homily inserts here a second vision which describes a beautiful tree without fruits

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<sup>31</sup> K. B. Copeland, *Mapping the Apocalypse of Paul: Geography, Genre and History*, PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2001, p. 253-256 (Sahidic text), 192-195 (English translation).

<sup>32</sup> K. B. Copeland, *Mapping the Apocalypse of Paul*, p. 277-279 (Sahidic text), 216-218 (English translation). For more about hanging in Hell, see M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature*, Philadelphia, 1983, p. 85-92, esp. table 4 on p. 87.

<sup>33</sup> M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, p. 1-40, esp. 16-19; M. Himmelfarb, *The Apocalypse: A Brief History*, Chichester, 2010, p. 97-104.

surrounded by a large number of angels (§36). This second vision is missing in the al-Hamuli version of the homily. Even though it did not reach us completely, the second vision is further evidence of the influence of the *Apocalypse of Paul* where the same motif occurs.<sup>34</sup> The author of *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel* seems to be directly inspired by the genre of the 'Tours of Hell / Heaven'.

In the next part of the homily, Athanasius warns his audience that the people of this age are short-lived and it is better to repent before death in order not to waste your opportunity for salvation. The homilist warns against various types of sins, focusing on magic, false oaths, mocking and hatred (§37-42). He continues in a more positive mood. If a murderous deacon deserves to be punished, good shepherds are worthy to be consoled. In the final story told in this homily, Athanasius himself, as the narrator, becomes the protagonist instead of Pachomius (§44-49). Also this story is told as an episode in the Arian conflict: Athanasius is exiled to Upper-Egypt where he hides as the servant of a dyer in Panopolis, performing the most humble jobs without ever complaining. After three years, St. Michael appears to Athanasius in his full celestial glory to announce him the end of his exile and comfort him. A detailed description of Michael's terrifying appearance is given (§47). Michael then foretells Athanasius that he will be restored to his diocese in Alexandria within three days.<sup>35</sup> As Y. N. Youssef has shown, this apparition of Michael as a patron saint of exiled bishops was a traditional topic in both Coptic and Ethiopic sources. It is Michael's special mission to

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<sup>34</sup> Trees appear many times in the *Apocalypse of Paul*. For the passage where a fruitless tree appears (§24), see K. B. Copeland, *Mapping the Apocalypse of Paul*, p. 263-264 (Sahidic text), 202-203 (English translation).

<sup>35</sup> For more examples of similar revelations, see Y. N. Youssef, "The Archangel Michael and the Patriarchs in Exile in Coptic Tradition", in N. Bosson and A. Boud'hors (eds.), *Actes du huitième congrès international d'études coptes: Paris, 28 juin-3 juillet 2004*, Louvain, 2007, vol. 2, p. 646-677.

comfort these persecuted bishops in exile and announce them the end of their tribulations.<sup>36</sup>

Following his attractive description of Michael, Athanasius continues on the subject of Michael. Here, Athanasius uses short, direct and simple sentences to describe Michael and his role before God as the great intercessor for humanity (§50-51). This final praise of Michael brings the homily to an end.

Comparing the technique of storytelling in the encomium *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels* with the present homily there are two main differences. In the encomium, the narrator starts his stories directly, barely introducing events or persons. In the revelations of the homily *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel*, Pachomius appears, besides Athanasius himself, as the main character. He is extensively introduced to the audience as a holy man who has a close relationship with God who granted him the gift of clairvoyance (§16). Secondly, in the encomium, the narrator depends on a number of short stories, whereas in the second homily he uses a smaller number of relatively long stories.

The following table sums up the contents of the second homily (Table 3).

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<sup>36</sup> Y. N. Youssef, "The Archangel Michael and the Patriarchs in Exile", p. 645, esp. nos. 3-4.

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<b>Themes</b>	<b>Edition</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>
Prologue.	§1-2.	f. 98v-99r.
Warnings against murder, greed and other sins.	§3-14.	f. 99r-101v.
The revelation of St. Pachomius and the murderous deacon.	§15-32.	f. 101v-105v.
St. Pachomius' vision of Hell.	§33-36.	f. 105v-106v.
Various admonitions.	§37-42.	f. 106v-108r.
Michael comforts Athanasius during his exile in Panopolis.	§43-49.	f. 108r-109v.
Praise of Michael.	§50-51.	f. 109v-110v.

Table 3

### *On Luke 11: 5-9.*

This homily is again called a *λογος* in its title, just like the homily analyzed above. Yet the contents and the literary style of this homily are quite different. The main (first) part of the homily, rather than preaching against sins and telling edifying stories, is entirely concerned with Biblical exegesis. According to the title, Athanasius was responding in this homily to inquiries made by "the clergy and the great of the land of Isauria", who were visiting him and in whose presence he delivered this homily. It is almost certain that no Isaurian delegation ever visited Athanasius. Below I will try to explain why the author or redactor of this homily used this fanciful device.

The title of this homily is longer than the titles of the last two homilies and that of the next, fourth homily. It takes three

columns of the manuscript (f. 35v-36r). In this title, all the subjects of the homily are mentioned in their correct order. The final editor of the homily carefully attached a title to it that expresses the whole of its contents, different from what the scribes of the other three homilies, edited in this dissertation, did. They attached short titles to their homilies which present their contents only briefly or very approximately, as for instance in the case of the fourth homily, *On Pentecost*. The title of *On Luke 11: 5-9* can be qualified as an 'extended complex structure title', in Buzi's terminology.<sup>37</sup>

The author of *On Luke 11: 5-9* from the beginning clearly signals his audience that he is going to discuss his first theme, on the pericope of the midnight friend, in three parts. He starts with a prologue (§1-5), then he offers a material exegesis (§6-8) and finally a spiritual exegesis of the pericope (§9-21). He explicitly announces the transitions to his audience in (§4 and 9). One may consider this section of the homily as an example of a text-based homily.

As a prologue, Athanasius expresses his satisfaction in seeing the Isaurians. To mark the transition to the real subject, he addresses them with a typical show of modesty: "For I see that the road is long and I, this most humble one, I am not good in running, but may your holy prayers help us so that we will be able to pay off the debt that you have requested" (§5).

In his material exegesis of the parable of the midnight friend, Athanasius then re-tells the pericope as narrated in the Gospel of Luke. He provides basic explanations just to pave the way for his spiritual exegesis. In this third part, Athanasius interprets the parable in a symbolic, allegorical way. He presents the friend, who stays home, as God, and the other friend, who sets out to seek his friend at midnight, as man. They are friends, therefore

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<sup>37</sup> P. Buzi, *Titoli*, p. 119-124.

Athanasius raises the question: How we can be God's friends? And his answer is: Only by keeping his commandments (§10).

Athanasius symbolically interprets the walk at midnight from the house of the first man to his friend's home as the result of the arrival of repentance. In order to receive forgiveness and be redeemed, it is better to repent early and not to wait until midnight, i.e. the last moment in your life (§13-15).

When the author comes to the interpretation of the three loaves of bread, for which the friend asks, he explains that they refer to prayer, fasting and tears (§15). The same interpretation is found in the Bohairic *Catena* of the Gospels, which are a selection of commentaries to Gospel passages excerpted from the writings of the Fathers of the Church. The *Catena* attribute it to 'the patriarch', most probably Severus of Antioch, who was a popular author in Egypt from the second half of the sixth century onwards.<sup>38</sup> In support of his interpretation, the homilist quotes three biblical passages which connect the three words, prayers (Prv. 18: 20), fasting (Dt. 8: 3) and tears (Ps. 41: 3) with bread or food, but otherwise hardly fit the context (§15-16).

The parable relates that the man refused to give his friend the three loaves in the beginning, but after showing much insistence and audacity, he received what he needed. Athanasius praises the man for his insistence and advises his audience to do the same. Insist to persuade God that you want to repent, even if it is late, then he will accept you. When you hesitate, the evil one will come to dissuade you and you will miss your chance to be saved (§20-21).

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<sup>38</sup> It is most likely that the Bohairic *catena* was translated from a Syrian source. See P. de Lagarde, *Catena in evangelia Aegyptiacae quae supersunt*, Göttingen, 1886, reprint Osnabrück, 1971, p. 142-145. I was unable to trace the passage in question in the extant works of Severus of Antioch. For Severus' style of exegesis, see R. Roux, *L'exégèse biblique dans les Homélie cathédrales de Sévère d'Antioche*, Rome, 2002, p. 11-19.

The Luke pericope is still widely used in the readings of the present-day Coptic Church. Luke 11: 1-13 is read twice per year, on the evening raising of incense of the last Sunday of Lent and on the first Sunday of the month of Baounah. Luke 11: 1-10 is read on the first Friday of Lent.<sup>39</sup> This wide use of the parable of the midnight friend in the present-day Bohairic liturgy, may perhaps be linked to the ascetic interpretation of the pericope proposed by the present homily and also attested by the Bohairic *Catena*.

The next part of the homily in a loose way develops the theme of repentance by telling a story. Athanasius relates how he was persecuted by the Arians and went to the South. He visited Pachomius and his monastic communities and praises them for their angelic way of life and the many miracles which he saw with his own eyes. The main character in the story, besides Pachomius, is a man called Phoibamon, who was very rich but oppressed his poor workmen. During the celebration of the Eucharist in the church of the monastery led by Pachomius, the workmen started to shout against Phoibamon. Pachomius became very annoyed and asked God to intervene in favour of the workmen. As a result, Phoibamon lost his abilities to speak and to move. By the end of the Eucharist, Phoibamon promised to give his fortune to the poor and become a monk in case God would give him back his speech. This happened and Phoibamon kept his promise. He not only became a monk but later was even ordained a bishop of Koptos (§22-29).

Unconnected with the preceding, there follows a brief digression about the friendship between David and Jonathan, purportedly in response to a request by the Isaurian delegation. He describes how, in spiritual friendship, one loves to give his life for his friend and compares the two brothers, Abel and Cain, who had a blood relationship and yet one killed the other, with Jonathan and

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<sup>39</sup> I consulted the unpublished indices of the readings of the Coptic annual liturgy, kept at St. George church, Sporting, Alexandria.

David, who were no kin but who were ready to die for each other because of their friendship (§30-33). The most interesting feature of this digression is a brief passage in which the author warns his audience to watch their disposition (προαίρεσις). Whoever does not watch his disposition, so he says, is no more human but an animal, for the disposition represents the rational faculty (§32). These few sentences and their terminology are an echo of traditional Alexandrian anthropology. Similar ideas can be found, for example, in the *Teachings of Silvanus* from the Nag Hammadi library (§93, 19-94; 107, 20-21)<sup>40</sup> and in other early Christian authors from Alexandria.<sup>41</sup>

The author again changes his subject in response to the purported questions of the Isaurian clergymen. This time, the subject is the Orthodox faith and how to keep it. In his reply, Athanasius again tells a story from his own experience, now about the Council of Nicaea (325), which he himself attended. He describes the audacity of the heretic Carpocratius who maintained that Christ spent only seven months in the womb of his mother, Mary.<sup>42</sup> Alexander of Constantinople, on the other hand, insisted that Christ partook of the complete human nature, except for sin, and accordingly was born after a normal pregnancy of nine months.

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<sup>40</sup> J. Zandee, *The Teaching of Silvanus (Nag Hammadi Codex VII, 4): Text, Translation, Commentary*, Leiden, 1991, p. 30-33, 58-59 (Sahidic text and English translation on parallel pages).

<sup>41</sup> See J. Zandee, *'The Teaching of Silvanus' and Clement of Alexandria: A New Document of Alexandrian Theology*, Leiden, 1977, p. 48-50; J. Zandee, *The Teaching of Silvanus*, p. 355-375.

<sup>42</sup> Carpocratius (actually Carpocrates) was an Alexandrian Gnostic teacher who lived in the first half of the second century. His followers, the Carpocratians, presumably survived till the fourth century. Traces of his teachings can be found in Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* I, 25; Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies* 7, 32 and Clement, *Stromata* 3, 2-6; cf. C. W. Griggs, "Carpocrates", in A. S. Atiyah (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, New York, 1991, p. 461; F. L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd. ed., Oxford, 1997, p. 291-292. For Carpocrates as represented in the Coptic tradition, see R. van den Broek, "Der Bericht des koptischen Kyrillos von Jerusalem über das Hebräerevangelium", in his *Studies in Gnosticism and Alexandrian Christianity*, Leiden, 1996, p. 142-156.

The dispute is then settled by a miracle which proves Alexander<sup>43</sup> to be right and refutes Carpocratius, who is then condemned by all present (§36).

Interestingly, there are some more examples in Coptic homilies of such a debate about the 'short pregnancy' of the Holy Virgin. In a famous homily of Shenoute entitled *I am amazed*, he attributed to Nestorius the statement that Christ spent only three months in the womb of the Virgin (§480).<sup>44</sup> Obviously, Shenoute wants to defame Nestorius in the eyes of his fellow monks by using the theme of the 'short pregnancy' of the Virgin as a polemical theme against heresy.<sup>45</sup> Another example is found in a homily entitled *The Discourse on Mary Theotokos* attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem.<sup>46</sup> In this homily, a monk called Annarikhus tells Cyril that it is written in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, which circulated under the name of 'Arpocradios' and others, that Christ spent only seven months in the womb of his mother. Cyril of Jerusalem then refutes the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> There is a certain ambiguity here, as it is unclear whether Alexander of Alexandria or Alexander of Constantinople is meant.

<sup>44</sup> For this homily, see S. Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*, vol. 1, Louvain, 2004, p. 646-648; for the passage in question, T. Orlandi, *Shenute contra Origenistas: testo con introduzione e traduzione*, Roma, 1985, p. 45 (edition of Sahidic text); H.-J. Cristea, *Schenute von Atripe: Contra Origenistas. Edition des koptischen Textes mit annotierter Übersetzung und Indizes einschließlich einer Übersetzung des 16. Osterfestbriefs des Theophilus in der Fassung des Hieronymus (ep. 96)*, Tübingen, 2011, p. 196-197 (Sahidic text), p. 269-270 (German translation); for more about Shenoute and Nestorius, see there p. 81-88. In his Arabic translation of this text, S. Moawad suggests that the number of 'three months' is a scribal mistake, S. Moawad, *Shenoute the Archimandrite: His Vita, Homilies and Canons*, vol. 1, Cairo, 2009, p. 148, n. 139 (in Arabic), which is unlikely, however.

<sup>45</sup> For more discussion, see J. van der Vliet, "Une vierge de Daphné. Notes sur un thème apocalyptique", *Byzantion* 64, 1995, p. 381-384.

<sup>46</sup> A. E. W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1915, p. 59 (Sahidic text) and 637 (English translation).

<sup>47</sup> We have only a few quotations of this text which reached us in both Greek and Latin, through Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Didymus the Blind and Jerome. It was probably a Jewish-Christian apocryphal Gospel of Egyptian origin. See B. Ehrman and Z. Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels: Texts and*

## Literary Analysis

Apparently, the stories around the 'short pregnancy' of the Holy Virgin belong to a similar older tradition. The anonymous authors of *On Luke 11: 5-9* and *The Discourse on Mary Theotokos* and Shenoute, the great monastic leader, who actually attended the Council of Ephesus (431), all quote it in order to defame heretics and to build strong bridges between their audiences and the Church which represents Orthodoxy. They changed the name of the heretic and turned the motif of the unnatural pregnancy into a cipher for Christological heresy for the sake of the Orthodox message they want to convey. Also the story of the Nicene synod in *On Luke 11: 5-9* tells the audience that 'we' are on the side of Orthodoxy and that heaven is supporting us by miracles.

Finally, the author of our homily moves on to a different issue again, urging his audience not to receive the Holy Communion if they are not worthy. Keep pure to be able to inherit the kingdom of God (§40-41).

In this homily, as in the two earlier homilies, stories which narrate miracles are used to support the point of view of the preacher. He evokes persons from history, praises or defames them and employs them in order to influence his audience. Athanasius plays two roles in these stories. He appears as one of the main actors in the story and at the same time as its narrator and an eyewitness who guarantees its authoritative status. Thus, the story could become successful as a persuasive tool.

Obviously, the homily belongs to various types of literary genres. The first part is an example of allegorical exegesis and the remainder combines direct paraenetic speech with storytelling. Its Biblical exegesis is reminiscent of some of the homilies of

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*Translations*, Oxford, 2011, p. 216-222; J. K. Elliot, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*, Oxford, 1993, p. 6-8; M. Geerard, *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*, Turnhout, 1992, p. 4, Nr. 11.

Origen.<sup>48</sup> Origen delivered these homilies at Caesarea for the benefit of less educated audiences.<sup>49</sup> They were well connected with liturgical celebrations and follow the liturgical calendar. Some sources even tell that Origen had to preach daily that his homilies covered most of the year. The single homilies are divided into a prologue, a body and a conclusion and marked by numerous Biblical quotations and allusions. In this type of homilies, one verse could be repeated several times and receive various explanations given from different standards of interpretation. The massive number of homilies attributed to Origen were to be delivered orally and then taken down by scribes. At some point Origen himself was said to feel nervous about unauthorised material that was circulating under his name.<sup>50</sup> The first part of *On Luke 11: 5-9* that deals with the pericope of the midnight friend, adheres to this type of preaching.<sup>51</sup> The author comments on the parable in two different ways and many verses are repeated to receive different comments for the sake of conveying the author's moral lessons. It is clearly laid out in three parts and may be considered a quite successful example of a typically Alexandrian way of preaching. Alexandrian influence is also apparent in the brief digression on the friendship between David and Jonathan, in particular (§32).

Apart from the biblical exegesis, which is well written and well organized, the remainder of the homily is a patchwork in which one cannot find any internal coherence. The transitions between the various subjects are abrupt and unnatural. The only connection between the various subjects, as far as can be seen, is

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<sup>48</sup> For the structure of Origen's homilies, see P. Nautin, *Origène: Homélie sur Jérémie*, Sources chrétiennes 232, Paris, 1976, p. 123-131.

<sup>49</sup> For the history of these homilies, see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 36.

<sup>50</sup> J. A. McGuckin, *The Westminster Handbook to Origen*, Westminster, 2004, p. 28-29.

<sup>51</sup> For more examples of this type of homilies preserved in Coptic, see M. Sheridan, *The Homilies of Rufus of Shotep on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, PhD dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1990, p. 28-37.

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the fictitious personality of Athanasius of Alexandria and his imagined answers to the fanciful inquiries of the Isaurians. In addition to the title, the homily refers to the inquiries of the Isaurians whenever a new theme comes up (§30, 34 and 40). All this suggests that the well formatted title is due to the final editor of the homily, who used the motif of the Isaurian visitors and their inquiries as a device to bring the various themes of this homily together. Compared to the other homilies edited in this dissertation, *On Luke 11: 5-9* seems the most incoherent, in spite of containing a nice example of Alexandrian biblical exegesis.

The following table presents a summary of the contents of *On Luke 11: 5-9* (Table 4).

<b>Themes</b>	<b>Edition</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>
Prologue.	§1-5.	f. 36r-37v.
Material exegesis of Luke 11: 5-9	§6-8.	f. 37v-38v.
Spiritual exegesis of Luke 11: 5-9	§9-21.	f. 38v-42r.
St. Pachomius and the wicked rich man Phoibamon.	§22-29.	f. 42r-45v.
The friendship between Jonathan and David.	§30-33.	f. 45v-46v.
The heretic Carpocratius.	§34-39.	f. 46v-48v.
On Holy Communion.	§40-42.	f.48v-49v.

Table 4

*On Pentecost.*

The fourth homily is called a *καθηγησις*, 'instruction', in its title. This term fits the contents well, since most of it takes the form of 'do/do not' prescriptions. This homily is the longest of the four. It can be divided according to its four main subjects into: warnings against various sins (§1-10), the Christian household (§11-36), wealth and poverty (§37-67) and proper behaviour in church (§68-79). The rather brief title, by contrast, mentions as its subjects only Pentecost and the theme of wealth and poverty. It adds that it was preached before 'a crowd of bishops', assembled in the church on the occasion of Pentecost.

This homily is characterised by a large number of Biblical quotations and allusions upon which the author comments. The author moves smoothly between the quotations with which he provides his listeners. At the transition from one theme to another, he tries to attract the attention of his listeners by using direct speech, addressing his audience using the first person singular/second person plural, see (§37).

From the very beginning of the homily, the author structures his homily by dividing it into short units. Every unit consists of a Biblical quotation and a brief comment. It is not always easy to find out whether there is a reason to present the units in this particular order or not. Thus he warns his audience against fornication and advises women not to show her beauty. Then he also warns the listeners against concentrating on collecting possessions and forgetting their religious duties. He continues in the same manner, giving direct instructions supported by Biblical quotations, till the end of this introductory part (§1-10).

In the second part, the author presents a blueprint of the ideal Christian household (§11-36). The main message is that the major responsibility for the family lies with the husband. The husband is the one who should treat his wife and children in a kind way, with particular care for instructing them in the Christian faith. The

homilist puts great weight on the idea that Christian women should be decently dressed and not wear jewellery, as this is a sign of prostitution (§32). Although this argument is highly dependent on his interpretation of the verses he quotes from the Old Testament, one cannot ignore that his language is influenced by earlier Christian authors, such as Clement of Alexandria (c. 150-215). In the twelfth chapter of the second book of his work *The Educator*, Clement reaches exactly the same conclusion: 'jewellery is nothing but a symbol of adultery'.<sup>52</sup> The same issue was discussed by Tertullian (c. 155-240) in his work *The Apparel of Women*.<sup>53</sup> Tertullian took the argument a step further than his contemporary Clement. While addressing women who had converted to Christianity recently, he distinguished between dress, jewellery, hair covers and make-up and discusses each in detail. Tertullian strongly warned women against jewellery, golden ornaments and whatever kind of precious stones to adorn their hair. To do so, he quoted a version of the *Book of Enoch* in which it is said that precious stones are the invention of the fallen angels.<sup>54</sup> He discussed the subject again in his work *Concerning the Veiling of Virgins*.<sup>55</sup> As Quasten says, Tertullian apparently found the subject highly important, since he wrote about it in both Greek and Latin.<sup>56</sup> In this particular treatise, Tertullian concentrated on covering the head of women inside and outside of the church. One may compare (§33) of our homily *On Pentecost*, which thus seems influenced by the writings of the Fathers of the Church from the early centuries of Christianity. Their texts were known in Alexandria and this may suggest that *On Pentecost* is connected to that city.

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<sup>52</sup> S. P. Wood, *Clement of Alexandria: Christ the Educator*, New York, 1954, p. 194-195.

<sup>53</sup> R. Arbesmann, *Tertullian: Disciplinary, Moral and Ascetical Works*, New York, 1959, p. 110-149.

<sup>54</sup> R. Arbesmann, *Tertullian*, p. 118-120.

<sup>55</sup> *ANF*, vol. 4, p. 27-37.

<sup>56</sup> J. Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 2: *The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*, Westminster, 1986, p. 306.

From a stylistic point of view, this part of the homily relies heavily on direct rhetorical questions. This is a kind of questions to which no answer is expected, but that are rather declarative statements in disguise.<sup>57</sup> There is a striking number of paragraphs that start with 'Did not you ...?' and 'Are not you ...?'. This kind of questions gives the listeners the feeling that the speaker is dissatisfied with them and they are somehow falling short of his expectations. To some extent, the use of direct rhetorical questions stimulates the listeners. It helps the author to divide his speech into short units that attract the attention and remain vivid in the memory of the audience.

The third theme of *On Pentecost* concerns wealth and poverty, the subject which is mentioned in the title (§37-67). The first message of this section is that many work hard for the sake of their temporal life but neglect the eternal life in God's kingdom. A loose exegesis of the pericope of Lazarus and the rich man (Lk. 16: 19-31) occupies an important place in this part of the homily.<sup>58</sup> The rich man is called Nineve, a name well attested in the Sahidic versions of Luke and frequently used in other Coptic homiletic works.<sup>59</sup> The story underlines the homilist's message, that our life in this world is just a test, and that we will be rewarded with either eternal happiness or eternal torture according to our works.

The author extensively quotes the Patriarch Abraham as a model for rich people to use their wealth in a good way (§39-41). The rich should comfort the poor, but the poor should be happy that they remain free from the temptations and the responsibilities that

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<sup>57</sup> C. H. Reintges, *Coptic Egyptian (Sahidic Dialect): A Learner's Grammar*, Köln, 2004, p. 151.

<sup>58</sup> G. W. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect*, vol. 2, Oxford, 1911, p. 314-315.

<sup>59</sup> For more discussion, see L. Th. Lefort, "Le nom du mauvais riche (Lc 16:19) et la tradition copte", *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 37, 1939, p. 65-72, esp. 67-68; K. Grobel, "[...]Whose Name was Neves", *NTS* 10/3, 1964, p. 373-382; H.-J. Cristea, "Gepriesen sei Gott: Eine Predigt des Apa Schenute", *JCS* 7, 2005, p. 54, n. 35.

are plaguing the rich. This part of the homily uses again the technique of rhetorical questions. The homilist asks a question, preaches a simple short point and then asks the next question. The author uses this technique freely so that it is often difficult to see why he arranges these questions in this particular order. He formally addresses distinct kinds of audiences and adapts the contents of his speech to each type of listeners: women and men, rich and poor, laymen and bishops. On the whole, these seem to be urban, non-monastic audiences.

The theme of wealth and poverty is discussed in a very similar way in a homily entitled *On Riches and on Michael, the Archangel* and attributed to Peter of Alexandria, preserved in both Sahidic and Bohairic.<sup>60</sup> The manuscript which contains the Sahidic version of this homily is part of codex M 602 of the al-Hamuli find, the same codex which contains also the first two homilies edited in this dissertation.<sup>61</sup> The author of *On Riches and on Michael, the Archangel* addresses, in its first part, almost the same themes as *On Pentecost* and uses the same technique of shifting from one type of audience to another, speaking to the rich then to the poor and then to the church leaders (§70-74). There are even literal parallels between both texts. For instance, in the Sahidic version of *On Riches and on Michael, the Archangel*, the rich man is addressed like this: ἀκοῦωμ ἐν οὐβαλ μπονηρος 'you ate with a jealous eye' (§20); in the Bohairic version: ἀκοῦωμ βεν οὐβαλ βων.<sup>62</sup> The same rare expression occurs in *On Pentecost* (§58), where it appears as κοῦωμ ἐν οὐβαλ μπονηρος, 'you are eating with a jealous eye'. It is difficult to account for these striking similarities. Birger Pearson and Tim Vivian, the editors of the homily *On Riches*, consider the possibility that the part on wealth and poverty represents the core of the homily. This

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<sup>60</sup> B. Pearson et al., *Two Coptic Homilies attributed to Saint Peter of Alexandria: On Riches, on the Epiphany*, Rome, 1993, p. 41-67 (Sahidic text), 68-93 (Bohairic text), 95-144 (English translation).

<sup>61</sup> L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 224-225, nr. 116.1.

<sup>62</sup> B. Pearson et al., *Two Coptic Homilies*, p. 49, 72.

original core could, according to the editors, date back to fourth century Alexandria and even to Archbishop Peter himself, who died in 313.<sup>63</sup> The evidence of the present homily, *On Pentecost*, renders this hypothesis rather unlikely.

The final section of *On Pentecost* concentrates on the conditions which Christians should meet in order to attend the Holy Mass properly and be worthy to share in the mysteries (§68-79). The author uses various rhetorical techniques in this part of his homily, both rhetorical questions and absolute contrasts. He opposes the group of people who are fully absorbed by their worldly business to those who are concerned with their salvation. The author describes the first group as wholly negative in its behaviour and even compares them with the ones who crucified Christ. This technique of preaching is both clear and attractive, with moral lessons given in simple paraenetic speech. Give yourself time and opportunity to consider your final destination. Again, primarily an audience of wealthy city-dwellers appears to be addressed.

Only in the very end of *On Pentecost*, in (§79), the author at last mentions the feast of Pentecost, which was mentioned in the title as the main subject of the homily. It seems that these few lines were added to the homily secondarily, before it was given its final shape in which it has reached us. This was most likely done in order that the homily fulfil a liturgical use, to be preached on the day of Pentecost. These lines were added quickly and apparently without much care. In quoting John 14: 26, the editor committed two errors in a single short verse, whereas such errors are not found elsewhere in the homily.

In general, the author of the homily shows a very good knowledge of the Bible. Only when quoting Luke 6: 24-25 in (§24), he uses the rhythm and style of Jesus' words, which start with 'woe to you ...' and conclude with 'for you ...', in order to insert a phrase that is

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<sup>63</sup> B. Pearson et al., *Two Coptic Homilies*, p. 25-31.

## Literary Analysis

not in the Gospel text: 'Woe to you who bless, now you will curse'. As this phrase seems not to be recorded as a variant reading in the manuscripts of Luke 6, it looks like an addition of the author who adopted the style of Jesus' words to reinforce his spiritual message.

Finally, in spite of its episodic structure, *On Pentecost* gives a strong sense of unity. Its main themes are well connected and the transitions among the themes are logical and natural. Throughout the homily, the same style of Biblical quotations is used with a strong preference for and excellent knowledge of the Old Testament. There are no fanciful stories told that interrupt the paraenetic argument. It appears that this homily, different from the other three homilies edited here, is not a patchwork but most likely conceived as a unity, even if its connection with Pentecost is tenuous.

The table below (Table 5) present a summary of the contents of *On Pentecost*.

<b>Themes</b>	<b>Edition</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>
Prologue: belief and unbelief.	§1-6.	f. 118v-119v.
Obedience and disobedience.	§7-10.	f. 119v-120v.
The Christian household.	§11-36.	f. 120v-127v.
Wealth and poverty.	§37-67.	f. 127v-137r.
Behaviour in church.	§68-79.	f. 137r-140v.

Table 5

### *General Remarks.*

The first three homilies edited in this dissertation consist of a title, a brief introduction, the main paraenetic themes, and finally a few lines of conclusion. In his discussion of the main subjects, the

homilist brings home his message with the help of a story or stories which mostly recount miracles or miraculous events. The fourth homily, *On Pentecost*, is marked by the absence of storytelling, except for such stories as are quoted from the Scriptures and which are fully integrated into the author's paraenetic argument.

Detlef Müller suggests that the ancient Coptic homilist received a basic training that taught him how to present an introduction, some argumentations and a conclusion.<sup>64</sup> The first two homilies edited here would generally fit with Müller's picture. The author of the first part of *On Luke 11: 5-9*, however, clearly presents a well structured piece of Biblical exegesis, announcing at the outset that there will be a prologue (§5) and two further parts, the first is a material exegesis (§6-8) and the second is a spiritual exegesis of Luke 11: 5-9 (§9-21). In general, however, the structure of the four homilies can best be qualified as episodic. Each separate unit of the homilies is smoothly delivered and helps the audience to be prepared for the next. Yet, each unit looks independent to some extent and the relation between them is not clear enough. In the case of *On Luke 11: 5-9*, such a relation even seems lacking, resulting in a very incoherent text.

The authors of these homilies were inspired by various kinds of older sources. In addition to Holy Scripture, these sources are a mixture of apocryphal, patristic and (pseudo)-historical texts. The authors used these older texts to turn their homilies into efficacious means of influencing the attitudes of their audiences. Whatever were their sources, these older elements are embedded in a persuasive text purposely designed as a contribution to shaping, confirming and reproducing the communities where they were read and transmitted.

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<sup>64</sup> C.D.G. Müller, "Koptische Redekunst und griechische Rhetorik", *Le Muséon* 69, 1956, p. 55-60.

The homilies as we have them now are the result of a process of transmission through time. During this transmission, these homilies must have been coloured totally or partly by the purposes of their editors. It seems that in particular the first three homilies were edited several times. They experienced inner editing which was done by adding a paragraph, omitting another, or improving the language in the way the scribe choose, and outer editing which was done by collecting various homilies around a single subject or occasion together in one codex, a process known as that of the 'synaxarial systematization'.<sup>65</sup> The fourth homily, *On Pentecost*, is so long that it would cost a fluent Coptic preacher more than an hour to read it. It is the longest homily transmitted under the name of Athanasius<sup>66</sup> and one of the longest homilies from the al-Hamuli find, but, according to Müller, its length would not be abnormal in antiquity.<sup>67</sup> In spite of its size, it is the most coherent homily of all. It looks as if it was written as a single long piece of paraenesis, uninterrupted by storytelling and with all its units well connected.

As a general rule, the authors of these homilies did not show much interest in applying specific rhetorical techniques in their homilies. This does not mean that the authors totally ignored ways of attracting their audience's attention and improving the literary quality of their preaching. They tried to do so by using the common methods which can be found in most Coptic homilies. They, from time to time, use vocatives to ensure of the attention of the listeners and show variation in the formulae by which they

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<sup>65</sup> T. Orlandi, "Coptic Literature", p. 80.

<sup>66</sup> All homilies circulated under the name of Athanasius of Alexandria are comparable in length, except for *On Pentecost*. For a list of these homilies, see T. Orlandi, *Elementi di lingua e letteratura copta: corso di lezioni universitarie*, Milano, 1970, p. 77-78. For some examples, in addition to the first three homilies edited in this dissertation, see J. B. Bernardin, "A Coptic Sermon Attributed to St. Athanasius", *JTS* 38, 1937, p. 113-129; "The Resurrection of Lazarus", *AJSL* 52, 1940, p. 262-292.

<sup>67</sup> C. D. G. Müller, *Die alte koptische Predigt*, PhD dissertation, Heidelberg University, 1953, p. 343-344.

address their audiences. In addition to the above mentioned technique of direct rhetorical questions, the most characteristic element in the literary strategies of these homilies is that the authors choose a certain word to use as a repeated start of a series of consecutive sentences. This technique is called anaphora and it is not rare in Coptic homilies in general.<sup>68</sup>

The author of the second homily, *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel*, combined the strategy of antithesis with the technique of anaphora in (§9). He repeatedly used the expression 'a Christian who does ...' as his starting point and ends with the antithesis 'is not a Christian'. This mixture of techniques makes this portion of the homily quite attractive. It is noteworthy that other homilies of the *corpus* attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria in Coptic, more or less contemporaneous with the ones edited in this dissertation, are marked by their interesting rhetorical style.<sup>69</sup> Their authors made considerable efforts to achieve an attractive rhetorical style and rhetoric was a major concern for them, different from what can be seen in the four homilies edited here.

With the exception of the fourth homily, *On Pentecost*, the anonymous authors of the homilies did their best to make their texts look like authentic patristic writings by using Athanasius as a narrator and sometimes an eyewitness of what they are telling their audiences. At the same time, the authors glorified Athanasius himself by recounting the miracles that happened to him or through him. They used the names of historical figures and compiled attractive stories about them in order to make their works more attractive.

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<sup>68</sup> M. Sheridan, "Rhetorical Structure", p. 31-32.

<sup>69</sup> Compare with the rhetorical structure of pseudo-Athanasius, *On the Resurrection of Lazarus* and *On the Sufferings of Christ Jesus and on the Fear of the Judgment Place*, for which see M. Sheridan, "Rhetorical Structure", p. 30-39.

In her study of the texts of the *Acta Martyrum*, the principal manuscripts of which date from the tenth century and are therefore more or less contemporary to our homilies, Ewa Zakrzewska correctly observed that the narrator remains covert and only on rare occasions presents comments or manifests himself otherwise.<sup>70</sup> By contrast, the narrator of the stories in our homilies is manifest all the time, except in the case of *On Pentecost*. In the other three homilies, he is an important indirect subject and propaganda for the sake of his personality is apparent everywhere. Apparently, the compilers of these homilies not only made an effort to make them look authentic and give them the authority of a great Church Father, Athanasius, but they also tried to build and strengthen Athanasius' fame among their local audiences.

It is important to realize that the goal of the storytelling in the first three homilies is not to relate accurate historical events but to involve the audience into the narrative for the sake of the religious preaching and communal identity.<sup>71</sup> For the search for the historical Athanasius, these homilies are not helpful at all. Yet they are of extreme importance for reconstructing the mental image of Athanasius among the Egyptian Christians in the centuries after his death.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> E. D. Zakrzewska, "Masterplots and Martyrs: Narrative Techniques in Bohairic Hagiography", in F. Hagen et al. (eds.), *Narratives of Egypt and the Ancient Near East: Literary and Linguistic Approaches*, Louvain, 2001, p. 504-505.

<sup>71</sup> C. Rapp, "Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: The Use of Diegesis", *JECS* 6, 1998, p. 443-446.

<sup>72</sup> For more, see the next chapter and I. Saweros, "The Perception of St. Athanasius of Alexandria in Later Coptic Literature", in G. Gabra and H. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Beni Souef, Giza and the Delta* (forthcoming).



## Authorship, Date and Place of the Homilies

In this part of my research, I will focus on those elements in the homilies, both in the stories and in the paraenetic parts, that might help us to situate them in date and place. This internal evidence may include details of daily life, titles, proper names as well as geographical and historical information. I prefer to examine each homily on its own, since they do not share many of such elements and are each different in a way. I will also briefly discuss the question of their original language. The chapter opens with a prologue that deals with Athanasius of Alexandria as the pretended author of these homilies.

### *Athanasius or pseudo-Athanasius?*

Quite a lot is known about Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 296/298-2 May 373),<sup>1</sup> the twentieth archbishop of the Church of Alexandria.<sup>2</sup> His life, his writings and his theology are studied by scholars till today.<sup>3</sup> Through the ages, many legends got attached to his person and many homiletic works came to circulate under his name, in particular in the languages of the Christian East.

The massive number of works attributed to Athanasius can be divided into three categories: authentic works, inauthentic works and doubtful works.<sup>4</sup> In 1994, David Brakke provided seven criteria, that scholars may use to judge whether an ascetic work attributed to Athanasius is authentic or not. These seven criteria take both internal and external evidence into consideration. They are: the textual witnesses, the ancient testimonia, the

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<sup>1</sup> A massive bibliography about his life and writings is provided in Ch. Butterweck, *Athanasius von Alexandria: Bibliographie*, Opladen, 1995; more recent bibliography is to be found in J. Leemans, "Thirteen Years of Athanasius Research (1985-1998). A Survey Bibliography", *Sacris Erudiri* 39, 2000, p. 105-217.

<sup>2</sup> For the history of the church of Alexandria in his age, see A. Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'Église d'Égypte au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle (328-373)*, Rome, 1996.

<sup>3</sup> For the most recent work, see D. Gwynn, *Athanasius of Alexandria: Bishop, Theologian, Ascetic, Father*, Oxford, 2012.

<sup>4</sup> For a recent list of his works, editions and translations, see P. Gemeinhardt (ed.), *Athanasius Handbuch*, Tübingen, 2011, p. 166-281.

evidence of a Greek original, the ancient title, the nature of the work, the internal evidence for the author's milieu and the relationship with other genuine works of Athanasius.<sup>5</sup> In the following paragraphs, I will make use of Brakke's criteria in examining the authenticity of the four homilies edited here.

First of all, there are no ancient testimonia showing that Athanasius took the themes of these homilies into consideration, let alone wrote about them. No Greek originals of these homilies have been discovered till now.<sup>6</sup> Although the titles used in these four homilies are most likely later additions, yet they are of a totally different type than the titles that are usually attached to Athanasius' genuine works. The contents of the four homilies do not provide really reliable information about the milieu of fourth century Alexandria where Athanasius lived and wrote.

Athanasius' style of writing, which is marked by his own way of providing arguments in support of his views, arranging his arguments in an order that goes from weaker to stronger, his play with words, the sources that he quotes and his deep knowledge of the politics of his age are totally absent from these homilies.<sup>7</sup> The theological debate of the fourth century, to which Athanasius devoted most of his life, is represented in the third homily by the story of the heretic Carpocratius. This story describes the debate during the Council of Nicaea in such a weird way that no contemporaneous historian could ever have written it down. By no means, therefore, could the author of the third homily (or the story) have been an eyewitness of the actual events.

To sum up, it is a matter of certainty that Athanasius did not write these homilies. In no way do they fit our knowledge of his historical personality. The question, who the real author of these homilies may have

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<sup>5</sup> D. Brakke, "The Authenticity of the Ascetic Athanasiana", *Orientalia* 63, 1994, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Note that J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, Paris, 1976, p. 627, nr. 625, records only one genuine work of Athanasius in Greek found Egypt, an inscription in the Theban Monastery of Epiphanius (*CPG* III, nr. 2108).

<sup>7</sup> G. Ch. Stead, "Rhetorical Method in Athanasius", *Vigiliae Christianae* 30, 1976, p. 121-137.

been is very difficult to answer. The homilies themselves, that are intentionally pseudepigraphic, do not offer reliable clues to the identity of their authors. At best, a very general profile of the person(-s) behind them can be obtained.

*On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels.*

The first homily, *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels*, as well as the two following ones, are composite didactic homilies, made up of both direct paraenetic speech and stories that support, illustrate and enliven the paraenetic argument. The stories may represent traditional material that was older than the remainder of the homilies in their present late form. Yet the stories contain most of the elements that can be more or less approximately dated and situated. It should be remembered, however, that these elements may not be representative for the homily as a whole. They could merely say something about the date and place of the individual stories in which they appear.

In *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels* a story is related about a young pagan boy who wished very much to see Jesus. In this story, the homilist tells his audience twice that the young boy looked at the walls of the church and saw Christ depicted in the lap of his virgin mother (§26 and 29). Since wall paintings started to appear in the churches of Egypt only around the sixth century,<sup>8</sup> this may take the date of composition of at least this part of the homily to sometime in or after the sixth century.

In the same story, the title *επαρχος* is used for the prefect of Alexandria (§29). This title dates back to period of the Roman conquest of Egypt. It denotes a high Roman rank, in particular in the military field, but was later used for the Roman governor of a country.<sup>9</sup> It was most probably in

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<sup>8</sup> I. Melniciuc-Puică, "Biblical Elements in Coptic Icon", *European Journal of Science and Theology* 2, 2006, p. 39-40.

<sup>9</sup> P. A. Brunt, "The Administrators of Roman Egypt", *The Journal of Roman Studies* 65, 1975, p. 127-128; A. K. Bowman and D. Rathbone, "Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt", *The Journal of Roman Studies* 82, 1992, p. 114-119.

use till shortly after the Arab conquest.<sup>10</sup> In a general sense, also various other elements of the stories in this homily, such as the coins that are used (the *ρολοκοτινος* in §16 and the *νομισμα* in §28), the way of concluding a loan agreement, as narrated in the story of the young boy from Pentapolis (§16-20), the use of oaths as security for the creditor<sup>11</sup> and the use of *εγλογισον*, 'bless us/me', Greek *εὐλόγησον*, as a greeting formula<sup>12</sup> somehow suggest familiarity with the *realia* of late-antique Egyptian life, even though they are not conclusive in themselves. Also the absence of any Islamic influence might point in the same direction.

In the story about the Arian George, the author situates the events 'in this city', i.e. Alexandria (§13). In the story about the son of the rich man from Pentapolis, the author uses expressions like 'the sanctuaries of our city', 'the Episcopal see' (§16), 'the whole city' (§17) and notes that the young man is a stranger in that city (§18). Also the young pagan boy who wished to see Christ was a Syrian who came to study in that city (§27). All these details add local colour and suggest, at least for the stories, a connection with Alexandria.

Looking for details in this homily that may inform us about the personality of the homilist, we find that he advises his listeners to abstain from intercourse with their wives for four days a week in addition to the public festivals (§12). He is apparently addressing a male audience and his aversion against sexual intercourse for most of the year could have a monastic background. It must be noted that the homilist's advice is part of a direct paraenetic address, not of one of his stories.

In his stories, the homilist of this first encomium shows familiarity with many aspects of ecclesiastical life. He knows about 'the pontifical mass' (§25), 'the evening service' (§26 and 34) and a particular type of deacons, 'the guardian deacon' (§27). He supports the authority of the clergy when emphasising that healing of illness is connected with confession to a

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<sup>10</sup> It was used by John of Nikiu, R. H. Charles, *The Chronicle of John*, London, 1916, p. 200.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri* IV, 77, 80 and 85.

<sup>12</sup> Discussed above, in the presentation of the manuscript and its language.

priest and that there is no forgiveness without confession (§35). Although these details come from the stories, they seem to express the knowledge and concern of their author who was most likely a man from inside the church.

Summing up the rather feeble evidence, we may cautiously suggest that at least the stories in this homily had an Alexandrian background. If this applies to the entire homily, which is far more uncertain, it is likely that this encomium was written originally in Greek, since Greek was the first language of Egypt and in particular Alexandria till well after the Arab conquest. It may have been composed somewhere between the sixth century and the time when Islamic rule became manifest also in the daily life of the Egyptians, around the eighth century. The homilist was most likely a clergy man, perhaps a monk.

*On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel*

From the very beginning of the second homily, *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel*, there is a clear connection with the Pachomian *koinonia*. According to the title, the homily was even delivered 'in the presence of our holy father Apa Pachomius, the archimandrite, at the time he went north to visit the archbishop', i.e. Athanasius. This, however, may be a mistaken interpretation of the story of the murderous deacon of (§15-32), as read carelessly by the author of the probably secondary title. Yet there can be no doubt about the strong Pachomian interest of the homily.

The relations between Athanasius and Pachomian monasticism date back to shortly after the election of Athanasius as archbishop of Alexandria. Athanasius visited the Pachomian communities around the year 329-330. Pachomius and his monks welcomed him from the Nile to their monastery where he prayed in their cells.<sup>13</sup> The relations continued after the death of Pachomius in the year 346. Athanasius wrote letters to

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<sup>13</sup> It is attested in both the First Greek and the Bohairic Lives of Pachomius, see A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1, Kalamazoo, 1980, p. 51, 317.

Horsiesius, one of the successors of Pachomius, in which he praised Pachomius, shortly after the latter's death.<sup>14</sup>

The homily *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel* elaborates the scant historical information. The way in which Pachomius is welcomed in Alexandria, the story of the murderous deacon (§16) echoes the reception of Athanasius himself in the south, as described in the Lives of Pachomius, quoted above. In fact, the largest part of the homily is devoted to two visions of Pachomius. One is about the murderous deacon (§15-32) and the other is about the punishment of Christians in Hell (§33-36; the White Monastery version of the homily even adds a third vision, about the fruitless tree). Both revelations depend on the gift of clairvoyance, for which Pachomius was called to account in a local synod in Latopolis (Esna).<sup>15</sup> The story of the murderous deacon is aware of the fact that Pachomius was not a priest (§17). The same is attested in the Bohairic Life of Pachomius and it is known that Pachomius was, in general, against the ordination of monks as priests.<sup>16</sup>

Since the majority of the writings attributed to Pachomius and his successors, and in particular the *Vitae*, were composed several decades after the death of Pachomius, the various traditions recorded in the homily must be of a later date. The second vision attributed to Pachomius, about the punishment of Christians in Hell, was certainly influenced by the genre of the so-called 'Tours of Hell/Heaven', in particular the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Moreover, the dependence on the *Apocalypse of Paul* is not only evident in this vision but also in the paraenetic parts of the homily.<sup>17</sup> This may suggest that the composition

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<sup>14</sup> CPG II, 2103-2104; Ph. Schaff, *NPNF* II 4, p. 569-57. For the authenticity and dates of the Pachomian sources in general, see J. E. Goehring, "New Frontiers in Pachomian Studies," in B. A. Pearson and J. E. Goehring (eds.), *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, Philadelphia, 1986, p. 237-238.

<sup>15</sup> Attested in the First Greek Life, see F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii vitae graecae*, Bruxelles, 1932, p. 72-73; É. Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle: histoire de Saint Pakhôme et de ses communautés*, Paris, 1889, p. 591-595 (edition of the Arabic parallels).

<sup>16</sup> A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1, p. 51.

<sup>17</sup> For more discussions, see my chapter on 'Literary Analysis'.

of the homily as a whole goes back to at least some time after the early fifth century.

The story of the murderous deacon (§15-32) uses the title ἀγρογστᾶριος (*augustalis*) to refer to the governor of Alexandria (§22). It is clear that this Augustalis is a Christian since he came to receive blessings from Pachomius and Athanasius asked his escort to seize the murderous deacon (§23). The title Augustalis refers to the highest administrative rank in Alexandria since Byzantine period. He had both military and civil powers. When the Arabs took over Alexandria, they left the civil power in the hands of the Alexandrian nobility but gave the military power to a Muslim official.<sup>18</sup> According to J. Bruning, the title went out of use around the year 710.<sup>19</sup> Again, in this homily we notice no Islamic influence of any kind. One may therefore suggest that this homily, or at least the story of the murderous deacon, was composed at some time between the fifth century and the early eighth century.

About places, the stories give conflicting information. The story of the murderous deacon (§15-32) again bears a clear Alexandrian stamp. All the nice and rich details of the story suggest familiarity with late-antique life in that city. On the other hand, the story about Athanasius' exile, his stay with an anonymous dyer and his vision of the archangel Michael (§43-49) is situated at Panopolis. The choice for Panopolis may reflect a local tradition, but it is also in line with the Pachomian interest of the homily. According to the Lives, Panopolis was an early centre of Pachomian monasticism.<sup>20</sup> It was also a lively centre of literary production, as was the nearby White Monastery. Summing up, I suggest that whereas the story of the murderous deacon may have been composed by an Alexandrian clergyman, the entire homily was put together in Upper Egypt, perhaps indeed in or around Panopolis, incorporating

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<sup>18</sup> J. Bruning, *The Rise of a Capital: On the Development of al-Fusṭāṭ's Relationship with its Hinterland, 18/639-132/750*, PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 2014, p. 46-49, 165-170.

<sup>19</sup> J. Bruning, *The Rise of a Capital*, p. 47.

<sup>20</sup> A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1, p. 352-354.

material of various origins, including the Lives of Pachomius and the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Its composite character would also explain its meagre substance, apart from the stories and visions that are related. As for its milieu of origin, the strong Pachomian link would situate its redaction in a monastic environment.

*On Luke 11: 5-9*

In the third homily, *On Luke 11: 5-9*, we are facing a somewhat different situation as its various textual parts have quite obviously no strong interrelationship. Its first part consists of a well organised and well written piece of Biblical exegesis whereas the remainder is about different subjects that have neither anything to do with the text from the Gospel of Luke nor with each other. Embedded in this second part are two long stories, one about Pachomius and the rich man Phoibamon, the other about the heretic Carpocratius (Carpocrates) and the Council of Nicaea. To some elements in this patchwork, in an imprecise way dates can be assigned as a *terminus-post-quem*.

Other episodes from *On Luke 11: 5-9* allow some further precision. In his exegesis of the Gospel text, the author followed a traditional type of the Alexandrian exegesis.<sup>21</sup> In his allegorical interpretation of the pericope, he interpreted the three loaves as prayer, tears and fasting. As was noted above, this interpretation is also found in the Bohairic *Catena*, where it is attributed to 'the Patriarch', probably Severus of Antioch, who was a popular author in Egypt from the middle of the sixth century onwards. If Severus would be the source of this interpretation, which of course is far from certain, the first part of our homily should be dated to sometime after the death of Severus of Antioch in 538.

The first of the longer stories, about Pachomius and the rich man Phoibamon (§22-29), is again aimed at exalting Pachomian monasticism, (see in particular §29), associating Athanasius with the Pachomian *koinonia* and Upper-Egypt. Through a miracle that happened in the

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<sup>21</sup> See above, my chapter 'Literary Analysis'.

church of one of the Pachomian monasteries, apparently at Tabennese, the merciless Phoibamon turned into a monk, then into a pious anchorite, to be finally ordained a bishop of Koptos in Upper Egypt. There he became renowned in the whole district for his humility and his charitable works (§27).

There was at least one bishop of the city of Koptos called Phoibamon.<sup>22</sup> He attended the Council of Ephesus in 431. His presence in Ephesus is well attested in both the Greek<sup>23</sup> and the Coptic<sup>24</sup> acts of the council. In spite of the chronological difficulty, the Pachomian story could refer to this Phoibamon, which supposes that the fifth-century bishop would have become a figure in local hagiographic traditions. If this would be the case, the present story must have grown up well after his death in the fifth century.

The second story is about the heretic Carpocratius (Carpocrates) and the Council of Nicaea. The most interesting feature of this story is certainly the motif of the abbreviated pregnancy of the Virgin. The homilist relates that Carpocratius believed that Christ spent only seven months in the womb of his mother. As we saw above,<sup>25</sup> the debate about the short (i.e. unnatural) pregnancy of the Virgin Mary is attested also in Shenoute, who, in his homily *I am Amazed*, claimed that Nestorius (c. 368-450) said that Christ spent only three months in the womb of the Virgin. Now Shenoute's polemic is clearly an echo of the debates during the Council of Ephesus, which Shenoute himself attended.<sup>26</sup> This allows us to situate the source of the theme of the short pregnancy in the aftermath of the

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<sup>22</sup> K. A. Worp, "A Checklist of Bishops in Byzantine Egypt (A.D. 325-c. 750)." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 100, 1994, p. 301.

<sup>23</sup> E. Gerland and V. Laurent, *Corpus notitiarum episcopatum Ecclesiae orientalis graecae*, Istanbul, 1936, Nr. 249.

<sup>24</sup> U. Bouriant, *Actes coptes du Concile d'Éphèse*, Paris, 1892, p. 39, 176; H. Munier, *Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'Église copte*, Le Caire, 1943, p. 14.

<sup>25</sup> See the chapter 'Literary Analysis' for more extensive discussions.

<sup>26</sup> É. Amélineau, *Oeuvres de Schenoudi: texte copte et traduction française*, vol. 1, Paris, 1907, p. 215, 387; J. Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera omnia*, vol. 3, Paris, 1908, p. 218-219. Cf. J. van der Vliet, "Une vierge de Daphné. Notes sur un thème apocalyptique", *Byzantion* 64, 1995, p. 381-384.

Council of Ephesus (431). From then onwards, the theme became a popular cipher for dangerous heresy. This dates the whole story of Carpocratius to sometime well after the mid-fifth century.

The homily does not contain sufficient element to identify its author (or better, authors) or its original milieu. If my analysis of the Phoibamon story can be accepted, this story at least would originate from a monastic milieu in the very south of Egypt, where Koptos was an important centre in late antiquity. The traces of traditional Alexandrian exegesis (§1-21) and anthropology (§32) would make a Greek original likely for at least these parts of the text.

#### *On Pentecost*

The fourth homily edited in this dissertation, *On Pentecost*, is of an entirely different type. It is a pure piece of paraenesis. The homilist does not provide us with details that may help to set a date and a place for its composition. Storytelling is absent in *On Pentecost* and as a result also geographical and historical information is.

*On Pentecost* is certainly a well composed didactic homily that gives a strong sense of unity. Its title and epilogue (§79) may have been added later to fit the purpose of delivering the homily on the feast of Pentecost. The feast itself is not discussed at all in the homily, except in the last few sentences. The homilist addresses many kinds of people in *On Pentecost*, men and women, the poor and the rich as well as bishops, and he switches freely from one type of audience to another.

In the title, it is said that the homily was delivered in a church where many bishops were gathered. Indeed, a monastic background is totally absent in this homily. To the contrary, the last part of the homily (on behaviour in church) clearly addresses a secular upper-class audience, apart from a very brief warning to 'who is without wife and the virgin of God' (§78). Throughout this homily, we rather seem to be in a city than in a monastic milieu. And this upper-class urban environment, with its

theatres and social gatherings (§70), seems unaffected by the advent of Islam.

The homilist speaks about himself in first person singular (§37), without claiming that he is Athanasius. The name of Athanasius may have been inserted in the title, instead of a less prestigious name, only to give *On Pentecost* more authority. The homilist himself is certainly a clergyman, however, since he speaks in detail about how people should be seated in the church (§68) and he shows very good knowledge of Holy Scripture. As he addresses bishops, he may have been one himself.

As was discussed above, *On Pentecost* and the homily *On Riches and on St. Michael, the Archangel* attributed to Peter of Alexandria<sup>27</sup> have a striking number of features in common, in particular where they are addressing the theme of wealth and poverty. The two homilies even share rare expressions.<sup>28</sup> Birger Pearson and Tim Vivian, the editors of the homily *On Riches*, consider the possibility that the part on wealth and poverty, the core of the homily, could date back to fourth-century Alexandria and even to Archbishop Peter himself.<sup>29</sup> The evidence of the homily *On Pentecost*, calls this hypothesis into question. On the contrary of *On Riches*, the unity of the homily *On Pentecost* is clear. Do both homilies derive their discussion of riches and poverty from a common source or could *On Pentecost* have served as a model for (part of) *On Riches*? For lack of further information, it is difficult to answer these questions. Even if it is unlikely that *On Pentecost* can be attributed to a fourth-century archbishop of Alexandria, as Pearson and Vivian suppose for the core of *On Riches*, it is nevertheless a respectable piece of paraenetic preaching from a late-antique urban background. As such it was most likely composed originally in Greek.

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<sup>27</sup> See B. Pearson et al., *Two Coptic Homilies Attributed to Saint Peter of Alexandria: On Riches, on the Epiphany*, Rome, 1993, p. 41-67 (Sahidic text), 68-93 (Bohairic text), 95-144 (English translation).

<sup>28</sup> For more details, see my chapter 'Literary Analysis'.

<sup>29</sup> B. Pearson et al., *Two Coptic Homilies*, p. 25-31.

*General conclusions*

The conclusions that can be drawn from the discussion above are both limited and hypothetical. They are merely based upon a close reading of the texts and hardly on external evidence, apart from the ninth-tenth century date of the manuscripts.

To be sure, Athanasius of Alexandria was not the author of any of the four homilies. In the first three homilies, the author or a later editor poses as Athanasius for the sake of propaganda for the personality of Athanasius himself and to give authority to a fanciful composition. In addition to being their pretended author, Athanasius is also an indirect theme, since part of the narrated events are connected with his fictional personage. In the fourth one, Athanasius is entirely absent. His name is added to the title merely to give the homily greater prestige and authority, probably in replacement of another, less famous name.

These first three homilies, in varying degrees, give a strong sense of disunity. For all we know, they could be late compositions, perhaps even from the period of Tito Orlandi's 'synaxarial systematization', incorporating earlier elements. Those earlier elements, exegetic, paraenetic or simply stories, could have different local backgrounds (Alexandria, Panopolis, Tabennesse, Koptos), but are basically used here to give a heroic Athanasius, the martyr of Orthodoxy and the advocate of monasticism, the chance to shine in the liturgy. In as far as a monastic milieu shaped the texts, this seems to be a Pachomian milieu (Pachomius plays a prominent role in the stories of *On Murder and Greed* and *On Luke 11: 5-9*). Saint Antony, whose biographer Athanasius was, is never even mentioned. Of the great theological controversies of the fourth century, only vague echoes remain, just enough to install in much later audiences a feeling of shared Orthodoxy.

As for the question of the original language of each of these four homilies, a Greek original can be postulated for each of them, since Greek was the first language of state and Church till well in the eighth

century, but not proven. Rare Greek loanwords occur in all of them, but these are no linguistically valid evidence. As suggested above, a Greek original is very likely for the homily *On Pentecost* and for parts of the other homilies, in particular *On Luke 11: 5-9* and the 'Alexandrian' stories in the others. Yet, here again, we lack external evidence that would allow us to decide the question in one way or another.



## Athanasius of Alexandria

In this chapter, I will present a brief outline of the biography of Athanasius of Alexandria and refer to his most influential writings, following the Greek ecclesiastical historians and other sources. I will compare this with what the Coptic sources, but in particular the four homilies edited in this dissertation, tell about the personality and career of Athanasius.<sup>1</sup>

*Outlines of Athanasius' life and major writings.*

Athanasius (ca. 296/298-2 May 373) was the twentieth archbishop of Alexandria.<sup>2</sup> His episcopate lasted forty-five years (c. 8 June 328-2 May 373) of which almost seventeen years were spent in five exiles. He was a Church Father, a prominent Christian theologian and a polemist against Arianism. He started to make his name during the first Council of Nicaea. This council was gathered by Constantine the Great in May-July 325 to discuss Arius' teachings. Athanasius was a young man, a deacon and personal secretary of Bishop Alexander of Alexandria at that time.

Three years later, Athanasius was elected archbishop of Alexandria, and he had to continue struggling with the successors of Arius. At the same time, he was involved in theological and political conflicts with the Emperor Constantine and then with Constantius II. Athanasius is one of the few Church Fathers that is respected and considered a holy man

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<sup>1</sup> For a general perspective, see D. M. Gwynn, "Athanasius in Oriental Historical Tradition", in Ch. Kelly et al (eds.), *Unclassical Traditions*, vol. II: *Perspectives from East and West in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, 2011, p. 43-58.

<sup>2</sup> The best bibliography on his life and writings in all languages is Ch. Butterweck, *Athanasius von Alexandrien: Bibliographie*, Opladen, 1995. More is found in J. Leemans, "Thirteen Years of Athanasius Research (1985-1998). A Survey Bibliography", *Sacris Erudiri* 39, 2000, p. 105-217. The best work on his life so far is M. Tetz, "Zur Biographie des Athanasius von Alexandrien", *ZKG* 70, 1979, p. 158-192. The most comprehensive work on Athanasius, including the works attributed to him in Coptic is: P. Gemeinhardt, *Athanasius Handbuch*, Tübingen, 2011. The most recent monograph on Athanasius is D. Gwynn, *Athanasius of Alexandria: Bishop, Theologian, Ascetic, Father*, Oxford, 2012.

throughout the history of the Church both in the East and in the West. In the East he is considered the founder of Orthodoxy and its defender against heresy. In the West, he is considered one of the doctors of the Catholic Church.<sup>3</sup>

About Athanasius' early life little is known. It seems that he was born in Alexandria from a rich family, which enabled him to receive an excellent secular education. This education is apparent in his quotations of Plato, Aristotle, Homer and others. He knew Greek very well and perhaps even Coptic.<sup>4</sup> His knowledge of the Septuagint Bible was very deep, which enabled him to quote it from memory without the use of a written text. Athanasius' skills were remarkable from when he was a young man.<sup>5</sup>

The first major problem which Athanasius had to face was with the followers of Melitius of Lycopolis. According to a decision of the Council of Nicaea, these were supposed to be reunited with the church.<sup>6</sup> Athanasius was accused of persecuting the Melitians and the Arians in the Council of Tyre in 335.<sup>7</sup> Worse, Athanasius was accused of cutting the supply of grain which used to be transferred from Egypt to Rome. Eusebius of Nicomedia and other supporters of Arius deposed Athanasius. Constantine ordered Athanasius to be exiled to Trier.<sup>8</sup>

After the death of Constantine, his son Constantius II renewed the decree against Athanasius. He managed to flee to Rome to be under the protection of Constans, the emperor of the western part of the empire. In

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<sup>3</sup> D. Gwynn, *Athanasius*, p. 5-9.

<sup>4</sup> According to L. Th. Lefort, "St. Athanase écrivain copte", in *Le Muséon* 46, 1933, p. 1-33.

<sup>5</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, II. 17, refers to Athanasius' fitness for the priesthood and to his talents in studying grammar, rhetorics and philosophy. It is almost sure that he was trained to use classical rhetorical techniques; see Ch. Stead, "Rhetorical Method in Athanasius," *Vigiliae Christianae* 30, 1976, p. 121-137.

<sup>6</sup> A. Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'église d'Égypte au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle (328-373)*, Rome, 1996, p. 286-290.

<sup>7</sup> Kh. Anatolios, *Athanasius*, London, 2004, p. 10-11.

<sup>8</sup> T. D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*, Cambridge, 1993, 23-27.

the meanwhile, George of Cappadocia was named bishop of Alexandria. Two more synods were held about Athanasius, in Rome in 341 and in Sardica in 343. Both recognized him as the legitimate bishop of Alexandria and Constans ordered Athanasius to return to his diocese in 341.<sup>9</sup> He was welcomed by the majority of population of Alexandria as a national hero. Athanasius spent a decade in peace in which he found time to write and to solve many issues within the church. In 350, Constans died and Constantius II returned to his policy of favouring the Arians. An attempt to arrest Athanasius took place during a vigil service, but he managed to flee to Upper Egypt.

In 361 Athanasius returned to Alexandria after the death of both Constantius II and the bishop George. He invited the bishops to assemble in Alexandria for a council about the Orthodox belief on the Holy Trinity. In the next year, the Emperor Julian ordered him again to leave Alexandria, where he returned in 363, after Julian's death. Finally, he was exiled once more by the Emperor Valens just for a few months, after which the local authorities persuaded Valens to let him return to his see.<sup>10</sup>

Among his many writings, his two works *Against the Heathen*<sup>11</sup> and *The Incarnation of the Word of God*<sup>12</sup> stand out as classics of Orthodox theology, written early in his life before becoming a bishop.<sup>13</sup> Here, Athanasius, in debate with pagan practices and beliefs, outlines the principle of redemption in Christ. He demonstrates how God created the world through his Word and how He entered the world in a human form

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<sup>9</sup> For details, see L. W. Barnard, *Studies in Athanasius' Apologia Secunda*, Bern, 1992, p. 75-82.

<sup>10</sup> D. Gwynn, *Athanasius*, p. 49-53.

<sup>11</sup> *CPG* 2090; *PG* 25, 4-96; Ph. Schaff, *NPNF* II. 4, p. 4-30; for a Greek text of both works, with facing English translation, see R. W. Thomson, *Athanasius: Contra Gentes and De Incarnatione*, Oxford, 1971.

<sup>12</sup> *CPG* 2091; *PG* 25, 96-197; Ph. Schaff, *NPNF* II. 4, p. 36-67; see the previous note.

<sup>13</sup> For more discussions, see C. Stead, "Athanasius' Earliest Written Works", *JThS* 39, 1988, p. 76-91; A. M. Slusser, "Contra Gentes and De Incarnatione: Place and Date of Composition", *JThS* 37, 1986, p.114-115.

in order to restore humanity to its original nature.<sup>14</sup> In his *Letter to Serapion*, Athanasius discussed the divinity of the Holy Spirit.<sup>15</sup> Many works against the Arians are attributed to him, including the *Defence against the Arians*, *Orations against the Arians* and a *History of the Arians*.<sup>16</sup> The number of works ascribed to him in various languages is very big and many of these are either of doubtful authenticity or inauthentic.<sup>17</sup>

*Athanasius and the sources of his time.*

From the fourth century till today, Athanasius is a controversial figure. His character, history and writings are the subject of discussion ever since the time of the early ecclesiastical historians. In his own writings, Athanasius presents himself as a persecuted shepherd who is fighting the betrayers of Christ for the sake of the Orthodox faith and the salvation of his flock.<sup>18</sup> The defence of the full divinity of the Word is the main issue in his career and his writings.

The first known work about Athanasius was written by Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 239-390). In his 21<sup>st</sup> Oration, Gregory delivered a long eulogy of Athanasius in which a few biographical details are mentioned.<sup>19</sup> Gregory says that Athanasius was born into a Christian family,<sup>20</sup> contradicting the story of being baptized by Alexander of Alexandria.<sup>21</sup> Athanasius was taught philosophy and theology in Alexandria and he was the author of the *vita* of St. Antony. Gregory also

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<sup>14</sup> Kh. Anatolios, *Athanasius: The Coherence of his Thought*, New York, 2005, p. 27-29.

<sup>15</sup> CPG 2094; PG 26, 529-648.

<sup>16</sup> CPG 2093, 2123 and 2127.

<sup>17</sup> For the whole set of his writings, see CPG II, p. 12-60.

<sup>18</sup> Festal letter XIII, 6; PG 26, p. 1447-1448.

<sup>19</sup> Gregory Nazianzus, *Oration 21: 5*, CPG 3010. For the Coptic version of this oration, see T. Orlandi, "La traduzione copta dell'encomio di Atanasio di Gregorio Nazianzeno." *Le Muséon* 83, 1970, p. 351-366.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Rufinus, *Ecclesiastical History*, X. 15.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. B. Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, PO I, Paris, 1907, p. 406-406.

praises Athanasius' knowledge of the Holy Scripture<sup>22</sup> and refers to Athanasius as a hero of the Church who faced Arianism, not only in the verbal debate, but also when Arius' followers used violence against him. Gregory was the first to attribute an important role to Athanasius at the Council of Nicaea.<sup>23</sup> He depicts Athanasius as the canonical bishop of Alexandria, in spite of the fact that some local councils had condemned him.<sup>24</sup>

The document known as *Historia Acephala*,<sup>25</sup> mostly dated to early 386, provides data for Athanasius' exiles and festal letters. The text provides a detailed chronology of the life of Athanasius, in particular for the years 346-373, on the basis of official documents. This document was one of the sources of the ecclesiastical histories of Sozomen and Theodoret.<sup>26</sup>

In the beginning of the fourth century, Eusebius, known as the father of Church history, was the first to write a history of the Church since the beginning up to his own days. He succeeded in creating a standard scholarly work which was continued by the three famous historians Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret.<sup>27</sup> The three of them contributed to continuing the history of the Church from the point where Eusebius had stopped, the reign of Constantine, up to the first half of the fifth century. There are many points of overlap between these three historians and each has his own way of writing and his own interests. In all of them, Athanasius appears as a major figure in the Church of his time.

Socrates' Ecclesiastical History is the oldest. It was finished on 440 at Constantinople. It covers the years 306-439 and his main source is the

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<sup>22</sup> Gregory Nazianzus, *Oration 21*. 6.

<sup>23</sup> Gregory Nazianzus, *Oration 21*. 14.

<sup>24</sup> Gregory Nazianzus, *Oration 21*. 22.

<sup>25</sup> Ph. Schaff, *NPNF*, II. 4, p. XII-XIII; *CPG* 2119.

<sup>26</sup> A. Martin, *Histoire "acéphale" et index syriaque des lettres festales d'Athanase d'Alexandrie*, Sources chrétiennes 317, Paris, 1985, p. 11-17.

<sup>27</sup> For an introduction to all of them, see G. F. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius*, Macon, 1986.

Latin Church historian Rufinus of Aquileia.<sup>28</sup> The latter proved not always reliable, so Socrates later needed to revise his history to correct Rufinus' mistakes.

The work of Sozomen is spanning the years 323-425. It was written in Constantinople. Sozomen used Socrates as his source but he also used the original writings of Athanasius. The third book by Theodoret covers the years 324-429 and Socrates was his main source. Theodoret, unlike his predecessors, was a bishop, not a layman, thus he was involved in the theological debate, where he showed himself a follower of Athanasius.<sup>29</sup>

These three historians rely on Athanasius' own writings as a reliable source. Much praise for Athanasius as a bishop is found throughout their writings. For example, when Athanasius was exiled, after being accused of mistreating the Meletians and the Arians during the Council of Tyre in 335, and restored to his throne in 337, he himself related the story in his *Apologia contra Arianos* (§87).<sup>30</sup> More or less the same version of the events is found in the histories of Socrates (II, 3), Sozomen (III, 2) and Theodoret (II,1). Through the centuries the importance of their histories became immense. They were and still are the major sources for what can be called the standard narrative of the Church in the fourth and the fifth centuries.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> M. Vessey, "Jerome and Rufinus", in F. Young, L. Ayres and A. Louth (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature*, Cambridge, 2010, p. 324-327.

<sup>29</sup> H. Wace and W. Piercy, *A Dictionary of Early Christian Biography and Literature to the End of the Sixth Century A.D., with an Account of the Principal Sects and Heresies*, London, 1911, p. 958-963.

<sup>30</sup> Ph. Schaff, *NPNF* II. 4, p. 100-147; *CPG* 2123. H. G. Opitz, *Athanasius' Werke II*, Berlin, 1941, p. 87-168.

<sup>31</sup> D. M. Gwynn, "Athanasius in Oriental Historical Tradition", in Ch. Kelly et al (eds.), *Unclassical Traditions*, vol. II: *Perspectives from East and West in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, 2011, p. 46.

*Egyptian sources*

The specifically Egyptian historiographical tradition about Athanasius is preserved in two main sources. The first is known as the *History of the Church of Alexandria*<sup>32</sup> which reached us in a very fragmentary state in Sahidic Coptic. The author and date of composition of the text are unknown. Some parts of it depend heavily on Eusebius' Church history. It found its way later into the famous Arabic *History of the Patriarchs*, edited in the early eleventh century.<sup>33</sup> The latter is partly composed with the help of various earlier Greek and Coptic sources, partly written directly in Arabic. The second source is the *Chronicle of John of Nikiu* from the seventh century. It was probably written in Greek or Coptic originally, but survives only in a late Ethiopic translation.<sup>34</sup>

The childhood of Athanasius is represented in the *History of the Patriarchs* much different than in Socrates (II, 17) and Sozomen (X, 15). The *History of the Patriarchs* narrates that Athanasius was the son of a pagan family. His mother did her best to get him married, but Athanasius refused and dedicated himself to learning. His mother took him to Alexander of Alexandria who foretold her Athanasius' brilliant future. Thus he baptized both of them and helped Athanasius to learn the Holy Scriptures. The *History of the Patriarchs* attributes an important role to Athanasius during the Council of Nicaea and afterwards. After Constantine's death, so it says, Arius won his son Constantius over to his side. Constantius summoned Alexander to come to Constantinople to

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<sup>32</sup> T. Orlandi, *Storia della Chiesa di Alessandria*, Milan, 2 Vols., 1968-1970; D. Johnson, *Coptic Sources of the History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, PhD Thesis, Catholic University of America, 1974; T. Orlandi, "The Coptic Ecclesiastical History: A Survey," in J. Goehring and J. Timbie (eds.), *The World of Early Egyptian Christianity: Language, Literature, and Social Context*, Washington D.C., 2007, p. 3-24.

<sup>33</sup> For a discussion of suggested authors, see J. den Heijer, *Mawhūb Ibn Mansūr Ibn Mufarrig et l'historiographie copto-arabe: étude sur la composition de "l'histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie"*, Louvain, 1989; S. Moawad, "Coptic Historiography," in G. Gabra (ed.), *Coptic Civilization: Two Thousand Years of Christianity in Egypt*, Cairo, 2014, p. 11-13.

<sup>34</sup> English translation in R. H. Charles, *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, London, 1916.

accept Arius in the Church of Alexandria. Alexander accompanied Athanasius on his journey to Constantinople. According to the *History of the Patriarchs*, Alexander called Athanasius 'my tongue' and added that he was not able to speak when Athanasius was not beside him. The Arians noticed Athanasius' extraordinary gifts and paid money to the guards to prevent him of attending the meeting with the emperor. It then appeared that Alexander could not speak and he asked the king to admit Athanasius.<sup>35</sup>

David Gwynn noticed that this episode is impossible chronologically, for Alexander died in 328 and Constantius succeeded his father in 337. Gwynn thinks that the reason for this intended mistake is to protect the reputation of Constantine the Great who was responsible for Arius' return from exile after 325. Constantine is seen in the *History of the Patriarchs* as the protector of Nicaea and venerated as a saint in the Coptic Church. Apparently, the author wanted to save his reputation among its audience.<sup>36</sup> Also John of Nikiu in his *Chronicle* (§77-78) is entirely positive about Constantine.

The Greek historians present a much more detailed and richer life of Athanasius than the Egyptian sources. The latter were composed for more local audiences. Detailed theological debates are missing in the Egyptian sources. While the Greek historians derived their knowledge from Athanasius' polemical and apologetic writings such as the *Historia Arianorum* (CPG 2127), the *Apologia contra Arianos* (CPG 2123), the *Apologia Constantinum* (CPG 2129) and the *Apologia de fuga* (CPG 2122), the Egyptian sources had a very limited interest in them and did not even collect Coptic translations of these works into corpora. Also the writings of Athanasius which survive in Coptic sources are either not attested in Greek or were ignored by the Greek ecclesiastical historians.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Ch. F. Seybold, *Alexandrinische Patriarchengeschichte von S. Marcus bis Michael I 61-767: nach der ältesten 1266 geschriebenen Hamburger Handschrift*, Hamburg, 1912, p. 67.

<sup>36</sup> D. M. Gwynn, "Athanasius in Oriental Historical Tradition", p. 50.

<sup>37</sup> D. M. Gwynn, *Athanasius*, p. 54-55.

Yet, the Egyptian sources did not ignore the entire corpus of Athanasius' writings. The author of the *History of the Patriarchs* refers to the festal letters, the Life of Antony and a genuine work on virginity which are all preserved in Coptic.<sup>38</sup> Such writings highlight the pastoral side of Athanasius. The polemical details provided by the Greek historians were not a matter of interest for later Egyptian authors who mainly focused on presenting 'the founder of Orthodoxy' to their community as a good shepherd.

*The Coptic corpus attributed to Athanasius.*

In Coptic, a fairly large corpus of homilies is attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria.<sup>39</sup> Most of them are attested only in Coptic. It is certain that almost all of them are pseudepigraphic. For example, a homily on *Love and Discord*, attributed to Athanasius in its Coptic version,<sup>40</sup> is attributed to Basil the Great in its Greek version.<sup>41</sup> The apocryphal *Testaments of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob* are attributed to him in the Bohairic versions,<sup>42</sup> but not in the Sahidic (CPG 2183).<sup>43</sup> The corpus of Coptic homilies attributed to Athanasius can be divided into two major parts, homilies to be read at a certain time of the liturgical year and homilies related to monasticism.

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<sup>38</sup> Ch. F. Seybold, *Alexandrinische Patriarchengeschichte*, p. 64-65.

<sup>39</sup> T. Orlandi, *Elementi di lingua e letteratura copta: corso di lezioni universitarie*, Milan, 1970, p. 75-78.

<sup>40</sup> E. A. W. Budge, *Coptic Homilies in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1910, 58-65 (text) and 204-211 (translation).

<sup>41</sup> CPG 2929; PG 31, 1705-1714.

<sup>42</sup> I. Guidi, "Il Testamento di Isacco e il Testamento di Giacobbe", *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Rome, 1900, p. 157-180.

<sup>43</sup> K. H. Kuhn, "The Sahidic Version of the Testament of Isaac," *JThS* 8, 1957, p. 225-239; "An English Translation of the Sahidic Version of the Testament of Isaac," *JThS* 18, 1967, p. 325-336.

Several exhortations for the Holy Week are attributed to him,<sup>44</sup> as well as homilies on the *Passion of the Lord*,<sup>45</sup> *Ascension*,<sup>46</sup> *Pentecost*,<sup>47</sup> as well as a single *Apocalypse*.<sup>48</sup> This group of texts presents Athanasius as a pastor and a good shepherd who is preaching his congregation at various moments in the liturgical year about various points of Christian ethics.

The second group of texts comprises a *Speech to the Monks*<sup>49</sup> and two *Letters to Orsisius*.<sup>50</sup> This group shows Athanasius as a supporter of monasticism and an ascetic himself.

Only three genuine works of Athanasius survive in Coptic: the *Festal Letters*,<sup>51</sup> the *Life of Antony*<sup>52</sup> and a *Letter to the Virgins*.<sup>53</sup> The selection of these works is not random. They fit the picture of Athanasius as a great and careful pastor. He insists to write to his people on every feast even during the years when he was exiled and tortured, totally dedicated to the sake of his people, not only in Alexandria but all over Egypt and Libya. At his time, monasticism started to gain its honourable stature in the Egyptian mentality. Athanasius, the hero of the Church, should fit in with this development. If he was not a monk himself, he should appear as a

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<sup>44</sup> O. H. E. Burmester, "The Homilies or Exhortations of the Holy Week Lectionary", *Le Muséon* 45, 1932, p. 44-48, 65-67.

<sup>45</sup> J. B. Bernardin, "A Coptic Sermon attributed to St. Athanasius", *JThS* 38, 1937, p. 113-129.

<sup>46</sup> Still unpublished, see *CPG* 2198.

<sup>47</sup> Edited as the fourth homily in this dissertation.

<sup>48</sup> T. Orlandi, *Elementi*, p. 77.

<sup>49</sup> A. van Lantschoot, "Une allocution à des moines en visite chez S. Athanase," *Angelicum* 20, 1943, p. 249-253.

<sup>50</sup> Ph. Schaff, *NPNF*, II: 4, p. 569-570.

<sup>51</sup> L. Th. Lefort, *S. Athanase. Lettres festales et pastorales en copte*, CSCO 150 (text) and CSCO 151 (translation), Louvain, 1955.

<sup>52</sup> G. Garitte, *S. Antonii Vitae versio sahidica*, CSCO 117 (text) and 118 (translation), Louvain, 1949.

<sup>53</sup> The original Greek text is missing, yet David Brakke presented convincing evidence for its authenticity; see D. Brakke, "The Authenticity of the Ascetic Athanasiana," *Orientalia* 63, 1994, p. 19-25. Shenoute of Atripe quoted it in one of his homilies known as A17; see L. Th. Lefort (ed.), *S. Athanase: Lettres festales et pastorales en copte*, CSCO 150-151, Louvain, 1955, vol. 1, p. 73-99 (text); 106-108 (quotation by Shenoute); vol. 2, p. 55-80 (translation).

supporter of monasticism. As the archbishop of Alexandria, he took the trouble to write the *Life of Antony*, the first hermit. Antony started to gather fame at that time and his followers all over Egypt were going to play an important role in the history of Egyptian Christianity and Christianity in general. Through these works, Athanasius appears as part of the monastic movement.

A few works *about* Athanasius, preserved in Coptic, deserve to be mentioned here. There are some encomiums, written in praise of Athanasius, edited by Tito Orlandi. One of these connects him to Isauria in Asia Minor, the region mentioned in the title of the third homily edited in the current work, *On Luke 11: 5-9*.<sup>54</sup> Two more encomiums on Athanasius, from the Hamuli find, are attributed to Constantine of Asyut, who was in office around the year 600. Constantine was a well educated bishop and several texts in both Coptic and Arabic are attributed to him.<sup>55</sup> In his first encomium on Athanasius, Constantine develops the image of Athanasius as a miracle worker. These miracles happen to him during the time of his exiles, as a consolation from above.<sup>56</sup> In the second encomium, Constantine praises Athanasius as a hero who faces all kinds of oppression and persecution.<sup>57</sup>

Many *Lives of Athanasius* have reached us in Arabic. G. Graf referred to one attributed to Amphilochius of Iconium<sup>58</sup> and to another one translated from Arabic into Latin by E. Renaudot.<sup>59</sup> Both lives have

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<sup>54</sup> T. Orlandi, *Testi copti: 1. Encomio di Atanasio, 2. Vita di Atanasio*, Milan, 1968, p. 27-28 (edition of Sahidic text), 61-62 (Italian translation).

<sup>55</sup> For more about Constantine of Asyut, see R-G. Coquin, "Saint Constantin, évêque d'Asyūt!", *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 16, 1981, p. 151-170.

<sup>56</sup> T. Orlandi, *Constantini episcopi urbis Siout: encomia in Athanasium duo*, CSCO 349-350, Louvain, 1974, vol. 1, p. 14-15 (text), vol. 2, p. 10 (translation).

<sup>57</sup> T. Orlandi, *Constantini episcopi urbis Siout*, vol. 1, p. 24, 28 (text), vol. 2, p. 15, 22 (translation).

<sup>58</sup> G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, Vatican City, 1944, p. 315.

<sup>59</sup> PG 25, 216-251.

Syriac origins.<sup>60</sup> Their authors depended on the works of the Greek historians, Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, which have been translated into Syriac.<sup>61</sup> This group of Lives of Athanasius show many parallels with the Life of Athanasius preserved in the *History of the Patriarchs*.

A little known Arabic Life of Athanasius of Alexandria was published recently by Wadi Awad.<sup>62</sup> This life is known from several manuscripts kept at St. Antony Monastery, St. Bishoi Monastery and the Franciscan Cultural Centre in Cairo. It contains many details unattested in any other life of Athanasius. His original name is said to be Herma, which was changed after baptism into Athanasius. Likewise, his mother's name was Vidalos first and after her baptism she became Sofia. This life tells how Athanasius was able to perform miracles already when he was very young, shortly after his baptism. According to this source, an Arian called Lucias opposed the ordination of Athanasius. Therefore, a council was held in Rome to condemn the man and support Athanasius' consecration. It also describes one of Athanasius' exiles to Upper Egypt, where he hid in Akhmim and destroyed one of the pagan temples just by the touch of his finger. Athanasius during a next exile left to Thebes where he met Pachomius.

In general, this Arabic life belongs to the genre of the encomium, but it is so long that it would need three hours to be read. It is characterised by the huge number of miracles performed by Athanasius, ever since he became a Christian until his death. By an anachronism which is common in Arabic lives of saints, a very long dialogue between Athanasius and St. Peter, the apostle, is reported, which took place when the first was exiled in Rome. This life gives a good picture of Athanasius according to the Coptic mentality: the man, who is a good shepherd and an important

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<sup>60</sup> A. Vööbus, "Entdeckung einer unbekanntenen Biographie des Athanasius von Alexandrien", *BZ* 71, 1978, p. 36-40.

<sup>61</sup> M. J. Hollerich, "The Sources of ps.-Amphilochius' Vita Athanasii Syriaca (Ms. *Mard. Orth.* 269)", *OCA* 236, 1988, p. 273-283.

<sup>62</sup> W. Awad, "St. Athanasius' Biography as Preserved in an Unknown Arabic Recension," *Priest's Friend* 4, 1996, p. 264-271 (in Arabic).

figure for monasticism, is also a miracle worker, able to destroy a complete temple with one finger, whom an angel helps to leave for Rome in seconds. Such kind of miraculous stories are common in the Copto-Arabic tradition.

*Another Athanasius*

It is time now to return to the homilies that are the subject of this dissertation. In three of these four homilies, Athanasius is indirectly the subject of the texts purportedly pronounced by himself. Below I will briefly discuss the most important aspects of his personality and his career as they are depicted in the three homilies in order to see how they fit into the broad stream of historical or pseudo-historical sources briefly discussed above. To do so, I will focus on four aspects of his personality or his career which play a more or less important role in the homilies. I am aware that in each case many more intertextual relationships than the ones mentioned here could be quoted, but this is rather a task for future research.<sup>63</sup>

*The Council of Nicaea (325)*

Although Gregory of Nazianzus, followed by later historians, attributed an important role to Athanasius at the Council of Nicaea,<sup>64</sup> this is not much in evidence in our homilies. Only the homily *On Luke 11: 5-9*, (§34-39,) presents Athanasius as an eyewitness of the council of Nicaea, but in a modest role. Athanasius is made to say: "I followed my holy father Apa Alexander, the archbishop, as I was a deacon at that time" (§34). The protagonists of the story are not Athanasius, but Bishop Alexander (of Constantinople or of Alexandria? - the text is ambiguous

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<sup>63</sup> See, provisionally, I. Saweros, "The Perception of St. Athanasius of Alexandria in Later Coptic Literature", in G. Gabra and H. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Beni Souef, Giza and the Delta* (forthcoming).

<sup>64</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oration 21*, 14.

as both are mentioned) and a heretic called Carpocrates.<sup>65</sup> Arius is not even mentioned and the whole council seems to revolve around the question of the length of the pregnancy of the Holy Virgin. The theological dispute is settled by divine intervention, by the miracle of the burning cloaks, and then the bishops are sent home. As I argued above, the dispute may contain a remote echo of the Council of Ephesus of 431 and the whole story merely serves to assure the audience that by listening to the homilist they are as a community on the safe side of the borderline between Orthodoxy and heresy.

*Athanasius and the Arian George.*

At various places in the three homilies, Athanasius describes himself as a victim of Arian persecution. In the encomium *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels*, he says in a general way: "I, O my beloved sons, I had much to suffer from the schismatic Arians, yet I prayed to God and He heard me and saved me from all my trials" (§32). In the homily, *On Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel*, he describes how he had to hide in Panopolis "at the time that the emperor pursued me and I was fleeing from place to place because of the accursed Arians" (§44). Only after three years, he is allowed to return to Alexandria as the result of the intercession of the archangel Michael, who appears to him in a vision (§48-49). The exile in Panopolis/Akhmim is also mentioned, with further miraculous details, in an Arabic Life of Athanasius of Alexandria, cited above.<sup>66</sup>

The homily *On Luke 11: 5-9*, (§22), refers in general terms to "what happened to me through the envy of the sons of the devil, the filthy Arians". This time, he fled to the south, to the Theban region, where he met Pachomius at Tabennesse (see below).

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<sup>65</sup> About this person and for further discussion of this episode, see the chapter 'Literary analysis' above.

<sup>66</sup> W. Awad, "St. Athanasius' Biography", p. 270-271.

In the encomium *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels*, the author focuses on the black character the Arian George in (§13-15), but only to relate his violent death. George was, of course, a real historical figure. In his *Epistula encyclica*, Athanasius describes his outrageous behaviour in Alexandria in detail.<sup>67</sup> Athanasius wrote the *Epistula encyclica* for the clergy of both East and West to explain his personal situation as the true bishop of Alexandria and to proclaim his legitimacy.<sup>68</sup> Judging from the contents of the letter and the episodes mentioned in it, one can imagine how popular the letter was. Consequently, George was defamed and his name was used through the ages to evoke a striking picture of Arian violence.

The story of George can be found in other treatises of Athanasius as well. For instance in his *Historia Arianorum*,<sup>69</sup> Athanasius accused Constantius of providing George with a military force (§10). Theodoret did not miss the story in his ecclesiastical history and called George "the wolf that was appointed over Alexandria".<sup>70</sup> He thus confirmed what Athanasius narrated, saying that "George surpassed the wild beasts in his deeds".

The episode found an echo in the Coptic historical sources. From the *History of the church of Alexandria* we may quote: "After Arius had died in this terrible manner, the emperor (Constantius) did not desist from his madness, for he had the followers of Arius, who were worse than him, namely George and Loukios and others with them. These kept attacking the Church of Alexandria. George gave lots of money to the emperor and the latter gave him five-hundred soldiers so that they would establish him over the Church of Alexandria, for he wanted to kill Athanasius. But God snatched him away from their midst".<sup>71</sup> The same source tells how

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<sup>67</sup> CPG 2124; PG 25, p. 221-40; Ph. Schaff, *NPNF* II. 4, p. 92-96; H. G. Opitz, *Athanasius' Werke*, vol. II, p. 46-67.

<sup>68</sup> D. M. Gwynn, *The Eusebians: The Polemic of Athanasius of Alexandria and the Construction of the 'Arian Controversy'*, Oxford, 2007, p. 51.

<sup>69</sup> CPG 2127; PG 25, p. 696-796; Ph. Schaff, *NPNF* II. 4, p. 270-302; H. G. Opitz, *Athanasius' Werke*, vol. II, p. 183-230.

<sup>70</sup> Ph. Schaff, *NPNF* II. 3, p. 67.

<sup>71</sup> T. Orlandi, *Storia della Chiesa di Alessandria*, vol. 1, Milan, 1967, p. 30.

George sent messengers to spread his own faith all over Egypt and how the followers of Athanasius had to celebrate the Holy Mass in caves and fields until the end of the persecutions.<sup>72</sup> Only after six years, Athanasius returned and George was expelled from the Alexandrian church.<sup>73</sup> The same story was later translated into Arabic as part of Athanasius' biography in the famous *History of Patriarchs of Alexandria*.<sup>74</sup>

The brief passage in the encomium *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels*, focuses on the supernatural death of George (§13-15). Only (§13) mentions briefly his ideas, as it quotes him saying: "If God had not allowed these demons to fight against us, we all together would become righteous". Here, instead of defending typically Arian ideas, George is rather denying human *autexousia* facing the demons, which was a theme in monastic demonology,<sup>75</sup> but not - as far as I know - in the debate about Arianism. George is contradicted by a *protector*, a member of the guard (of the governor of Alexandria?), and has himself protected by "the standard-bearers (*signophoroi*)".<sup>76</sup> This rather obscure episode may contain a reminiscence of the military support that George enjoyed, according to the sources quoted above, but the focus is on his violent death which occurred in the night immediately after, on the eve of the feast of Saint Michael, celebrated on the twelfth of each month. After a nocturnal dispute with the devil, George is killed by angels Michael and Gabriel, who thus execute "the judgment of God" (§15; compare §25, where Athanasius says: "at the time God took revenge on George the Arian, I returned to Alexandria").

The story about the death of George the Arian has only remotely to do with the historical George or with the Arian conflict. It attacks in passing

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<sup>72</sup> T.Orlandi, *Storia della Chiesa di Alessandria*, vol. 1, p. 30-32.

<sup>73</sup> T.Orlandi, *Storia della Chiesa di Alessandria*, vol. 1, p. 32.

<sup>74</sup> C. F. Seybold, *Severus ben el-Moqaffa: Historia patriarcharum Alexandrinorum*, vol. I:1, (CSCO 25), Louvain, 1905, p. 69.

<sup>75</sup> See J. van der Vliet, "Chenouté et les démons", in M. Rassart-Debergh and J. Ries (eds.), *Actes du IVe congrès copte*, Louvain, 1992, vol. 2, p. 41-49.

<sup>76</sup> For the military titles, see G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961, 1189b and 1232b.

wrong ideas about the power of the demons, who - according to George - were able to prevent man from being righteous. Its main interest, however, is in exalting the archangels Michael and Gabriel and their power to punish the sinner.

*The Isaurians.*

The homily *On Luke 11: 5-9* deals with various unrelated subjects.<sup>77</sup> These are held together by a fictitious device that is introduced in the title of the homily, which - it says - was delivered "at the time when the clergy and the great of the land of Isauria came to him and asked him: 'Let us hear from you a word of consolation, for we are thirst after your sweet words (etc.)'".

Quite likely, it was the final editor of the homily who invented the visit of the Isaurians to Athanasius. Yet Isauria did play a role in Athanasius' long career. In the year 359, dual councils were held in Seleucia in the region of Isauria in Asia Minor for the eastern bishops and in Ariminum in Italy for the western ones. The councils were convened at the orders of Emperor Constantius and the aim was to agree upon a single creed for the universal Church. The result was a big divide and both of the councils reached opposing conclusions.<sup>78</sup> Athanasius was unable to attend either of the councils. In response, he wrote his book *De Synodis* shortly after the end of the councils, in which he criticised the whole set-up and defended the Nicene creed.<sup>79</sup> It is not attested in any historical source that people from Isauria ever came to visit Athanasius. Only much later, fictitious stories were compiled around this episode, for example in the Sahidic *Encomium on Athanasius*, edited by Tito Orlandi, which represents Isauria as a place where Athanasius was exiled, trying to

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<sup>77</sup> See the chapter 'Literary Analysis' above.

<sup>78</sup> D. Gwynn, *Athanasius of Alexandria*, p. 14-15; T. D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*, London, 1993, p. 144-148, 161-162.

<sup>79</sup> D. Gwynn, *Athanasius of Alexandria*, p. 15. For *De Synodis*, see *CPG II*, 2128.

convert its inhabitants to Christianity.<sup>80</sup> The final editor of *On Luke 11: 5-9* must have known such traditions, as is shown by the somewhat cryptic eulogy that Athanasius addresses to his Isaurian guests (§1-2). He used them for two purposes: first, to embed the homily in the career of the historical Athanasius and present him as a good shepherd, even of the people of Isauria, and, second, to use the questions of the Isaurian clergy to give the homily a semblance of unity.

*Saint Athanasius and Saint Pachomius*

As was observed earlier, Pachomius plays a prominent role in the homilies *On Murder and Greed* and *On Luke 11: 5-9*. Both homilies contain elaborate stories that record meetings between Athanasius and "the blessed man and prophet Pachomius, the archimandrite of Tabennese" (*On Luke 11: 5-9*, §22). The meetings take place both in Alexandria and in Tabennese. The stories highlight the friendship between the two men and their mutual respect as well as Pachomius' extraordinary gift of clairvoyance. Similar stories occur also in other Coptic homilies.<sup>81</sup> In the historical sources about Athanasius no meeting between Athanasius and Pachomius is ever mentioned.

The stories clearly build upon the well known fact of Athanasius' vivid and active interest in Egyptian monasticism. Contacts between Athanasius and the monastic communities of Upper Egypt are attested by the Pachomian lives and other sources including genuine works of Athanasius himself.<sup>82</sup> Monks of these communities travelled to Alexandria for various purposes, as is shown by the Bohairic Life (69, 124) and the First Greek Life (111, 120).

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<sup>80</sup> T. Orlandi, *Testi copti: 1. Encomio di Atanasio, 2. Vita di Atanasio*, Milano, 1968, p. 27-28 (Sahidic text), 61-62 (Italian translation).

<sup>81</sup> For an example, see J. van der Vliet, "S. Pachome et S. Athanase: un entretien apocryphe", *AB* 110, 1992, p. 21-27.

<sup>82</sup> L. W. Barnard, "Athanasius and the Pachomians," *Studia Patristica* 32, 1997, p. 5-11.

Interestingly, the hagiographical texts related to Pachomius know only about a meeting between Athanasius and Pachomius that did *not* take place. The Bohairic Life<sup>83</sup> and the First Greek Life<sup>84</sup> are the only texts to mention Athanasius. Both lives present the narrative of a journey to Upper Egypt, undertaken by Athanasius directly after his ordination as archbishop of Alexandria (c. 328-330). The Bohairic Life tells a longer story as compared to the Greek. The narrative starts by describing the great importance of the visit of the archbishop to Upper Egypt and how he is welcomed by an escort of bishops and a large number of deacons and monks who surround him and chant psalms in front of him until he reaches their monastery and prays in their assembly and in the cells, (Bohairic Life 28, First Greek Life 30). The author of the story about the murderous deacon in the homily on *Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel* may have known this description, for - as I observed earlier - his description of the reception of Pachomius in Alexandria in (§15) is very much alike. Then Apa Sarapion, the bishop of Dendera, approaches Athanasius, praises Pachomius in his presence and asks the archbishop to ordain him a priest to serve the monastery and the monks. When Pachomius hears this, he runs away and hides. Athanasius notices that Pachomius has disappeared and then turns to the young monks and praises Pachomius humbly by saying: "If by God's will, we come back to you, may we deserve to see your honourable piety".<sup>85</sup> The stories in our homilies fill in the void left by the humble remark of Athanasius.

### *General conclusions*

Athanasius of Alexandria was and still is a very controversial historical figure. His life and works were known and studied during his lifetime as today. Authentic information about his life is to be found in his own

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<sup>83</sup> L. Th. Lefort, *S. Pachomii vita bohairice scripta*, 2 vols., (CSCO 89, 107), Louvain, 1925-1952, vol. 1, p. 28-30.

<sup>84</sup> F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii vitae graecae*, Subsidia hagiographica 19, Bruxelles, 1932, p. 72-73.

<sup>85</sup> A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, vol. 1: *The Life of Saint Pachomius and his Disciples*, Kalamazoo, 1980, p. 51-52.

works as well as in the Greek ecclesiastical histories. It is clear that the four Coptic homilies edited in this dissertation, adopt a different image of Athanasius. They do so intentionally, in a period in the history of Egyptian Christianity when Athanasius the theologian was not in demand anymore. Instead of the well educated theologian, we have the narrator of miraculous stories. Instead of the strong Athanasius who fought against the Arianism, we have the persecuted Athanasius, a martyr of Orthodoxy. Memories of councils and heretics are distorted so as to make them hardly recognizable.

As most of the literature preserved in Coptic was produced and reproduced in monastic milieus, the relationship between Athanasius and monasticism, in particular Pachomian monasticism is further developed. The authors made him a very close friend of Pachomius, whom he probably never met. For their picture of Athanasius, they may have started from the same Athanasius as narrated by the Greek historians, a towering figure from the past, yet in the end they produced 'another Athanasius'.

## Appendix: A Note on Possible Arabic Versions

In editing a corpus of texts attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria in Coptic, one should take one step back to see if this corpus once had Greek originals and one step forward to see if the corpus found its way into Arabic. The question of possible Greek originals was briefly discussed in my chapter on 'Authorship, Date and Place of the Homilies'. In this appendix, I will examine the corpus of texts circulating under the name of Athanasius in Arabic and present a brief report on the homilies that share features with the Coptic ones edited here.

The Arabic corpus attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria contains texts of various kinds. In some cases we can be sure of a Greek original. Others were written directly in Arabic. Still others are translations from the Coptic corpus of Pseudo-Athanasian texts. The latter include Biblical commentaries, homilies on various topics, letters, canons as well as polemic and dogmatic writings.<sup>1</sup> Here I want to investigate if and how the Sahidic homilies, which are edited in this dissertation, found their way into the Arabic context. For this purpose I examined a large number of works belonging to the Arabic pseudo-Athanasian corpus. I found three homilies that allow comparison with two of the Sahidic homilies edited in this dissertation.

### *On Michael.*

Arabic manuscripts that contain works claiming to be about Saint Michael the archangel and attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria are countless. In his history of Christian Arabic literature, Georg Graf classified them as a single homily for which he recorded

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<sup>1</sup> G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, Vatican City, 1944, p. 310-316; L. Cheikho, *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens depuis l'Islam*, Beirut, 1924, p. 24-25; S. Khalil (ed.), *The Lamp that Lights the Darkness in Clarifying the Service by Ibn-Kabar, the Priest of the Hanging Church*, vol. 1, Cairo, 1974, p. 292 (in Arabic).

many manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> There are still more manuscripts beyond those cited in Graf's work.<sup>3</sup> These various manuscript versions share the same structure and contents.

They start with a short introduction in which Athanasius declares that all the inhabitants of the earth and the heavens should rejoice because of Saint Michael's feast, for Michael is the greatest intercessor and his prayers are accepted by God. Then the author starts to praise Michael as the captain of the celestial hosts, as an angel who is close to God and entrusted with the Lord's orders.

As Graf already noted, two miraculous stories occupy the largest part of the homily. The first is about a lazy man from Alexandria who used not to work but asked Michael to help him. After many days of begging by day and by night, Michael appears to the lazy man and advises him to go and meet somebody to borrow three hundred dinars from him. When the lazy man got the money, he left his city in order to invest his money. Michael supported him and facilitated his ways. Thus, the three hundred dinars turned into a big fortune. The man decided to pay back the three hundred dinars. He puts six hundred dinars in a box and threw it in the sea, asking Michael to help him and cause the money to reach its owner. Saint Michael prepared a big fish to catch the box. Then the rich man, who lent the lazy man the money, caught the fish and got his money back. The lazy man paid an extra three hundred dinars to the Church of Saint Michael.

The second story is about a poor pregnant woman whose husband had deserted her because they were very poor.<sup>4</sup> The woman asked

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<sup>2</sup> Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 542.

<sup>3</sup> For example, in a manuscript preserved at the Coptic Museum in Cairo (History 576), dated AD 1715; see W.F. Macomber et al., *Final Inventory of the Microfilmed Manuscripts of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, Egypt*, Utah, 1995, Roll: B-12, Item 1. G.

<sup>4</sup> An edition of the story based on two different manuscripts appeared in O. von Lemm, "Die arabische Version des Codex Gothanus", in: J. Schick, *Corpus Hamleticum: Hamlet in Sage und Dichtung, Kunst und Musik*, vol. 1:

Michael to give her a boy to help her. Michael asked the Lord on her behalf and He promised that she shall deliver a boy and that the boy shall inherit all the properties of her rich greedy neighbour. When her neighbour heard this, he decided to kill the boy. He put him in a basket and threw him in the sea. Saint Michael picked the boy up and took him to a very far city. Some shepherds found the boy and raised him. Later the rich man met one of the shepherds and heard their story about the boy, who was called Thalason (in later versions *Bahri*). The rich man again tried to kill the boy by sending him to his wife with a message. In the message he asked his wife to kill the boy. Once more, Michael saved the boy by changing the message for another one that tells the wife of the rich man to let the boy marry her daughter. When the rich man came back and saw the wedding, he fell down and died. When his wife saw his dead body, she fell dead as well. The boy married the daughter of the rich man and inherited all his treasures. God's promises were kept, thanks to the almighty powers of Saint Michael.

In the epilogue of the homily, the author speaks about the end of days. He describes the horrible fate of the sinners and the great rewards promised to the righteous ones. Michael here appears as one who begs God to give the sinners another chance to repent. God always accepts the prayers of Michael. The text presents Michael as the great intercessor and encourages the congregation to ask for his help.

When the author wants to stress that the speaker is Athanasius himself, he uses the expression: "as for me, your father, Athanasius", which is frequently found in the Coptic pseudo-Athanasian homilies. The text may therefore be a translation from a lost Coptic homily. This becomes even more likely when one

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*Sagengeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1912, p. 340-354 (text), 355-364 (translation); another edition appeared in I. Kratskovsky, "A Miracle of the Archangel Michael in Palestine", *Al-Mashriq* 12, 1909, p. 448-454 (in Arabic).

considers that the name of the Archangel Gabriel appears suddenly beside that of Michael as one of the main actors in the stories. Some Coptic homilies, such as the encomium *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels*, were about both angels. In the Arabic homily, however, the homilist focuses on Michael, for liturgical purposes, and the name of Gabriel may have slipped in by inadvertence.

The name of the boy from the second story, Thalason, apparently deriving from the Greek *θάλασσα*, 'sea', suggests that the story was translated from Greek or Coptic. In later versions, the scribes preferred to translate the name into *Bahri*, which means 'the one of the sea' in Arabic. Moreover, a Sahidic fragment that contains a portion of the story was discovered<sup>5</sup> and there are indications that the same story was composed originally in Greek and later found its way into Ethiopic.<sup>6</sup> It seems that the entire homily was translated from Greek or Coptic into Arabic and then into Ethiopic. In any case, the story of the boy Thalason was widely known.

The homily briefly presented above is related to the encomium *On Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels* in many respects. Both use storytelling as a basic technique to persuade and amuse the audience. The stories work as a method and as a purpose in themselves. They occupy most of the homily. Presenting the miraculous powers of the saint is the main point of the stories. The stories neither adopt a clear literary style nor do they play with words to produce rhetorical effects. In comparison with any genuine work of Athanasius, one can easily discover that this homily is certainly not his, also because Athanasius' milieu is totally absent in this homily.

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<sup>5</sup> Von Lemm, "Codex Gothanus", p. 365-373.

<sup>6</sup> Von Lemm, "Codex Gothanus", p. 374-379.

*On Pentecost.*

Georg Graf in his handbook on Christian Arabic literature states that there are two homilies on Pentecost attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria. Both homilies are preserved in many manuscripts, kept in the Vatican, Beirut and Cairo. Graf mentioned one more homily on Pentecost kept in Paris but was not able to decide whether it was a recension of one of those mentioned earlier or a different one.<sup>7</sup> Here I present a brief report on the contents of Paris. ar. 143. f. 116v-122r,<sup>8</sup> which contains the same text as preserved in Coptic Museum Theo. 395. f. 200r-202v, and a notice on the second one, as preserved in the same codex of the Coptic Museum, Theo. 395. f. 202v-211r.<sup>9</sup>

The Parisian manuscript is a voluminous codex consisting of 353 folios. It is a paper codex mostly made of oriental paper with occasional parts on western paper. All folios measure 18 × 12 cm. and the number of lines is 14-18 line per page. The codex has two colophons. On f. 151r, a first colophon declares that the scribe is deacon Ilyas (Elijah) and dates the manuscript to the year 6818 since Adam (AD 1310). A second one, on f. 353v, mentions a priest Abd al-Masih as the restorer of the codex for the sake of metropolitan Gregory of Hauran in the year 7159 since Adam (AD 1651). The codex contains a number of homilies, most of them attributed to John Chrysostom.

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<sup>7</sup> Graf, *Geschichte*, p. 314.

<sup>8</sup> G. Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*: 1re Partie: tome I: *Manuscrits chrétiens*, Nos. 1-323, Paris, 1972, Nr. 143.14, p. 105. Basic descriptions and tables of contents of the Arabic manuscripts kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France were made available recently for subscribers via its official website: <http://www.bnf.fr/fr/acc/x.accueil.html>.

<sup>9</sup> M. Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt*, vol. 1, Cairo, 1939, Nr. 59, p. 31-32; W.F. Macomber et al., *Final Inventory*, Roll A-16, Item 1, Nr. 32-33.

The homily that concerns us here begins with a short title that states the name of the author, Saint Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, and the theme, the holy feast of Pentecost. The body of the homily starts with Athanasius asking for the great grace that came upon the apostles on the day of Pentecost in order that he too may speak well (f. 117r). Then Athanasius declares that Christ has promised his apostles to send them the Holy Spirit. Athanasius quotes many verses from the Bible to prove that it was God's plan since the beginning that people should see the Son in a human nature. Then the Son will prepare them to receive the fruits of the Spirit (f. 117r).<sup>10</sup>

Then the author relates the details of the day of Pentecost. He speaks about the number fifty and how it refers to seven weeks according to Moses' law.<sup>11</sup> He goes on to describe the divided tongues of fire which rested upon each of the apostles (f. 118r).<sup>12</sup> The author attacks the 'ignorant Jews' who did not understand the real meaning of their feasts. They, according to the author, knew Christ's symbols in the Old Testament but could not grasp their full meaning. Although the Jews were there on the day of Pentecost and Peter spoke to them, they didn't believe (f. 118r–119v).<sup>13</sup> The author compares the flame of fire which appeared upon the bush before Moses<sup>14</sup> with the tongues of fire which came upon the apostles (f. 120r). He also compares the events that occurred when God confused the languages of all the earth after the erection of the tower of Babel<sup>15</sup> with those of Pentecost when the apostles were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in different tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance (f. 120v–121r). The author ends his homily by advising his audience

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<sup>10</sup> Gal. 5: 22.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. 25: 8.

<sup>12</sup> Acts 2: 1-6.

<sup>13</sup> Acts 2: 5-39.

<sup>14</sup> Ex. 3: 2.

<sup>15</sup> Gen. 11: 9.

to keep in mind how God performed miracles for his apostles so that He may do the same for them (f. 122r).

The Parisian version of the Arabic homily on Pentecost shares certain features with the Sahidic homily on *Pentecost*. Both share their title and the false attribution to Athanasius. Both their authors show their good knowledge of the Bible by giving many Biblical quotations in support of their points of view. Storytelling is absent in both of them.

The other Arabic homily on Pentecost which is attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria is preserved in Coptic Museum, Theo. 395. f. 202v-211r. It is made of modern paper and dated 7 Baramudah 1437 AM (13 April, AD 1721). It consists of 228 folios and its size is 29 × 18 cm. The codex contains a collection of various homilies on the feasts of the Lord.

This homily starts with a short title that attributes it to Saint Athanasius the Apostolic, patriarch of Alexandria, and sets the subject as Pentecost. The author introduces his homily with the difference between the promises of God in the Old and the New Testaments. Then he begins a lengthy speech about the three hypostases, their nature and the relationship between each other (f. 203r–204v). After this the author comments on the number seven and its meanings (f. 205r). Then he comes to the details of the day of Pentecost, which he describes by quoting a wealth of Biblical verses (f. 206r–208r). The author speaks about the Holy Spirit and why it resembles fire (f. 208v-209r). He ends his homily by an epilogue, declaring that the Holy Spirit is equal to the Father and the Son (f. 211r).

The nature of the Coptic Museum homily on Pentecost is quite different from the Sahidic one edited here. Overall, the Arabic homily on Pentecost looks like an apologetic text rather than a homily composed to preach people during a festival. The largest part of the homily is taken up by the theme of the hypostases and

the author's defence of the dogma of the Trinity. Precisely these topics earned more importance after the Islamic conquest of Egypt.

It must be stressed that both homilies share with the Sahidic homily *On Pentecost* practically only their pretended author and their title. The language of both Arabic homilies is of a high standard. The authors choose their words carefully, especially when discussing theological themes. Both contents and style of the two Arabic homilies are strikingly different, however.

The Parisian homily presents spiritual contemplations on the day of Pentecost. Pentecost is really its main topic, rather different than the Sahidic homily *On Pentecost*, which deals with many other themes, such as the Christian household and wealth and poverty. Judging from its genre, the Parisian homily is really suitable to be preached during the feast of Pentecost. Its textual units are interrelated. Every point smoothly introduces the audience to the next one. One does not observe any sudden jumps to foreign themes.

The other homily, here represented by the Coptic Museum manuscript, is completely different. It looks much more like our Sahidic homily *On Pentecost* in that the theme mentioned in the title is marginal to the general context, whereas other themes, not mentioned in the title, occupy most of the homily. The language is clear, simple and attractive, although the topic is considered difficult. The author builds his sentences carefully in order to give them the exact meaning which he needs. He does not try to make his language more attractive by playing with the word order. His sentences are short and simple.

To conclude, no traces of any of the Sahidic homilies edited in this dissertation have been found in Arabic till present. The Arabic homily on Michael shares some literary strategies with similar Coptic homilies, such as false attribution, the occasion on

## A Note on Possible Arabic Versions

which the homily is delivered, long paraenetic passages and the technique of storytelling that is adopted in order to bring out the glory of the subject and his efficacy as a helper of mankind. Yet it is different in its substance, in particular the stories are totally different. The similarities are best explained by the hypothesis that the Arabic homily was translated from a lost Greek or Coptic model.

The Arabic homilies on Pentecost, even if they would derive from Greek or Coptic models, are entirely different in spirit and in contents. They contain an orderly and well written exegesis of the events of Pentecost (in the Parisian text) and a discussion of complicated theological issues related to Pentecost (in the Coptic Museum homily). Both, therefore, differ substantially from the Sahidic homily *On Pentecost*.



## Editorial Method

In preparing my editions and translations of the four homilies, it was first of all my purpose to make these texts accessible and intelligible for modern readers, including those who lack profound knowledge of Coptic, and to make them easily available for future research of various natures. Therefore, the homilies are edited here as texts, not as manuscripts, even though the reader can very easily find his or her way back to the manuscripts, via the Coptic text (the numbers of the manuscript pages are integrated into the editions). Noteworthy features of the manuscripts, such as illuminations and marginal signs, are described in the introduction.

In my edition of the texts, the punctuation of the ancient scribes is ignored and a modern one (Greek style) is introduced by me. All abbreviations are resolved. Because the superlineation of the manuscripts is non-standard and follows no obvious rule, I decided to ignore it totally. For the word division, I followed the system proposed by Walter Till in *BIFAO* 60, 1960, with minor liberties. I divided the texts of the first and the fourth homilies into numbered paragraphs. Each paragraph contains an independent unit of thought within the greater sections. For the second and the third homilies, I followed the paragraph numbers of Tito Orlandi's Italian translations as much as possible, adding numbers for the final paragraphs which Orlandi ignored. The headings of the greater sections of the homilies are mine.

In order to give the reader as much information as possible about the textual transmission of the texts, I provide an edition of all fragments of the other manuscript versions which I was able to identify. Most of them have not been edited before and the editions of the others can sometimes be corrected. The *variae lectiones* of the earlier editions can be found in my apparatus. For easy comparison, I preferred to provide the fragmentary versions

in parallel columns to the text of the principal manuscripts because the variant readings are usually too many to accommodate in a critical apparatus as well as for easy comparison.

Here, I should make it clear that I did not have the opportunity to work on the original manuscripts of either the main manuscripts or the parallel fragments. I edited the main manuscripts from the facsimile edition of Henry Hyvernât and the parallel fragments from the published photos, the photos available online via <http://gallica.bnf.fr/> and those provided to me by Alin Suciu. Jacques van der Vliet kindly allowed me to use the results of his collation of the Pierpont Morgan manuscripts in Summer 1998.

I followed the following *sigla* in my editions:

- ( $\lambda\beta\Gamma$ )      Parentheses indicate letters supplied by the editor.
- { $\lambda\beta\Gamma$ }
- [ $\lambda\beta\Gamma$ ]      Square brackets indicate lacunae in the manuscripts. In case the number of letters of the lacuna can be estimated up to six letters, dots [.....] are provided according to the number of the missing letters. In case the number of letters in the lacuna is more than six, or cannot be estimated at all, three short horizontal strokes [---] are given.
- [[ $\lambda\beta\Gamma$ ]]      Double square brackets indicate a deletion by the ancient scribe.
- ' $\lambda\beta\Gamma$ '      High diagonal strokes indicate insertions of the ancient scribe above the regular lines.
- $\lambda\beta\Gamma$       Dots placed under letters indicate that the letter is visually uncertain even if the context makes it certain.

## Editorial Method

In my English translations, I use three dots ... when there is a lacuna in the text. For the comfort of the readers, I do not indicate the length of the lacunae in the translations in order not to interrupt the flow of the text. I use parentheses ( ) to indicate a word that is missing in the text but necessary to understand the context.



## Encomium on Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria

(f. 89r) **Θ** ΟΥΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΕΑΦΤΑΟΥΟΥ ΝΣΙ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΝΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ, ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΛΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ, ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΡΑΚΟΤΕ, ΕΠΤΑΙΟ ΜΠΝΟΣ ΣΝΑΥ ΝΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΜΝ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΑΥΩ ΧΕ ΟΥΝΟΣ ΠΕ ΠΒΕΚΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΑΤΒΒΟΥΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΕΥΩΑ ΝΣΕΒΙ ΝΝΕΥΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΝΣΕΒΩΚ ΕΝΕΥΤΟΠΟΣ. ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΖΑΜΗΝ.

1 **Ω**ΤΗ ΕΡΟΙ {ΕΡΟΙ}, Ω ΝΑΩΗΡΕ ΜΜΕΡΙΤ, ΤΑΧΩ ΕΡΩΤΗ <Ν>ΝΕΩΠΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤ[Ε] ΜΝ ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΤ[ΕΥ]ΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΜ[ΜΑΝ], ΕΦΒΙ ΜΠΡΟΥΩ [Ν]ΤΕΦΖΙΚΩΝ, [ΕΦΤΟΥ]ΝΟΥΣ ΝΑΝ ΕΖ[ΡΑΙ ΝΤΑ]ΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ ΜΠ[ΜΟΥ] ΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ, [ΕΦΕΙ]ΡΕ ΝΑΝ Ζ[....]ΒΗΣ ΔΟΥ[---]ΔΑΧΟΝ Ν[---]ΧΟΝ[---] (f. 89v) ΝΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ ΝΤΑ[Σ]ΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΜΟΥ ΜΠΕΙΕΡΟ ΩΑ ΠΧΩΚ ΝΣΟΥ ΝΕΒΟΤ, ΜΠΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΟΥΕΜ ΟΕΙΚ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΟΥΣΕ ΜΟΥ, ΕΥΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑ ΤΕΦΖΙΚΩΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΕΖΗΡΑΝΕ<sup>1</sup> ΑΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΠΩΖ ΑΥΜΟΥ.

2 ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΦΧΙ ΖΜ ΠΣΩΜΑ ΜΝ ΠΕΣΝΟΥ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ, ΕΦΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΕΦΩΡΚ ΕΧΝ ΤΕΦΠ[ΟΡ]ΝΙΑ, ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΖΗΥ ΜΠΑΙ; ΧΕ ΦΜΟΩΕ ΖΩΣ ΕΣΟΥ. ΠΑΙ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΧΟΟΣ ΕΤΒΗΝΤΦ [ΧΕ], Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ, ΝΤΚ [ΝΙΜ] ΝΤΟΚ ΕΟΥΩΖΜ [ΟΥΒ]Ε ΠΝΟΥΤΕ; [ΜΗ Π]ΕΠΛΑΣΜΑ ΝΑΕΩ[ΧΟΟΣ] ΜΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΦ[ΠΛΑΣΣΕ] ΜΜΟΥ ΧΕ ΕΤ[ΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΚΤ]ΑΜΙΟ ΝΤΕΙ[ΜΙΝΕ; Η] ΜΝΤΕ [ΠΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ] ΤΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ [ΜΜΑΥ ΕΤΑΜΙΟ] ΕΒΟΛ [ΖΜ ΠΟΜΕ ΝΟΥΣΚΕ]ΥΟΣ [ΕΥΤΑΕΙΟ ΑΥΩ ΚΕ]ΟΥΑ ΕΥΣΩΩ;

3 ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΔΕ Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ ΝΤΟΥ, ΠΕΝΤΑΦΤΑΜΙΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ, ΜΠΦ† ΝΟΥΜΕΡΟΣ ΕΠΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΑΣΕΒΗΣ ΑΥΩ ΩΑΖΡΑΙ

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<sup>1</sup> ἐγξήραίνω.

ΕΠΡΗ ΜΝ ΠΟΟΖ ΣΕΡ ΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΖΙ ΟΥΣΟΠ. ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΟΥΝ  
ΟΥΑ ΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΙ ΖΝ ΜΜΑΙΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΝΕΝΤΑ  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΣΟΤΠΟΥ. †ΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΦ ΖΩ ΔΕ ΤΜΕ ΤΕ ΑΛΛΑ  
ΜΠΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΡ ΝΟΣ, ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕΤΣΩΤΠ ΝΑΦ  
ΝΝΕΖΗΒΥΕ ΜΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΩΑΝΤΕΦΩΠΕ ΜΠΑΡΑΒΑΤΗΣ  
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΝΡΩΜΕ.

4 ΟΥΟΙ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΦΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΝΩΜΜΟ. ΟΥΟΙ  
ΝΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΜΠΑΡΑΒΑΤΗΣ ΕΣΧΩΖΜ ΜΜΟΣ ΜΝ ΟΥΖΟΟΥΤ  
ΝΩΜΜΟ. ΔΦΚΥΛΕΥΕ ΝΒΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ ΜΑΡΟΥΖΟΤΒΟΥ  
ΜΠΕΣΝΑΥ. ΔΝΟΚ ΖΩ †ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΗΤΝ ΔΕ ΣΑΖΕΤΗΥΤΝ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΙΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΙ(f. 90r)ΚΑΤΑΛΑΛΙΑ. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ  
ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤ† ΜΜΟΥ ΕΤΠΟΡΝΙΑ, ΕΩΩΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΕΩ  
ΠΕΦΟΥΧΔΑΙ, ΩΑΦΒΙ ΝΝΕΦΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΟΟΤΦ ΕΥΟ ΝΩΡΑΡΖΕ  
ΝΦΚΑΑΦ ΖΝ ΤΛΥΠΗ ΜΝ ΠΑΩΑΖΟΜ ΩΑΝΤΕΦΜΕΤΑΝΟΙ ΝΦΡ  
ΒΟΛ ΕΝΚΟΛΑCΙC ΕΤΕ ΜΝ ΝΑ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ.

5 ΕΩΩΠΕ ΟΥΑ ΠΕ ΕΑΦΩΠΕ ΝΑCΕΒΗΣ ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ, ΩΑΡΕ  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΙ ΚΒΑ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΝ ΝΚΟΛΑCΙC ΕΥΔΙΜΩΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ 'ΖΝ  
ΝΕΖΙΟΟΥΕ' ΜΠΑΤΕΦΒΟΚ ΡΩ ΩΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΝΕΦΩΗΡΕ ΔΕ  
ΦΝΑΚΑΑΥ ΝΦΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΔΕ ΣΕΝΑΡΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΦ  
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΑΦΤΑΜΙΟΥ ΦΙΝ ΜΜΟΝ ΣΕΝΑΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΕ  
ΝCΕΤΑΚΟ ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΑΥ ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ.

6 †ΝΑΧΩ ΔΕ ΕΡΩΤΝ ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥΩΠΕ ΖΝ ΤΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΦΙΝ  
ΝΩΡΠ. Δ ΧΟΥΤΑΦΤΕ ΝΩΟ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΛΑΟΣ  
ΜΠΙ(CΡΑ)ΗΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΔΥΡΝΟΒΕ ΔΥΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ  
ΜΠΑΛΛΑΚΗ. Δ ΣΝΑΥ ΝΤΒΑ ΟΥΒΟΣ ΜΟΥ ΖΝ ΓΑΒΑΑ ΝΤΕ  
ΒΕΝΕΑΜΙΝ. ΝΤΑ ΝΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΝΟΥΩΤ  
ΔΕ ΔΥΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ ΝΜΜΑC.

7 ΔΥΜΟΥ ΝΒΙ ΩΟΜΝΤ ΝΩΟ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΠΟΡΝΙΑ. Δ  
CΑΜΨΩΝ ΖΩΤΒ ΝΟΥΩΟ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΟΥCΟΠ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΖΝ  
ΟΥΜΕΡΟΥΟCΕ ΝΕΙΩ ΔΥΩ ΔCΘΕΒΒΙΕ ΤΕΦCΟΜ ΝΒΙ ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ

ΝΟΥΩΤ ΕΣΖΟΥ. ΝΤΑΥΖΩΤΒ ΝΑΜΝΩ(Ν) ΕΤΒΕ ΤΠΟΡΝΙΑ ΧΕ  
ΑΦΩΠΕ ΜΠΑΡΑΒΑΤΗΣ ΔΑΡΝΟΒΕ [ΜΝ] ΤΕΨΩΝΕ. ΔΣΘΒΒΙΟ  
ΝΒΙ ΤΣΟΜ [ΝΟ]ΡΟΦΕΡΝΗΣ<sup>2</sup> ΕΤ[ΒΕ] ΠΣΑ ΜΠΖΟ Ν[ΙΟΥΔΙΘ],  
ΤΣΟΦΗ Ν[ΣΖΙΜΕ]. ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΣΖΙ[ΜΕ ΝΟΥΩΤ] ΝΤΑ ΠΜ[ΟΥ  
ΝΙΩ(ΔΑΝΝΗ)Σ] ΠΒΑΠ[ΤΙΣΤΗΣ], ΠΕΠ[ΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ Μ]  
ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ, [ΩΠΕ] Π[--- Π](f. 90v)ΛΟΓΟΣ.

8 ΑΥΩ ΟΝ †ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΧΕ ΜΟΓΙΣ ΝΓΣΝ ΟΥΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ  
ΟΥΩΟ ΕΑΦΡΝΟΕΙΚ ΕΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ ΜΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΥΩΦ, ΜΠΟΥΕΙΡΕ  
ΕΤΩΦ ΝΤΟΥ ΕΙΕ ΤΕΨΩΝΕ ΕΙΕ ΤΕΨΩΕΕΡΕ. ΖΑΠΛΩΣ  
ΤΠΑΡΑΒΑΣΙΣ ΝΤΑΦΑΑΣ ΣΕΝΑΑΑΣ ΝΑΦ ΩΑ ΩΟΜΝΤΕ ΕΙΕ ΨΤΟ  
ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΩΠΕ ΜΠΜΕΤΑΝΟΙ ΝΦΣΑΖΩΩΦ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΜΠΑΤΕΨΜΟΥ.

9 ΕΝΣΩΤΜ ΒΕ ΕΝΑΙ, Ω ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ, ΜΑΡΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ  
ΣΑΖΩΩΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΠΟΡΝΙΑ ΝΦΚΑΔΟΡΘΟΥ [Μ]ΠΤΒΒΟ.  
[ΠΕΧ]ΔΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΒΙ ΠΑ[ΠΟΣ]ΤΟΛΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΕΤ[ΤΩΒΕ] ΜΜΟΥ  
ΕΤΠΟΡ[ΝΗ, ΟΥΣΑ]ΡΖ ΝΟΥΩΤ [ΠΕ ---]ΗΣ ΒΕ ΕΡΟΙ [---] ΠΖΗΥ  
Ν[---]ΨΕΙΡΕ [---] ΜΜΕ [---, ΠΕΤ]ΤΩΒΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ  
ΟΥΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Δ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΠΕ.

10 ΕΚΩΔΑΝΤΒΒΟ ΓΑΡ ΜΠΕΚΜΑΝΝΚΟΤΚ, ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ ΠΩΗΡΕ  
ΝΑΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ ΧΕ ΑΚΤΒΒΟ ΜΠΓΑΜΟΣ ΕΤΤΑΙΝΥ ΩΑΝΤΕΚΧΙ  
ΜΠΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΑΥΩ ΚΝΑΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΜΝ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΜΝ  
ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΚ† ΜΠΕΚΟΥΟΙ ΕΠΕΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ. ΚΑΙ  
ΓΑΡ ΟΥΣΩΜΑ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΠΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΝ ΤΕΨΖΙΜΕ ΑΥΩ  
ΑΥΖΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤΝ ΕΤΡΕ(Ν)ΖΑΓΝΕΥΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΜΠΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ΜΝ  
ΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ ΜΝ ΝΩΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΔΥΜΟΣΙΟΝ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΝΣΝ ΩΑΧΕ  
ΕΧΩ ΜΠΕΖΟΥΟΥ ΜΠΝΟΣ ΝΖΑΠ. ΚΟΥΩΩ ΕΤΡΟΥΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ  
ΖΙΤΜ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΝ ΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΜΝ

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<sup>2</sup> Read ΝΟΛΟΦΕΡΝΗΣ.

ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ; ΤΒΒΟ (f. 91r) ΜΠΕΚΣΩΜΑ ΜΝ ΠΕΚΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Δ,  
 ΠΤΒΒΟ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΩΟΥΩΟΥ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ. ΕΡΩΔΑΝ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΜΝ  
 ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΚ ΔΕ ΑΚΤΒΒΟΚ, ΣΕΝΑΒΝ ΘΕ ΝΣΟΠΣ ΕΧΩΚ  
 ΝΣΕΑΔΑΚ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΡΗΝΗ ΜΠΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΚΡΙΤΗΣ ΜΜΕ,  
 ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΝΤΕΚΑΝΑΓΚΗ, ΕΚΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΣΩΜΑ  
 ΜΠΑΤΕΚΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΠΕΚΡΙΤΗΣ ΜΜΕ, ΜΠΕΖΟΥΥ ΝΤΕΚΑΝΑΓΚΗ,  
 ΩΔΑΝΤΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΣΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ. ΕΚΩΔΑΝΡ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ  
 ΜΝ ΠΕΤΚΟ ΝΧΑΔΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΜΠΑΤΕΚΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ,  
 ΩΔΑΡΕ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΜΝ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΣΟΠΣ ΕΧΩΚ ΝΣΕΑΔΑΚ ΝΩΗΡΕ  
 ΝΤΡΗΝΗ.

**11** ΕΡΩΔΑΝ ΤΕΙΑΡΕΤΗ ΩΩΠΕ ΝΑΚ, ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΠΕ  
 ΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Δ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΝΑΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ, ΝΓΩΩΠΕ ΖΑ ΠΕΣΜΟΥ  
 ΜΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΤΑΚ, ΝΨΣΜΟΥ ΕΝΕΧΠΟ ΝΖΗΤΚ ΝΓΑΠΟΛΑΥΕ  
 ΜΠΕΣΜΟΥ ΝΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΝΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΜΝ  
 ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ. ΕΚΩΔΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΟΥΑ ΕΦΖΚΑΕΙΤ ΝΓΧΙΤΓ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΠΕΚΗΙ ΝΓΤΜΜΑΥ,<sup>3</sup> ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΖΩΩΥ ΝΑΔΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ ΝΑΚ  
 ΝΨΤΜΜΑΚ<sup>4</sup> ΔΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΤΗΜΟΙ ΕΙΖΚΑΕΙΤ, †ΝΑΧΑΡΙΖΕ  
 ΝΑΚ ΝΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΤΗΡΣ ΝΣΩΜ[Δ]ΤΙΚΟΝ. ΕΚΩΔΑΝΤΣΕ ΟΥΑ  
 [ΕΦΟ]ΒΕ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΜΜ[ΟΟΥ] ΜΜΑΤΕ ΖΜ Π[ΡΑΝ Ν]  
 ΟΥΜΑΘΗΤ[ΗΣ, ΖΑΜΗΝ] ΝΝΕΚΣΩ[ΡΜ]<sup>5</sup> ΜΠΕΚ]ΒΕΚΗ. [---]  
 ΠΡΩΜ[Ε ---] ΜΜΗ[---] ΝΝ[---] (f. 91v) ΜΝ ΝΑ ΤΕΥΩΗ.

**12** ΑΚΡΝΟΒΕ ΓΑΡ ΖΜ ΠΣΩΜΑ; ΣΕΝΑΚΟΛΑΖΕ ΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ  
 ΝΤΑΣΡΝΟΒ<Ε>, ΝΤΕ ΠΣΩΜΑ ΖΩΩΥ ΚΤΟΥ ΕΠΚΑΖ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ  
 ΕΤΣΗΖ ΔΕ ΑΔΑΜ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΚΑΖ, ΕΚΝΑΚΟΤΚ ΟΝ ΕΠΚΑΖ.  
 ΔΚΕΓΡΑΤΕΥΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΤΕΚΣΖΙΜΕ ΝΝΕΖΟΥΥ ΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ,  
 ΠΕΥΤΟΥΥ ΜΝ ΠΣΟΥΥ ΜΝ ΠΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ΜΝ ΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ ΜΝ

<sup>3</sup> Read ΝΓΤΜΜΟΥ.

<sup>4</sup> Read ΝΨΤΜΜΟΚ.

<sup>5</sup> Ms. ΝΝΕΨΣΩ[ΡΜ].

ΤΠΑΝΗΓΕΡΙC ΝΝΩΑ ΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ; ΚΝΑΑΠΟΛΑΥΕ ΝΝΕCΜΟΥ  
ΝΝΕΙΝΟC ΜΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΜΝ ΙCΑΔΚ ΜΝ  
ΙΑΚΩΒ, ΝΤΕ [ΜΙ]ΧΑΗΛ ΜΝ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ [CΜ]ΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ.  
ΕΚΩΔΑΝ[ΠΩ]ΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ [ΝΕΙΠΡ]ΑΖΙC ΝΒΟΤΕ [ΝΓCΕΤ]Π  
ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC [ΝΑΚ ...] ΝΒΡΡΕ ΖΝ [---]Δ ΝΤΕ ΜΙ[ΧΑΗΛ ΜΝ  
Γ]ΑΒΡΙΗΛ [---]Κ ΕΡΕ [---]ΡΑΩΕ [---]Κ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ.

**13** ΝΕΥΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΡΙΑΝΟC ΖΝ ΤΕΙΠΟΛΙC, ΕΦΗΠ  
ΕΤΕΘΡΥCΚΙΑ<sup>6</sup> ΝΝΑΡΙΑΝΟC, ΕΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟC. ΑΦΩΠΕ  
ΔΕ ΝΔΙΩΚΤΗC ΕΦCΤΑCΙΑΖΕ ΖΝ ΝΕΦΩΔΧΕ ΝΧΙΟΥΑ.  
ΑΦΤΟΛΜΑ ΖΝ ΤΕΦΚΑΚΟΔΟΖΙΑ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΕΝΕΜΠΕ  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΩ ΝΝΕΙΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΕΥ† ΟΥΒΗΝ, ΕΝΕΝΝΑΩΠΕ  
ΠΕ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΤΗΡΝ ΖΙ ΟΥCΟΠ. ΕΦCΩΤΜ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΒΙ  
ΟΥΠΡΟΤΕΚΤΩΡ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΓΕΝΕΤΟ, ΝΓΝΑΛΟ ΑΝ ΖΝ  
ΤΕΚΜΑΝΙΑ, Ω ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟC; ΝΤΟΦ ΔΕ ΑΦΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ ΖΩC  
ΑΔΑΚΤΟC ΖΙΘΗ ΜΠΕΠΡΟΔΕΚΤΩΡ, ΑΦΚΥΛΕΥΕ ΝΝCΙΓΝΟΦΟΡΟC  
ΕΤΡΕΥΑCΦΑΛΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΦ.

**14** ΝΕ CΟΥ ΜΗΤΟΥΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΕΖΟΥΦ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΕΖΤΟΥΕ  
ΝCΟΥΜΗΝΤCΝΟΥC, ΕΤΕ ΠΕΖΟΥΦ ΠΕ ΜΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC  
ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ, (f. 92r) ΠΑΡΧΗCΤΡΑΤΟΙΓΟC ΝΤCΘΜ  
ΝΜΠΗΥΕ ΜΝ ΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ. ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ  
ΑΦΗΚΟΤΚ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΛΥΠΗ ΕΦΜΟΚΜΕΚ ΜΜΟΦ ΕΖΕΝΝΟC  
ΜΠΕΘΟΥΦ ΑΥΩ ΑΦΩΙΝΕ ΝCΑ ΕΠΕΙΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΠΡΑ(Ν)  
ΝΝΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ' ΝΕΥΝΤΑΦ ΔΕ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΤΕΙΤΕΧΝΗ ΝΒΟΤΕ.  
ΜΗΝCΑ ΤΡΕ ΤΠΑΩΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ ΩΠΠΕ ΑΦΕΙ ΝΒΙ  
ΠΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΑΦΩΔΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΦ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΑΝΕΧΕ  
ΜΜΟΙ ΜΠΟΥΦ ΧΕ ΠΕΖΟΥΦ ΠΕ ΜΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΧΕ  
ΝΝΕ ΟΥΠΕΘΟΥΦ ΤΑΖΟΙ ΝΤΕΚΑΦΟΡΜΗ.

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<sup>6</sup> θρησκεία.

15 πεχε πρωμε δε ουναντ πε μιχανη, νηνατακον αν.  
 πεχε πλαιμωνιον δε αλλα ουφωαζνηκωστ πε γαβρηηλ,  
 φηαπατασσε μμον μπεςναγ. ναι δε ευχω μμοου μη  
 νεγερηγ, α ταποφασις μπινογτε ωωπε εχμ  
 πταλαιπωρος ετημαγ αφ† μπεφπν(εγμ)α ρη  
 ουμηντεβιην μπατε πογοειν φα. ουνος δε νροτε ντε  
 πινογτε ασωωπε εχν νενταγσωτμ τηρου, ερε ουον  
 νιμ φαδε επταιο μπαρχαγγελος μιχανη μη γαβρηηλ.

16 ουρωμε δε ον εογρητπενταπολις πε, παι δε νερε  
 ουωρηε κοιι ωοοπ ναφ. νεγνταφ δε νογνος  
 μμηντρμαο. ασωωπε δε μνησα ρενκογι νροου  
 αφωωνε νσι πεφωρηε αφρ βαλη. πρωμε δε ρωωφ  
 αφμητον μμοφ ρραι ρη νε[ι]ροου κατα πτωω νρωμε  
 νιμ. αγε[ινε] δε ντεφπρο<σ>φορ[α εν]τοπος  
 ντενπ[ολις] αγω αφ† νω[ε νρολο]κοτινος επι[σκο]πιον  
 α[---] δε ον ετ[---]τοπο[σ ---] μπ[---] π[---]. (f. 92v)  
 μπρογν δε νωομντ νροου αφωωαπ επαρογ  
 μπεφωρηε, αφμητον μμοφ κατα πτωω νρωμε νιμ.

17 ουρωμε δε μμαιογτε αφωαδε μη πεφκογι νωρηε  
 εφχω μμος δε εωωπε ερνακ πε † ναι νωε  
 νρολοκοτινος, ταρ ρωβ νρητογ ντηνωρ μπεςναγ.  
 πωρηε δε ωημ αφραωε αφτωογν ντεγνογ αφεινε ναφ  
 μηωε νρολοκοτινος, ρωσ αξιωματικος εφο νροτ,  
 κγπερ<sup>7</sup> ενεγμογτε [ερ]οφ ρη τπολις τηρσ [χε]  
 πβαιροογω νη[ρηκ]ε. πετπιρα[ζε δε] νογον νιμ

<sup>7</sup> Quite a rare use and attestation of *καίπερ*. For examples and more attestations, see G. Bauer, *Die Zettelkästen*, p. 27-28, available only via <http://research.uni-leipzig.de/ddglc/docs/GertrudBauerCardindex.pdf>. Consulted in 2016.

[αϕηρ]ἄζε μπεικεογα [...].]ομ ντε ν[--- ρ]ζωβ μν [---].  
]. ασω[πε δε ---]μογ [---]τιον [... πωηρε ωη]μ  
νσαλη, αζε ετασφاليا ετερε πωε νρολοκοτινος χη  
ερος, αζροπс ωα πναγ ετεφναβωκ επεφηι, αφβιτс  
νχιογε εφνηγ εβολ.

**18** λοιπον μνнсα ζενζοογ αφαρνα νσι πρωμε εφχω  
μμοс μπωηρε ωημ νσαλη δε мнтак λααγ ζατηι. ζωс  
ε οφωμμο πε πωηρε ωημ αγω он νερε ογον ним †  
εοογ μπρωμε ετμμαγ δε μн σολ нηγ εβολ ζη  
τεφταпро, πωηρε ωημ δε αφαιτει μπρωμε ετρεφωрк  
ναφ ζη πтопос мπαρχαγγελос михаηλ. πληн αγтассе  
ετρεφβωк επтопос мπαρχαγγελос миха<н>λ нсеωрк  
ннеγερηγ.

**19** ασωπε δε ζραι ζη соγ мнтоγε νζαθωρ εζτοογε  
νсоγ мнтсnooyс, ετε πωα πε мπαρχαγγελос мι(f.  
93г)χαηλ, нсе† нθομολογια. πρωμε<sup>8</sup> δε [[ωημ]]<sup>9</sup> αφ  
τεγωη τηрс εφсопс мπαρχαγγελос михаηλ мн гавриηλ  
εφсоογн δε ωαγογєнз πζωβ εβολ, εφχω μμοс δε  
на.χicooye, † νογτωω ерон εнаноγч δεкас  
εннаογχαι νζηтч ειε нтетнмоογтн ζи ογсоп εтве  
та.диатропн. неφсопс δε он μπωηρε ωημ εφχω μμοс  
δε арι тагапн нг† аноχн наi. нтоγ δε мπεφογωω.

**20** ζη тпаωε δε нтеγωη αφнаγ εγζορωма νσι πωηρε  
ωημ. айнаγ εαγγελос снаγ, пєχαγ, мпесмот  
нзенκληρικос, ере ογα χω μμοс мπεκεογα δε παζηт  
мокз εтве пειρωпρε еφнамоγ нрасте еφо нφаразе.

<sup>8</sup> Corrected from πωηρε.

<sup>9</sup> Removed by a circle of dots.

πεχε πεκογα δε εκναχι κβα ημοφ νσα ογ; πωφ πε  
 παλλωτριον αγω πεικερωμε εφναωρκ ννογχ. πεχαφ  
 ναφ δε α πειωτ μπειρωιρε νσαλη ωρκ νζεννοσ  
 ναναω ννογχ ην ζεννοβε εμν ηπε εροογ εφ† σωντ  
 ηπνογτε. αφνερσε δε ερραι ζμ ηρορομα νσι ηρρωιρε  
 αφχω επρωμε ννενταφναγ εροογ αγω α θοτε χιτογ  
 ηπεςναγ. λοιπον ζιτη θοτε ηπνογτε ντασει ερραι  
 εχωογ, αφρομολογει νσι πρωμε ηπενταφναγ αγω αφ†  
 ναφ ντεφπαρ[α]θηκη. εαγωωπ[ε] νειρηνη ην  
 [νεγ]ερηγ ηπφχ[ι κβα] νσι πνογτε [η]ογον νζη[τογ].

**21** ατετενναγ [σε, ω νασ]νηγ, ε[---] παρχ[αγγελος ---]  
 ηρω[---]μ. [---] (f. 93v) ημ ηρωμε <ε>νεζ πενταφ  
 νοβε ηθε ννενταγ(ταγ)ρογ ηπεχ(ριςτο)ς; αγω ενε  
 ντα ζοεινε εβολ νζητογ βωκ ερατογ ννενειοτε,  
 ναποστολος, νσεεζομολογει ννεγνοβε, σενα†  
 νογσνχωρησις ημετανοια επκω εβολ ννεγνοβε.

**22** αγταμον γαρ ζη ταρχη ηνζιστορια δε α πνογτε  
 ανεχε ημοογ νζμε ηρομπε εφραρω νζηη ερραι εχωογ  
 δε αρηγ σενακτοογ νσεμετανοι, ηπατεφεινε εχωογ  
 ηπλοιμοσ ηφβοτογ [ε]βολ. αγβαμβαιογ γαρ ην νζμε  
 ντβα η[πμη]ηωε εαγμογ [αγω π]κεμνταφτε η[τβα  
 εα]γαχμαλω[τιζε ημ]οογ εκημε [---]ογνητφ [... κα]αγ  
 εμογ [---]ρο [---]οκ [---]λι γαρ ναη εβολ νσι νενειοτε,  
 ναποστολος, ηηρημεεγε ννενταγωωπε  
 ηνταλαιπωροσ ηιογδαι εγ† ναη ηταληθια εγταχρο  
 ηπωαχε ηνζιστορια ετβε ηρεβωων ηταφωωπε ζι  
 κλαγδιος.

**23** ΝΕΡΜΠCΑΝΒΟΛ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΨΑΡΟΝ ΕΝΕΥΖΟΤΖΤ  
ΝΗΜΑΙ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΔΕ ΤΝΝΑΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΟΥCΟΠ ΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ  
ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΝΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΑΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΜΟΟΥ΄ ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ  
ΕΝΕΨΑΙΧΟΟC ΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΤΝΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ ΝΟΥCΟΠ ΜΗΗΝΕ.  
ΖΗΠΤΡΕΥCΩΤΜ ΔΕ ΕΝΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ, ΕΝΕΨΑΥΨΩΠΕ  
ΝΘΑΥΜΑCΤΟC ΕΧΝ ΝΕΝΤΑΥCΟΤΜΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΝΕΨΩΙΝΕ ΝCΑ  
ΤΑΛΗΘΙΑ ΜΠΑΨΑΧΕ. ΑΥΩ ΕΝΕΨΑΙΧΟΟC ΝΑΥ ΔΕ  
ΤΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΤΕ ΝΜΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ, ΠCΩΜΑ ΜΝ  
ΠΕCΝΟΥ ΝΙ(ΗCΟΥ)C ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C, ΕΨΑΝΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ (f.  
94r) ΝΤΕ ΤΕΧΑΡΙC ΨΩΠΕ ΝΜΜΑΝ ΨΑΝΤΝΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ ΜΝ  
ΝΕΨΑΓΓΕΛΟC.

**24** ΕΨΑΝCΩΤΜ ΔΕ ΕΝΑΙ ΝΤΟΟΤΝ ΨΑΥΒΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΝΕΥCΙΧ  
ΕΨΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΕΛΕΗCΟΝ, ΑΥΩ ΕΥΕΠΕΙΚΑΛΕΙ  
ΜΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C ΕΥΒΟΗΘΙΑ ΝΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΥΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ  
ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΔΕ ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΕΙΧΙΜΩΝ ΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΖΙΧΩΝ, ΤΝΝΑΕΙ  
ΜΝ ΝΕΝΖΙΟΜΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΨΗΡΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΩΠ ΝΤΝΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ, ΝΓ†  
ΝΑΝ ΜΠΑΠΤΙCΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ, ΑΡΗΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΖΜΟΤ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΤΑΖΟΝ ΖΩΩΝ.

**25** ΖΜ ΠΕΥΟΕΙΨ ΔΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΙ ΚΒΑ ΝΓΕΨΡΓΙΟC  
ΠΑΡΙΑΝΟC, ΔΙΚΟΤΕ ΕΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΖΙΤΝ ΤΒΟΗΘΙΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ,  
ΑΝΕΙΡΕ ΝΤΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ CΥΝΑΖΙC. ΝΕΥΝ ΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΔΕ  
ΝΡΜΤΕΧΩΡΑ ΜΠCΑΝΒΟΛ ΨΟΟΠ ΝΜΜΑΝ ΕΨΖΝ ΤΑΝΖΗΒΕ ΖΝ  
ΤΠΟΛΙC ΡΑΚΟΤΕ. ΤΑΧΑ ΑΨCΩΤΜ ΕΠΕΨΕΙΩΤ ΕΨΩΨ  
ΜΠΨΑΧΕ ΕΝΑΠΕΨΗΙ ΜΝ ΝΑΤΕΨCΥΓΓΕΝΙΑ ΕΨΩΨ ΜΜΟC ΔΕ Α  
ΠΠΑΠΑC ΑΘΑΝΑCΙΟC ΧΝΟΥΙ ΔΕ ΨΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΟΥCΟΠ  
ΜΗΗΝΕ.

**26** ΠΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΝΕΨΖΝΜΗΤΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ. ΠΗ ΔΕ ΑΨΨΑΧΕ ΜΝ  
ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΝCΒΟΥΙ ΕΨΨΟΟΠ ΝΜΜΑΨ ΖΝ ΤΑΝΖΗΒΕ ΔΕ ΑΡΙ

ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΜΜΑΙ ΝΓΧΙΤ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΝΜΜΑΚ ΤΑΝΑΥ  
 ΕΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)C. ΑΦΕΝΤΥ ΔΕ ΝΜΜΑΥ ΕΦΗΝΗ ΕΤCΥΝΑΖΙC  
 ΝΤΕΥΩ[Η]. ΚΑΤΑ ΚΟΥΙ ΔΕ ΕΝΕΩΔΥΧΩΡΗ ΟΥΒΗ[Υ] ΕΥΧΩ  
 ΜΜΟC ΧΕ Δ[Ι]ΔΑΣΚΑΛΩC, ΜΑΤἈ[ΜΟΙ] ΖΩ ΕΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C ΧΕ  
 [†ΕΠΙ]ΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΝΑΥ Ε[ΡΟΥ]. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΗ ΝἈ[Υ ΧΕ ΕΙC]ΖΗΗΤΕ  
 Υ[.....] ΝΤΕΥΜ[---]ΘΕ Ν[---] ΔΕ Π[---] ΑΥ[---] (f. 94v)  
 ΕΥΖΩΓΡΑΦΕΙ ΕΤΧΟ ΕΥΖΗ ΚΟΥΝΥ ΝΤΕΥΜΑΔΥ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC.

**27** ΑΦΟΥΩΖ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΟΟΥΤΥ ΕΧΝΟΥΥ ΝΒΙ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΜ  
 ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΕΙΕ ΥΝΔΕΙ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΝΥCΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΝ;  
 ΠΕΧΔΥ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΚΑ ΡΩΚ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΥΖΙΟΥΕ ΕΡΟΚ. ΝΖΩCΟΝ ΔΕ  
 ΕΥΩΔΧΕ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΑΦΕΙ ΝΒΙ ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΕΤΡΟΕΙC  
 ΑΥΖΙΟΥΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΧΕ ΕΖΕΧΑCΑΤΕ,<sup>10</sup> ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΕΥCΟΥΝ  
 ΠΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΜ ΝCΥΡΙΑΚΟC ΑΦΕΠΕΔΙΜΑ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΤΩΟΥΝ  
 ΝΓ[Δ]ΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΝΑΚ Ε[Β]ΟΛ ΖΗ ΤΕΚΚΛΗ[CΙ]Δ. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΧΙ  
 [ΝΑΥ ΝΟ]ΥΤΩΚ ΝΖΗΤ [.....] ΝΤΕΥΠΙCΤΙC [---]Μ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ  
 †[---] ΜΜΟΚ ΜΠΕ[---]CΙΧ ΕΤΖΙ[---]ἈΓΑΠΗ [---]ΥΜἈΖ [---]  
 ΕΠΕCΗΤ.

**28** ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ΔΕ ΜΠΑΝΕΧΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΥΖΙΟΥΕ ΕΡΟΥ  
 ΕΦΟΥΩΥ ΕΝΟΧΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ. ΝΕΡΕ ΝΒΑΛ ΔΕ  
 ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΜ CΩΟΥΤ ΕΠCΩΤΗΡ ΕΥΖΩΓΡΑΦΕΙ, ΕΥΧΩ  
 ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΔΕCΠΟΤΑ, ΠΑΧΟΕΙC, ΩΕ ΠΕΚCΑ ΜΗ ΤΕΚCΟΜ ΜΗ  
 ΠΕΚΕΟΟΥ ΕΚΩΔ<Ν>ΝΑΖΜΕΤ, †ΝΑ† ΝΟΜΙCΜΑ CΝΑΥ  
 ΝΤΕΚΜΗΤΧΟΕΙC ΑΥΩ ΕΡΩΔΝ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ †ΝΑ†  
 ΕΠΛΟΓΟC ΜΠΕΘΥCΙΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΟΥΛΙΤΡΑ ΝΝΟΥΒ  
 ΕΝΕΥΚΥΜΟΙΛΙΟΝ ΜΗ ΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΤΗΡC ΝΝΕΥCΚΗΥΕ.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> ἡσυχάσατε, from ἡσυχάζω.

<sup>11</sup> σκεῦος.

**29** ναι δε εχχω μμοογ νβι πωηρε ωημ νερε νεφβαλ  
βωωτ εθικων μπσωτηρ εφζωγραφει. αγω αqτωογν  
νβι πxοεις εφζν κογνq ντεφμααγ μπαρθενος αqχι  
πεινε μ(f. 95r)πωηρε μπεπαρχος ντπολις πεχαq  
μπδιακονος xε κααq ναι εβολ xε παωβηρ πε ειζν  
τανζηβε ημμαq. πδιακονος δε αqπαρτζq ζαρατζ εφχω  
μμοc xε δεcποδα, εφφλγαρει ζν τεκκληcια αλλα  
πενκεcωμα πωκ πε. αqογωωβ εφχω μμοc ναq νβι  
πσωτηρ xε διογω ειχω μμοc νακ xε παωβηρ πε.  
πδιακονος δε μπεφειμε ελααγ πεχαq ναq xε  
†νααναχωρει ναι επαμα, ειεγχαριcτογ.

**30** πωηρε δε ωημ αqπαρτζq ζα νεογερητε μπσωτηρ  
αqβω εφ† πι εροογ μπεφτολμα εωαxε, αλλα  
νεφζομολογει ζμ πεφζητ μν νεφcποτογ εφχω μμοc xε  
παxοεις, απιcτεγε αγω αιτωκ ηζητ ζμ ποογ ηζοογ xε  
α ταψχη ην παπν(εγμ)α ωνη αγω α παcωμα ην παηι  
ογxαι μποογ. πεxε πσωτηρ μπωηρε ωημ xε τωκ  
ηζητ ηγβμβομ, ανοκ πε πεκxοεις. ειc ζηητε μνncα  
ζενκεκογι ηζοογ πεκειωτ μν τεκμααγ ηηγ ωαροκ  
ντετνβαπτιζε επαραν ντετνxι μπκω εβολ ηνετννοβε.  
xω βε εαθαναcιοc ηζωβ ηημ ντακναγ εροογ. ναι δε  
ντερε πσωτηρ xοογ ναq εφπαρτζ επεcητ εxμ πεφζο  
αqβωκ επεφμα.

**31** ζτοογε δε ντερεφωωπε αqει ωαροι η[βι] πωηρε  
ωημ, α[νοκ] αθαναcιοc, αq[xω] εροι ηνεηταqηναγ]  
εροογ. [---] ωλη[λ ---]ηκ. [---] ηη [πεφειωτ] (f. 95v)  
τεφμααγ ην νεφcγγεηηc εγναρ ωεxογωτε ηψχη  
αγω α πωηρε ωημ xω εροογ ηνεηταqηναγ εροογ. α

ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΤΑΧΡΟ ΑΥΧΙ ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ ΕΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ  
ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ.

**32** ΑΤΕΤΝΕΙΜΕ, Ω ΝΑΚΡΟΑΤΗΣ, ΧΕ ΩΑΨΩΤΗ ΕΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ  
ΕΤΩΙΝΕ ΝΩΨ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΦΟΥΗΥ ΜΜΟΝ ΑΝ ΝΘΕ ΝΤΕΨΗΤΗ  
ΕΤΤΟ ΖΙΩΩΝ. ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ, Ω ΝΑΨΗΡΕ ΜΜΕΡΙΤ, ΔΙΩΠ  
ΟΥΜΗΗΩΕ ΝΖΙΣΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΑΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΝΨΧΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ  
ΑΥΩ [ΔΙ]ΩΛΗΛ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ [ΔΨ]ΩΤΗ ΕΡΟΙ  
ΑΨΤΟΥ[ΧΟΙ] Ζ<Ν> ΝΑΠΡΑΣΜΟΣ [ΤΗΡ]ΟΥ. ΤΕΤΝΣΟΟΥΝ [ΓΑΡ  
ΝΝΕ]ΝΤΑΨΩΨΕ [ΜΜΟΙ ΤΗΡ]ΟΥ ΖΝ ΤΕΖΩ[ΡΙΨΤΙΑ ...]  
ΝΧΟΥΤΨΑΨ[ΨΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ...].ΗΠ[---]Π[---] ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ  
ΠΟΥΨ ΝΝΕΨΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΜΝ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ.

**33** ΑΥΩ ΠΝΟΣ ΝΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ· ΜΑΡΝΕΙΡΕ ΝΝΕΝΨΥΝΑΖΙΣ ΖΝ  
ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΝΤΗΧΟΚΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΒΒΟ ΝΙΜ. ΜΑΡΝΨΩ<ΠΕ>  
ΕΝΤΒΒΟ ΝΝΕΝΨΩΜΑ ΕΤΝΝΑΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΨΩΜΑ ΜΝ ΠΕΨΝΟΥ  
ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ. ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΨ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΨΩΠΕ  
ΜΕΙΤΒΒΟΙ Ν†ΝΗΥ ΡΩ ΑΝ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ. Ω ΠΕΙΜΟΥ ΕΤΖΟΟΥ  
ΜΝ ΠΕΙΝΟΣ ΝΟΣΕ <Ε>ΤΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΤΕΨΨΟΤ. ΟΝΤΩΨ ΟΥΝΟΣ  
ΝΝΟΒΕ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ. †ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΗΤΗ ΧΕ ΨΑΡΕ ΝΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ  
ΕΡΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΝΑΚΑ ΠΨΥΝΑΓΕ ΝΩΨ ΜΠΨΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ  
ΜΝ ΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ.

**34** †ΝΑΧΩ ΕΡΩΤΗ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΨΩΤΗ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΥΨ  
Ν<ΟΥ>ΕΙΩΤ ΜΠΨΤΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΕΦΟ ΝΖΟΤ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΚΛΗΡΙΚΟΣ  
Μ(f. 96r)ΜΑΙΧ(ΡΙΨΤΟ)Ψ ΕΑΨΩΨΕ ΜΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΕΠΖΑΝ.  
ΠΕΧΑΨ ΧΕ ΕΝΕΨΩΟΟΠ ΠΕ ΖΜ ΠΗΙ ΝΝΑΕΙΟΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΙΒΗΚ  
ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΜΜΗΝΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΨΗ ΕΙΨΑΛΛΕΙ. ΕΙΣ ΟΥΨΗΡΕ  
ΨΗΜ ΕΨΝΑΡ ΑΜΑΑΒ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΨΒΗΚ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΜ  
ΠΕΨΨΙΑΨΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΑΥΩ ΕΝΕΨΛΕΥΚΟΦΟΡΕΙ ΚΑΛΟΣ· ΤΑΧΑ  
ΟΥΨΜΟΤ ΝΨΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΣ ΠΕ. ΝΤΕΡΕΨΡ ΠΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΡΟ

ΜΠΤΑΒΙΡ ΕΤΕ ΠΡΙΕΡΑΤΙΟΝ ΠΕ, ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΝΕΚΛΗΡΙΚΟΣ ΧΕ  
ΧΑΙΡΕ, ΕΥΛΟΓΙΣΟΝ,<sup>12</sup> ΕΦ† ΝΑΥ ΜΠΩΠΡΙΜΟΤ ΧΕ ΡΑΩΕ ΑΥΩ  
ΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΝ. ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑΥΖΕ ΕΧΜ ΠΕΥΖΟ. ΑΥΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΝΣΙ  
ΝΕΚΛΗΡΙΚΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΩΠΕ  
ΜΜΟΚ; ΑΥ<Ω> ΜΠΦΕΩΒΜΒΟΜ ΕΩΑΧΕ, ΝΕΑ ΤΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΓΑΡ  
ΜΠΕΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΙΡΙΟΝ ΑΑΥ ΝΜΠΟ.

**35** ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΑΥΠΩΡΩ ΖΑΡΟΥ ΑΥΧΤΟΥ ΕΧΝ ΟΥΜΑΝΚΟΤΚ ΖΝ  
ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ. ΑΥΜΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΧΟΥΤΟΥΑ ΝΖΟΥΥ ΕΥΝΚΟΤΚ  
ΖΝ ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΜΠΦΩΑΧΕ ΜΝ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ. ΜΝΝΣΩΣ Δ  
ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΑΧΩΥ ΑΥΠΡΟΣΑΓΟΡΑΥΕ<sup>13</sup> ΜΜΟΥ  
ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΩΑ ΤΝΑΥ ΕΚΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΕΙΑ<C>ΘΕΜΙΑ;  
ΝΓΠΡΟΣΔΩΚΕΙ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΕΤΡΕΚΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΝΝΕΚΝΟΒΕ  
ΜΠΑΙ ΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΕΚΩΑΝΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΝΝΕΚΝΟΒΕ ΝΓΧΙ  
ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ ΝΤΟΟΤΟ[Υ] ΝΝΕΚΛΗΡΙΘΚΟΣ ΚΗ[Α]ΜΤΟΝ; ΑΥΩ  
ΑΥΩ[Α]ΧΕ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΣΙ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΠΕΧ[ΑΥ  
Μ]ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡ[ΟΣ ΧΕ] ΚΩ ΝΑΙ ΕΒΟ[Λ, ΠΑΕΙΩΤ]. ΝΤΑΙΖΕ  
ΕΒ[ΟΛ ΜΝ ΟΥ]ΣΖΙΜΕ ΝΤΕ[.....]ΤΗ ΔΕ [---]ΛΟΣ Π[---]Ο[---]  
(f. 96v) ΧΕ ΑΚΝΑΥ ΕΛΑΑΥ ΖΩΛΟΣ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΝΤΑΚΖΕ; ΠΕΧΑΥ  
ΧΕ ΜΠΕΙΝΑΥ ΕΛΑΑΥ ΝΣΑ ΟΥΣΙΩΜΕ ΝΣΙΧ ΕΣΡΩΖΤ ΜΜΟΣ  
ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΜ ΠΑΖΟ.

**36** ΑΥΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΝΣΙ ΠΡΩΥΙΡΕ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ, ΠΑΧΘΕΙΣ  
ΝΕΙΩΤ, ΣΩΤΗ ΕΡΟΙ ΤΑΧΩ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΝΕΝΤΑΙΑΑΥ ΖΝ  
ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ.

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<sup>12</sup> εὐλόγησον. Cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 335b.

<sup>13</sup> προσαγορεύω.

εΙΣ ΣΗΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΔΙΝ (BL Or. 8802, f. 5v) [εΙΣ  
 ΝΤΑΙΤΑΔΤ ΕΤΠΟΡΝΙΑ. ΡΟΜΠΕ ΣΗ]ΤΕ ΔΙΝ ΤΑΙΤΑΔΤ  
 ΕΣΩΑΝΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΤΠΟΡΝΙΑ. ΕΣΩΑΝΩΩΠΕ  
 ΜΠΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ΜΗ ΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ, ΜΜΟΙ ΜΠΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ΜΗ  
 ΜΕΙΕΙ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ, ΜΑΡΕ ΘΟΤΕ ΚΑΔΤ  
 ΘΟΤΕ. ΕΙΤΑ ΟΝ ΩΑΡΕ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ. ΕΙΤΑ<sup>14</sup>  
 ΠΑΣΩΜΑ ΣΩ ΕΦΖΟΡΩ ΕΡΟΙ ΟΝ ΜΙΕΖΗΛΟΥ<sup>15</sup> ΕΤΗΤΡΕ  
 ΝΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ ΤΗ[Ρ]Σ, ΟΥΣΟΠ ΟΥΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΤΑΖΟΙ ΖΗ  
 ΖΙΤΗ [Π]ΛΩΖ ΘΕΒΤΟΜΑΣ ΤΗΡΣ. ΣΟΠ  
 Ν<ΟΥ>ΟΥΟΟΖΕ, [ΟΥΣ]ΟΠ ΕΡΕ ΑΥΟΥΟΖΕ ΛΟΚΤ, ΣΟΠ Δ  
 ΠΕΤΚΑΣ ΑΝ[ΖΑΛΙ]ΣΚΕ ΠΕΤΚΑΔΣ ΑΝΖΑΛΙΣΚΕ  
 ΝΤΑΔΠΕ. [ΖΕΝΣΟ]Π ΩΑΙΡ ΝΤΑΔΠΕ, ΖΕΝΣΟΠ Δ ΠΑΖΗΤ  
 ΔΣΘΕΝΗΣ [ΝΤΕ ΠΑΖ]ΗΤ ΣΩΡΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ  
 ΣΩΡΗ ΕΒΟΛ [.....] ΕΙΩΟΟΠ ΟΥΜΝΤΑΣΘΕΝΗΣ, ΕΙΩΟΟΠ ΖΗ  
 [ΖΗ ΑΤΑΖΙΑ ΝΙΜ] ΑΥΩ [---] ΑΤΑΖΙΑ ΝΙΜ, ΜΗ ΛΑΔΥ  
 ΖΗ ΟΥΕΙ[---] ΛΟΙΠΟ]Ν ΔΙΧΟΟΣ ΜΜΟΤΝΕΣ ΖΗ ΝΑΜΕΛΟΣ  
 ΔΕ ΕΣΩΑΝΩΩΠΕ ΕΤΡΑΜΟΥ, ΤΗΡΟΥ. ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΔΙΧΩ  
 †ΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΜΠΕΙΣΟΠ ΔΕ ΕΣΩΑΝΩΩΠΕ  
 ΜΠΟΥ ΤΑΣΥΝΑΓΕ. ΕΙΣ ΚΝΑΥ ΕΤΡΑΜΟΥ, †ΝΑΒΩΚ  
 ΤΕΝΟΥ ΕΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΝΤΑΟΥΝΟΥ  
 ΜΜΟΙ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΜΠΕΙΣΟΠ. ΕΙΣ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ  
 ΝΑΦ ΔΕ ΕΙΕ ΝΓΣΩΤΗ ΑΝ ΔΙΧΟΟΥ<sup>16</sup> ΕΤΕΤΕΝΜΝΤΕΙΩΤ.  
 ΝΓΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΔΕ ΠΣΩΜΑ ΜΗ ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ  
 ΠΕΣΝΟΥ<sup>17</sup> ΜΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ ΝΑΦ ΔΕ ΝΓΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΔΕ  
 ΝΕΤΡΟΕΙΣ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΝΟΥΖΗ ΝΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΕΤΡΑΝΑΦ  
 ΜΜΟΝ ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ; ΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΕΤΡΟΕΙΣ  
 ΝΝΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ; ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟΟΥ  
 ΔΦΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΠΕΦΟΥΧΔΙ ΝΕΤΝΟΥΖΗ ΜΜΟΝ ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ  
 ΔΙΝ ΜΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΦΑ ΝΝΔΑΙΜΩΝ. ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ  
 ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΦΜΟΥ. ΑΦΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΠΕΦΟΥΧΔΙ (f.

<sup>14</sup> Van Lantschoot erre.

<sup>15</sup> Obscure verb; perhaps a form of ἐξέρχομαι.

<sup>16</sup> van Lantschoot ΔΥΧΟΟΥ.

<sup>17</sup> Ms. ΠΕΣΝΟΥ.

5r) χιν μπεροογ ετμμαγ  
εαφτββο μπεφσωμα φα  
περοογ μπεφσμπωινε.

37 ανσωτμ δε ον ανσωτμ ον εκεωπηρε, ω  
εκεωπηρε νογωουσαατс ναμερατε, εασωωπε  
αν τε. νεγν ογρωμε νογωουσαατс αν τε. νεγν  
νεργατης εγεκωτ πε ρν ογεργατης νεκωτ ρν  
τεφτεχνη. παι δε τεφειοπε. εωαφτωογ(ν)  
νεωαφτωογν ερτοογε νωωρπ μμηνε νφωκ  
μμηνε νφωκ επηι επηι μπνογτε νφρωμντ  
μπνογτε νφχω νωομντ νсоп νωληλ εφχω μμοс  
νсоп νωληλ εφχω μμοс δε πνογτε, εκεροεис εροι  
χε πνογτε, εκετογχοι μποογ εππονηροс.  
εππονηροс. ασωωπε δε ασωωπε δε μμηса ωομτε  
μμηса (f. 97r) ωομντε νρομπε εφειρε μпαι ερε  
νρομπε εφειρε ρι ναι αγω πноγτε роеис εροφ  
νερε πноγτε роеис εροφ, εφскепазе μμοφ,  
αφωορпφ δε ερτοογε αφτωογν μπειροογ αφωк  
ноγροογ пара пнаγ ерμпро нτεκκλнсiа, αφρε  
αφωк етеκκлнсiа εροс μπ<εγ>ογων μπρο  
μπατογογων μπρο. нτεκκлнсiа. αφταχη  
αφσепη αφωк ναφ επεφηι αφпωт εφρροτε δε ннеγει  
εφρροτε εтве нетроеис. εχωφ нси нетроеис.

38 λοιπον νтере πογοειν λοιπον νтере πογοειν ει  
φα αφωк ναφ ερпαι αφωк  
επεφμανρρωв. прωμε επεφμανρρωв. αφσωωт  
αφσωωт ριχμ πκωт εχμ πκωт αφнаγ  
αφнаγ εγδαимωνιον εγδαимωνιον μπесмот  
εφμοоωε μπесмот

ноγнос νεσωω εφнар †ογ η соογ нμαρε. νтереφωωω  
δε επρωμε εтριχμ πκωт, πεχαφ ναφ χε ακει εнасиχ

ΜΠΟΥΥ. ΕΙΣ ΩΟΜΝΤ ΓΑΡ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ †ΒΟΡΒ ΕΡΟΚ. ΩΑΡΕ ΠΕΙΩΟΜΝ[Τ] Ν[ΣΟ]Π ΝΩΛΗΛ ΩΩΠΕ ΝΩΟΜΝΤΕ ΝΛΑΜΠΑΣ ΝΚΩΖΤ ΝΣΕΒΩ ΕΥΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΟΚ. ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΜΕΙΕΩΖΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΚΚΩΤΕ ΕΠΤΗΡΥ. ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΑΚΕΙ ΕΝΑΒΙΧ ΜΠΟΥΥ, †ΝΑΤΩΩΒΕ ΝΑΚ. ΑΥΩ ΑΦΝΙΦΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΗ ΠΕΦΖΟ ΝΒΙ ΠΔΙΑΜΩΝΙΟΝ, ΜΗΝΣΩΣ ΑΨΟΚΥ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΩΤ ΑΨΠΛΥΓΗ ΜΠΕΨΩΜΑ ΤΗΡΥ.

**39** ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ ΔΙΤΑΜΩΤΗ ΕΝΕΝΤΑΥΩΠΕ ΝΗΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΜΕΛΗΣ ΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΒΩΚ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ. ΠΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΒΗΚ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΜΗΗΝΕ ΩΑΡΕ ΠΕΨΩΛΗΛ ΕΤΨΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΨ ΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΟΨ ΕΝΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ ΕΤΒΟΡΒ ΕΡΟΨ.

**40** ΑΝΑΥ ΟΝ ΕΠΕΝΤΑΨΩΖΗ ΧΕ ΝΤΑ ΟΥ ΩΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΨ [ΖΗ] ΠΕΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ. ΉΠ[ΕΨ]ΠΩΖ ΡΩ ΕΠ[ΡΟ ΝΤ]ΕΚΚΛΗΣ[ΙΑ .....] ΜΠ[---] ΝΑΓΓ[ΕΛΟΣ ---] Π[---] Ζ[---], (f. 97v) ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΗ ΝΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ, Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ, ΨΩΟΠ ΖΗ ΤΕΣΜΗΤΕ ΜΗ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ, ΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ, ΕΨΟΠΣ ΜΠΣΩΤΗΡ ΧΕ ΑΡΙ ΟΥΝΑ ΜΗ ΤΕΚΖΙΚΩΝ. ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΖΩΩΨ ΟΝ, ΠΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΟΦΟΡΟΣ ΝΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΜΗ ΤΕΘΨΙΑ, ΕΨΣΟΟΥΤΗ ΝΜΟΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

**41** ΖΕΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΠΕ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΜΗ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ· ΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΕΤΣΟΠΣ ΜΠΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΧΗ ΝΡΕΨΡΝΟΒΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ. ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΕΝΤΑΨΩΚ ΩΑ ΑΔΑΜ ΕΨΖΙΧΗ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΜΠΟΡΔΑΨΗΣ ΑΨ† ΝΑΨ ΜΠΕ[ΒΟΡ]Β ΜΠΩΝΖ. [ΝΤΟΨ] ΟΝ ΠΕΝΤΑΨΩ[ΠΕ Μ]Ν ΕΝΩΧ, ΠΕ[ΓΡΑΜΜΑ]ΤΕΨΣ ΝΤΔΙ[ΚΑΙΟΣΥΝ]Η, ΩΑΝΤΟΥ[---] ΝΑΙ [---]Ν [---]Ψ ΠΕΝ[---] ΗΛ [---]ΥΙ ΑΨΧΩ ΕΡΟΨ ΜΠΒΩΛ ΝΗΡΑΣΟΥ ΜΠΡΡΟ. ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΠΕΝΤΑΨΩΚ ΩΑ ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΑΨΤΑΨΕ ΟΕΙΨ ΝΑΣ ΜΠΡΑΨΕ ΝΝΑΙΩΝ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ, ΠΕΧΑΨ ΝΑΣ ΧΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ,

ΤΕΝΤΑΣΩΝ ΖΜΟΤ, ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΜΜΕ. ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ ΤΕΝΕΩ<sup>18</sup>  
 ΝΤΕΧΠΟ ΝΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΕΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΧΕ ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ,  
 ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΜΜΑΝ.

**42** ΟΥΝΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΤΑΙΟ ΜΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ  
 ΠΑΡΑ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΥΜΟΥΤ<ε> ΕΡΟΥ ΜΠΕΙΡΑΝ. ΠΩΔ  
 ΓΑΡ ΝΓΑΒΡΙ ΠΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ, ΗΛ ΖΩΩΦ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΟΥΝΟΣ  
 ΖΩΩΦ ΟΝ ΠΕ ΠΤΑΕΙΟ ΜΜΙΧΑΗΛ· ΠΡΑΝ ΖΩΩΦ ΜΜΙΧΑ ΠΕ  
 ΠΡΩΜΕ, [ΗΛ] ΖΩΩΦ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΠΕ[Ι]ΝΟΣ ΣΝΑΥ  
 ΝΑΡΧΑΓΓΕ[Λ]ΟΣ ΝΕ[Τ]ΣΟΠΣ ΕΧΜ ΠΜΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΙΕΡΟ Μ<Ν>  
 †ΩΤΕ (f. 98r) ΝΤΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΡΩΤ ΝΗΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΜΝ ΠΤΑΖΟ  
 ΕΡΑΤΦ ΝΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΝΟΡΘΟΔΟΖΟΣ ΜΝ ΤΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΝ  
 ΝΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ. ΕΚΩΔΑΝ ΕΠΕΙΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΜ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΦ  
 ΕΚΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΧΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ  
 ΜΝ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ, ΕΚΕΝΑΖΜΕΤ ΕΕΠΒΟΥΛΗ ΝΙΜ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΝ  
 ΤΕΠΒΟΥΛΗ ΝΝΔΑΜΩΝΙΟΝ, †ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΑΚ ΧΕ ΠΟΥΧΑΙ ΜΝ  
 ΤΣΟΜ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΑΣΚΕΠΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΜΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΝ ΤΕΥΩΗ.

**43** ΤΕΝΟΥ ΒΕ, Ω ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ, ΕΣΕΩΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΤΗΡΝ  
 ΕΤΡΕΝΣΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ ΖΜ ΠΒΗΜΑ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ,  
 Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ, ΑΥΩ ΝΤΝΜΠΩΔ ΝΣΩΤΜ ΕΤΕΣΜΗ  
 ΕΤΜΕΖ ΝΡΑΩΕ ΖΙ ΟΥΝΟΥ ΖΙ ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ ΝΙΜ ΧΕ ΑΜΗΕΙΤΝ,  
 ΝΕΤΣΜΑΜΑΔΤ ΝΤΕ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ, ΝΤΕΤΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ ΝΤΜΝΤΡΡΟ  
 ΝΤΑΥΣΒΤΩΤΣ ΝΗΤΝ ΧΙΝ ΤΚΑΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΜΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ, ΖΙΤΕΝ  
 ΤΕΧΑΡΙΣ ΜΝ ΤΜΝΤΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ, Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ  
 ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ, ΠΑΙ ΠΕΟΟΥ ΝΑΦ ΜΝ ΠΕΦΕΙΩΤ ΝΑΓΑΘ[ΟΣ ΜΝ]  
 ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΗ)Δ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ [ΝΕΝΕΖ] ΩΔ ΕΝΕΖ. ΖΑΜΗΝ.

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<sup>18</sup> Read ΤΕΝΑΩ.



## **Encomium on Michael and Gabriel, the Archangels, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria**

*Title.*

**0** An encomium which the son of the Apostles, the holy Apa Athanasius, the archbishop of Alexandria, delivered for the glory of the two great archangels Michael and Gabriel, arguing that great is the reward of all people who will purify themselves on their feast, take their offerings, and go to their shrines. In the peace of God. Amen.

*Prologue.*

**1** Listen to me, O my beloved children, and I will tell you the marvels of God, and the works which He accomplished with us, taking care of His image,<sup>1</sup> raising for us the flood of the Nile each year, doing for us ... of the year that passed concerning the flood of the river for a full six months, while none of them ate bread or drank water, imploring God for his image. And they withered away, their heart broke and they died.

*Warnings against fornication.*

**2** A Christian who takes from the body and the blood of the Lord while he fornicates, in particular when he swears upon his fornication, what is the benefit of such a man? For he walks like a sheep. This is the person about whom it was said: "O man, who are you to argue with God? Shall then the creature be able to tell the one who created him: Why did you create me like this? And has not the potter the authority to produce from clay one vessel for honour and another one for contempt?"<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gen. 1: 27.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rom. 9: 20-21.

**3** Our Lord Jesus, however, He who created man, did not give a greater portion to the righteous than to the impious and even the sun and the moon shine upon both.<sup>3</sup> Probably someone from among those who love to quarrel will tell me that the righteous are those whom God has chosen. I, for my part, will tell him that that is true. Yet at the time when man grows up, it is he who chooses for himself the works of the devil, so that he becomes a transgressor against God and men.

**4** Woe to every man who fornicates with a woman who is not his wife! Woe to a trespassing woman who defiles herself with a man who is not her husband! God has ordered that both must be killed.<sup>4</sup> I, for my part, say to you: "Keep away from these evil things and these scandals". Therefore, if God wants the salvation of somebody who commits fornication, he will take his children from him when they are still young and leave him in sorrow and groaning, so that he repents and escapes the punishments that know no mercy.

**5** When someone who has turned extremely impious, God takes revenge of him through the punishments that torture him on the way even before he goes to God. As for his children, He will let them be tested to see whether they will fear God who created them or not, and will progress and destroy what was entrusted to them.

*Examples from Holy Scripture.*

**6** I will tell you what happened in the Old Testament since the beginning. Twenty-four thousand of men died from the people of Israel because they sinned and fornicated with a woman of Balak.<sup>5</sup> Twenty-five thousand died in Gibeah of Benjamin.

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mat. 5: 45.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. 20: 10.

<sup>5</sup> Num. 25: 9.

Indeed, all these people died because of a single woman because they had fornicated with her.<sup>6</sup>

**7** Three thousand men died because of fornication.<sup>7</sup> Samson killed one thousand in a single stroke with the jawbone of a donkey,<sup>8</sup> yet a single wicked woman thwarted his power.<sup>9</sup> Amnon was killed because of fornication, for he trespassed and sinned with his sister.<sup>10</sup> The power of Holofernes was thwarted because of the beauty of the face of Judith, the wise woman.<sup>11</sup> Because of a single woman the death of John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, came about ... the Word.<sup>12</sup>

**8** And also now I tell you that you will hardly find one out of thousand who committed adultery with the wife of his neighbour, to whom the same was not done with his sister or his daughter. Briefly, the transgression which he committed will happen to him for up to three or four generations,<sup>13</sup> if he has not repented and retracted before he died.

*Michael and Gabriel bless the pure ones.*

**9** When we hear these things, O my beloved, let everyone steer away from fornication and follow the right way to purity. For the Apostle said: "He who joins himself to a prostitute is one body (with her). ... then to me ... the profit of ... he does ... really ... He who joins himself to the Lord is one spirit (with him)".<sup>14</sup>

**10** For if you purify your bed, the Father and the Son will bless you because you purified the honourable marriage,<sup>15</sup> so that you

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<sup>6</sup> Judg. 20: 35.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Judg. 16: 27-30.

<sup>8</sup> Judg. 15: 15.

<sup>9</sup> Judg. 16: 4-22.

<sup>10</sup> 2 Sam. 13: 28.

<sup>11</sup> Jth. 13: 10.

<sup>12</sup> Mat. 14: 10.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Ex. 20:5, 34: 7; Num. 14: 18; Deut. 5: 9.

<sup>14</sup> 1 Cor. 6:16-17.

<sup>15</sup> Heb. 13: 4.

receive the mystery and you will freely converse with Michael and Gabriel at the time when you present yourself at the altar. For a man and his wife are one body<sup>16</sup> and we are ordered to remain pure on Saturday<sup>17</sup> and Sunday and every public festival in order not to be found fault with<sup>18</sup> on the day of the great judgment. Do you want to be blessed by God, man and the archangel Michael and Gabriel? Purify your body and your spirit, for purity is the pride of the angels. When Michael and Gabriel see that you have purified yourself, then they will find the means to entreat for you and they will make you a child of peace before the true judge, in particular at the moment of your agony, when you come out of the body, before you meet the true judge, on the day of your agony, until everyone finds rest. When you make peace with the one whose enemy you are before you enter the church, Michael and Gabriel will entreat for you and make you a child of peace.

**11** When this virtue becomes yours, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit will bless you, and you will be blessed together with everything that is yours and He will bless your offspring and you will enjoy the blessing of these great holy archangels, Michael and Gabriel. If you see someone who is hungry and you receive him in your house and feed him, the Lord himself will defend you and feed you, saying: "It was me whom you fed when I was hungry. I will grant you all what your body needs".<sup>19</sup> If you give someone who is thirsty only a little bit of water to drink in the name of a disciple, truly, you will not lose your reward.<sup>20</sup> ... the man ... and those who belong to the night.

**12** For did you sin in the body? The soul that sinned will be punished and the body itself will return to the earth according to what is written: "Adam, you are dust and to the dust you will

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<sup>16</sup> Gen. 2: 24; 1Cor. 6: 16.

<sup>17</sup> Ex. 20: 8.

<sup>18</sup> Lit. find a word (of complaint). Cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 614a-b.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Mat. 25: 34-35.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Mat. 10: 42.

return again".<sup>21</sup> Did you abstain from your wife on the official days, Wednesday and Friday, Saturday and Sunday and the celebration of the public festivals? You will enjoy the blessings of these great holy patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and Michael and Gabriel will bless you. If you turn away from those abominable practices and choose for yourself what is good ... anew in ... and Michael and Gabriel ... joy ... repentance.

*The Arian George.*

**13** There was an Arian man in this city who belonged to the sect of the Arians and whose name was George. He became a persecutor, who fomented rebellion with his blasphemous words. He dared to say in his heresy: "If God had not allowed these demons to fight against us, we all together would become righteous". Hearing him, a *protector* said: "Definitely, will you not desist from your madness, O George?" But he defended himself wildly before the *protector* and ordered the standard-bearers to watch his safety.

**14** Now that day was the eleventh, the eve of the twelfth, which is the feast of the holy archangel Michael, the commander-in-chief of the host of heavens,<sup>22</sup> and the holy archangel Gabriel. The man went to bed in great distress, pondering upon great deeds of evil, and he tried to invoke the name of the demons: he mastered that abominable art. After midnight had passed, the demon came and spoke with him saying: "Leave me alone today, for it is the day of the archangel Michael, so that no evil befalls me because of you!"

**15** The man said: "Michael is merciful, he will not destroy us". The devil said: "But Gabriel is a fiery flame: he will strike both of us". While they were saying these things to each other, the judgment of God came upon that miserable man and he rendered his spirit in a dreadful way before dawn rose. A great fear of God

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<sup>21</sup> Gen. 3: 19.

<sup>22</sup> About this title, see C. D. G. Müller, *Die Engellehre der Koptischen Kirche*, Wiesbaden, 1959, p. 19, 169-173.

overcame all those who heard this and everyone spoke about the glory of the archangel Michael and Gabriel.

*The son of the rich man from Pentapolis.*

**16** Also, a man from Pentapolis<sup>23</sup> had a young son and possessed a great fortune. It happened after a few days that his son fell ill and became crippled. The man, for his part, went to rest in these days, according to what is destined for everyman. They brought his offering to the sanctuaries of our city and he gave a hundred *holokotinoi*<sup>24</sup> to the Episcopal see and also to ... sanctuary ... of the ... And within three days, he left behind his son and went to rest according to what is destined for everyman.

**17** A pious man spoke with his little son saying: "If you wish, give me a hundred *holokotinoi*, so that I will work with them and both of us have a living." The boy rejoiced. He rose immediately and brought him the hundred *holokotinoi*, considering that he was a dignitary who was reliable, as they even called him in the whole city 'the guardian of the poor.' The one who tempts everybody, tempted also this man ... work with .... It happened that ... the crippled boy and he found the surety in which the hundred *holokotinoi* were recorded. He hid it until the moment that he would go home and he took it on the sly when he left.

**18** Further, after some days, the man denied saying to the crippled boy: "I owe you nothing". Since the young boy was a stranger and that man was glorified, moreover, by everyone, claiming that no

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<sup>23</sup> This region in Libya traditionally belongs to the Alexandrian patriarchate; see H. Heinen, "Pentapolis", in: A. S. Atiya, *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. VI, New York, 1991, p. 1933-1935.

<sup>24</sup> The *holokotinos* is also known as *solidus* and *nomisma* (see §28). It was a valuable golden coin, for which see R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt*, Supplement of the Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, Atlanta, 1985, p. 15-16; T. G. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt*, Michigan, 2002, p. XXVI; C. Morrison, "Byzantine Money: Its Production and Circulation", in A. E. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, vol. 3, Washington D.C., 2002, p. 919.

lie ever came out of his mouth, the young boy asked the man to swear to him in the sanctuary of Michael, the archangel. So, it was decided that they go to the sanctuary of Michael, the archangel, and swear to each other.

**19** It happened on the eleventh of Hathor, on the eve of the twelfth, which is the festival of the archangel Michael, that they should make the declaration. The man had spent the whole night begging the archangels Michael and Gabriel, as he knew that the matter would be revealed, saying: "My lords, give us a good settlement so that we will be saved through it or kill us together because of my failure". He also begged the boy, saying: "Please, have patience with me". But he did not want to.

**20** In the middle of the night, the boy saw a vision. "I saw two angels, he said, in the likeness of clergymen, while one said to the other: 'My heart is sad because of this young man, who will die tomorrow while he is still young'. The other said: 'For what will you take revenge on him? The borrowed sum is his and that other man will swear a false oath'. He said to him: 'The father of this crippled young man swore great false oaths and (committed) innumerable sins, provoking God's anger"<sup>25</sup> The young man awoke from the vision, he told the man what he had seen and fear got hold of both of them. Then, on account of the fear of God that had come upon them, the man confessed what he had done, and gave him his deposit. As they had made peace between each other, God did not take revenge on either of them.

*The importance of repentance.*

**21** You have seen, O my brethren, ... the archangel ... who of (all) men ever have sinned like those who crucified Christ? Yet, if some of those would have gone to our fathers, the Apostles, and confessed their sins, they would receive absolution for the forgiveness of their sins.

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. Ex. 20: 5, 34: 7; Num. 14: 18; Deut. 5: 9.

**22** For we are told in the beginning of the Histories that God suffered them (the Jews) for forty years,<sup>26</sup> being patient with them, (hoping) that perhaps they might return and repent, before He brought the plague upon them and exterminated them. For they kept firmly together with the four hundred thousand of the crowd who had died,<sup>27</sup> and also the hundred and forty thousand who had been taken as hostage to Egypt<sup>28</sup> ... he has ... let them die ... for our fathers, the Apostles, have ... for us the remembrance of what happened to the miserable Jews, giving us the truth, in confirmation of the story of the Histories about the famine under Claudius.<sup>29</sup>

**23** To all the pagans who were coming to us to question me, saying: "We see God once a year!" - this they said to us about the flood - I, for my part, used to say: "We see Him once every day". When they heard these things from me, they would be amazed about what they had heard and they would inquire after the truth of my word. And I would say to them: "It is the communion of the holy mysteries, the body and the blood of Jesus Christ, from which we receive in order that grace be with us so that we rejoice with his angels".

**24** When they hear these things from us, they raise their hands and cry out: "Lord, have mercy!" And they appeal to Christ to help them and confess him, saying: "If this storm has passed us, we will come secretly, together with our wives and our children, and come to this place, in order that you administer us holy baptism, and perhaps the grace of God will befall us too".

*The pagan student.*

**25** At the time God took revenge on George the Arian, I returned to Alexandria, thanks to God's help, and we celebrated the

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<sup>26</sup> Ex. 16: 35; Deut. 2: 7, 8: 4, 29: 5.

<sup>27</sup> Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, VII. 13.

<sup>28</sup> This episode is not attested in the Bible nor in the *Antiquities of the Jews*.

<sup>29</sup> Act. 11: 28.

pontifical mass.<sup>30</sup> A boy from the heathen country was living with us, who went to school in the city of Alexandria. Perhaps he had heard his father telling the story to the members of his household and his relatives, saying: "Pope<sup>31</sup> Athanasius told me:<sup>32</sup> 'We see God once every day'".

**26** The boy was fifteen years old. He spoke with a young student, who was with him in school, saying: "Do me a favour and take me with you to the church that I see Christ!" He took him with him when he went to the evening service. From time to time he urged him, saying: "Teacher, show me too Christ for I wish to see him". The other said to him: "Look, he is ... of his ... as he is depicted on the wall while he is in the lap of his virgin mother".

**27** The boy asked him again, saying: "Will he then come down now and bless us?" He said to him: "Be silent in order that you will not be beaten!" While they were still speaking with each other, the guardian deacon came and beat them, saying: "Be quiet!" And when he recognized the Syrian boy, he upbraided him, saying: "Get up and disappear from the church". But he took courage ... his faith ... hand ... love ... down.

**28** The deacon did not bear with him, but beat him and wanted to throw him out of the church. But the eyes of the boy were looking at the depicted Saviour, saying: "Master, my Lord, by your beauty, your power and your glory, if you save me, I will give two *nomismata* to your lordship,<sup>33</sup> and when my father comes to this place, I will verse one pound of gold to the account of the altar, for its treasury and everything that is needed for its vessels".

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<sup>30</sup> ΤΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ ΣΥΝΑΞΙΣ is a particular type of the holy mass in which a bishop should lead the prayers, see H. Brakmann, "Σύναξις καθολική in Alexandria: Zur Verbreitung des christlichen Stationsgottesdienstes", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 30, 1987, p. 74-89.

<sup>31</sup> For this title see, T. Derda and E. Wipszucka, "L'emploi des titres Abba, Apa et Papas dans l'Égypte Byzantine", *JJP* 24, 1994, p. 45-56.

<sup>32</sup> Lit. asked me.

<sup>33</sup> For the *nomisma*, see note 24 above.

**29** While the boy said these things, his eyes were looking at the image of the depicted Saviour. And the Lord, who was in the lap of his virgin mother, rose and took the likeness of the son of the eparch of the city. He said to the deacon: "Leave him for my sake, for he is my friend and I am in school with him". The deacon threw himself down at his feet and said: "Lord, he waffles inside the church, but even our body is yours". The Saviour answered and said: "I already told you that he is my friend". The deacon did not notice anything and said to him: "I am leaving to my place and thank you!"

**30** The boy threw himself down at the feet of the Saviour and stayed kissing them without daring to speak, but he was confessing in his heart and with his lips, saying: "My Lord, on this very day I found belief and trust that my soul and my spirit have come to live and that my body and my house were saved today". The Saviour spoke to the boy: "Have confidence and courage, I am your Lord. See, after a few days your father and your mother will come to you and you (plural) will be baptized in my name and receive forgiveness of your sins. Tell Athanasius everything that you have seen". When the Saviour had told him these things, while he was lying down upon his face, He went to his place.

**31** When dawn had risen, the boy came to me, Athanasius, and he told me the things he had seen ... pray ... and his father and his mother and his relatives, amounting to about one hundred and twenty souls, and the boy told them the things he had seen. They were became confident and received baptism in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.<sup>34</sup>

**32** You have learned, O listeners, that He listens to everyone who seeks Him, for He is not far from us (but near) as the dress that we wear. For I, O my beloved sons, I had much to suffer from the schismatic Arians, yet I prayed to God and He heard me and

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<sup>34</sup> Mat. 28: 19.

saved me from all my trials. You all know what has happened to me in exile ... for twenty-seven years ... God and the love of his holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel.

**33** And the most important thing: Let us celebrate our Holy Masses in the church and complete them in all purity. Let us become pure in our bodies when we are going to receive from the body and the blood of the Lord. But probably someone will say: "If I do not keep myself pure, I will not even come to the church". O what evil death and what great loss without equal! Really, this is a great sin. I tell you that the demons will get hold of the man who stops attending Holy Mass on Saturday and Sunday.

*The fornicator who fell down in the church.*

**34** I will tell you what I heard from a faithful, reliable father and Christ-loving clergyman, who has become a monk in the end. He said: "I was still living in the house of my parents and I daily went to church in the evening to sing. Once, a youth of about thirty years old made his way up to the altar, beautifully dressed in white. Perhaps he was a kind of general. When he entered the door of the *tabir*,<sup>35</sup> that is the sanctuary, he said to the clergymen: "Hail, bless (me)", thanking them, meaning: "Rejoice and bless us". Immediately he fell down upon his face. All the clergymen stood around him and said to him: "What happened to you?" Yet he was unable to speak, for the power of the altar had struck him dumb.

**35** Then they put him on a mattress and laid him on a bed in the church. He remained for twenty-one days prostrated in the church without speaking to anybody. Thereafter the priest sat down at his side and addressed him, saying: "For how long will you remain in this powerless state? Do you not expect that, unless you confess your sins, this (healing) will not happen and that, when you

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<sup>35</sup> 'A sacred place' or 'holy of holies', probably of Hebrew origin. Cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 400b; D. J. A. Clines, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, vol. II, Sheffield, 1995, p. 384.

confess your sins and obtain forgiveness from the clergy, you will recover?" And forthwith the man spoke and said to the priest: "Forgive me, my father, I fell with a woman ...". "Did you see anything at all at the moment you fell?" He said: "I did not see anything but for a hand palm that slapped my face".

**36** The young man confessed and said: "My lord and father, listen to me and I will tell you what I have done out of ignorance.

For since two years I have given myself to fornication. When it happens to me on Saturday and Sunday, I do not go to church out of fear. Then also my body remains heavy the entire Sunday, once because of a scorpion's sting, once pain ravaged my head, at times I was weak while my mind went astray, as I was totally in disorder and ... Then I said: 'When it happens that I die, I will go to church today to attend the holy mass'. Behold, now you see what happened to me". The priest told him: "Did you not hear then and know that it is the body and the blood of Christ which protect and save us from the demons?" From that day, the man diligently strove after his salvation until the day of his death.

Since two years I have given myself to fornication. When it happens to me on Saturday and Sunday, fear forbids me to go to church. Then I also do not go out for fear that some evil befalls me during the entire week. Once a scorpion stung me, once pain ravaged my head, at times my mind went astray because of weakness, as I was totally in disorder, feeling uncomfortable in all my members. Then I said this time: 'When it happens that I die, I will go to church this time to attend the holy mass and enjoy (the blessing)'. Behold, I have told your fatherhood what happened". The priest told him: "Do you not know that these are the things that please the Lord? It is they that protect man and it is they that save us from the demons". From that day, the man diligently strove after his salvation, keeping his body pure until the day of his visitation.

*The pious builder.*

**37** We heard yet another miracle that is too good to be skipped. There was a workman who was a builder by profession. He was wont to get up daily at dawn and go to the house of God and pray three times, saying: "God, preserve me from the evil one". It happened after three years while he did like this and God protected him, that one day at dawn he was earlier and went to the church before they had opened the door. He hurried and went home as he was afraid of the guardians.

We heard yet another miracle, o my beloved, that has happened and is too good to be skipped. There was a workman, a builder of his job, who was wont to get up early every day and go to the house of God and pray three times, saying: "God, protect me today against the evil one". It happened after three years while he did this and God protected him and shielded him, that he rose on that day and went to the gate of the church and found that the door of the church had not been opened. He quickly ran away as he was afraid that the guardians might overtake him.

**38** Then, when dawn had come, he left for the place of his work. The man looked upon the construction and saw a demon coming in the likeness

Then, when dawn had come, he went to the place of his work. He looked upon the construction and saw a demon in the likeness

of a big Nubian about five or six cubits tall. When he had arrived at the height of the man who was on the construction, he told him: "You fell in my hands today. For since three years I have been lying in wait for you. These three prayers were like three fiery lamps and they remained protecting you. I was even not able to come into your neighbourhood at all. Lo and behold, you fell in my hands today and I will repay you". And the demon blew into his face, whereupon he dragged him down from the building and wounded his entire body.

**39** Behold, I have told you what happened to negligent people who did not go to church. For the man who goes to church daily

is, by his prayer that he recites, being protected against the demons that waylay him.

**40** See also what happened in this world to the one who defiled himself. He did not even reach the door of the church ... the angels ... the Lord of the angels and the archangels, Jesus Christ, is staying in its midst, together with Michael, the archangel, who begs the Saviour, saying: "Have mercy upon your image!"<sup>36</sup> Also Gabriel, the messenger of charity and offerings, directs them towards God.

*Final praise of Michael and Gabriel.*

**41** Michael and Gabriel are angels. It is they who entreat in the presence of God the Word for the sake of all sinners. It was Michael who went to Adam at the waters of the Jordan and gave him the seed of life. It was also he who was with Enoch, the scribe of righteousness, until ... and told him the interpretation of the king's dreams. It was Gabriel who went to the Virgin Mary and announced her the joy of the eons of light, saying: "Hail, you who found grace, the Lord is with you."<sup>37</sup> Behold, you shall conceive and bear a son, and you shall call his name Emmanuel, that is 'God with us'.<sup>38</sup>

**42** The glory of the holy archangel Gabriel is greater than all angels, as he is called with this name. For the interpretation of "Gabri" is man whereas "El" is God. Great is also the glory of Michael. The name "Micha" means man whereas "El" is God. Both these great archangels are praying for the flood of the river and the dew of heaven and the growth of the crops, the establishment of the orthodox faith and the safety of men and cattle. When you invoke God with the whole of your heart, speaking thus: "O God of the archangel Michael and Gabriel, save me from all attacks of men and the plotting of the demons", I tell

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<sup>36</sup> Cf. Gen. 1: 26.

<sup>37</sup> Lk. 1: 28.

<sup>38</sup> Mat. 1: 23 quoted from Isa. 7: 14.

you that salvation and holy power will shield you by day and by night.

*Conclusion.*

**43** Now then, O my beloved, may it happen to all of us that we obtain rest at the tribunal of our Lord, Jesus Christ, and be worthy to hear the voice full of joy, delight and all gladness that says: "Come, blessed ones of my Father, and inherit the kingdom that has been prepared for you since the foundation of the world",<sup>39</sup> through the grace and the love of mankind of our Lord, Jesus Christ, He to whom belongs the glory together with his good Father and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

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<sup>39</sup> Mat. 25: 34.



## Homily on Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria

(f. 98v) **Θ** οὔλογος εαφταούοϋ νβι πρῶμε ετφορει μπεχ(ριστο)ς ρν οὔμε, πῶηρε νναποστολος, ἀπα ἀθανασιος παρχνεπισκοπος νρακοτε, εαφταούοϋ ετβε νρεφζωτβ μν νμαϊτονρογο. νταφταούοϋ δε εφζαζητη<sup>1</sup> νβι πενειωτ ετογααβ ἀπα παζωμ παρχνμαντριτης ρμ πτρεφβωκ εζητ εσμ πῶινε νπαρχνεπισκοπος. αφωαδε ον, ρν θαη νπειλογος, ετβε παρχαγγελος μιχαηλ. ρν οὔειρηνη ντε πνοὔτε. ραμην.

1 φωα<sup>2</sup> γαρ ναν μπουοὔ νθε νοὔφωσ[τ]ηρ εφροὔοειν εροὔε [επ]ρη νβι πῶα [μπα]ρχαγγελος μιχα[ηλ]. μαλλον δε εφ[ακτ]ῆν ρμ πεφχπο [εροὔ]ε νρεφροὔοειν [τηροὔ ν]πεστερεω[μα ....]ωα ν[---]ωα ν[--- οὔ]ροτ [--- ενετ] νπενοὔοι ετετραπεζα ετογααβ μπν(εγματ)ικον ντηντσιον ρν νεσβινοὔωμ ετογααβ. εσῶανῶωπε γαρ, ναμερατε, ντε πρρο εταμαρτε κὔλεγε νοὔρῶβ εχμ πκοσμος, καν οὔοσε πε, καν οὔζηη πε, μερε λααὔ νρῶμε εῶσμβομ εανδιλεγε ναφ η εοὔωρμ οὔβηφ. ανον δε ρῶων νεχρηστιανος, εῶδε α παρχαγγελος ετογααβ μιχαηλ σοοὔρην εροὔ μπουοὔ, μαρνηχι σμη ενῶαδε ετογααβ ρν οὔραῶε, ντηνειρε ννετοὔρῶν νμοοὔ ετοοτη ρν τεκκλησια, εβολ δε πσολσλ ννεχρηστιανος πε τεκκλησια.

2 μπρτρε<κ>καταφρονει ννεντολη μπνοὔτε. μπρβντς εκο νεσοοὔ νροὔν ντεκκλησια, νηρ πεσβολ δε ν<γ>ρ οὔωνῶ νρεφτω[ρη]. ρετ σῶα νாக ρν τεκκλη[σι]α δε ννεκπορῆεγε ντοκ δε κῶω(f. 99r)ωτ νσα νεριομε νροὔ(ν) ρν τεκκλησια

<sup>1</sup> Depuydt ραζητη.

<sup>2</sup> Depuydt αφωαδε.

μηπεχ(ριστο)ς, εκμεεγε εβολ ενεκογωω νζητ εθοογ εκνηζογν  
 μηπι μπαττωλμ. παλιν ον σε† σβω νακ δε ννεκζωτβ· ντοκ  
 δε κπητ ντεγωη εκχιογε εκτωρπι ννετε ννογκ αν νε, ερε  
 τσηγε ντοοτκ, εκσβτωτ δε ερωαν ρωμε τωμντ εροι  
 †νακονσγ ρν τεισηγε ετντοοτ.

3 αω τε τεκαπολογια, ω πρεφζωτβ, ερωαν πεκριτης χνογκ  
 εσαι; εκνααπολογιζε ναφ δε ογ; ογοι μπρωμε ετναει εβολ ρν  
 σωμα νσερε εροφ εφσηη ρν τειεντολη δε ννεκζωτβ, εβολ δε  
 α πνογτε ογω εφχω μμοσ δε πετναπωρτ εβολ νογσνοφ  
 νρωμ[ε] σεναπερτ πωφ [ε]βολ επεφμα δε νταιταμιε πρωμε  
 κατα παεινε μν ταρικω[ν].

4 ετβε παι ογοι νρωμε νιμ εφναζωτβ νογϕγχη ριχμ  
 πεικοσμοσ, νφχοοσ δε ειναμετανοει ντε πνογτε ρ πεφνα  
 νμμαι ρα πενταιααφ μπα† απαντα εροφ. εφνακω νακ εβολ  
 νσι πνογτε ναω νρε; νταφωρπι χοοσ νακ ρν τταπρο  
 μηπεφρμραλ μωγσησ δε ογϕγχη επμα νογϕγχη. μη ερε  
 νωαδε μπνογτε ναρ σολ; μμον· μη<sup>3</sup> γενετο. †ρ μντρε νητην,  
 ανοκ πετνειωτ θαανασιοσ, δε πετναζωτβ νογϕγχη νρωμε  
 ρμ πεικοσμοσ ρν ογ[χιν]σονσ, μντε παι ν[τει]μινε αμαρτ[ε  
 ενερ] ογδε ρμ πει[βιοσ ογ]δε ρμ πετ[νηγ]. ακμην,<sup>4</sup> ω [---]  
 εφμοοω[ε ---] νν[---] νν[---] (f. 99v) πκαρ νναγ νιμ, νθε  
 νταγρζαι ετβε κλειν, ππονηροσ νρεφζωτβ.

5 αγω καν ερωαν πρεφζωτβ ρ πεφογοειω τηρφ εφωληλ αγω  
 εφνηστεγε, νφβωκ ερογν εντογειη νφσεκσοογ, μερε  
 μετανοια ωωπε ναφ ρα πενταφααφ ογδε μερε πνογτε ρωτπι  
 νμμαφ, αλλα φακσμ πετμμαγ εφωω ερραι επνογτε ετβε

<sup>3</sup> Ms. με.

<sup>4</sup> ἀκμήν.

πεφνοβε' φακσν τεψγχη νταφρωτβ μμοσ εσωω εβολ ριθη  
 μηεκριτης δε πχοεις, σωτμ εροι νγκεκδικου μπα[σν]οφ  
 νταγπαρτφ [εβολ ρ]ν ογχινοσ[νσ.] ραιο, πχοεις [.....] νσα  
 παсноφ [---] μη πακβα [--- π]εκριτης [---]ητ [--- ετ]βε τ[---  
 ]βφκ [---] ρενκολασις εγναωτ. τENOY σε, ναμερατε,  
 ατετνωτμ αγω ατετνειμε ενκολασις ετσεετ ενρεφρωτβ.  
 μαρνηαρεζ ερον εματε επεινοσ ννοβε ετρωω αγω ετναωτ.

6 μννωσ ON μαρνηαρεζ ερον ετμητμαιτονρωο εβολ δε  
 τμητμαιτονρωο μη τμητμαιζομντ ογπαθοσ νογωτ πε.  
 ρωμε γαρ νημ ετο μμαιτονρωο, σεο μμαιζομντ. μηρτρε  
 πεκσον † οσε εροκ, ω περηστιανοσ. †χω μμοσ νητν δε  
 ογον ρν τειγενεα τENOY εφωανσγναλασσε μη ογα νφ†  
 ογειδοσ εβολ ναφ, ντε ρωμε νταφωωπ ωληλ νμμαφ νφ†  
 λογοσ ρν τεφμητε μη πνογτε δε ν†να† ννειειδοσ αν  
 <ν>ρωμε ειεμητει ντοκ μματε. μννωσ νφρ δωγω μη  
 ρενκερωμε νφ[ει]με δε φαφκερδανε (f. 100r) νκεκογι νρηγ  
 παρα πωρπ νρωμε νταφ† λογοσ ναφ αγω αφρ πνογτε  
 μμητρε εροφ, ντεγνογ φαφπαραβα μπλογοσ νφτααγ  
 μηερσναγ νρωμε ετβε τμητμαιζομντ μη τμητμαιτονρωο.

7 νγρ ροτε αν, ω ρωμε, εκ† λογοσ εκκω μπνογτε ρν  
 τεκμητε μη πεκσον εκπαραβα μπλογοσ ετβε ογκογι νρηγ  
 νωλοφ; ετβε παι νθε ντακπαραβα μπνογτε ετβε  
 τμητμαιζομντ ται τε θε ετερε πνογτε νακολαζε μμοκ ρραι  
 ρν ανητε

(BnF. 131<sup>6</sup>, f. 28r) [---]

ετβε τμητμαιτονρωο. νγρ μπνογτε ετβε  
 ροτε αν ντοκ ρητογ νηραπ τμητμαιζομντ. νγερ ροτε αν  
 ημε μπνογτε; φναχοοσ γαρ ρητφ μπνογτε; φναχοοσ νακ

ΝΑΚ ΝΒΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ ΝΒΙ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)C ΔΕ ΝΘΕ  
 ΑΚΑΡΝΑ ΜΜΟΙ ΜΠΕΚΝΑΥ ΝΤΑΚΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΜΜΟΙ ΜΠΕΚΝΑΥ  
 ΕΜΑΣΤΙΓΖ ΖΙΧΩΚ ΟΥΔΕ ΕΜΑΣΤΙΓΖ [ΖΙ]ΩΩΚ  
 ΜΠΕΚΟΥΩΜ ΝΟΥΩC ΝΑΔC ΕΤΒΕ ΜΠ[Ε]ΚΟΥΩΜ ΝΟΥΕΩ<C> ΝΑC  
 ΠΑΡΑ(Ν) ΑΥΩ ΑΚΑΡΝΑ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΡΑΝ, ΑΚΑΡΝΑ ΜΜΟΙ.  
 ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΖΩΒ ΝΩΛΟΦ. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΚ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΖΝ  
 †ΝΑΑΡΝΑ ΜΜΟΚ ΖΩΩΚ. ΜΤΟΝ ΝΚΟΛΑCΙC ΕΠΜΑ ΝΝΝΟΒΕ  
 ΜΜΟΚ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΖΝ ΝΚΟΛΑCΙC ΝΤΑΚΑΔΥ ΑΚ† ΝΟΥCC ΝΑΙ  
 ΕΠΜΑ ΝΝΝΟΒΕ ΝΤΑΚΑΔΥ ΕΑΚ† ΝΖΗΤΟΥ.  
 CΩΝΤ ΝΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΖΜ  
 ΠΕΙΚΟCΜΟC.

8 ΑΤΕΤΝΕΙΜΕ, Ω ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ, ΔΕ ΑΤΕΤΝ[ΕΙ]ΜΕ, Ω ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ, ΔΕ  
 ΟΥΝΟC ΝΝΟΒΕ ΠΕ † ΛΟΓΟC ΟΥΝΟC ΝΝΟΒΕ ΠΕ † ΛΟΓΟC  
 ΝΓΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΜΜΟΦ. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΓΠΑΡΑΒ[Α] ΜΜΟΦ Η ΝΓΩΡΚ  
 ΝΝΕΛΑΔΥ ΝΧΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟC † ΛΟΓΟC ΝΝΟΥΧ ΕΧΝ ΟΥΖΩΒ ΕΦΩΟΥΕΙΤ.  
 ΝΦΠΑΡΑΒΑ Η ΝΦΩΡΚ ΝΝΟΥΧ Η ΕΦΩΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ ΠΛΑC  
 ΝΦΡ ΚΡΟΦ ΖΝ ΛΑΔΥ ΝΖΩΒ. ΦΩΦ ΜΠΕC†ΝΟΥΦΕ, ΠCΑΖ ΠΑΥΛΟC,  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ ΠCΑΖ ΠΑΥΛΟC, ΠΛΑC ΔΕ ΟΥΦΑΔΕ ΕΦΩΟΥΕΙΤ Η  
 ΜΠΕC†ΝΟΥΦΕ, ΔΕ ΑΝCΩΠΕ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΕΛΛΗΒ ΜΠΕΡΤΑΥΕ ΡΙΝΟΥ  
 ΜΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C ΕΩΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΤΗΥΤΝ. ΦΑΦΧΟΟC  
 ΕΝΦΑΝΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΝΘΟΜΟΛΟΓΙ[Α] ΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΝΟΥΝΕ ΜΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΝΙΜ  
 ΕΤΤΑΧΡΗΥ ΦΑΒΟΛ. ΦΑΦΧΟΟC ΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΜΑΙΖΟΜΝΤ. ΤΕΝΟΥ CΕ,  
 ΟΝ Δ[Ε ΤΝΟΥ]ΝΕ ΜΠΕΘΟΟΥ [ΝΙΜ Ω ΝΑ(ΒnF. 131<sup>6</sup>, f.  
 ΤΕ] ΤΜΝΤΜΑΙΖ[ΟΜΝΤ]. ΤΕΝΟΥ 28v)ΜΕΡΑΤΕ, ΜΑΡΝΜΙΦΕ ΕΡΟΝ  
 ΔΕ, Ν[ΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ, ΜΑ]ΡΝ† ΖΤ[ΗΝ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΔΕ  
 ΕΑΜΑΖΤΕ] ΜΠΩΔ[ΧΕ ---]ΧΜ Π[- ΟΥΠΕΤΦΟΥΕΙΤ ΝΜΠΕΤΦΟΥΕΙΤ  
 ---]ΧΝ†[---] (f. 100v) ΠΕΤΦΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΖΑΡΟΦ  
 ΝCΕΤΜCΝΤΝ ΕΝΦ<Θ>ΟΡΕΙ ΜΠΡΗ, ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕΚΛΗCΙΑCΤΗC.  
 ΜΠΒΑΠΤΙCΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ. ΟΥΟΙ ΝΑΝ, Ω ΝΑΦΗΡΕ,  
 ΝΦΑΝΜΟΥ ΖΝ ΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ  
 ΜΠΑΤΝΜΕΤΑΝΟΙ.

9 ΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΦΕΤΠΙ ΣΟΥΟ ΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΦΕΤΠΙ ΣΟΥΟ  
 ΕΞΟΥΝ ΖΜ ΠΡΕΒΩΩΝ, ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΤΑΠΟΘΗΚΗ ΕΦΩΩΤ  
 ΝΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΔΝ ΠΕ. ΖΗΤΥ ΜΠΡΕΒΩΩΝ, ΕΡΕ ΝΖΗΚΕ  
 ΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΦΧΙΟΥΕ ΕΦΒΙ ΖΩΟΥ ΖΚΑΕΙΤ, ΝΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ  
 ΝΝΕΤΕΝΝΟΥΥ ΔΝ ΝΕ, ΔΝ ΠΕ, ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΝΙΝΕΥΗ ΝΒΡΡΕ  
 ΝΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΔΝ ΠΕ. ΠΕ. ΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΦΟ ΜΜΑΓΟΣ,  
 ΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΦΟ ΜΜΑΓΟΣ, {Π}ΕΦΒΗΚ ΕΡΑΤΥ  
 ΕΦΒΗΚ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΝΜΦΑΡΜΑΓΟΣ, ΝΟΥΦΑΡΜΑΓΟΣ, ΝΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ  
 ΝΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΔΝ ΠΕ. ΔΝ ΠΕ.  
 ΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΦΩΡΚ ΝΝΟΥΧ, ΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΦΩΡΚ ΝΝΟΥΧ  
 ΕΥΤ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΦΠΑΡΑΒΑ, ΕΧΝ ΟΥΖΩΒ ΕΦΩΟΥΕΙΤ ΕΠΑ  
 ΝΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΔΝ ΠΕ. ΠΕΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΠΕ ΝΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ  
 ΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΦΟ ΝΡΕΦΖΩΤΒ, ΔΝ ΠΕ. ΟΥΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΦΟ  
 ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ [Χ]Ε ΦΟΥΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΡΕΦΖΩΤΒ ΠΑΙ ΟΥΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΝΤΜΝΤ[ΧΡ]ΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ, ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΜΝΤΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΔΥΩ ΦΖΟΟΥ  
 [ΦΖΟΟΥ] ΕΖΟΥΕ ΕΝΖΕΘ[ΝΟΣ <ε>ΝΖΕΘΝ'Ο'Σ ΕΤΕΜΠΟΥΤ  
 Ε]ΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΠΡΕΘ[ΝΟΣ ΝΤΟΥ] ΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΑΥ. ΝΕΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ  
 ΜΠΟΥΤ ΝΟ[ΜΟΣ ΝΑΥ Ν]ΘΕ (BnF. 131<sup>7</sup>, f. 32r) ΜΕΝ ΔΥΤ  
 ΜΠΕ[ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟ]Σ, [ΑΛΛΑ ΔΥΤ] ΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΚΧΙΟΥΕ  
 ΕΝΤΟΛΗ [ΝΝΧΡΙΣΤΙΑ]ΝΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΚΖΩΤΒ, ΝΝΕΚΕΡ ΜΝΤΡΕ  
 [ΝΝΕΚΧΙΟΥΕ], ΝΝΕΚ[ΖΩΤΒ, ΝΝΟΥΧ. ΕΚΕΤΑΙΕ ΕΠΕΚΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ  
 ΝΝΕΚΡ ΜΝΤΡΕ ΝΝΟΥΧ]. ΤΕΚΜΑΔΥ ΝΓΜΕΡΕ ΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΥΩΚ  
 ΕΚΕΤΑΙΕ ΠΕΚΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ ΝΤΚΖΕ.  
 ΤΕΚΜΑΔΥ ΝΓΜΕΡΕ ΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΥΩΚ  
 ΝΤΕΚΖΕ.

10 ΝΕΙΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΔΕ ΣΕΜΗΡ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΕΙΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΝΑΙ ΣΕΡΟΦ  
 ΕΓΕΝΟΣ ΝΙΜ ΝΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΝΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΝΙΜ ΕΑΔΥ. ΚΑΝ  
 ΕΤΡΕΦΑΔΥ, ΑΛΛΑ ΕΝΩΑΝΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΕΑΝΖΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΜ ΠΝΟΒΕ,  
 ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΤΝΚΤΟΝ ΜΠΕΡΤΡΝΣΩ ΕΝΟ ΝΑΜΕΛΗC  
 ΝΤΝΜΕΤΑΝΟΙ, ΤΝΝΑΡ ΒΟΛ ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΡΝΚΤΟΝ  
 ΕΖΕΝΝΟC ΝΒΑCΑΝΟC ΖΑ ΝΤΝ[ΜΕΤ]ΑΝΟΙ [.....]ΕΙ. [---  
 ΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ. ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΟΥΝ Ζ]Α [ΝΕΝΝΟΒ]Ε ΝΤΑΝΑΔΥ,  
 ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΩΑΤΝ ΕΠΙΔΗ ΟΥΝ ΤΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ ΩΟΟΠ

ΝΡΕΦΖΩΤΒ. ΝΕΤΝΑΖΩΤΒ ΔΕ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ ΝΝΕΤΝΑΚΤΟΟΥ  
 ΚΑΝ ΕΥΩΑΝ ΣΕΚΣΟΥ ΝΘΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ  
 ΜΜΩΥΧΗC, ΜΝΤΟΥ ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΡΕΦΖΩΤΒ ΜΑΥΑΑΥ. ΚΑΝ  
 ΜΜΑΥ.

ΕΡΩΑΝ ΕΝΡΕΦΖΩΤΒ ΑΩΤΟΥ  
 ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝCΑ ΠΩΩ ΝΤΕΥΑΠΕ ΜΝ  
 ΝΒΟΥΖΕ ΝΝΕΥΒΑΛ, ΜΕΡΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΚΩ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΝCΕ†  
 ΝΟΥ†ΥΧΗ ΖΑ ΟΥ†ΥΧΗ.

11 ΜΠΡΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΝΑΙ, Ω  
 ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ, ΧΕ ΑΝΟΝ ΑΝΤΑΥΟ  
 ΝΕΙΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΖΑΡΟΝ ΜΑΥΑΑΝ,  
 ΑΛΛΑ Α ΠΕΝCΑΖ ΤΗΡΗ  
 ΠΕ(ΧΡΙCΤΟ)C ΩΡΠ ΤΑΥΟΥ ΖΜ  
 ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΚΑΤΑ  
 ΜΑΘΘΑΙΟC ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΝΤΕΙΖΕ  
 ΧΕ ΑΤΕΤΝCΩΤΜ ΧΕ ΑΥΧΟΟC ΖΝ  
 ΝΑΡΧΑΙΟC ΧΕ ΝΝΕΚΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ.  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ †ΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕ  
 ΠΕΤΝΑΘΩ(φ. 101r)ΩΤ ΝCΑ  
 ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΝΦΕΠΕΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΡΟC,  
 ΑΦΟΥΩ ΕΦΡ ΝΟΕΙΚ ΕΡΟC ΖΜ  
 ΠΕΦΖΗΤ. ΑΤΕΤΝCΩΤΜ ΧΕ  
 ΑΥΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΝΝΕΚΖΩΤΒ. ΑΝΟΚ  
 ΔΕ †ΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕ  
 ΠΕΤΝΑΧΟΟC ΜΠΕΦCΟΝ ΧΕ  
 ΠCΟC, ΦΟ ΝΕΝΟΧΟC ΕΤΕΚΡΙCΙC.  
 ΑΤΕΤΝCΩΤΜ ΧΕ ΑΥΧΟΟC ΖΝ  
 ΝΑΡΧΑΙΟC ΧΕ ΝΝΕΚΩΡΚ  
 ΝΝΟΥΧ. ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ †ΧΩ ΜΜΟC  
 ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕ ΜΠΡΩΡΚ ΝΤΠΕ ΧΕ  
 ΠΕΘΡΟΝΟC ΜΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ, ΟΥΔΕ

ΜΠΕΡΤΡΕ ΟΥΑ ΘΝ ΔΡΙΚΕ  
 ΝΦΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΑΝ[ΟΝ ΑΝΤΑΥΟ  
 ΝΕΙΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΜΑΥΑΑΝ, ΑΛΛΑ]  
 (BnF. 131<sup>7</sup>, f. 32v) Α ΠΕΝCΑΖ  
 ΤΗΡ[Ν] ΤΑΜΟΝ ΖΝ  
 ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΘΘΑΙΟC  
 ΧΕ ΑΥΧΟΟC ΝΝΑΡΧΑΙΟC ΧΕ  
 ΝΝΕΚΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ, ΝΝΕΚΧΙΟΥΕ.  
 ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩ †ΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ  
 ΠΕΤΝΑΘΩΩΤ ΝCΑ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ  
 ΝΦΕΠΕΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΡΟC, ΑΦΟΥΩ ΕΦΟ  
 ΝΝΟΕΙΚ ΕΡΟC ΖΜ ΠΕΦΖΗΤ.  
 ΑΤΕ<Τ>ΝCΩΤΜ ΧΕ ΑΥΧΟΟC ΧΕ  
 ΝΝΕΚΖΩΤΒ. ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ †ΧΩ  
 ΜΜΟC ΝΗΤΝ Χ[Ε ---] ΝCΑ [---]<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> BnF. 131<sup>7</sup>, f. 32v has no parallel for the following.

ΜΠΡΩΡΚ ΜΠΚΑΖ ΧΕ  
ΠΖΥΠΟΠΟΤΙΟΝ ΝΝΕΦΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ  
ΠΕ, ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΡΩΡΚ ΝΤΕΚΑΠΕ  
ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΚ ΧΕ ΜΝ ΩΣΟΜ  
ΜΜΟΚ ΕΤΡΕ ΟΥΒΩ ΝΟΥΩΤ  
ΟΥΒΑΩ Η ΝΦΚΜΟΜ.

**12** ΑΤΕΤΝΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΠΕΝΤΑΦ† ΝΝΕΙΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ.  
ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΜΑΡΝΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΟΥ  
ΝΤΝΑΔΥ ΧΕ ΣΕΝΑΩΙΝΕ ΝΣΑ  
ΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΝΤΑ ΠΕΝΣΑΖ  
ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ ΟΥΕΖΣΑΖΝΕ ΕΑΔΥ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΝ, ΧΙΝ  
ΝΤΕΙΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΧΕ ΕΚΕΜΕΡΕ  
ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕΚΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΜ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ  
ΤΗΡΦ ΜΝ ΤΕΚΨΥΧΗ ΤΗΡΣ ΜΝ  
ΝΕΚΜΕΕΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΓΜΕΡΕ  
ΝΕΤΖΙΤΟΥΩΚ ΝΤΕΚΖΕ, ΩΔΖΡΑΙ  
ΕΤΕΙΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΧΕ ΩΔΧΕ ΝΙΜ  
ΝΑΡΚΟΝ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ<sup>6</sup>  
ΝΑΧΟΟΥ ΣΕΝΑ† ΛΟΓΟΣ ΖΑΡΟΟΥ  
ΜΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΝΤΕΚΡΙΣΙΣ.

**13** ΤΕΝΟΥ ΣΕ, ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ,  
ΜΑΡΝΜΙΩΕ ΕΡΟΝ ΖΜ ΠΕΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ  
ΝΤΝΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
ΜΠΠΟΥΤΕ, ΕΝΣΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΩΔΥΒΙ  
ΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΜΜΑΝ ΖΑ ΝΕ(Ν)ΤΟΛΗ  
ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΑΥΖΟΝΟΥ ΕΤΟΟΤΝ.  
ΟΥΟΙ ΝΓΕΝΟΣ ΝΙΜ  
[Ν]ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΦ[ΩΔΑΝ] ΜΟΥ

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<sup>6</sup> Ms. πρωμε.

νσεκριν[ε μμοϋ] μν νζεθνο[ε  
 ---] εαϋρ ωμμ[ο ---] μπωρ [--  
 - μ]πρτρε[---ε]νεζ [---] ογα[--  
 -]

[---] αληθως ογωπε πε  
 νοχριστιανος με εφωανρ  
 ωβηρ εγζεθνος<sup>7</sup> μν

**14** [---] (f. 101v) ραιρεδικος η εγζαρετικος η νφογωμ νφσω  
 νφογωμ νφσω νμμαγ η νμμαγ η νφχοος ναγ δε  
 νφχοος ναγ δε χαιρε. μπρρ χαιρε. μπερρ ωβηρ εγρωμε  
 ωβρ εγρωμε εφσω εφσω μπεκνουτε αγω  
 μπεκνουτε αγω μπρχοος μπερτωρ νμμαγ ηλααγ νζε  
 ναγ δε χαιρε, εβολ δε α εβολ δε α π[χοεις ρω]ν  
 πχοεις ογω ερζων ετοοτη [ετοοτη ---] α[---]  
 δε πετνφσυναγε νμμαι αν  
 εφχωωρε εβολ.

**15** τενοϋ σε, ναμερατε, ωατναγ εϋ† σβω ναν αγω  
 ντναϊσθανε αν; αρι πμεεγε δε ραπς ερο(ν) πε ετρενκα  
 πεικοσμος νσων ντνβωκ ερατϋ μπνουτε νσεκρινε μμον ρα  
 νεντανααγ μν νενταν[ο]βων εροοϋ. [†να]χω ερωτη  
 νοϋρζωβ [εαϋ]ωωπε ρν νει[καρ]ος, εγεοοϋ μπν[οϋτε ετρ]  
 νειωπηρε [ριτοοτοϋ] ννεφπετ[ογααβ ---] ναϋ. [---] ννρεϋ[---]  
 ]μμοοϋ [---]ϋ [--- νετοϋ]ααβ ετρ ροτε ρητϋ αγω ετειρε  
 μπεφογωω. σωτη, ω νακροατης, ταχω ερωτη νοϋωπηρε  
 εασωωπε εβολ ριτοοτϋ μππετογααβ απα παρζωμ,  
 παρχημανδριτης νταβεννησε.

**16** μννσα τρε πχοεις οϋν † μτον ναν εβολ ρν νεσκανδαλον  
 τηροϋ νταϋτωοϋν εχωμ μν τεκκλησια, ετε ναριανος νε, ρμ  
 πεϋοειω οϋν ετμμαγ αφει ερητ ερακοτε νβι απα παρζωμ,

<sup>7</sup> Ms. εγζεθνις.

ΠΑΡΧΗΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ ΝΤΑΒΕΝΝΗΣΕ, ΕΤΡΕΦΘΗ ΠΕΝΩΙΝΕ ΑΥΩ  
ΕΤΡΕΙΑΠΟΛΑΓΕ<sup>8</sup> ΜΠΕΦ<C>ΜΟΥ ΖΩ ΜΗ ΝΑ ΤΑΠΟΛΙΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ.  
ΝΤΕΡΟΥΜΕΝΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΑΝ, ΑΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑΡΟΥ ΑΝΧΙΤΩ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
ΖΗ ΟΥΤΙΜΗ ΜΗ ΟΥΕΘΟΥ ΕΦΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΑΝΜΠΩΑ ΜΜΑΤΕ  
ΜΠΕΦCΜΟΥ.

17 ΑCΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΝΕΙΡΕ ΝΤCΥΝΑΖΙC ΝΡΟΥΖΕ ΜΠΩΑ  
ΜΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ, (f. 102γ) ΑΝΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΕΝCΜΟΥ ΜΗ  
ΖΕΝΨΑΛΜΟC ΜΗ ΖΕΝΩΔΗ ΜΠ(ΝΕΥΜΑΤ)ΙΚΟΝ ΕΝCΟΟΥΖ ΜΗ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ  
ΨΑΖΤΟΟΥΕ. ΝΤΕΡΕ<N>ΠΩΖ ΔΕ ΕΠΝΑΥ ΝΤΑΛΕ ΠΟΕΙΚ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΜ  
ΠΕΘΥCΙΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ, ΑΝΟΚ ΑΘΑΝΑCΙΟC, ΔΙΡ ΠCΟΒΤΕ  
ΕΤΡΑΕΠΕΤΕΡΕΙ<sup>9</sup> ΝΤΕΠΡΟCΦΟΡΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ. ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΔΕ ΑΠΑ  
ΠΑΖΩΜ ΑΦCΕΖΤΩ ΝCΑ ΟΥCΑ ΜΑΥΑΑΦ ΖΗ ΟΥΚΛΧΕ ΝΖΟΥ(Ν)  
ΜΠΕΘΥCΙΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ, ΑΦΠΕΡΩ ΝΕΦCΙΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΤΥΠΟC  
ΜΠΕCΤ(ΑΥΡ)ΟC, ΑΦΩΛΗΛ ΕΠΕΤΕΦΜΕ ΜΜΟΥ, ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C, ΕΠΕΙΔΗ  
ΝΕΦΧΙΡΟΔΟΝΕΙ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΖΩC ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC ΝΒΙ ΠΑΡΧΗΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ  
ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ, ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΖΩΜ, ΕΤΡΕΦΑΖΕΡΑΤΩ ΕΠΕΘΥCΙΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ  
ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ,

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<sup>8</sup> Ms. ντερειαπολαγε.

<sup>9</sup> Read ετραεπιτελει, from ἐπιτελέω.

(BnF. 129<sup>12</sup>, f. 72+70r) [---

ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΝΩΨΕ ΔΝ ΕΛΑΔΥ ΕΛ]ΔΑΥ ΕΑΖΕΡΑΤΥ ΖΙ<sup>12</sup> ΠΑΖΟΥΝ  
 ΝΤΑΖΙΣ ΕΤΑ ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΤΕ ΜΠΕΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΥΕΠΕΙΤΕΛΕΙ  
 ΕΑΖΕΡΑΤΣ<sup>10</sup> ΖΙΘΗ ΜΠΟΥΗΝΒ ΝΤΕΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ, ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ  
 ΕΥΕΠΕΤΕΛΕΙ ΝΤΕΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ Η ΝΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΜΝ  
 ΝΥΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΜΠΕΥΚΩΤΕ, ΝΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ.  
 ΕΙΕΜΗΤΕΙ ΝΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΜΝ  
 ΝΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΕΤΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ  
 ΕΠΕΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ  
 ΝΣΕΖΥΠΠΙΖΕ<sup>11</sup> ΕΧΜ ΠΩΜΑ  
 ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΜΠΑΤΤΩΛΗ,  
 ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ.

**18** ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ †ΖΩΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ †ΖΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤΤΗΥΤΗ,  
 ΕΤΟΟΤΤΗΥΤΗ, ΝΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΝΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ [ΜΝ  
 ΜΝ ΝΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ, ΧΕ ΜΠΡΤΡΕ Ν]ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ, ΧΕ ΝΝΕΛΑΔΥ  
 ΛΑΔΥ ΝΛΑΕΙΚΟΣ †ΠΕΦΟΥΟΙ ΝΛΑΙΚΟΣ ΨΩΠΕ ΜΠΚΩΤΕ  
 ΜΠΚΩΤΕ ΜΠΕΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΕΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΥΕΠΕΙΤΕΛΕΙ  
 ΕΥΕΠΕΤΕΛΕΙ ΝΣΙ ΝΤΕΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ, ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΠΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΝΤΕΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΧΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΖΙΧΝ  
 ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΧΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΤΕΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΤΑΖΙΣ  
 ΕΤΟΝΖ ΜΝ ΤΕΥΝΟ[Σ] ΝΤΑΖΙΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΑΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ, ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ  
 ΝΑΣΩΜ[Δ]ΤΟΣ, ΕΤ<Ε> ΜΝ ΝΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ, ΝΕΧΕΡΟΥΒΙΝ  
 ΝΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ [Ν]Ε ΕΤΖΑ ΖΟΤΕ ΔΥΩ ΜΝ ΝΣΕΡΑΦΙΝ.  
 [ΕΤΖΔ] ΕΟΟΥ, ΝΗΥ ΕΠ[ΕΣΗΤ]  
 ΕΧΜ ΠΕΘ[ΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙ]ΟΝ  
 ΕΤΟ[ΥΑΔΒ].

<sup>10</sup> Ms. επα τεκκλνσια πε εαζερατυ.

<sup>11</sup> ῥιπίζω.

<sup>12</sup> Amélineau ζη.

19 λοι]πον μ[αρνηκτον εχμ] λοιπον μαρνηκτον εχμ<sup>13</sup>  
 πω[αχε ---] ερ[--- πεπροκοιμενον νταναρχει  
 ντερειεπι](f. 102v)τελει ογν εροφ ετβε ππετογααβ απα  
 αγω νταχωκ εβολ μπωμωε παζωμο. ντερενεπειτελει  
 ετογααβ, νσεψαλλει εχν ντεπροσφορα ετογααβ, α  
 τεθγσια, ανχι νωορπ, ανον νεπρεσ[βγ]τεροσ χ[ι εροογ],<sup>14</sup>  
 νεογνηβ, εβολ ρμ πσωμα μν μννωσ ν[δι]ακονοσ. αγω  
 πεσνοφ μπεχ(ριτο)σ. ντερε νδιακονοσ αρχι<sup>15</sup> νχι,  
 μννωσ αγ† πεγογοι ρωογ α πνογτε σωλπ εβολ  
 νσι νδιακονοσ ετρεγχι εβολ μππετογααβ απα παζωμο.  
 ρμ πμγστηριον ετογααβ εβολ αφναγ εογα ρν νδιακονοσ  
 ρν νασιχ. α πνογτε σωλπ μπεκληροσ εαφει χε εφν[α]χι  
 εβολ μπενειωτ παζωμ. εβολ ρν [μ]μηστηρι[ον] (ΒηF.  
 αφναγ εγδιακονοσ επα 129<sup>12</sup>, f. 72+70v) ετογααβ,  
 πεκληροσ νρακοτε πε, εαφει πσωμα μν πεσνοφ  
 εφνα† μπεφογοι εχι εβολ ρν μπεχ(ριτο)σ. αφναγ  
 μμγστηριον ετ[ο]γααβ, επαγγελοσ ντεπροσφορα,  
 πσωμα μν [πε]σνοφ αφσοογτη ντφβιχ εβολ, αφι  
 μπεχ(ριτοσ). α ππετογααβ μπ[μ]γστηριον ρν [τσι]χ  
 απα πα[ρω]μ ναγ επαγγε[λοσ μπ[δια]κονοσ, αφ[κ]ααφ<sup>16</sup>  
 ν]τε προσφορα, [αφσοογτ]ν ριχν τ[ετ]ραπεζα.  
 εβολ ν[τεφβιχ, αφφ]ι  
 μπμγσ[τηριον ντο]οτφ  
 μ[πδιακονοσ, α]φκααφ [ριχμ  
 πεθγσιαστηριον ---]ρ[---] ρωσ  
 χε μπδιακονοσ ετμναγ  
 μπωα αν μπμγστηριον  
 ετογααβ.

<sup>13</sup> Read εχμ.

<sup>14</sup> Amélineau χιν ....

<sup>15</sup> Amélineau αγχι?

<sup>16</sup> Amélineau αφ(τ)ααφ.

20 ντερεφναγ δε επεισωλιπ  
 εβολ νωπηρε νσι πενειωτ  
 ετογααβ απα παρωμ, αφρ  
 ωπηρε εματε, αφτ πεφογοι,  
 αφρων ερογν επιδιακονοσ  
 ετμμαγ, αφμεζ ειατq μμοq  
 καλωσ αφω αφσογωνq.  
 αφβωκ ον επεφμα νσι απα  
 παρωμ αφαζερατq αφβω  
 εφωληλ φαντογχεκ  
 τσυναζις εβολ. ανοκ δε,  
 αθανασιοσ, α πχοεισ ρεπ παι  
 εροι καν ετβε τααμελια, καν  
 εφογωω εχι<sup>18</sup> εοογ ρμ  
 πεφπετογααβ απα παρωμ νοε  
 νταφογενη νεπραζις μπρωμε  
 εροq, ειωαχε επιδιακονοσ.  
 κατα θε ετχηρ δε πνογτε χι  
 εοογ ρμ πωοχνε ννετογααβ.

ν[τερεφναγ δε εναι νσι  
 ππετογ]ααβ απα [παρ]ωμο  
 εφω[τορτ]p<sup>17</sup> εματε, αφτ  
 πεφογοι ερογν επιδιακονοσ  
 ετμμαγ, αφμεζ ειατq μμοq  
 καλωσ, [α]φσογωνq, [α]βωκ  
 επεφ[μα] νκεσοπ φαντογκα  
 τσυναζις εβολ. ανοκ δε,  
 αθανασιοσ, α πχοεισ ρεπ παι  
 εροι καν ετβε τααμελια, καν  
 εφογωω εχι<sup>18</sup> εοογ ρμ  
 πεφπετο[γααβ νρμγαλ απα  
 παρω]μο [νοε νταq]ογε[νη  
 νεπραζι]c [μπειρωμε] ερο[q.  
 κατα] θε ετ[χηρ δε] πνογτ[ε  
 χι εο]ογ ρμ<sup>19</sup> [πωο]χνε  
 ννετογααβ.

21 ασωωπε δε ντερενκα  
 τσυ(f. 103r)ναζις εβολ, αφτ  
 πεφογοι ερον νσι πρωμε  
 ετμεζ νεοογ νιμ, απα παρωμ,  
 πεχαq ναι δε κυρι  
 αρχιεπισκοποσ, ογνται  
 ογωαχε εχοοq εροκ. ανοκ  
 δε αθανασιοσ πεχαι ναq δε  
 ωαχε, ηρλλο ετογααβ ντα  
 νεφскиμ p ογοειν επεφσωμα

ασωωπε δε ντερογκα  
 τσυναζις εβολ, αφτ [πεφ]ογοι  
 ερ[οι νσ]ι πρωμε (BnF. 129<sup>12</sup>,  
 f. 71+133<sup>2</sup>, f. 57r) ετμεζ  
 νεοογ νιμ, πενειωτ απα  
 παρωμο, πεχαq ναι δε κυριε  
 αρχιεπισκοπογ, ογνται  
 ογωαχε μμαγ αφω τογωω  
 εχοοq ετεκμηντπετογααβ.  
 †σοογν<sup>20</sup> γαρ δε ντοκ πε

<sup>17</sup> Amélineau αφρ ωπηρε.

<sup>18</sup> Amélineau εχε.

<sup>19</sup> Lefort ρω.

<sup>20</sup> Lefort κσοογν.

ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΦΩΣΤΗΡ ΝΤΠΕ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΩΩΣ ΔΥΩ ΠΧΘΕΙΣ ΝΤΕΧΩΡΑ  
 ΠΡΛΛΟ ΔΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΤΗΡΣ ΔΥΩ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Δ  
 ΜΠΝΑΥ ΕΚΖΙΧΜ ΜΠΝΟΥ[Τ]Ε ΟΥΗΖ ΝΖΗ[ΤΚ].  
 ΠΕΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ, ΠΕΧΔΙ [ΝΑΦ ΧΕ] ΩΔΧΕ [ΠΡΛΛΟ  
 ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΕΠΑ Ν]ΤΑ ΝΕΦ[ΣΚΙΜ] Ρ ΟΥΘΕΙΝ [ΝΘΕ  
 ΠΕΚΛΗΡΟΣ ΠΕ ΕΑΦΕΙ ΕΦΝΑΧΙ ΝΝ]ΕΦΩΣ[ΤΗΡ<sup>21</sup> ΝΤ]ΠΕ.  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ ΖΝ ΜΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ [ΠΕΧΔΦ ΝΑΙ] ΧΕ [---]ΜΕΙ [---  
 ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ. ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΠΑ]ΙΩΤ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΕΚΑΖΕΡΑΤΚ  
 ΜΠΕΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ, ΑΦ† ΕΧΜ ΠΕΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΟΥΥ,<sup>22</sup>  
 ΜΠΕΦΟΥΟΙ ΕΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ, ΑΦΒΙ ΕΚ† ΜΠΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΝΕΙΧ<sup>22</sup>  
 ΜΠΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΤΟΟΤΦ, ΜΠΛΑΟΣ, ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ  
 ΔΦΚΑΔΦ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΕΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΠΑ ΠΕΚΛΗΡΟΣ ΠΕ, ΑΦΕΙ ΧΕ  
 ΝΤΕΦΖΕ. ΕΦΝΑΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ  
 ΜΠΕΙΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ. ΝΤΕΡΕΚ† ΔΕ  
 [Μ]ΠΜΥΣΤΗΡΙ[ΟΝ] ΕΝΕΦΣΙΧ,  
 ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΠΑΓΓ[Ε]ΛΟΣ  
 ΕΤΑΖΕΡΑ[ΤΦ] ΝΜΜΑΚ'  
 ΔΦ[ΦΙ]ΤΦ<sup>23</sup> ΖΝ ΝΕΦΣΙ[Χ],  
 ΔΦΚΑΔΦ ΖΙΧ[Μ]  
 ΠΕΘΥΣΙΑΣΤ[Η]ΡΙΟΝ ΝΚΕΜ[Δ].<sup>24</sup>  
 ΝΤΕΡΕΙΝΑΥ Δ[Ε] ΕΡΟΦ, ΔΙΡ  
 ΩΠ[Η]ΡΕ.

<sup>21</sup> Lefort [π]εφωσ[τηρ]

<sup>22</sup> Lefort νειχ.

<sup>23</sup> Amélineau αφ(χι)τφ.

<sup>24</sup> Amélineau κκεσ(οι).

22 ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΠΕΧΑΔ[Ι] ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΑΚΣ[ΟΥ](BnF.  
 ΝΤΕΡΕΙΣΩΤΜ ΕΝΑΙ ΝΤΟΟΤΦ ΔΙΡ 129<sup>12</sup>, f. 71+133<sup>2</sup>, f. 57v)ΩΝΦ;  
 ΦΠΗΡΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ, ΠΕΧΑΙ ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΑΖΕ. ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ  
 ΕΚΩΔΑΝΝΑΥ<sup>25</sup> ΕΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΑΙΤΡΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ  
 ΕΤΜΜΑΥ, ΚΝΑΣΟΥΩΝΦ; ΠΕΧΕ ΕΠΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ,  
 ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜ ΧΕ ΣΕ, ΑΙΤΡΕΦΣΩΟΥΖ ΕΞΟΥΝ  
 ΔΙΜΕΖ ΕΙΑΤ ΜΜΟΦ ΚΑΛΩΣ. ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕΚΛΗΡΟΣ ΤΗΡΦ ΑΥΩ  
 ΝΤΕΡΕΙΣΕΤΜ ΝΑΙ ΝΤΟΟΤΦ, ΝΦΜΜΑΥ ΝΒΙ ΠΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑΛΙΟΣ,  
 ΔΙΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΠΑΡΧΗΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ, ΝΕΑΦΕΙ ΕΧΙ ΣΜΟΥ ΝΤΝ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ  
 ΑΙΤΡΕΦΣΕΥΖ ΠΕΚΛΗΡΟΣ ΤΗΡΦ [Δ]ΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜΟ.  
 ΝΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΞΟΥΝ  
 ΦΔΑΡΟΝ ΜΝ ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ  
 ΠΑΖΩΜ. ΕΝΕΦΜΜΑΥ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΒΙ  
 ΠΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΤΑΦΕΙ ΕΧΙ  
 ΠΕΣΜΟΥ ΝΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜ.

23 ΝΤΕΡΟΥΕΙ ΔΕ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ, [ΔΥ]Ω ΝΤΕΡΟΥΕΙ Ε[Ζ]ΟΥΝ  
 Α ΠΟΥΑ Π[ΟΥΑ] ΧΙ ΣΜΟΥ ΝΖΜΟΟΣ, [Δ]ΥΧΙ ΣΜΟΥ  
 ΝΤΟΟΤΦ [ΔΥ]ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ. ΝΤΕ[ΡΕ] ΑΥ[Α]ΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ. [ΔΥ]Ω ΝΤΕΡΕ  
 ΠΕΒΙΗΝ ΔΕ ΝΔ[ΙΑΚΟ]ΝΟΣ ΠΔΙ[Δ]ΚΟΝΟΣ ΕΙ ΕΦ[Ν]ΗΥ  
 ΕΤΜΜ[ΔΥ ΕΙ ΕΞΟΥΝ] ΧΕ ΕΞΟΥΝ, [Δ] ΠΖΛΛΟ ΑΠΑ  
 ΕΦΝΑ[ΧΙ ΣΜΟΥ Ν]ΤΟΟΤΦ [Π]ΑΖΩΜΟ ΧΩ[Ρ]Μ ΟΥΒΗΙ ΧΕ  
 [ΖΩΩΦ], Α ΠΖΛ[ΛΟ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ] [Π]ΔΙ ΠΕ. [†Χ]Ω ΜΜΟΣ ΝΗ[ΤΝ]  
 ΑΠΑ [ΠΑΖΩΜ ΧΩΡΜ] ΕΡ[ΟΙ ---] ΧΕ Α ΠΕΦΣ†ΒΩΝ ΤΑΖΟΝ. ΔΝΟΚ  
 (f. 103v) ΜΜΑΥ, ΕΝΕΑ ΔΕ ΑΙΤΡΟΥΝΤΦ ΖΑΖΤΗΝ.  
 ΠΕΦΣ†ΒΩΩΝ ΓΑΡ ΤΑΖΟΝ ΖΑΘΗ  
 ΜΠΑΤΕΦΠΩΖ ΕΡΟΝ. ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ  
 ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΑΙΤΡΕ ΤΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ  
 ΜΠΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑΛΙΟΣ ΕΤΑΖΕΡΑΤΦ  
 ΕΡΟΦ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ,  
 ΑΙΤΡΕΣΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΦ. ΑΥΕΙΝΕ  
 ΜΜΟΦ ΜΠΕΝΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΘΗ

<sup>25</sup> ναυ was added in the margin in smaller script.

ΜΜΟΝ ΜΝ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΡΩΜ ΜΝ  
 ΠΚΕΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑΛΙΟΣ ΕΤΖΜΟΟΣ  
 ΝΜΜΑΝ.

**24** ΤΟΤΕ ΔΙΩΑΧΕ ΜΝ ΑΠΑ ΔΙΩΑΧΕ ΜΝ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΑΠΑ  
 ΠΑΡΩΜ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΟΤΕ ΜΝ ΠΑΡΩΜΟ ΧΕ ΤΑΜΟΙ ΕΝΕΦΖΒΗΓΕ  
 ΟΥ†ΖΤΗΓ ΝΤΕ Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ ΑΥΩ ΧΕ ΑΚΕΙΜΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΖΙΤΜ  
 ΠΚΕΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑΛΙΟΣ ΕΤΖΜΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΠΕΠ(ΝΕΥΜ)Α ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΗΖ  
 ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΡΩΜ, ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΖΗΤΚ. ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΔ ΝΑΙ  
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΧΝΕ [Π]ΕΙΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΧΑΡΙΣΜ[Α Μ]ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΕΝΕΤΥ [ΝΖ]ΗΤΟΥ ΧΕ ΑΚΟΥΩ Β[ΗΛ]<sup>26</sup> ΕΡΟΚ, ΠΕΦΩ[ΣΤΗΡ]  
 [ΕΚ]ΕΙΜΕ ΖΜ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΝΤΟΙΚΟΥ[ΜΕ]ΝΗ ΤΗ[ΡΣ]. ΔΝΟΚ  
 [ΜΠΝ]ΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΝΖΗΤΚ. [ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ [ΠΕΧΑΙ] ΝΑΔ Χ[Ε .....]ΡΕ Δ[-  
 ΔΕ] ΠΕΧΑΔ ΝΑΙ [ΧΕ ΕΙΣ --] ΤΑ[---] ΜΜ[---] Χ[---]  
 ΔΙΑ]ΚΡΗΣΙΣ ΝΙΜ [ΒΗΛ ΕΡΟΚ ---]

ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΑΑΔ, ΕΠΕΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΟΤΠ ΝΜΜΑΚ ΔΝ. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ  
 ΜΠΚΑΑΚ ΝΜΠΩΑ ΜΠΕΦΣΩΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΠΟΟΥ.

**25** ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΝΡΕΦΖΩΤΒ, ΑΦΟΥΩΩΒ ΖΝ  
 ΟΥΝΟΒ ΝΖΟΤΕ ΧΕ ΝΑΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ, ΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΙ  
 ΜΠΚΖΩΠ ΕΡΩΤΝ, ΑΛΛΑ †ΝΑΤΑΥΕ ΠΑΒΙΟΣ ΕΡΩΤΝ. <Μ>ΜΟΝ  
 ΟΥΝΟΒ ΠΕ ΠΑΝΟΒΕ ΜΠΕΤΝΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ. ΑΣΩΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΙ  
 ΜΠΕΟΥ<Ο>ΕΙΩ ΝΤΑΥΧΙΡΟΔΟΝΕΙ ΜΜΟΙ ΝΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ, ΕΝΕΙΝΑΥ  
 ΕΝΑΩΒΕΕΡ ΝΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΩΑΥΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ  
 ΕΥΛΕΥΚΟΦΟΡΕΙ ΕΡΕ ΝΕΥΖΟΕΙΤΕ ΕΤΡΑΖΕ ΤΟ ΖΙΩΟΥ ΕΥΦΟΡΕΙ ΚΑΛΩΣ.  
 ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΕΙΦΟΡΕΙ ΝΟΥΖΒΣΩ ΕΣΛΑΑΜ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΑΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΧΕ ΝΕΙΡ  
 ΣΡΩΖ ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ.

<sup>26</sup> Lefort κ[ηη].

26 ἀνοκ δε, πειταλαιπωρος, αἰμεεγε εβολ ρμ παρητ δε εἰναρ  
 ογ δεκας εἰρ (f. 104r) ρμμαο ρω νθε νναωβεερ νδιακονος.  
 νευν ογρωμε μπραγματεγτης ριτογωι εφογης ρν ταρρημ.<sup>27</sup>  
 παι δε ενε ογρμτεχωρα νβολ πε αγω νεγντq ρογο  
 εγκυναδγναριον ννογβ μμαγ. ἀνοκ δε ενεικοογρ νμμαq νραρ  
 νκοπ δε νεφογης ριτογν παηι. α πειμεεγε δε ερσοογ βωκ  
 ερσογν εροι δε εἰνατωογν νταρωτβ μμοq ταβι μπετνταq.

27 ντερε ρογρε δε ωωπε αιτωογν αιχι νογρηπ εναωωq μνν  
 ρενενκα νογωμ αιβωκ ναq ερσογν ετεφαποθγκη. πεχαι ναq  
 δε κυρι πραγματεγτης, τωογν ντηρ ογωοπс μποογ μν  
 νενερηγ αγω ντερεφναγ εροι μν νηρηп ετντοοτ, αqτωογ(ν)  
 αqτcαno μμμα. ἀνοκ δε αικω ερραι ννηρηп μν νβινογoom.  
 αννοχн ανογωμ ανcω μν νενερηγ. αιτcoγ νογρηп εναωωq  
 ωαντεφ†ρε δεκας εφερε ερραι εφсρμρωμ ρα πηρη {ρα πηρη}  
 ετναωωq νταιτρεφcoοq. ἀνοκ δε νεἰρ κροq εροq  
 ετραρoтβεq. αγω ντερε πναγ προκοπτεἰ α τεcγxia<sup>28</sup> ωωπε  
 αιτωογν εχωq εφсρμρωμ ρα πηρη, αιρωтβ μμοq. αγω  
 πενταιρε εροq νχημα αιβιτq ερσογν επαηι, αιροπογ<sup>29</sup> ρн  
 ναμανρωп νκακε. αικ[ω] νηρο ντεφαποθγκη εγογην,  
 αιαν[α]χωρει ναι επα[ηι].

28 αγω ντερε ρ†[οογε] ωωπε [---] π[---]ρε[---] αγρε εροq  
 εq](f. 104v)νηχ εφμοογт. αγωine εγoγωω εεἰμε  
 επενταqωωπε. ντερογμεω<т> μα δε νιμ μπογcн πενταqр  
 πρωтв. αγαμαρτε νογон νιμ εφογης ριτογωq<sup>30</sup>  
 μπεπραγματεγτης, αγοπτογ ερσογν δε тамон επενταqωωπε

<sup>27</sup> ῥύμη.

<sup>28</sup> ἰσυχία.

<sup>29</sup> Read αιροпq.

<sup>30</sup> Ms. ριτογωω.

ΜΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ. ΝΤΕΡΟΥ ΜΕΩΤ ΜΑ ΔΕ ΝΙΜ ΜΠΟΥΩΝ ΛΑΔΥ  
 ΜΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΑ ΕΤΩΨ ΤΕ.<sup>31</sup> ΖΕΝΡΕΦΡΖΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΖΗΤΨ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΔΥΚΟΟΨ ΔΥΤΟΜΨ. ΝΤΕΡΕ ΟΥΕΒΟΤ ΔΕ ΝΖΟΟΥ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΝΖΝ  
 ΤΕΦΥΛΛΑΚΗ ΜΠΟΥΖΕ ΕΠ[Τ]ΨΨ ΜΠΕΨΝΟΥ Μ[ΠΡ]ΩΜΕ, ΔΥΚΑΔΝ  
 Ε[ΒΟΛ].

**29** ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΙ[ΒΩΚ] ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΑΗ [ΔΙΡ ΟΥΜΗ]ΨΨΕ ΝΖΟΟΥ  
 [......]ΥΕ[....]Ε [---]. ΔΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΒΙ ΟΥΝΟΨ ΜΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΧΙΝ ΜΠΝΑΨ ΝΤΑΙΖΩΤΒ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΥΝΟΨ ΝΚΑΚΕ ΖΩΒΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΜ  
 ΠΑΖΗΤ ΔΨΩ ΔΥΝΟΨ ΝΖΟΤΕ ΖΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΙ, ΕΙΡΖΟΤΕ ΜΝΑΨ ΝΙΜ  
 ΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΨΟ ΝΕΖΟΥΨΙΑ ΕΨΑΙΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΜΜΟΥ. ΚΑΙ  
 ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΨΑΨΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΙΝΚΟΤΚ ΝΤΟΥΨΗ. ΨΑΙΝΑΨ  
 ΕΥΝΟΨ ΜΜΟΡΦΗ ΜΠΑΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΝΟΨ ΝΔΡΑΚΩ(Ν) ΝΖΟΥ  
 ΕΨΝΑΡ ΧΟΥΨΤ ΜΜΑΖΕ. ΔΨΩ ΝΕΨ† ΖΟΤΕ ΝΑΙ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕΨΟΥΨΩΨ  
 ΕΩΜΚ ΜΜΟΙ ΔΨΩ ΕΝΕΨΑΙΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑ ΘΟΤΕ ΝΤΑΝΗΖΨΕ<sup>32</sup> ΕΖΡΑΙ  
 ΤΑΒΜ ΠΑΨΩΜΑ ΕΨΨΤΩΤ ΖΑ ΘΟΤΕ. ΔΨΩ ΕΝΕΨΑΙΧΟΟΨ ΝΑΙ  
 ΜΑΥΑΔΤ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΙ ΝΖΑΖ ΝΨΟΠ ΧΕ ΟΥΟΙ ΝΑΙ, ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕΙΒΙΗΝ,  
 ΕΨΧΕ Δ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΥΝΧΩΡΕΙ ΜΠΕΙΘΥΡΙΟΝ ΝΑΙ ΖΜ ΠΕΙ(f.  
 105r)ΚΟΨΜΟΨ ΕΙΕ ΕΙΝΑΡ ΟΥ ΕΙΨΑΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΙΚΟΨΜΟΨ ΤΑΕΙ  
 ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΝΒΙΧ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΖ, ΝΨΧΝΟΥΙ ΕΠΕΙΝΟΨ ΜΝΟΒΕ  
 ΝΤΑΙΔΑΨ; ΕΙΝΑΔΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ ΝΑΨ ΧΕ ΟΥ;

**30** ΑΛΛΑ ΕΙΨ ΚΕΨΟΜΗΝΤ ΝΖΟΟΥ ΧΙΝΤΑΙΝΚΟΤΚ ΝΡΟΥΖΕ, ΖΝ ΤΠΑΨΕ  
 ΔΕ ΝΤΕΨΨΗ ΔΙΨΩΤΜ ΕΥΨΜΗ ΕΨΜΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΑΡΑΝ. ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΔΙΡ  
 ΟΨΩ ΝΑΨ ΕΙΧΩ ΜΜΟΨ ΧΕ ΝΤΚ ΝΙΜ; ΠΕΧΑΨ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ  
 ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΨΤΗΨ ΝΤΑΚΖΩΤΒ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΧΙΝΨΟΝΨ. ΧΙΝΜ  
 ΠΕΖΟΥΨ ΝΤΑΚΖΩΤΒ ΜΜΟΙ †ΨΜΜΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΜΗΝ<Ε> ΜΠΕΚΡΙΤΗΨ  
 ΕΙΧΩ ΜΜΟΨ ΧΕ ΠΔΕΨΠΟΔΗΨ ΜΠΤΗΡΨ, ΨΙΝΕ ΝΨΑ ΠΑΨΝΟΥ

<sup>31</sup> Ms. επω πε.

<sup>32</sup> Read ντανεζεσε.

ΝΤΑΥΠΑΖΤΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΟΥΧΙΝΘΟΝΣ. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΙΣ ΠΧΙΚΒΑ  
ΜΠΑΣΝΟΥ ΑΦΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΟΥΥ. ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΙΝΕΖΣΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΙΣΤΩΤ  
ΖΑ ΘΟΤΕ. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΣΕ, ΝΑΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ, ΕΙΣ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΙ  
ΤΗΡΥ ΔΙΤΑΟΥΟΥ ΕΤΕΤΝΖΑΓΙΩΣΥΝΗ. ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ †ΖΝ ΝΕΤΝΟΙΧ.  
ΑΡΙΡΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΘΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΟΥΩΩ.

**31** ΝΤΕΡΕΙΣΩΤΜ ΔΕ ΕΝΑΙ, ΔΝΟΚ ΔΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΜΝ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜ ΜΝ  
ΠΚΕΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑΛΙΟΣ ΕΤΖΜΟΟΣ, ΔΝΧΑΖΧΖ ΝΝΕΝΟΙΧ ΕΧΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ  
ΕΝΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΥΟΙ ΝΑΜΕ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΑΥΧΠΟΥ ΡΩ ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ  
ΕΤΡΕΦΤΟΛΟΜΑ ΕΕΙΡΕ ΝΝΕΙΝΟΒΕ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ. ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΔΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ  
ΠΕΧΑΙ ΝΑΦ ΔΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΜΠΕΚΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΙ, ΤΑ† ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΑΚ ΖΝ  
ΝΕΝΚΑ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΜΠΑΤΕΚΖΕ ΖΜ ΠΕΙΝΟΣ Ν[ΝΟΒΕ] ΕΤΖΟΥΩ; Ε[---  
]Ρ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΥ [---] Π[---] Ζ[---] Π[---].

**32** ΑΥΩ [ΔΝΧΙ ΦΟΧΝΕ] (f. 105v) ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΕΧΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΕΝΧΩ  
ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΥΖΗΥ ΠΕ ΝΣΕΜΕΥΤ ΠΑΙ ΖΙΤΝ ΤΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΠΕΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ  
ΕΖΟΥΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΝΦΜΟΥ ΝΣΕΒΑΣΑΝΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΝ ΤΓΕΖΕΝΝΑ ΝΣΑΤΕ ΦΑ  
ΕΝΕΖ. ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΕ ΠΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑΛΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΜΕ ΕΝΑΙ, ΑΦΚΥΛΕΥΕ  
ΕΤΡΕΥΧΙΤΥ ΕΤΑΓΟΡΑ ΝΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΝΣΕΤΟΚΣΥ ΕΠΩΕ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΟΝ  
ΝΙΜ ΘΕΩΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ. ΑΥΩ ΠΚΕΣΕΠΕ ΝΝΕΧΡΗΜΑ ΝΤΑΥΘΝΤΟΥ ΖΜ  
ΠΕΦΗ, ΑΥΕΝΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΑΔΥ ΜΠΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑΛΙΟΣ.

**33** ΝΤΕΡΕ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΦΩΠΕ Α ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜ ΤΩΟΥΝ  
ΔΝ[ΧΙ]ΤΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕ[ΠΙΣ]ΚΟΠΙΟΝ [---] ΖΜΟΟΣ ΠΕ[---] Α]ΝΟΚ  
ΔΘΑ[ΝΑΣΙΟΣ ...]Κ [---]ΝΟΥΕ [---]ΕΦ [---]ΟΟΝΕ [---]Μ ΜΠΕΚΖΟΠΛΟΝ  
ΑΚΜΙΦΕ ΑΚΣΩΤΠ ΝΝΕΘΥΡΙΟΝ ΜΠΕΚΚΑΔΥ ΕΠΛΥΓΗ ΝΝΕΚΕΣΟΥ.  
ΑΥΩ ΑΦΣΩ ΖΑΖΤΗΝ ΝΟΥΖΕΒΔΩΜΑΣ ΕΦΣΟΛΣΛ ΜΜΟΙ ΝΜΜΑΦ ΚΑΤΑ  
ΟΥΩΗ ΖΝ ΝΕΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ. ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΔΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ

αιπαρακαλει ημοϋ<sup>33</sup> ετρεφχω εροι νογζητημα νταιχνοϋϋ εροϋ.

**34** πεχαι ναϋ χε παειωτ ετογααβ, εωωπε ογρηστηανος πε ογα ηχειρε νογκογι ηνοβε, αρα σενακολαζε ημοϋ ηη ηελληηη ηη ηεθονος νατνοϋτε; αφογωωβ ησι ηελλο ηηαιπεχ(ριστο)ϋ εϋχω ημοϋ χε ηησοοϋη αν χε οϋη ηετανοια ωοοη ηρωμε ηηη ειεμητει ηρεφρωτβ ηη ηηαγοϋ ετχι ογα επεπη(εϋη)α ετογααβ; ηαι γαρ ηενατκω εβολ ηε ηεϋηοβε. ανοκ δε αιπαρακαλει (f. 106r) ημοϋ χεκαϋ εϋεταμοι επχωκ ηηωαδε. ητοϋ δε πεχαϋ ηαι χε ηηαταγε ηεηταϋχοοϋ εροι ετεκμηηηετογααβ ηαθη ηηειροοϋ, ω παειωτ ετογααβ, ηοηοη ανοκ ρω ανη ογαϋθεηηη.

**35** ηεϋη ογελλο ηακκητηϋ ηη ηεηηεηεηη αϋω ηαητωϋ ϋηηη ηεροϋο ηηεϋηη ετηηανοϋϋ ωαϋηαϋ εηεηωλη εβολ ηεαη ησοη. αϋωωπε δε, πεχαϋ, ηοϋσοη ειαηερατ επεωληη αϋω ειη ηετανοια ηηχοειϋ αϋεκσταϋη ηε εηραι εχωι. αϋτωρη ημοι, πεχαϋ, ωα τεκρ<ι>ϋ ηηηοϋτε αιηαϋ εϋμηηωε ηϋϋηη εϋκολαζε ημοοϋ ηη αμηηε. αϋω ηεηηαϋ εϋκαταγιον ηεα σπη ημοι εϋο ηκακε ερε οϋηοϋ ηρο ηηεηηε το εροϋ, ηωστε ηηαχοοϋ ηη ηαηηη χε

(Naples I. B. 09, f. 25r) [---  
ωαρε ηρο ηηεηηε ετηηαϋ ρ ωα]ρε<sup>35</sup> ηρο ετηηαϋ ερ ηαιοϋ  
ηαιοϋ ηκηηαϋηαριον ηερηωε ηκεηαϋηαριον ηερεωε ερε  
ερε ηεηηοϋχλοϋ<sup>34</sup> ηηεηηε ηη ηεηηοχλοϋ ηηηηε ηεηηηϋ.  
ηρο ετηηαϋ.

<sup>33</sup> Ms. ηηοι.

<sup>34</sup> μοχλός.

<sup>35</sup> Zoega, (ε)ρε.

36 αγω νεικωτμ ενειγγχοογε  
 μπесчт мμαγ εγωοοп ρн  
 ογνοб нρμμε, εγκολαζε  
 ημοογ ρн αμντε. αγω νειναγ  
 εροογ τηρογ εγχι ωκακ εβολ  
 ρн ογρце αγω θμμε εтннγ  
 εβολ ρн νογωω μπρο  
 енесрокз επερογο ρωсте  
 нтаχοос δε ωαcσнбom  
 ερωκз μπκοcмoc τηρφ. ανοκ  
 δε αιωαδε μн πεттcαво  
 ημοι εнаι δε ннм ne нαι  
 εтмπρογн мπειρο мпенипе  
 εγк[ολαζε] ημοογ ρн  
 те[ιρμμε] нтеισот; п[ε[χαq]  
 нαι δε η[αι ne ηρελ]ληη [---]  
 η[---] п[---] α[---]. (f. 106v)  
 ανοκ δε πεχαι ναq δε ара  
 ογн χрнcтiαнос ρн нαι;  
 πεχαq нαι δε лааγ  
 нхрнcтiαнос нтаqχι<sup>36</sup>  
 βαπтисма αγω аqπαραва  
 нкесоп χин еqρн пкоcмoc  
 маρεφειме наq δε а παι ωп  
 μн ηρελλην αγω cεnακολαζε  
 ημοq μн ηρελλην. нαι нента  
 пρλλο ημονοχοс хоογ нαι δε  
 аγтcαвои εροογ. ειс ρннте  
 айолпоу етеκμνтеιωт.

αγω νεικωτμ εγαωη ηγγχη  
 μπесчт мμαγ ρн ογнοб  
 нρμμε, εγκολαζε ημοογ ρн  
 αμντε εγχι ωκακ εβολ ρн  
 ογнοб наωκακ αγω θμμε  
 εтннγ εβολ ρн νογωω μπρο  
 несрокз емате ρωсте  
 нтаχοос δε ωαcρωкз  
 μπκοcмoc τηρφ. ανοκ δε  
 айааде μн пе<т>тcαво ημοι  
 εнаι δε ματαμοι δε ннм ne  
 нαι εтcαρογн мπειρο  
 εγκολαζε ημοογ ρн तेिनोб  
 нρμμε нтеимине; πεχαq нαι,  
 δε нαι ne ηρλλην<sup>37</sup> ете  
 мпоγcoγн πноγте енез  
 мπεογοειω εγρμпкоcмoc,  
 несиcтеγe εροq ан. ανοκ δε  
 πεχαι наq δε ара ογн  
 χрнcтiαнос ρн нαι; πεχαq нαι  
 δε лааγ нхрнcтiαнос εаqχι  
 βαптисма аqπαραва ημοq  
 нкесоп маρε παι нтеимине  
 еиме δε аqωп μн ηρεθнос  
 αγω cεnακολαζε ημοq  
 ημμαγ ρн αμντε ρн ογнοб  
 нκολαcиc натсm пегωvine. нαι  
 ne нтаqχοос εтвннтоγ δε  
 мπεγqнт намоγ ан аγω  
 теγcαте наxεна ан. (Naples  
 I. B. 09, f. 25v) аqχοос он  
 <н>би пρλλο εтμμαγ δε

<sup>36</sup> Ms. нтаqχι.

<sup>37</sup> Zoega's edition of the recto ends here.

ΑΥΧΙΤ ΜΠΗΓΕ, ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΥΝΟΘ  
ΝΩΗΝ ΕΦΡΗΤ ΖΗ ΤΜΗΤΕ ΝΤΠΕ  
ΕΝΕΣΩΦ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΦ ΖΗ  
ΠΕΦΕΙΝΕ, ΕΜΝ ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΖΙΩΩΦ.  
ΔΙΣΩΦΤ ΟΝ ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΖΕΝΤΒΑ  
ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΥΚΩΤΕ ΕΠΩΗΝ  
ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΔΥΩ ΝΕΦΟΦ ΝΣΩΒΕ  
ΕΜΑΤΕ ΕΝΕΣΩΟΥ ΕΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ.  
ΔΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΙ ΜΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ  
Ε<Τ>ΤΣΑΒΟ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΝΑΙ, ΧΕ  
ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΜΑΤΑΜΟΙ ΕΠΤΩΦ  
ΜΠΕΙΩΗΝ ΕΝΕΣΩΦ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ  
ΤΗΡΣ, ΕΜΝ ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΖΙΩΩΦ, ΕΡΕ  
ΝΕΙΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΘΕ  
ΕΤΕΦΖΕΛΖΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΣ.  
ΑΦΟΥΦΒ ΝΣΙ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ [---]

ΔΝΟΚ ΔΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΔΙΕΙΜΕ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΧΕ ΠΖΛΛΟ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜ  
ΠΕΝΤΑΦΝΑΥ ΕΝΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΦΟΥΩΦ ΑΝ ΕΤΡΕ ΛΑΔΥ ΕΙΜΕ ΕΡΟΦ.

**37** [ΤΕΝΟ]Υ ΘΕ, ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ, [ΝΩΗ]ΡΕ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΤ[ΚΑΘΟΛ]ΙΚΗ  
ΕΚΚΛΗ[ΣΙΑ, ΖΑΡ]ΕΖ ΕΡΩΤΗ [---] ΗΝΘΒΕ ΧΕ [---] ΜΜΟ(Ν) [---]  
ΗΝΑΤ[--- ΧΕ ΟΥ]ΝΟΘ ΝΩΠΕ ΠΕ ΝΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΤΡΕΥΝΟΧΦ  
ΕΑΜΝΤΕ ΕΦΩΔΑΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΣΩΜΑ. ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΣΕΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ  
ΕΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΝΣΙ ΝΖΕΛΛΗΝ ΜΝ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΝΑΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΕ ΔΖΡΩΤΗ  
ΝΕΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ; ΔΡΗΥ ΕΤΕΤΝΧΙ ΒΟΛ ΕΠΡΑΝ  
ΕΤΖΙΧΩΤΗ; ΔΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΕΝΜΠΩΑ ΜΜΟΦ ΕΤΡΕΝΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ  
ΕΡΟΦ ΕΝΩΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΕΝΩΟΟΠ ΖΗ ΝΕΙΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ  
ΝΑΤΡΒΟΛ ΕΡΟΟΥ.

**38** ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΦΟ ΜΜΑΓΟΣ ΕΦΕΙΡΕ ΝΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΜΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ,  
ΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΔΦΚΑΔΦ ΚΑΖΗΥ ΜΠΕΦΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ ΝΤΑΦΧΙΤΦ ΔΥΩ  
ΣΕΝΑΚΟΛΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΠΑΡΑ ΝΖΕΛΛΗΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ ΜΠΟΥΣΟΥΝ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΕΝΕΖ. ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΦΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΡΑΤΥ ΝΟΥΡΕΥ(f. 107r)ΜΟΥΤΕ ΝΦΕΝ ΖΗΤΣ ΝΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ, ΟΥΟΙ ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΜΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΔΕ ΑΥΔΠΟΥ ΖΩΛΟΣ ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ. ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΝΤΑ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΔΟΟΣ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΣΠΕΡΜΑ ΜΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ, ΣΒΤΕ ΝΕΚΩΗΡΕ ΕΠΚΟΝΣΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΥΤΩΟΥ(Ν), ΝΣΕΜΕΖ ΠΚΑΖ ΝΣΝΟΥ. Α ΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ Ρ ΡΕΦΖΩΤΒ ΑΥΩ ΑΦΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ, ΑΥΤΩΩΝΤ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΘΕ ΝΤΑΥΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΝΤΝΟΣ ΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΜΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΚΖΩΤΒ, ΝΝΕΚΧΙΟΥΕ, ΝΝΕΚΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ, ΤΑΙ ΖΩΩΥ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ ΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΥΤΜΡ ΠΕΦΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΕΖΟΥ ΝΤΕΚΡΙΣΙΣ, ΑΛΛΑ ΦΝΑ† ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ ΕΣΝΑΩΤ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΩΙ ΜΠΝΟΒΕ ΝΤΑΦΑΑΦ, ΝΥΤΡΕΥ{Ω}Ρ ΒΡΩΖ ΩΑ ΩΟΜΝΤΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ.

**39** ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΦΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΗ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΦΩΡΚ ΝΝΟΥΔ, ΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΝΑΩΩ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΥΤΜΣΩΤΜ ΕΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΦΝΑΘΜΚΟΥ ΖΙΔΜ ΠΕΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ. ΝΝΕ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΔΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΗΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΣΩΒΕ ΝΣΑ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΔΙΝ ΕΟΥΖΕΘΝΙΚΟΣ ΩΑ ΟΥΔΕΛΩΝΗΣ Η ΟΥΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΦΣΩΒΕ {ΕΦΣΩΒΕ} ΝΣΑ ΡΩΜΕ, ΕΦΣΩΒΕ ΝΣΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΕΠΙΔΗ Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΟΟΣ ΝΑΝ ΖΜ ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΔΕ ΖΑΜΗ(Ν), †ΔΩ ΗΜΟΣ ΝΗΤΝ ΔΕ ΠΕΤΝΑ`Α΄ΑΣ ΝΟΥΑ ΝΝΕΙΚΟΥΙ, ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ(Ν)ΤΑΤΕΤΝΑΑΣ ΝΑΙ. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΚΩΔΝ[Ρ] ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΦ [ΝΟΥ]ΡΩΜΕ Ζ[Μ ΠΕΙΚΟΣ]ΜΟΣ Ζ[---]ΑΑΦ[---] ΕΡ[---] Ν[---] Π[---](f. 107v)ΝΟΒΕ ΕΡΟΥ.

**40** ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΝΕ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΜΕΣΤΕ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΖΜ ΠΕΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΝΕ ΟΥΑ Ρ ΠΕΘΟΥ ΝΑ<Φ> ΟΥΔΕ ΝΝΕΦΚΑ ΩΙ ΣΝΑΥ ΖΜ ΠΕΦΗ, ΟΥΝΟΣ ΜΝ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ, ΑΛΛΑ ΕΦΝΑΚΑ ΖΕΝΩΙ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΝΑΥ ΖΝ ΕΙΔΟΣ ΝΙΜ ΕΩΑΥΩΙ<ΤΟΥ> ΝΖΗΤΟΥ. ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΑΦΟΥΩ ΕΦΔΟΟΣ ΝΣΙ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΖΕΝΩΙ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΕΥΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΝΗΤΝ, ΠΕΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ. ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΩΑΦΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΥΩΙ ΕΦΤΕΒΤΩΣ

εφπεεεε εβολ, σενατααφ εκογντ τηγτη. αγω ον δε ζμ πωι  
 εκναωι μμοφ εγναωι νακ μμοφ. τενοφ σε, [ναμ]ερατε,  
 μαρνας[φαλι]ζε μπζωβ κα[τα πναρ]τε μπχο[ειε  
 ετρο]γπρονε(ν) [εβολ ζμ πμα]ησοι[λε μπεικος]μος [---] μ[---]  
 ραχωφ αγω νσενακα ογα νογωτ αν ριχωφ.

41 πεικοςμος παι ογωτεκο πε (Cairo 9286r) [--- ογ]ωτεκο  
 αγω ογμανσοιλε πε. ετβε παι γαρ [πε] πεικοςμος [αγ]ω  
 ερε πεπροφητης δαγειδ χω ογμανσοιλε π[ε].  
 μμος δε τογχοι εβολ ζμ πριερο[ψαλλτ]ης [δαγειδ  
 ναμανσοιλε τηροφ. φαρε εφχ]ω [μμος δε] μα[τογχοι,  
 ιερημιας ον χοος δε ογοι ναι, π]χοεις, [---] αγω [---]ρο [---]  
 ταμααγ, δε νταρχποι ρωσ νε[---]κ[---] ατ[---] ειδα[---  
 ογρωμε εγνα† ραπ εροφ αγω ε]χμ [--- κα]τα θε [---] τη[---  
 ε<γ>νοβνες μμοφ ζμ πκαρ ]. φαρε [ιερημιας] ον [χοος  
 τηρφ. μπεισν ρηγ, μπελααγ δε] ογοι [ναι, ταμααγ, δε  
 φωπε ναι. ατετνσωτμ σε νταρχποι] ρωσ ρωμε εγνα†  
 ενετογααβ εγριμε εροοφ ζμ ραπ εροφ ζν ογβημα. ετβε ογ  
 πεικοςμος ετμερ νρισε. μπε ρητς νταμααγ ρ τ[α]φος  
 ναι; ατετνναγ ενετογααβ, ω  
 ναμερατε, δε εγμοκρ νρητ  
 εχμ πεγτακο.<sup>38</sup>

42 ανον σε ρωων ενσοογν ανον ρωων νσοογν δε α  
 δε α πεναρε σβοκ παρα πεναρε σβοκ παρα νενειοτε  
 ναρχαιος. χιν μψις νωε μααβ ναρχαιος. χιν των ετων; χιν  
 νρομπε, ωβε νρομπε νετερε ψις νωε ψιτε νρομπε φα φε  
 νρωμε ντειγενα ειρε μμοοφ. χουωτε νρομπε.  
 μαλλον δε μν ογον ζν †ρομολο[γει] νητην δε  
 τειγενα ειεμητει ρενογα [ε]ιμητει ερεν(Cairo  
 ογα εγειρε νωβε νρομπε, (f. 9286v)ογα ογα μν λααγ ναρ  
 108r) επιδη α πνογτε λο φε νρομπε, επιδη α πνογτε

<sup>38</sup> Munier εχ.ν πετντακο.

εφζοτπ нмман ετβε неннове. λο εφζοτπ нмман ετβε  
 ненеиоте нархаион φαγρ φε неннове. ненеиоте γαρ  
 нромπε мπατοϋ{τααγ нархаиос φαγρ зме нромπε  
 επλωзм мпнове нсе}χι<sup>39</sup> мπατεϋχι сзиме. нρωме зωοϋ  
 сзиме. нерωме δε зωοϋ πτειgenea † ммоοϋ επλωзм  
 нτειgenea се† ммоοϋ χин εγзн мhte нромπε, ειτε  
 мплωзм мпнове χин εγзн зоοϋт ειτε сзиме. εтβε παι  
 мhte нромπε, ειτε зоοϋт ειτε απноϋте тpe πεнаze сбок  
 сзиме. εтβε παι он а пноϋте аγω аφφι нтφχαριс ммаϋ  
 сбок мπεγaze аγω аφтсеbке зιχων. ειс наи аηχοοϋ  
 тенсом пара ненеиоте аγω επζηηϋ нн[ε]тнϋχхи.<sup>40</sup>  
 аφβι τεφχαριс εβολ зιχων  
 εтβε неннове.

**43** μαρνκτον εχм πнос λοιπον [μαρν]κτον εχ[м  
 нархнστратоигос нтсом πнос м]παρχнστ[ρατη]г[ос  
 мплχοεις, михаηλ, παι εтнр н]тсом м[пχοεις,] м[ιχαηλ,]  
 φα ναϋ мпоοϋ. θερμннiа γαρ п[αι εтнр φα] ναϋ [мпоοϋ.]  
 мμiχαηλ пе †ρннн мпноϋте, о[ϋ ---]φ[ηφ нμμαϋ] зн  
 мн λααϋ γαρ зн нδαγμα [нταγμα] τη[ροϋ нт]пн [---]  
 тнροϋ нтпе εφωηφ нμμαϋ εтв[ε ---] т[---] ноϋ[---]  
 зн тннтнос, λοι[πον] зитм еφт[нб еροϋ.] еφχ[ε  
 πεφχαριсма нтаφκααϋ етнб тетн]οϋφ[ω εειме ---]<sup>41</sup>  
 ероϋ. тетноϋφω εειме

επнос нтаеио мμiχαηλ παρχаггелос, πнос нστратоигос  
 εтзион мпноϋте; сωтм ерои, татаγo еρωтн ноϋμεροс зм  
 πεφеоοϋ εтza φпнре нтаφοϋωνη зрои, аηок аθанасиос,  
 петωαχε нммнтн теноϋ.

<sup>39</sup> Ms. {nee}χι.

<sup>40</sup> Munier нн[.]т нϋχхи.

<sup>41</sup> Munier еφχ[ε ---] зγω [---].

44 ασφωπε μοι, ανος θανασιος, μεγοειω ερε προ διωκει  
 νσδι ειπητ κατα μα ετβε ναριανος ετςρογορτ, αιδωκ  
 επμαρhc κημε εγδιωκει μοι, αιδωκ ερογν ετπολι[ς]  
 πανος, ετε ωμιν [πε], αιδω μαγ νω[ομντε] προμπε  
 νζ[οογ]. αιδωκ ετ[.....] νογρ[ωμε νωχιτ] ζν [---] τρε[---] α[--  
 -] (f. 108v) χω[ρις λα]αγ μμντρεφχνααγ επτηρϕ, ειμεζ μοογ  
 ναϕ μμηνε ετεφτεκνη, ειςωτμ νσωϕ ζν ζωβ νιμ ετφναχοογ  
 ναι χωρις λααγ μμντρεφχνααγ ζι αμελια.

45 αγω πναγ εωαρε τεχρια ωωπε ντε ζε(ν)ρωμε εινε ναν  
 νζενσорт ετρενχοσογ ναγ ενεωανρ παι ζν ογσπογδη  
 ντνχοσογ η ντοϕ νσεωπ ζοεινε ντοοτν νοε εγογωω.  
 ενεωαφαμαζτε νηρωμε ζαζτηϕ νσι πασαζ νκαλει μμοογ  
 αγω ενεωαφκγλεγε ναι ταβι προογω μμα [ε]ωαγογωμ  
 νζητϕ [αγω] εγωανει ερογν [δεκας ε]ενοχογ [ζραι  
 εογ]ωμ [μν εσω ωαι]διακο[νει μμοογ τη]ρογ [---]ν [---]νβι  
 εβολ ννεπιναζ αγω ενεμειτεπ λααγ ωαντογβωλ εβολ  
 νσεβωκ ενεγνι. μμνσως ζω τατωογν ταχι ντακογι ντροφη  
 ταησγχαζε μοι επμα εωαινκοτκ νζητϕ. αγω μπειογονζτ  
 εβολ ελααγ ηρωμε νωομντε προμπε ειρζωβ μπειρωμε  
 νωχιτ, ειτε κληρικος ειτε λαεικος νσα πνογτε μαγααϕ, παι  
 ετσοογν αγω ετειμε επζητ νογον νιμ.

46 ντ<ε>ρειρ ωομντε δε προμπε ζμ πμα ετμμαγ, α πνογτε  
 πναητ ογωω ετρογωινε νσδι αγω ερε κεωομντ ηροογ  
 ετρεγταροι ερhc νσι νεσνηγ νταγτννοογσογ εωινε νσδι,  
 διαζερατ προς τασγνηθια διπερω νασιχ εβολ αιδληλ  
 επαναζωωρ ετμεζ μμντωανζητηϕ (f. 109r) νιμ, ειςοπς μμοϕ  
 ζν ζενρμειοογε δε πχοεις πνογτε ππαντοκρατωρ, ων ζτηκ

ῥΑ ΤΕΚΝΥΜΦΕ, ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ, ΝΓΘΛΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΟΥΩΝΩ ΝΡΕΦΠΕΖΨΧΗ  
 ΝΓ† CΟ ΕΠΕΚΟΖΕ ΝΕCΟΟΥ, ΠΧΘΕΙC ΠΑΝΟΥΓΤΕ.

47 ΕΤΕΙ ΕΙΧΩ ΝΝΑΙ ΕΙCΟΠC ΔΥΩ  
 ΕΙΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ, ΔΥΩΝΖΤΗΥ  
 ῥΑΡΟΙ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝCΙ  
 ΠΕΝΤΑΥΧΟΟC ΔΕ ΕΤΕΙ ΕΚΩΔΧΕ  
 †ΝΑΧΟΟC ΔΕ ΕΙC ῤΗΗΤΕ ΔΝΟΚ †  
 ΜΠΕΙΜΑ. ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΥΤΗΝΝΟΟΥ  
 ΩΑΡΟΙ ΜΠΝΟC ΝΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC  
 ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΕΤΡΕΥCΛCΩΛΤ ῤΝ  
 ΤΑΜΝΤΩΜΜΟ. ΔΙΒΙ ΝΝΑΒΑΛ  
 ΕῤΡΑΙ ΕΤΠΕ ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΥΝΟC  
 ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝCΑ ΤΠΕ ΜΜΟΙ ΝΘΕ  
 ΝΟΥΕΒΡΗCΕ ΝΚΩῤΤ. ΔΥΩ  
 ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΜΙΧΑΗΛ  
 ΕΡΕ ΤΕΥῤΟΡΑCΙC ΔΟCΕ ΚΑΛΩC,  
 ΕΡΕ ΝΕΥΤΝῤ ΠΟΡΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΥΩ  
 ΕΡΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΝΕΥΤ[Νῤ  
 ΠΑΡ]Δ ΤΙΟΥ ΜΜΑῤ[Ε ΕΦΟ Ν]ΘΕ  
 ΝΟΥΚΩῤΤ ΕΦΜΟΥῤ, ΕΡΕ ΟΥῤΩΚ  
 ΝΚΩῤΤ ΤΟ ῤΙΩΩΥ, Ε[ΡΕ  
 ΝΕΥ]ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ Ο ΝΘΕ  
 [Ν]ΟΥῤΟΜΝΤ ΒΑΡΩΤ ΕΦΠΟCΕ ῤΝ  
 ΟΥῤΡΩ, ΕΡΕ ΟΥΝΟC ΝῤΡΑΒΤΟC  
 ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ ῤΝ ΤΕΥCΙΧ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ,  
 ΕΡΕ ΟΥCΗΦΕ ΝCΑΤΕ ῤΝ ΤΕΥCΙΧ  
 ΝῤΒΟΥῤ, ΕΡΕ ΠΕΥῤΟ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΒΑΛ  
 ΝΕΧ ΑΚΤΙΝ ΝΚΩῤΤ ΕῤΟΥΝ  
 ΕῤΡΑΙ.

(Strasbourg 248r) [---] ῥΑΡΟΙ  
 ΝCΙ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΧΟΟC<sup>42</sup> ΔΕ †  
 ΜΠΕΙΜΑ. ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ  
 ΔΥΤΗΝΝΟΟΥ ΩΑΡΟΙ ΜΜΙΧΑΗΛ  
 ΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΤΡΕΥ CΛCΩΛ[Τ]  
 ῤΝ ΤΑΜΝΤ[ΩΜ]ΜΟ. ΔΙΒΙ  
 ΝΝΑΒΑΛ ΕῤΡΑΙ ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΥΝΟC  
 ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝΘΕ [ΝΟΥ]ΕΒΡΗCΕ  
 ΝΚΩῤΤ. ΔΙΝΑΥ ΕΠΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟC  
 ΜΙΧΑΗΛ, ΕΡΕ ΤΕΥῤΟΡΑCΙC  
 ΔΟCΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ, ΕΡΕ ΝΕΥΤΝῤ  
 ΠΟΡΩ ΔΥΩ ΝΕΡΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΝΤΝῤ  
 ΝΑΕΡ ΤΑΙΟΥ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΕΦΟ ΝΘΕ  
 ΝΟΥΚΩῤΤ ΕΥ[ΡΟΚ]ῤ, ΕΡΕ  
 ΟΥῤΩΚ Ν[ΚΩ]ῤΤ ΤΟ ῤΙΩΩΥ,  
 ΕΦΜΗΡ ΕΧΝ ΤΦΑΠΕ ΝΟΥΜΑΧῤ  
 ΝΝΟΥΒ, ΕΡΕ ΝΦΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΕΙΝΕ<sup>43</sup>  
 ΝῤΟΜΝΤ ΝΒΑΡΩΤ ΕΦΠΟCΕ ῤΝ  
 ΟΥῤΡΩ, ΕΡΕ ΟΥΝΟC ΝῤΡΑΒΔΟC  
 ΝΝΟΥΒ ῤΝ ΤΕΥCΙΧ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ, ΕΡΕ  
 ΟΥCΗΦΕ ΝCΑΤΕ ῤΝ ΤΕΥC[Ι]Χ  
 Ν[ῤΒΟΥῤ], ΕΡΕ ΝΥ[ΒΑΛ ΝΕΧ  
 Δ]ΚΤΙΝ [ΝΚΩῤ]Τ ΕῤΟΥΝ  
 [ΕῤΡΑΙ].

<sup>42</sup> Youssef νογιε .. νταυχοοc.

<sup>43</sup> Youssef ειογην.

**48** ἀνοκ δε ντερειναγ εναι (Strasbourg 248v) ἀνοκ δε  
 τηροϋ εϋωοοπ μπαρχαγγελοσ ντερειναγ εναι τηροϋ  
 αιρε ερραι εχμ παρο ρωστε εϋωοοπ μπαρχαγγελοσ  
 τμτρε λααγ ννιφε νωνρ μιχαηλ αιρε εχμ παρο ρωστε  
 ωωχπ νρητ. ντοϋ δε πνοσ ετμτρε λααγ μπινοη νωνρ  
 παρχαγγελοσ μιχαηλ αφ† ω[ω]χπ νρητ. ντοϋ δε  
 πεφοϋοι εροι αφτοϋνοστ παρχαγγελοσ μιχαηλ αφ†  
 αφασπαζε μμοι αφ[σολσλ] πεφοϋοι εροι αφτοϋνοστ  
 μμοι. πε[χαϋ ναι χε] χαιρε αφασπαζε μμοι. πεχαϋ ναι χε  
 π[ωωσ] μμε [---] (f. 109v) χαιρε πωωσ ετνανοϋϋ  
 ερρ[αι] ντεκκλησια, τα[ι ετμοονε ννεφεσοϋ, χαιρε  
 εтере] μπγλη ναμν[τ]ε πεστγ[λλοσ ετ] τωο[γν] ρα<sup>45</sup>  
 ναεωβμ βομ ερο[σ α]ν. χαιρε τεκ[κλησια,] τα[ι εтере]<sup>45</sup>  
 ποϋο[ειε μμε] ετπωρκ μπγ]λη ναμντε ναεωβμ βομ  
 νηεντησ ρν τσωφε εροσ αν. χαιρε ποϋοειη μμε  
 μπεϋχοεισ ετρεσ† καρποσ ετπωρκ ννηεντησ ντεϋσωωε  
 καλωσ. εισ πεϋοειω ντεμηρε χε εσε†<sup>46</sup> ροϋε καρποσ. εισ  
 αφοϋεινε· πεοϋοειω ρωωϋ πεϋοειω ντεμηρε αφοϋεινε·  
 μπχο πε παι ετρεκχο πεοϋοειω τενοϋ πε παι  
 μπεβορσ ετνανοϋϋ, ετε ναι ετρεκχω<sup>47</sup> νν[ωαχε]<sup>48</sup>  
 νε νεωαχε ετοϋραβ μπνοϋτε μπνοϋτε, εκνα† σβω  
 εκνα† σβω νηρωμε ρηητοϋ. μπεκλαοσ ρηητοϋ. ντα  
 ντα πχοεισ τηνοοϋτ ωαροκ πχοεισ τηνοοϋτ ωαροκ  
 ετρασλωκ ρη νεκρισε μν εσλωκ εβολ ρη νεκρξ[ροχ  
 τεκμντωμμο ετκνηητс. τηρο]ϋ (BnF. 161<sup>6</sup>, f. 38r)  
 ἀνοκ γαρ πε μν[τεκμντ] ω[μμ]ο  
 παρχηστρατοιγοσ ντσομ [ετκνηητс]. ἀνοκ πε  
 μπχοεισ. [ἀνοκ] πετπαρ† [παρ]χηστρα[τηγ]οσ ντσομ  
 εχн [μπατ] μπιρο[γτε] νμπηϋε. [αν]οκ πετπα[ρ†]  
 νν[Δ]γναμис, [ειс]οπ[с] ημοϋ εχн μπατ μπειωτ νοϋοειω

<sup>45</sup> Youssef αγω.

<sup>46</sup> Youssef εϋε†.

<sup>47</sup> Youssef ετρηχω.

<sup>48</sup> Youssef νν[ωπηρε].

<p>ετβε †ρη[νη ντ]εκκλησια, [παι ετσο]πς μμοϋ [---] ενη[-- -]γν [--- κεϱομντ] γαρ ηζοοϋ νε ωαντε νεσνηϋ κκληρικος νταϋτνηνοοϋσοϋ νσωκ ει ετροϋχιτκ ετεκπολις ζν οϋειρηνη.</p>	<p>ним, ετσοπс μμοϋ ετβε †ρηνη ντεκκλησια μн таϋζηсис ннкаρπος μπκαζ μн πμοοϋ μπειερο μн τειωτε μн παηρ ετνανοϋϋ. τενοϋ βε μπερρ ζοτε· κεϱομντ ηζοοϋ [--- ]ζ[---] μπ[---]</p>
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<p>49 ζαπс γαρ ерок пе εтрекβωк ωα πρρο μπκαζ ηγтаχροϋ ζн тπictic μπεχ(ριctο)с. μнncωс ηγκοτк ετεκπολις ζн οϋειρηνη αϋω ηγναωπ κ[ε]βινζисε αν ζα тπic[тиc] εβολ χε α πεχ(ριctο)с κ[ατ]αργει ηηρωμε εττοϋνεс χιμων εχн τεκκλησια. χρο αϋω ηγβμбom †ωοοп ημмак ζн μα ним εтκнаβωк еροϋ. αϋω нтереϋχε ηαι ηси παρχαγγελος μιχαηλ, παι ετηρωα ηαϋ μпоοϋ, αϋζοпϋ εροι, αило εинаϋ еροϋ αϋω μπ[ζ]οϋη [μ]πωομнτ ηζοοϋ [α]ϋει ηси несνηϋ<sup>44</sup> неκκληρικος κατα πωαχε μπαρχαγγελος ετοϋαав μιχαηλ.</p>	<p>[--- ηγ]таχροϋ ζн [т]πictic μπεχ(ριctο)с ι(ηсоϋ)с. μнncωс ηγκοτк ετεκπολις ζн οϋειρηνη. μπερρ ζοτε ηγναωπζисε αν ηκεсоп ζα тπictic ηορθοδοζοс εβολ χε πεχ(ριctο)с ηακαταркеι ηηεττωοϋη εχн т(ε)κκλησια (BnF. 161<sup>6</sup>, f. 38v) [--- μ]πooϋ [...тн] μн †ρη[νη. α]ϋβωк ε[μ]пηϋε ειсωωт ηсωϋ. αϋω ηтере ποϋοειη ει εζραι ημμεζωομнτ ηζοοϋ, [α] ογα ηηεсνηϋ ηρηρακοτε ει ηсωι. αирωпηре μπεηтаϋωπε, αι† εοοϋ μπпоϋτε μπαρ[χαγγελο]с μi[χαηλ ---]ηει[.]ε[. η]εсνηϋ [...] ημiχαη[λ], πετο ηηοб παρα ηδα[γμα] τηροϋ ημпηϋε.</p>
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<sup>44</sup> несνηϋ was added in the margin.

**50** μαρνειμε σε, ναμερατε, μαρ[ν]ωπ ρμοτ ντοοτq χε  
 χε ουνταν μμαγ μπεινοσ (f. ντοq πετ[ο μ]πρεσβεϋτης  
 110r) μπρεσβεϋτης ρατμ αγω πενπροστατης  
 πνουτε. μαρνσοπс μμοq ετπρεσβεϋε ραρον νναρρμ  
 χεκαс еφесоπс εχων πεχ(ριστο)с. πρρο ννεppωoυ  
 νqтnнooϋ нан qна.χι мπεφсопс ραρον. ντοq  
 ννεφмнтωнρηтq. михаηλ γαρ πεтсопс νнаρρμ<sup>49</sup>  
 пе πεπρεсβεϋτης мпκοsmос πεχ(ριστο)с ρα ποϋχαι  
 τηρq еφπρεсβεϋε ραρον [мпκοsmос τηρq].  
 νнаρρμ πноυτε

αγω ντοq οη πεττω[ω] ηναγγελος [ετ]λιτοϋργει ρα[τεϋρη]  
 αγω ωαϋωμ[ωε] μπη[νουτε ...]χαμ [.]с μη[ο]η π[αι]  
 ετε[.....]α[.]ηλ νт[.....] ηπεχ(ριστο)с λ[---] π[---] π[ ---]ητεϋε  
 ρ[--- ε]τοϋρααβ [---]η μμο[н---αг]гелос [---]ω ενε[...]οτε[...].  
 qε ναρβ [--- м]ηχ[ηλ] ωαϋχ[---] ενκε[--- χε εφ]η[αρων]  
 ετοοτοϋ [ηνεφαγγε]λος εтвннт[к εтρεϋ]ραρερ ерок [ρн  
 нек]ρiooϋε τη[ροϋ, нсе]вiтк εχн νε[γβiχ] μηποτε ηг[χωρп]  
 εγωне ηтек[οϋερητε].

**51** теноϋ σε ναμ[ερατε,] μαρνημωε [ερον] μπατνει εβ[ολ ρн  
 сωма нсеταρ[он ератн] епекритн[с мме] ηκrine η[μον  
 ка]та ηενρβη[γε] [---]соп [---] м[---] мп[---]ο[---] πεφ[---]  
 ηρμοτ мп[---] пе т[---] ηπερ[---] εт[---] αλ[---м]εεϋ[ε ---]иçç  
 [---]q[---] ωαϋ[---] (f. 110v) [ιωραη]ηηс παι ετε  
 [ηπεφτωoϋ]η ηси [πετο] ηηнос еροϋ ρη [πεχп]ο ηνεριоме  
 [ηϋр п]енмееϋе ηφ[τωт ер]χοεις εχων [ηϋ† κλ]ηροс нан [ρн  
 теϋ]ηηтppo [ρитн те]χαριс μη тннтмаироме мпенχοεις  
 и(ноϋ)с πεχ(ριστο)с, παι ере пеooϋ πρεπει ηαϋ μη πεφειωт  
 нагаθос μη πεпп(εγм)а ετοϋρααβ ηρεϋτανρo αγω

<sup>49</sup> Read νнаρρμ.

ΝΖΟΜΟΟΥΚΙΟΝ, ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ ΩΔ ΕΝΕΖ ΝΕΝΕΖ,  
ΖΔΜ(ΗΝ).

## **Homily on Murder and Greed and on Michael, the Archangel, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria**

*Title.*

**0** A homily delivered by the man who truly bears Christ, the son of the apostles, Apa Athanasius, archbishop of Alexandria, which he delivered about murderers and greedy people. He delivered it in the presence of our holy father Apa Pachomius, the archimandrite, at the time he went north to visit the archbishop. He also spoke, at the end of this homily, about the archangel Michael. In the peace of God. Amen.

*Prologue.*

**1** Indeed, like a star arises for us today the feast of the archangel Michael, shining brighter than the sun. Even more, in being born it radiates more than all the luminaries of the firmament ... fervour ... we shall approach the holy spiritual table and satiate ourselves with its holy food. For when it happens, O my beloved, that the ruling emperor gives an order for something in this world, whether it is harmful or beneficial, nobody is able to contradict him or to argue with him. As for us, Christians, as the holy archangel Michael has brought us together today, let us listen gladly to the holy words and do what we are bid to do in the Church, for the Church is the consolation of the Christians.

*Christians should not transgress God's commandments.*

**2** Do not scorn God's commandments. Beware not to be found as a lamb in the church and, when you go out, to become a rapacious wolf. You are taught in the church: "You shall not fornicate,"<sup>1</sup> but you gaze at the women inside the church of Christ, and ponder upon your wicked lusts while you are in the house of the Spotless. And again, you are taught: "You shall not kill,"<sup>2</sup> but you go out by night to steal and to rob what is

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<sup>1</sup> Ex. 20: 14.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. 20: 13.

not yours, prepared, with a sword in your hand, saying: "If someone meets me, I will slay him with this sword that is in my hand."

*Warnings against murder, greed and other sins.*

**3** What is your excuse, O murderer, when the judge asks you about these things? What will you say to him in your defence? Woe to the man who will leave the body and be found answerable to his commandment, namely: "You shall not kill". For God has said long ago: "As for whoever will shed human blood, his own will be shed instead, for I have made man in my likeness and my image."<sup>3</sup>

**4** Therefore, woe to everyone who will kill a soul in this world and say: "I will repent and God will have mercy on me for what I did, before I meet him." How can God forgive you? He already told you through the mouth of his servant Moses: "A soul for a soul."<sup>4</sup> Would then the words of God lie? No, certainly not! I witness to you, I, your father Athanasius, that whoever will unjustly kill a human soul in this world, no person of this sort will ever be able to hold stead, neither in this life nor in the coming one. Still, O ... , walking ... the earth forever, as was written about Cain, the evil murderer.<sup>5</sup>

**5** And even if the murderer spends all his time praying and fasting, and if he goes into the desert and fasts for six days, there will be no repentance for him because of what he did and God will not be at peace with him. Rather you will find that (other) one crying out to God because of his sin. You will find the soul which he killed crying out before the judge, saying: "Lord, listen to me and avenge my blood which was shed unjustly. Yes, O Lord, ... after my blood ... and my vengeance ..." the judge ... because of ... go ... cruel punishments. Now then, my beloved, you have heard and come to know the punishments that await the murderers. Let us carefully avoid this great sin which is heavy and horrible.

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<sup>3</sup> Gen. 9: 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. 19: 21.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. 4: 1-17.

**6** Furthermore, let us also avoid greed, for greed and avarice are the same passion. Indeed, everybody who is greedy is also avaricious. Do not let your brother, O Christian, suffer harm because of you. I tell you that when someone of this present generation makes a deal with someone (else) to sell him some goods and the buyer prayed with him and he promises him in front of him and God: "I will not give these goods to anyone, but you alone", and afterwards he meets some other men and discovers that he may gain a little more benefit than with the first man, to whom he made a promise and for whom he made God a witness, right away he will violate the promise and gives them (i.e. the goods) to the second man out of avarice and greed.

**7** Do you not fear, O man, when you make a promise and place God as witness between you and your brother, to violate the promise because of a small shameful gain? Therefore, just as you violated God out of avarice, God, in the same manner, will punish you in hell

because of greed. Do you not fear the righteous judgments of God? For God will say to you: "Look, you have denied me, without having seen a whip over you and without having been beaten for the sake of my name, yet you denied me because of something shameful. Now I will deny you too. Now find rest in the punishments, in return for the sins which you did and by which you have made me angry in this world."

(BnF. 131<sup>6</sup>, f. 28r) ... of God, because of avarice. Do you not fear God? Christ will tell you: "Just as you have violated me, without having seen a whip over you and without having been beaten for the sake of my name, and denied me. Now find rest in the punishments, in return for the sins which you did and by which you have made me wroth."

**8** You have learned, O my beloved, that it is a great sin to make a promise and to violate it. Therefore no Christian should make a promise and violate it, nor swear a false oath, nor be deceitful in any matter. The teacher Paul, the

You have learned, O my beloved, that it is a great sin to make a promise and to violate it or to swear a false oath for a vain matter. The teacher Paul, the tongue of fragrance, cries out: "Vain speech and foolish talk do not

tongue of fragrance, cries out: "Indeed, we have seized Christ, when we hold to the firm confession forever."<sup>6</sup> He also says: "Avarice is the root of all evils."<sup>7</sup> Now then, O my beloved, let us pay heed to stick to the word ... and that we will not be found to corrupt holy baptism.

pronounce!"<sup>8</sup> He also says: "Avarice is the root of all evils." Now then, O my beloved, (BnF. 131<sup>6</sup>, f. 28v) let us fight bravely in the world, for "vanity of vanities is the essence of everything that is under the sun", said the Ecclesiastes.<sup>9</sup> Woe to us, O my children, in case we die in our sins before we repent.

9 A Christian who hoards up corn in times of famine, is not a Christian. A Christian who steals and takes what is not his, is not a Christian. A Christian who is a magician and goes to the sorcerers, is not a Christian. A Christian who swears false oaths and who makes a promise and violates it, is not a Christian. A Christian who is a murderer, not only is he far removed from Christianity, but also he is worse than the gentiles for to the gentile no law was given as to the Christian. To the Christians, on the other hand, commandments were given, saying: "You shall not steal, you shall not kill, you shall not give false testimony. Honour your father and your mother<sup>10</sup> and love your neighbour as yourself."<sup>11</sup>

A Christian who hoards up corn in the storeroom when he expects times of famine, while the poor suffer hunger, is not a Christian, but a new Nineveh.<sup>12</sup> A Christian who is a magician and goes to a sorcerer, is not a Christian. A Christian who swears a false oath because of a vain matter of this world, is not a Christian. A Christian who is a murderer, is far removed from Christianity and he is more wicked than the gentiles to whom no law was given. To the Christians (BnF. 131<sup>7</sup>, f. 32r) laws were given, saying: "You shall not steal, you shall not kill, you shall not give false testimony. Honour your father and your mother and love your neighbour as yourself."

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. Heb. 10: 23.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Tim. 6: 10.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eph. 5: 4; 1 Tim. 6: 20; 2 Tim. 2: 16.

<sup>9</sup> Ecc. 1: 2-3.

<sup>10</sup> Ex. 20: 12-14.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. 19: 18.

<sup>12</sup> Lk. 16: 19 (the Sahidic version).

**10** These commandments are binding for all sorts of Christians to be observed, but when we are a little negligent and (then) turn back and repent, we will escape great tortures because of our sins. For there is penitence for everyone, except the murderers. Whoever will kill, even if they fast for six days like Moses,<sup>13</sup> there is no forgiveness for them.

These commandments are obligatory for all Christians to be observed. Even if we fall into sin, we should not remain negligent, but we should turn back and repent ... for the sins that we have committed. Because there is penitence at all time for those who will truly turn back to Him, but for the murderers alone. Even if murderers hang themselves from the hair of their heads and their eyebrows, God will not forgive them unless they pay a soul for a soul.

**11** Do not think in these matters, O my beloved, that we have made up these commandments ourselves! Rather, the teacher of us all, Christ, already stated them in the holy Gospel according to Matthew, when he spoke thus: "You have heard that it was said by the ancients: 'You shall not fornicate.' But I, for my part, say to you: Whoever will look at a woman and desire her, has already fornicated with her in his heart."<sup>14</sup> You have heard that it was said: 'You shall not kill.' As for me, I tell you: Whoever will say to his brother: 'Fool!', is liable to judgment.<sup>15</sup> You have heard that it was said by the ancients: 'You shall not swear a false oath.' As for me, I tell you: Do not swear by the sky, for it is

Do not let anybody object and say that we have made up these commandments ourselves! Rather, (BnF. 131<sup>7</sup>, f. 32v) the teacher of us all told us in the Gospel according to Matthew: "The ancients were told: 'You shall not fornicate and you shall not steal.' But I, for my part, say to you: Whoever will look at a woman and desire her, has already fornicated with her in his heart. You have heard that it was said: 'You shall not kill.' As for me, I tell you ...

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<sup>13</sup> I cannot identify this Biblical allusion.

<sup>14</sup> Mt. 5: 27-28.

<sup>15</sup> Mt. 5: 21-22.

the throne of God, nor swear by the earth, for it is His footstool, nor swear by your own head, because you are not able to make one single hair white or black."<sup>16</sup>

**12** You have learned that it is God who gave all these commandments. Therefore, let us keep and observe them, for we will be asked about the commandments which our teacher, Christ, ordered to be observed by us, starting with this commandment: "You shall love the Lord, your God, with your whole heart and your whole soul and all your thoughts and love your neighbour like yourself,"<sup>17</sup> up to this commandment: "For every idle word that man will say, they will account in the day of judgment."<sup>18</sup>

**13** Now then, O my beloved, let us fight bravely in this world and keep all the commandments of God, knowing that we will be called to account for all the commandments that were imposed upon us. Woe to every sort of Christian who, when he dies, will be judged together with the gentiles ... as he has become foreign ... No! ... Do not ... ever.

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<sup>16</sup> Mt. 5: 33-36.

<sup>17</sup> Mt. 22: 37-39.

<sup>18</sup> Mt. 12: 36.

**14** [---] heretics or eats or drinks with them or says "Hail!" to them.<sup>19</sup> Do not befriend a man who despises your God, and do not say "Hail!" to him, for the Lord already enjoined us: "He who does not gather with me, disperses."<sup>20</sup>

Truly, it is a shame for a true Christian if he befriends with a gentile and a heretic or if he eats or drinks with him or says "Hail!" to him. Do not befriend of a man who despises your God and do not mix with him in any way, for the Lord enjoined us ...

*St. Pachomius and the murderous deacon.*

**15** Now then, O my beloved, until when will we be taught and not understand? Remember that it is inevitable for us that we leave this world behind and go to God and will be judged for what we have done and what we have omitted. I will tell you an incident that happened in these times, for the glory of God who performs these miracles through his saints ... for him ... those who ... them ... the saints who fear him and do his will. Hear, O listeners, and I will tell you a miracle which happened through the holy Apa Pachomius, the archimandrite of Tabennese.

**16** After the Lord, then, had granted us rest from all the snares that had stood up against us and the church, namely the Arians, at that time, Apa Pachomius, the archimandrite of Tabennese, came northward to Alexandria to visit us and in order that I myself and all the inhabitants of the city enjoyed his blessings. When he had been announced to us, we went out to meet him and received him with honour and glory as fitted him, for we were much honoured by his blessing.

**17** It happened, when we had celebrated the nightly Eucharist for the feast of the holy Archangel Michael, that we sang hymns of praise and psalms and spiritual odes, being together, until the morning. When we had reached the moment of sacrificing the bread upon the holy altar, I, Athanasius, prepared myself to celebrate the holy offering. The holy Apa

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<sup>19</sup> Cf. 2 John 10.

<sup>20</sup> Mt. 12: 30; Lk. 11: 23.

Pachomius, however, withdrew alone to a distant corner inside the sanctuary, stretched out his hands after the pattern of the cross and prayed to whom he loved, Christ, for the holy archimandrite, my father Pachomius, had not been ordained a priest, so that he could stand in the holy sanctuary,

since it is not allowed to any order (BnF. 129<sup>12</sup>, f. 72+70r) ... to which belongs to the church to stand in front of the priest when he celebrates the offering or to pass around him, except for the priests and deacons who stand at the altar to fan over the holy body of the spotless, Christ.

**18** Because of this, I order you, the priests and deacons: Do not let any lay-person approach the neighbourhood of the altar when the priest celebrates the holy offering, for the Son of the living God together with his great incorporeal order, which are the angels and the archangels, the Cherubim and the Seraphim.

**19** But let us return to the story ... So when I had celebrated and brought the holy service to an end and the offering was sung upon, we, the priests, took first from the body and the blood of Christ. Afterwards, also the deacons approached to take the holy mystery from my hands. God granted our father Pachomius a revelation. He saw a deacon of the clergy of Alexandria who had come and was about to approach to take from the holy mysteries, the

body and the blood of Christ. The holy Apa Pachomius saw the angel of the offering. He stretched out his hand, took the mystery away from the deacon and put it upon the altar ... as if that deacon was not worthy of the holy mystery.

hands, took the mystery from the hand of the deacon and put it upon the table.

**20** When our holy father Pachomius saw this miraculous revelation, he wondered greatly, he approached, he drew close to that deacon, observed him carefully and fixed him. Apa Pachomius went back to his place and stood there and remained praying until the Holy Mass came to an end. For me, however, Athanasius, the Lord had hidden this, either because of my negligence or because He wanted to be glorified in his saint, Apa Pachomius, as He had revealed to him the acts of the man, I mean that deacon. As it is written: "God is glorified in the council of the saints."<sup>21</sup>

When the holy Apa Pachomius had seen these things, getting very disturbed, he approached that deacon, observed him carefully, fixed him and went once more to his place until the Holy Mass had ended. For me, however, Athanasius, the Lord had hidden this, either because of my negligence or because He wanted to be glorified in his holy servant Apa Pachomius, as He had revealed to him the acts of that man. As it is written: "God is glorified in the council of the saints."

**21** It happened that after we had ended the Holy Mass, the man full of all glory, Apa Pachomius, approached us and said to me: "Lord archbishop, I have something to tell you." And I, Athanasius, told him: "Speak, O holy old man, whose gray hairs illuminate his body like the luminaries of heaven!" The old man, Apa Pachomius, told me: "At the moment when you were at the

It happened that after the Holy Mass had come to an end, the man (BnF. 129<sup>12</sup>, f. 71+133<sup>2</sup>, f. 57r) full of all glory, our father, Apa Pachomius, approached me and said to me: "Lord archbishop, I have something and I want to tell it to your holiness. For I know that you are the shepherd and the lord of the entire country and that the Spirit of God dwells within you." I told him: "Speak, O old man,

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<sup>21</sup> Ps. 88: 8.

holy altar, I saw a deacon, belonging to the clergy, who had come to take from the holy mysteries from your hands. I saw the angel of the altar. He approached that person, took the mystery from him and put it on the altar as it was."

whose gray hairs emit light like the luminaries of heaven!" He told me: "..., my father, at the moment when you were standing at the altar today and were giving the mystery in the hands of the people, I saw a deacon, belonging to the clergy. He came in order to take this mystery from your hands. When you gave the mystery in his hands, I saw the angel who stands with you. He took it from his hands and placed it upon the altar again. When I saw him, I was amazed."

**22** I, Athanasius, when I heard these things from him, I was much amazed. I said to him: "When you see that deacon, will you recognize him?" The holy Apa Pachomius said: "Yes, I observed him carefully." And after I had heard these things from him, I called the archdeacon and made him gather the entire clergy of Alexandria, and they assembled at our place together with the holy Apa Pachomius. There was also the Augustalis who had come to receive the blessing of Apa Pachomius.

I said to him: "Have you (BnF. 129<sup>12</sup>, f. 71+133<sup>2</sup>, f. 57v) fixed him?" He said to me: "Yes." I had the archdeacon summoned and made him gather the entire clergy and there was the Augustalis, who had come to be blessed by our father Apa Pachomius.

**23** After all of them had entered, they one by one were blessed by us and went out. When that wretched deacon entered in order that he too would be blessed by us, the holy old man, Apa Pachomius, gave me a sign ... there, for his evil smell struck us before he had reached us.

And after they had entered, while we were sitting, they were blessed and remained standing. And when the deacon came to enter, the monk Apa Pachomius gave me a sign, indicating that it was that one. I tell you that his evil smell struck us. I let him be brought in our presence.

I, Athanasius, I made the force of the Augustalis, that was guarding him at that moment, seize him. They brought him in our presence, before us and Apa Pachomius and the Augustalis as well, who was sitting there with us.

**24** Then I spoke with Apa Pachomius, full of respect and concern for Jesus, and also with the Augustalis who was sitting there, saying: "Our father Pachomius, man of God, ask this deacon about his situation, since you already learned it from the Spirit of God which is within you." He said to me: "See, all discernment is at your disposal ... ."

I spoke with the old man, Apa Pachomius, and said: "Tell me his works, since you learned them through the Spirit of God which dwells within you." He said to me: "The grace of God is at your disposal, O illuminator of the entire inhabited world." I said to him ...

"What have you done? For God is not at peace with you. For that reason, He did not make you worthy of his holy body today".

**25** He, that murderous deacon, answered with great fear: "My holy fathers, what has happened to me is not hidden for you, but I will recount you my life. Truly, my sin is great before you. It happened to me at the time when I was consecrated as a deacon that I saw all my fellow deacons entering the church, dressed in white, wearing their bleached clothes, looking splendidly. As for me, I wore a dingy dress because of my poverty, for I was extremely indigent.

**26** I, this wretched person, I thought by myself what I could do in order to become rich too, like my fellow deacons. There was a merchant next door to me, who lived in my street. He was a foreigner and he owned more than a *centenarium* in gold.<sup>22</sup> I gathered frequently with him, since

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<sup>22</sup> A weight of Roman origin, equal to 32 kg. See G. Dagron and C. Morrison, "Le kenténarion dans les sources byzantines", *Revue numismatique* 17, 1975, p. 145-162.

he lived next door to my house. And this evil idea entered me, that I would go and kill him and steal his possessions.

**27** When the evening had come, I arose and took a large quantity of wine and some things to eat and I went to him in his shop. I said to him: 'Lord merchant, get up that we may celebrate together today.' And when he saw me with the wine that I had with me, he got up and set the place in order. As for me, I prepared the wine and the foodstuff. We lay down and ate and drank together. I made him drink a lot of wine until he became drunk, so that he fell down stupefied because of the great quantity of wine which I had made him drink. I had misled him in order to kill him. And when the hour had advanced, it became quiet and I stood up against him, while he was stupefied by the wine, and killed him. And what money I found I took to my home and hid it in my dark hiding places. I left the doors of his shop open, and escaped to my home.

**28** And when it had become morning ... they found him lying dead. They made a search, wanting to know what had happened. After they had investigated every place, they did not find the one who had committed the murder. They arrested everybody who lived next door to the merchant and imprisoned them, saying: 'Tell us what happened to that man.' After they had investigated every place, they did not find any of the merchandise that was his. Some God fearing people shrouded him and buried him. When we had been in jail for a month, without the affair of the blood of the man being found out, they released us.

**29** As for me, after I had entered my home, I spent many days ... A great wealth had come to me, but since the moment that I had killed the man, a great darkness covered my heart and a great fear had fallen upon me, as I was constantly afraid of every representative of authority whom I passed by. But even worse happened to me when I slept at night. I saw a huge shape before me like a big snake-like dragon of about twenty cubits length. It terrified me extremely, as it wanted to swallow me and I cried out from fear and woke up finding my body shivering from fear. And many times I said to myself: 'Woe to me, wretched man. If God has sent me this beast in this world, then what shall become of me when I pass out

of this world and fall in the hands of the living God and He asks me about this great sin, which I committed? What shall I answer Him in my defence?'

**30** But after another three days, after I had gone to sleep in the evening, in the middle of the night I heard a voice, calling my name. I answered it, saying: 'Who are you?' It told me: 'I am the merchant, whom you have killed unjustly. Since the day you killed me, I appeal daily to the Judge against you, saying: 'O master of the universe, claim my blood that has been shed unjustly! And now, see, the requital of my blood has come to pass today.' Immediately, I woke up trembling from fear. Now then, my holy fathers, I have told your holiness all what has happened to me. See, I am in your hands. Do with me as you wish."

**31** When I had heard this, I, Athanasius, and Apa Pachomius and also the Augustalis who was sitting (with us), we wrung our hands, saying: "Really, woe to the man, that he was even born in the world, so that he could dare to commit such great sins!" I, Athanasius, told him: "Why did not you tell me, so that I could give you something out of the properties of the church, before you fell in this great and heavy sin?" ... fear him ... .

**32** And immediately we deliberated among ourselves, saying: "It is better for him to be killed by the authorities of this world, rather than to die and be tortured in the Gehenna of fire forever." And when the Augustalis heard this, he ordered him to be taken to the agora of the city of Alexandria, to be impaled upon the wood, in the sight of everybody. And the remainder of the money which was found in his house, was taken and given to the Augustalis.

*St. Pachomius' vision of Hell.*

**33** After these things had taken place, the holy Apa Pachomius rose and we received him in the Episcopal residence ... sit ... me, Athanasius ... "... your armour, you fought and overcame the beasts and did not let them wound your sheep." And he remained with us one week, consoling me and himself every night with the words of the Holy Scripture. And I,

Athanasius, begged him to explain to me a problem which I proposed to him.

**34** I said to him: "My holy father, if somebody is a Christian and he committed a small sin, will he then be punished together with the pagans and the godless gentiles?" The Christ-loving old man answered, saying: "Do you not know that there is repentance for everybody, except for the murderers and the magicians, who blaspheme against the Holy Spirit? For their sins are unpardonable."<sup>23</sup> And I asked him that he would tell me the full story. He said to me: "I will relate your holiness what I was told some time ago, o my holy father. Only, I am but a feeble man.

**35** There was an ascetic old man in our monasteries and probably through the exceeding goodness of his heart, he frequently received revelations. 'It happened, he said, once when I was standing for prayer and doing repentance to the Lord, that an ecstasy came over me. I was snatched, he said, to the tribunal of God and I saw a lot of souls being tortured in hell. And at my side I saw an underground space which was dark and closed by a huge iron door, so that I said to myself

that iron door must be about fifty *centenaria* in weight, and upon that door iron bolts were set. (Naples I. B. 09, f. 25r) that door must be about fifty *centenaria* in weight, and upon it iron bolts were set.

**36** And I heard those souls, who were down there, exposed to great heat, while they were being punished in hell. And I saw all of them crying out painfully and the heat which was coming out of the cracks in the door, was burning extremely high, so that I thought that it could burn the entire world. I spoke with the one who showed me these things,<sup>24</sup> saying: 'Who are I heard a multitude of souls down there, in a great heat, while they were being punished in hell and crying out loudly. And the heat which was coming out of the cracks in the door, was burning very much, so that I thought that it would burn the whole world. I spoke with the one who showed me these things, saying: 'Tell me, who are these behind this door, who are

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. Mt. 12: 31-23; Mk. 3: 29.

<sup>24</sup> I.e. the *angelus interpretes*.

these behind this iron door, who are being punished in such a great heat?' He told me: 'Those are the pagans ...' I said to him: 'Are there Christians among them?' He said to me: 'Let any Christian who has been baptized and who has transgressed once more while he was still in the world, know that such a person is counted among the pagans and that he will be punished with the pagans.' This is what the old monk told me, as what had been reported to him. Now I revealed it to your fatherhood."

being punished in such a great heat?' He told me: 'Those are the pagans who have never known God in the time they were in the world, and do not believed in him.' I said to him: 'Are there Christians among them?' He said to me: 'Let any Christian who has been baptized and who has transgressed it once more, let such a person know that he is counted among the pagans and that he will be punished with them in hell in a great punishment of which there is no relief. They are the ones about whom it is said: 'Their worm will not die and their fire will not be quenched.'<sup>25</sup> (Naples I. B. 09, f. 25v) That old man also said: 'I was taken to the heavens and I saw a great tree growing in the middle of heaven and its appearance was very beautiful to see, although it was bearing no fruit. I looked again and saw ten thousands of angels surrounding that tree and it was very rich in leaves that were beautiful to see. I said to the angel who showed me these things: 'My lord, tell me about the nature of that tree which is so very beautiful and bears no fruit, while these angels surround it, and how it is stretched out.'<sup>26</sup> The angel answered ...

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<sup>25</sup> Mk. 4: 48.

<sup>26</sup> Lefort translates 'it is extended' and Kasser accepted his translation, while Crum was doubtful about it. See L. Th. Lefort, "Analecta philologica", *Le Muséon* 62, 1949, p. 14; R. Kasser, *Compléments au dictionnaire copte de Crum*, Cairo, 1964, p. 97; Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 672a.

As for me, Athanasius, I immediately knew that it was the old man, Apa Pachomius, who had seen these things, but that he did not want anyone to know it.

*Various admonitions.*

**37** Now, my beloved, holy sons of the Catholic Church, take care ... the sins for ... us ... without ... . For it is a great shame for a Christian to be thrown into hell when he passes out of the body. Truly, the pagans and the infidel Jews will probably say to a person of this sort: "Why have you, Christians, come here? Maybe you have renounced the name which you bear? As for us, we too have not been worthy of him, so as to believe in him while we were in the world. Therefore we are suffering these punishment which we cannot escape."

**38** A Christian who is a magician and does the works of the devil, such a person has taken off his baptism which he received and will be punished more heavily than the pagans, because they have never known God. A Christian who will go to an enchanter to make a woman abort, really, woe to such a person that he was born in the world at all. This is the one about whom the prophet said: "O evil seed, prepare your children to be slaughtered, for they shall not stand and will fill the earth with blood."<sup>27</sup> Such a person has become a murderer and committed adultery and has made God wroth. Therefore, as he has transgressed the great commandment of the Gospel, that is: "You shall not kill, you shall not steal, you shall not fornicate,"<sup>28</sup> in this way too God will transgress him and not remember him in the day of the judgment, but He will accord him a severe punishment, according to the measure of the sin which he has committed, and reduce him to indigence up to three generations.<sup>29</sup>

**39** A Christian who will enter the house of God and swear a false oath, such a person will call up to God and God will not hear him, and he will afflict him in this world. Nobody who partakes from the holy mysteries

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<sup>27</sup> Isa. 14: 21.

<sup>28</sup> Mt. 19: 18; Mk. 10: 19; Lk. 18: 20, quoted from Ex. 20: 13-15.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Ex. 20: 5.

shall mock someone else, from a gentile up to a publican or a Christian, for everybody who mocks another person, mocks God. For God told us in the holy Gospel: "Verily, I say unto you, what you will do to one of these little ones, you did to me."<sup>30</sup> Now, if you do good to a man in this world ... sin against him.

**40** Therefore, no Christian shall hate anybody in this world, nor shall anybody cause harm to him, nor shall he keep two measures in his house, a big one and a small one, but he shall observe righteous measures for all goods that are measured with them. For the Lord said long ago: "Righteous measures you shall have, the Lord said."<sup>31</sup> He also says: "A measure firmly pressed and flowing over shall be given into your lap."<sup>32</sup> And also: "With what measure you will measure, it shall be measured to you."<sup>33</sup> Now then, O my beloved, let us secure the work in accordance with the faith of the Lord, so that we will be transferred from the sojourn of this world ... before it and not a single one will be left upon it.

**41** This world is a prison and a temporal residence. Therefore, the prophet David says: "Save me from all my sojourns."<sup>34</sup> Also Jeremiah says: "Woe to me, my mother, that you bore me as a man who will be judged and mocked on the whole earth. I found no profit and none I have obtained."<sup>35</sup> You have heard, then, how the saints weep upon themselves in this world, full of suffering.

(Cairo 9286r) For this world is a prison and a temporal residence. The singer of psalms, David, says: "Save me, O Lord, ... and ... while I ... upon ... like ... . Also Jeremiah says: "Woe to me, my mother, that you bore me as a man who will be judged in court. Why has my mother's womb not become a tomb for me?"<sup>36</sup> You have seen, O my beloved, that the saints are distressed about their perdition.

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<sup>30</sup> Mt. 25: 40.

<sup>31</sup> Ez. 45: 9-10.

<sup>32</sup> Lk. 6: 38.

<sup>33</sup> Mt. 7: 2.

<sup>34</sup> Ps. 7: 1.

<sup>35</sup> Jer. 15: 10.

<sup>36</sup> Jer. 20: 17.

**42** As for us too, we know that our time of life is shorter than that of the ancients. From nine-hundred-and-thirty years, it is (only) seventy years that the people of this generation live. Worse, there is no one in this generation, except a very few, who will become seventy years old, for God is no longer at peace with us because of our sins. Our forefathers of old used to live for hundred years, before they got married. The people of this generation, however, yield to the defilement of sin already when they are ten years old, both men and women. Therefore, then, God shortened their time of life and He reduced our power, compared to our forefathers, and removed his grace from us, because of our sins.

As for us too, we know that our time of life is shorter than that of our forefathers of old. From where to where? From nine-hundred-ninety years to one-hundred-and-twenty years. I confess to you that, apart from a very few, (Cairo 9286v) none will live for a hundred years, for God is no longer at peace with us because of our sins. For our forefathers of old used to live for forty years, before they got married. The people of this generation, however, yield to defilement already when they are ten years old, both men and women. Therefore God made our life time become shorter and removed his grace from us. Now this we said for the profit of your souls.

*Michael comforts Athanasius during his exile.*

**43** Let us return to the great commander-in-chief of the host of the Lord, Michael, whose feast we celebrate today. For the translation of "Michael" is: "The peace of God," as there is no one in all the ranks of heaven who is equal to him in greatness. Furthermore, through his grace, He (God) made him closely attending upon Him. Do you want to know

Then, let us return to the great commander-in-chief of the host of the Lord, Michael, whose feast we celebrate today. ... equal to him in all the ranks of heaven ... because ... him closely attending upon Him. Do you want to know

the great glory of the archangel Michael, the great commander-in-chief before God? Listen to me and I will relate you a bit of his amazing glory that he revealed to me, Athanasius, who speaks to you now.

**44** It happened to me, Athanasius, at the time that the emperor pursued me and I was fleeing from place to place because of the accursed Arians, that I went to the south of Egypt, while they were hunting me down, and I entered the city of Pan, that is Shmin,<sup>37</sup> and I remained there for three full years. I went to the ... of a dyer in ... without any sluggishness at all, while I daily fetched him water for his craft and obeyed him in everything which he would tell me, without any sluggishness or negligence.

**45** And whenever it was necessary and people would bring wool for us to dye for them, we did this diligently and dyed it or, alternatively, they bought some (dyed wool) from us as they wished. And when my master retained the men with him and invited them and when he asked me to take care of the place where they would eat and when they came in in order to lay down to eat and to drink, I served them all ... take away the dishes and I did not taste anything until they returned and went home. Afterwards, I also would rise and take my little bit of food and have some rest in the place where I slept. I did not reveal my identity to anybody during the three years that I worked for this dyer, neither to clergy, nor to laymen, except to God alone, who knows and fathoms the heart of everybody.

**46** When I had lived three years in that place, the merciful God wanted me to be searched for and as it took another three days before the brothers who were sent to seek after me, reached me in the south, I stood up as usual, I stretched my hands out and prayed to the storeroom full of all mercy, begging him with tears: "O Lord, God almighty, have mercy on your bride, the Church, and chase the wolves that prey upon souls<sup>38</sup> and spare your flock of sheep, O Lord, my God."

**47** While I was still saying these things, imploring and begging him, He who had said: "While you are still speaking, I will say: 'Behold, I

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<sup>37</sup> I.e. Panopolis/Akhmim.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Ez. 22: 27.

am here,<sup>39</sup> immediately had pity on me. Rightaway, He sent the great archangel Michael to me, to console me in my exile. I raised my eyes to the sky and saw a great light above me like a flash of fire. And I saw the archangel Michael while his appearance was of splendid height and his wings were stretched out and each of his wings was more than five cubits (long), resembling flaming fire. He was dressed in an armour of fire, his legs were like fine brass melting in a furnace, a huge wand of light was in his right hand, a fiery sword in his left, while his face and his eyes radiated fire into my face.

(Strasbourg 248r) ... for me ... He who had said: 'I am here' ... . Rightaway, He sent the archangel Michael to me, to console me in my exile. I raised my eyes and I saw a great light like a flash of fire. I saw the archangel Michael while his appearance was of great height and his wings were stretched out and each of the wings would be about five cubits (long), resembling flaming fire. He was dressed in an armour of fire, bound upon his head with a golden girdle, his legs resembled fine brass melting in a furnace, a huge golden wand was in his right hand, a sword of fire in his left, while his eyes radiated fire into my face.

**48** When I saw all these attributes of the archangel, I fell down on my face so (terrified) that no more breath of life was left within me. But he, the great archangel Michael, approached me and made me stand up. He greeted me and comforted me. He said to me: "Hail, true shepherd ... the Church, which the gates of hell shall not be able to overcome.<sup>40</sup> Hail, true husbandman who roots out the tares from the field of his Lord to make it produce splendid fruits.<sup>41</sup> Behold, the time of the flood has passed and now it is the time of

(Strasbourg 248v) When I saw all these attributes of the archangel, I fell upon my face so (terrified) that no more breath of life was left within me. But he, the great archangel Michael, approached me, made me stand up and greeted me. He said to me: "Hail, good shepherd who pastures his sheep. Hail, pillar who supports the Church, which the gates of hell shall not be able to overcome. Hail, true husbandman who roots out the tares from his field to make it produce more fruit. Behold, the time of the flood has passed and

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<sup>39</sup> Isa. 58: 9.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Mt. 16: 18.

<sup>41</sup> Mt. 13: 30.

sowing, in order that you sow the good seed which is the holy words of God with which you will teach the people. God has sent me to you to console you in your sufferings and your exile that you are enduring. For I am the commander-in-chief of the host of the Lord. It is me who is prostrated at the feet of the God of the powers, begging him for the peace of the church, he who begs him ... For it will be three more days until the brothers clerics, who were sent to fetch you, come to take you to your city in peace.

**49** For it is incumbent upon you to go to the emperor of the earth and strengthen him in the faith of Christ. Afterwards you will return to your city in peace and you will not face more suffering for the faith, because Christ has brought to nought the people who raised a storm against the Church. Be valiant and be brave! I am with you wherever you shall go." And when the archangel Michael, he whose feast we are celebrating today, had said these things, he became invisible for me and I saw him no longer. And within the three days, the brothers clerics came, in according with what the holy archangel Michael had said.

now it is the time for you to sow the words of God, with which you will teach your people. God has sent me to you to console you in all your distresses (BnF. 161<sup>6</sup>, f. 38r) and your exile that you are enduring. I am the commander-in-chief of the host of heavens. It is me who is prostrated all the time at the feet of the Father, begging him for the peace of the church and the growth of the fruits of the earth and the inundation of the river and the dew and the good air. Now then, do not be afraid. Three more days ...

... and you strengthen him in the faith of Christ Jesus. Afterwards you will return to your city in peace. Do not be afraid for you will not face suffering again for the orthodox faith, because Christ will bring to nought those who stand up against the Church. (BnF. 161<sup>6</sup>, f. 38v) ... today ... and peace, he left to heavens while I watched him. And when dawn rose on the third day, one of the Alexandrian brothers came to fetch me. I was astonished about what had happened and glorified the God of the archangel Michael. ... the brothers ... Michael, he who is the greatest of all the ranks of heavens.

*Praise of St. Michael.*

**50** Let us realise then, my beloved, that we have such a great intercessor before God. Let us beg him in order that he prays for us and sends us his gifts of mercy. For Michael is the intercessor for the whole world, who intercedes for us before God

Let us thank him that he is such a great intercessor and our patron who intercedes for us before Christ. The king of kings will accept his prayer on our behalf. It is he who begs before Christ ... for the well-being of the whole world.

and it is he too who appoints the angels who do service before him and he worships God ... Christ ... holy ... angel ... Michael ... "He will command his angels concerning you to guard you in all your ways and bear you in their hands in order that not your feet will stumble on a stone."<sup>42</sup>

**51** Now then, my beloved, let us fight bravely before we pass out of the body and are placed before the true judge in order that He judges us according to our deeds ... the gifts of the ... do not ... think ... John, than whom a greater has not arisen among those who are born of women.<sup>43</sup> That He may remember us, agree to rule over us, and let us inherit his kingdom through the grace and the love of humanity of our Lord, Jesus Christ, to whom the glory is fitting together with his good Father and the Holy Spirit, life-giving and consubstantial, now and at all times, forever and ever. Amen.

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<sup>42</sup> Ps. 91: 11-12; quoted in Mt. 4: 6; Lk. 4: 10-11.

<sup>43</sup> Mt. 11: 11.

## Homily on Luke 11: 5-9, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria

(f. 35v) **Θ.** οὔλογος ντε πρῶμε ετφορει μπex(ριστο)с αἰω πωηρε νναποστολος, πραγιος απα αθανασιος, παρχιεπισκοπος νρακοτε, εαφταγοφ μπρογοειω ντα νεκληρικος μη νενοб ντεχωρα νεισαγρια ει φαροφ αγπαρακαλει μμοφ δε μαρεнсωтм εφωαδε νсολсλ εβολ ριτοотк επιδη ανειβε нса νεκωαδε ετзолб. тенпара[καλει] μπeπн(εγμ)α ετογηρ нзнтк εтρεквωλ ерон μπeρннтон μπeγaγγeλιон ετογaaв нκατα λογκас εтbe πεφвнр нта пxοeиc xοoc εтвннтφ δε ннм петнака οφωвнр наφ нφвωк φαροφ нтпаωe нтeγωн; αἰω εтbe пωomнт нoeиk нтаφeтeи μμοοφ επeγφaπ' αἰω он δε ара πноуτε † ενсид нрῶμε ннм εтнacγнaгe xин εmmон' αἰω εтpeφтaмooу εтbe ιωναθαν μη δaγeиd. aφтaγe ογκογι нзисτωpиa εтbe нzωpoc нтаγтaaγ нси пωomнт нωe ннтωμнн непископoc, εaφпeнoу<sup>1</sup> он ннecннγ нтκοиnωнiа нтавeннн[ce] μη νεωпнpe нтаγωпe εβολ ρитooтoу<sup>2</sup> μπeογoειω нтаφвωк φaрooу eнeγтoпoc' αἰω εтbe тeπpozepecиc μη пμe(f. 36г)eγe μπzнт тeтepе πноуτε бωωт epoc, eφбωωт an epenacкнcиc eγxαxω aλλa ρoтaн epωaн πноуτε наγ eтeπpozepecиc, φaφ† бom нпoγa пoγa εтpeφeиpe ннeφoγωω. ρн oγeиpннн нтe πноуτε. ρaмнн.

**Ι** πεскγλmoc μεн нтатетнωoпφ epωтн μπeφωпe eφωoγeит aλλa aφeγφpaнe нмон μπooу eωδε нтepе ιaкωв наγ epzo неcaγ' aφxooс δε aиnαγ eпeкzо нeε нoγa εaφнaγ epzo нπноуτε αἰω он φaφxooс ρитн тт[ап]po нπαλнe[иnoc]

<sup>1</sup> ἐπαινέω.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. ρитooтφ.

<ΝΝΟΥΤΕ> ΜΠΤΗΡϞ, ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Ϟ, ΔΕ ΠΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΒΑΛ ΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϞ  
 ΩΑΡΕ ΠΖΗΤ ΤΟΡΠϞ ΝΑϞ. ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΕΝΖΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ. ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΓΑΡ  
 ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΖΜ ΠΤΡΕΦΝΑΥ ΕΠΖΗΤ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΑϞΧΙ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΖΜ  
 ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΝΑΤΧΒΙΝ, ΩΑϞϞΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΡΕΝΝΟΙ  
 ΝΤΕΓΝΩϞΙϞ ΝΤϞΙΝΩΝΖ ΝΝΝΟΗ[ΡΟ]Ν ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ, [ΕϞ]ΕΠΘΥΜΙ  
 ΕΤΡΕΥΧΩϞ ΕΥΝΑΥ ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ<sup>3</sup> ΝΘΕ ΩΑΡΕ ΠΡΕϞΧΩΩΛΕ ΧΩΩΛΕ  
 ΕΠΕϞΚΟΤ ΕΤΕ ΝΤΩΤΗ ΠΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ .

**2** ΤΕΤΝϞΜΑΜΑΑΤ ΓΑΡ ΖΙΤΟΥΤϞ ΜΠΧΟΕΙϞ, Ω ΠΛΑΟϞ (f. 36v)  
 ΜΜΑΙΧΡΙϞΤΟϞ, ΑΥΩ ϞϞΜΑΜΑΑΤ ΝϞΙ ΠΕΝΤΑϞΤΕΖΜ ΤΗΥΤΗΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΤΕϞΠΙϞΤΙϞ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ, ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Ϟ. ΩΩΧΕ ΠΕΤΕΟΥΝΤΑϞ ΜΜΑΥ  
 ΝΖΕΝΟΖΕ ΝΤΒΝΗ ΑΥΩ ΖΕΝΩΗΡΕ ΝϞΑΒΕ ΜΝ ΖΕΝϞΖΙΜΕ ΝΩΑΥ  
 ΩΑϞΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ ΖΝ ΕΥΦΡΟϞΥΝΗ ΝΙΜ ΕϞϞΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΜΝ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΛΥΠΗ  
 ΑΜΑ[ΖΤΕ] ΕΡΟϞ, ΕΙΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΕΩϞ ΩΠΕ ΝΝΕΠΡΟϞΤΑΤΗϞ  
 ΝΝΕΚΚΛΗϞΙΑ, ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑ, ΕΥΝΑΥ ΕΝΖΕΘΝΟϞ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΚΑΤΑ ΧΩΡΑ ΕΥϞΟΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΟΜΟΝΙΑ ΝΟΥΩΤ, ΕΥϞ ΕΟΟΥ  
 ΑΥΩ ΕΥΠΡΟϞΚΥΝΕΙ ΝΟΥΤΡΙΑϞ ΕϞΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΑΤΟΡΒΕϞ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΠΕΙΩΤ  
 ΜΝ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ;

**3** ΝΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΩΟΟΠ ΖΜ ΠΕΙΒΙΟϞ ΜΒΙΩΤΙΚΟϞ, ΕΥΩΑΝΝΑΥ  
 ΕΝΕΥΟΥϞΙΑ ΕΥΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΕΙ ΚΑΛΩϞ ΝΤΕ ΖΕΝΖΙϞΕ ΤΑΖΟΥϞ ΜΝ  
 ΖΕΝΛΥΠΕΙ ΖΙΤΗ ΝΕΥΧΑΧΕ, ΩΑΥϞΛΩΛΟΥ ΖΙΤΗ ΝΕΥΟΥϞΙΑ· ΧΕ ΚΑΝ  
 Α ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΤΑΖΟΥϞ ϞΕΤΑΧΡΗΥ ΕΧΝ ΝΕΥΟΥϞΙΑ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΚΤΗΜΑ ΧΕ  
 ΝΟΥΟΥ ΝΕ. Ν[ΤΕΙ]ΖΕ ΟΝ ΠΕΦΩΝΟϞ ΜΠΕΤΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΝ,  
 ΕΙΩΑΧΕ ΕΠϞΑΔΑΝΑϞ, (f. 37r) ϞΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΑΙΡΟϞ  
 ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΝΖΟΕΙΜ ΝΘΑΛΑϞϞΑ. ΖΙΤΗ ΤϞΟΦΙΑ ΔΕ ΜΠΝΑΥΚΛΗΡΟϞ  
 ΝΤΑΛΗΘΙΑ, ΕΙΩΑΧΕ ΕΜΕϞΙΑϞ, ΠΛΟΓΟϞ ΝΖΥΠΟϞΤΑΤΟΝ,

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<sup>3</sup> Ms. ενευερηϞ.

πεχ(ριστο)с, ψακκεβερνει<sup>4</sup> ντεκεκκλησια νητρесωπε ζν ογχαμη.

4 ΝΕΤ† ΟΥΒΗΝ ΨΑΨΤΡΕΥΧΙ ΨΠΕ, ΔΟΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΨΑΝΤΩΟΥΝ ΔΥΩ ΨΑΝΣΟΟΥΤΝ. ΚΑΝ ΕΨΧΕ Δ ΝΖΑΙΡΕΤΙΚΟС ΨΕΙ ΠΗΙ ΝΤΟΟΤΝ ΝΟΥΟΕΨ, ΑΛΛΑ ΜΠΕΨΕΨΨΕΙ ΜΠΕΤΖΜ ΠΕΝΗΨ. ΜΑΡΕ ΝΕΤΗΜΑΨ ΕΡΧΟΕΙС ΕΝΕΘΗСАΨΡΟС, ΔΟΝΟΝ ΖΩΩΝ ΝΤΕΝΤΩΡΠ ΝΝΕΧΡΗΜΑ ΕΤΕΝΖΗΤΨ. ΕΨΨΑΝΔΗΜΕΨΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΝΤΕΝΨΩΠ ΕΡΟΝ ΜΠΤΩΡΠ <Ν>ΝΕΝΖΨΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ ΖΝ ΟΨΡΑΨΕ, ΤΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΓΑΡ † ΖΤΟΡ ΕΡΟΝ ΕΠΑΨ. ΜΠΕΟΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΔΝ ΝΝΕΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗСΙΑ ΠΕ ΧΨ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΒΟΝС, ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΨΕΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΒΩ ΕΥΧΨ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΒΟΝС ΝΝΑΨ ΝΗΜ, ΕΨΧΕ СΕΖΕΛΠΙΖΕ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΝΟΥΜΝΤΡΡΟ ΝΤΕ ΜΠΗΨΕ.

5 ΔΕΚΑС ΝΝΕΝΩСК ΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΖΗ ΠΕΠΡΟΖΟΙΜΙΟΝ ΝΤΕ ΠΨΑΧΕ ΟΨΨΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ, (f. 37v) ΜΑΡΕΝΚΤΟΝ ΕΝСΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΖΑΖ ΕΡΟΝ ΖΗ ΠΖΗΤΗΜΑ. †ΝΑΨ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΕΖΗ ΕСΟΥΗΨ ΔΥΩ ΔΝΟК, ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙСΤΟС, Ν†ΧΟΝΤ ΔΝ ΕΨΩΤ ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΡΕ ΝΕΤΝΨΛΗΛ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ † ΤΟΟΤΝ ΨΑΝΤΕΝΕΨΨΜΒΟМ ΝΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ ΜΠΕΧΡΕΩС ΝΤΑΤΕΤΝΨΙΝΕ ΝСΩΨ.

6 ΤΑΡΧΗ ΜΠΖΗΤΗΜΑ ΠΕ ΠΑΨ ΠΕΧΑΨ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΝΒΨ ΠΕΨΑΓΓΕΛΙСΤΗС ΔΥΩ ΠСΑΕΙΝ ΝСΟΦΟС, ΛΟΥΚΑС, ΧΕ ΝΗΜ ΝΖΗΤΤΗΨΤΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΚΩ ΝΑΨ ΝΟΥΨΒΗΡ ΝΨΒΩК <ΨΑΡΟΥΨ> ΝΤΠΑΨΕ ΝΤΕΨΨΗ ΝΨΧΟΟС ΝΑΨ ΧΕ, ΠΕΨΒΗΡ. Ω ΤΗΝΤСΑΖ ΜΠΕΤΟΥΕΨ ΤΟΨΓΨΙΑ<sup>5</sup> ΝΝΗΡΩΜΕ. ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΟΨΕΨΒ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΝΑΨ ΜΜΕΕΡΕ ΖΗ ΤΕΨΑΝΑΓΚΗ, ΜΗ ΤΗΝΤΗΑΨΡΩΜΕ ΤΟΝΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΨΑΝΟΥΨΨΒΕΨ ΝΤΠΑΨΕ ΝΤΕΨΨΗ ΕΨΨΑΝΕΡ ΧΡΙΑ ΝΟΥΖΩΒ, ΠΖΩΒ ΟΨΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ Δ

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<sup>4</sup> κυβερνάω.

<sup>5</sup> ὠφέλεια.

ΤΕΦΜΝΤΗΑΙΡΩΜΕ ΚΩΒ. ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΒΩΚ ΩΑ ΠΕΦΩΒΗΡ ΝΤΠΑΩΕ <ΝΤΕΥΩΗ>.

7 ΕΦΩΑΝΒΩΚ ΟΥΝ ΩΑΡΟQ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΩΑΔΕ ΝΩΑQΤΑΥΟΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΖΡΑQ (f. 38r) ΖΝ ΟΥCΟΠC ΔΕ ΚCΟΟΥΝ, ΠΑCΟΝ, ΝΤΑΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΔΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΑ ΝΑΙ ΝCΑ ΒΛΛΑΚ. ΟΥΩΒ<Η>Ρ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΕΙ ΕΧΩΙ' ΕΝΕ ΟΥΩΜΜΟ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ, ΝΕΙΝΑΖΟΠΤ ΕΡΟQ ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΩΒΗΡ ΠΕ. †CΟΟΥΝ, ΠΑCΟΝ, ΝΤΕΚΠΡΟCΔΩΚΙΑ' ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΔΙΕΙ ΩΑΡΟΚ. †CΟΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΚΝΑ† ΝΑΙ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ Ε†ΕΡ ΧΡΙΑ ΜΜΟΟΥ. ΜΑ ΝΑΙ ΝΩΟΜΝΤ ΝΟΕΙΚ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΔΥΩ ΜΠΕΡ† ΚΕΛΑΔΥ ΝΑΙ ΝCΑ ΒΛΛΑΥ.

8 ΝΤΕΡΕΦΕΤΕΙ ΜΜΟQ ΖΙ ΝΑΙ ΔΦΟΥΩΩΒ ΖΩΩQ ΜΠCΑΝΖΟΥΝ ΕΦΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ ΕΡΟQ ΖΝ ΤΕΦΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕCΙC ΔΕ ΜΠΕΡΟΥΕΖ ΖΙCΕ ΕΡΟΙ, ΠΕΧΑQ, ΜΠΕΡΑΙΤΕΙ ΜΜΟΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΑCΟΜ, Δ ΠΝΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΩ ΕΦΩΩΠΕ. ΕΝΕ ΝΤΑΚΕΙ ΕΥΝ ΝΑΥ ΝΒΟΛ, ΝΕΙΝΑ† ΠΕ ΝΧΡΙΑ ΝΙΜ. ΝΑΩΗΡΕ ΖΙ ΠΕCΛΟC ΝΜΜΑΙ ΜΝ ΩCΟΜ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΤΩΟΥΝ Ε† ΝΑΚ. ΚΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΔΕ † ΝΑΙ' ΔΝΟΚ ΖΩ †CΟΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΔΝ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΡΑΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΙΖΕ<sup>6</sup> ΜΜΟΚ. ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΝΤΕΡΕΦCΩ ΕΦΟ ΝΛΕC ΕΡΟQ ΕΦCΟΟΥΝ ΜΜΟQ. ΠΕΦΩΒΗΡ ΔΕ ΖΩ(f. 38v)ΩQ ΕΦΝΑΥ ΕΠΖΟΧΖΧ ΜΠΕΤΑΙΤΕΙ<sup>7</sup> ΜΜΟQ. ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΟΥCΥΓΓΕΝΗC ΠΕ, ΔΦΤΩΟΥΝ ΔΦ† ΝΑQ ΜΠΕΤΕΦΕΡ ΧΡΙΑ ΝΑQ ΤΗΡQ. ΝΤΑΦΕΤΕΙ ΜΜΟQ ΝΩΟΜΝΤ ΝΟΕΙΚ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΔΦ† ΝΑQ ΝΧΡΙΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΦΑΖΕ ΝΑΥ.

9 ΕΙC ΠΖΗΤΗΜΑ ΔΝCΜCΩΜQ CΑΡΚΙΚΟC, ΔΥΕΙC ΝΤΕΝΜΟΩΤQ ΠΝ(ΕΥΜΑΤ)ΙΚΟC' ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΕΩΑΥ{Τ}ΖΕΠ ΠΖΗΒC ΔΝ ΖΑ ΟΥCΛΟC, ΚΑΤΑ ΠΩΑΔΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC, ΜΗ[ΟΝ], ΑΛΛΑ ΕΩΑΥΚΑΔQ ΖΙΧΝ †ΛΥΧΝΙΑ ΔΕΚΑC ΕΡΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΝΑΥ ΕΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ.

<sup>6</sup> παραμυθέομαι.

<sup>7</sup> Ms. ηνεταίτε

**10** ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΔΝ ΝΒΙ ΠΕΝΣΑΖ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΚΩ  
ΝΑΦ ΝΟΥΧΑΧΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΩΒΗΡ; ΝΙΜ ΟΝ ΠΕ ΠΕΙΩΒΗΡ; ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ.  
ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΕΤΕΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ, ΠΕΩΩΒΗΡ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΕΩΩΠΕ  
ΕΦΩΔΑΝΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΕΦΕΝΤΟΛΗ. ΝΤΕΝΕΡ ΧΡΙΑ ΔΝ ΝΑΠΟΔΗΖΙΣ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ·  
ΝΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΔΦΧΟΟΣ ΖΝ ΤΕΦΤΑΠΡΟ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΦΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ  
ΝΤΩΤΗ ΝΑΩΒΗΡ ΕΤΕΤΕΝΩΔΑΝΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΑΕΝΤΟΛΗ.

**11** ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕ ΝΦΒΩΚ ΩΑΡΟΥ ΝΤΠΑ(f. 39r)ΩΕ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ. ΠΑΖΕ  
ΓΑΡ ΤΗΡΦ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕΦΝΑΔΑΦ ΕΦΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΟΥΟΥΩΗ ΤΕ, ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ  
ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΤΕΚΜΑΔΥ ΝΤΑΚΤΗΤΩΝC<sup>8</sup>  
ΕΤΕΥΩΗ. ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΩΔΑΝΜΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΒΕ ΩΑΚΖΕ ΕΝΕΔΑΙΜΩΝ  
ΕΥΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΥ ΖΩΣΤΕ ΝΦΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΕΥΜΕ  
ΜΠΕΦΟΥΧΑΙ. ΝΦΣΟΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΔΝ ΧΕ ΕΥΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΕ ΕΤΕΦΥΓΧΗ  
ΚΑΚΩΣ.

**12** ΕΤ[ΒΕ ΠΑΙ] ΜΠΕ ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ Α ΠΕΩΒΗΡ ΒΩΚ ΩΑ  
ΠΕΩΩΒΗΡ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΜΠΡΗ ΕΦΝΑΖΩΤΠ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕ ΖΝ  
ΤΠΑΩΕ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ. ΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΩΑΚΘΕΝ ΠΖΙΝΗΒ ΕΦΖΟΡΩ ΕΖΡΑΙ  
ΕΧΩΦ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΦΝΑΕΝΚΟΤΚ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ. ΕΡΩΔΑΝ ΤΠΑΩΕ  
ΝΤΕΥΩΗ ΩΩΠΕ, ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΩΑΡΕ ΖΑΖ ΝΗΦΕ. ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΟΝ ΠΡΩΜΕ  
ΕΦΝΑ† ΠΕΦΟΥΟΙ ΕΠΝΟΒΕ ΩΑΚΖΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΦΖΟΛΩ ΝΑΦ ΖΝ ΤΕΦΑΡΧΗ  
ΜΠΑΤΕΦΣΟΥΕΝ [ΠΟΥ]ΧΑΙ, ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΤΕΦΜΟ[ΤΝΕ]C ΝΑΩΤ ΕΧΩΦ.  
ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΕΦΩΔΑΝΣΟΥΩΝΦ ΝΤΜΗΤΕ ΜΠΕΦΑΖΕ, ΕΤΕ ΤΑΙ (f. 39v) ΤΕ  
ΤΠΑΩΕ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ, ΩΑΚΚΤΟΥ ΕΡΑΤΦ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝ ΖΕΝΡΜΕΙΟΥΕ  
ΝΦΧΙ ΩΚΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΝΑ ΝΑΙ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΚΝΟC ΝΝΑ.

**13** ΑΥΩΒΗΡ ΕΙ ΩΑΡΟΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΕΖΙΗ, ΕΤΕ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ,  
ΝΤΑΣΚΙΜ ΕΠΑΖΗΤ. ΚΑΛΩC ΔΦΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΑΥΩΒΗΡ ΕΙ ΩΑΡΟΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ  
ΤΕΖΙΗ. ΜΠΕΦΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΟΥΡΜΤΕΙΠΟΛΙC ΝΟΥΩΤ ΝΜΜΑΦ ΠΕ, ΕΠΕΙΔΗ

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<sup>8</sup> Ms. ΝΤΑΦΤΗΤΩΝC.

ΜΠΑΤΕΦΕΡ ΣΥΜΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ ΝΑΦ.<sup>9</sup> ΣΩΩΤ ΕΠΕΙΣΩΒ ΝΓΑΝΑΚΡΙΝΕ  
ΜΜΟΦ ΝΓΕΙΜΕ ΕΠΙΝΟΜΑ ΖΝ ΟΥΩΡΧ. ΜΠΝΑΥ ΝΤΑ ΝΑΘΑΝ ΕΙ ΕΡΑΤΦ  
ΜΠΡΡΟ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΑΦΧΠΙΟΦ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΑΑΦ, ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ  
ΑΥΩΜΜΟ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΣΟΙΛΕ ΕΡΟΦ, ΕΦΩΔΧΕ ΕΠΝΟΒΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΩΜΜΟ ΠΕ.  
ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΦ ΧΕ ΟΥΩΒΗΡ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΦΕΙ ΩΑΡΟΙ ΕΙΩΔΧΕ  
ΕΤΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ.

**14** ΑΥΕΙΣ ΝΤΕΝΖΟΤΖΤ ΝΝΩΔΧΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΦ ΖΝ  
ΤΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΗ ΑΥΩ ΤΕΝΝΑΕΙΜΕ ΕΠΧΩΚ ΤΗΡΦ. ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕ <αι>†  
ΝΤΑΡΟΥ† ΝΗΤΝ, ΤΩΖΜ ΝΤΑΡΟΥΑΟΥΩΝ ΝΗΤΝ. ΣΩΤΜ ΤΕΝΟΥ  
ΝΝΩΔΧΕ ΝΤΜΝΤΕΤΕΙ. ΝΤΜΝΤΩΒΗΡ Μ[ΜΕ ΑΝ] ΠΕ ΟΥΩΜ ΖΙ ΣΩ; Ω  
ΠΑΣΟΝ, ΕΚΩΑΝΣΩ ΝΟΥ(f. 40r)ΕΩ † ΝΑΙ, †ΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΩΠΕ  
ΜΠΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΦΣΟΙΛΕ ΕΡΟΙ. ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΧΕ ΕΚΩΑΝΚΑΑΤ ΖΝ  
ΝΑΝΟΒΕ, Ω ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΠΩΝΖΤΗΦ, ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΑΥΕΡ ΠΕΚΟΥΩΩ  
ΝΑΣΩΒΕ ΝΣΩΙ. ΜΑΛΛΩΝ ΔΕ ΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΝΑΡΑΦΕ ΕΧΜ ΠΤΑΚΟ  
ΝΤΑΨΧΗ. ΕΙΣ ΠΕΩΒΗΡ ΑΦΕΙ ΩΑΡΟΙ †ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ, ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ,  
ΜΠΕΡΚΑΑΦ ΕΒΩΚ ΑΛΛΑ † ΝΑΙ ΝΝΕΤΕΦΝΑΧΙΤΟΥ ΕΡΟΦ. ΜΑ ΝΑΙ  
ΝΩΩΜΝΤ ΝΟΕΙΚ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΕΠΟΥΩΑΠ.

**15** ΑΩ ΠΕ ΠΕΙΩΟΜΝΤ ΝΤΑΦΕΤΕΙ ΜΜΟΟΥ; ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΠΕΩΛΗΛ ΜΝ  
ΤΝΗΣΤΙΑ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΡΜΕΙΟΟΥΕ. ΕΙΣ ΤΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ ΑΣΕΙ ΩΑΡΟΙ, ΠΕΧΑΦ,  
ΑΥΩ †ΝΑΖΟΤΠΣ<sup>10</sup> ΕΡΟΙ ΖΙΤΜ ΠΕΙΩΟΜΝΤ. ΑΛΛΑ ΜΕΩΑΚ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΑ  
ΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΙ ΕΥΜΑ†ΤΩΝ ΠΕ ΧΕ ΝΝΑΙ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΩΟΜΝΤ ΝΟΕΙΚ. ΑΝΟΚ  
†ΝΑ† ΝΑΚ ΝΚΕΑΠΟΔΗΖΙΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ.

**16** ΝΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΣΛΑΑΤΕ ΖΩΣ ΡΩΜΕ, ΠΑΝΤΩΣ  
ΤΕΤΕΝΣΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ Α ΝΑΡΜΕΙΟΟΥΕ ΩΩΠΕ ΝΑΙ  
ΝΟΕΙΚ. ΕΤΒΕ ΤΝΗΣΤΙΑ ΔΕ ΟΝ Α ΚΕΟΥΑ ΧΟΟΣ, ΕΤΕ ΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΠΕ, ΧΕ  
(f. 40v) ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΩΝΖ ΑΝ ΕΟΕΙΚ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΝΩΔΧΕ

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<sup>9</sup> Ms. νεφ.

<sup>10</sup> Ms. †ναζοτπκ.

ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΖΩΜΟΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΩΛΗΛ ΠΠΑΡΖΟΙΜΙΑΣΤΗΣ  
 ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΣΕΝΑ† ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΤΟΥΕΙΟ ΝΝΕΦΣΠΟΤΟΥ.  
 ΠΕΥΩΑΠ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΕΚΩΑΝ† ΝΑΙ ΜΠΕΙΩΟΜΝΤ ΝΙΔΩΣ,<sup>11</sup> Ω ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ,  
 †ΝΑ† ΝΑΚ ΜΠΑΣΩΜΑ ΕΦΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΝ ΠΑΖΗΤ ΝΟΥΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ ΑΥΩ  
 ΤΑΤΑΠΡΟ ΕΤΡΕΣΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ. †ΣΟΟΥΝ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΠΕΚΟΥΩΩ ΠΕ ΠΑΙ.  
 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΠΕΩΒΗΡ ΝΤΑΦΕΙ ΩΑΡΟΙ, ΠΕΧΑΦ, ΜΝΤΑΙ ΠΕ†ΝΑΚΑΑΦ ΖΑ  
 ΡΩΦ ΝΟΥΩΜ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ· ΜΕΓΑΡΙΣΚΕ ΝΤΕΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΦΕΙ  
 ΩΑΡΟΙ. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΝΤΚ ΠΑΩΒΗΡ, ΜΠΕΡΔΙΑΤΡΕΠΕΙ ΜΜΟΙ ΝΑΖΡΑΦ ΕΤΕ  
 ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΧΕ ΕΙΤΩΛΜ ΖΗ ΖΕΝΠΟΡΝΙΑ, † ΘΕ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΡΑΕΙΑΑΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΗ  
 ΘΑΓΝΙΑ ΜΝ ΤΣΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΗ.<sup>12</sup> ΜΑΡΕ ΝΑΣΙΧ, ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ, ΚΑΘΑΡΙΖΕ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΤΜΝΤΡΕΦΧΙΝΣΟΝΣ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕ ΤΑΤΑΠΡΟ ΤΒΒΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ  
 ΤΜΝΤΡΕΦΩΡΚ ΝΝΟΥΧ· †ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΧΕ †ΝΑΕΡ ΑΝΑΣ ΝΤΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ  
 ΝΤΑΣΟΥΩΖ ΝΖΗΤ.

**17** ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΡΕΝΕΙΜΕ (f. 41r) ΧΕ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΕΤΕΙ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ  
 ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΟΥ. ΑΛΛΑ ΑΦΩΑΧΕ ΝΗΜΑΦ ΖΗ ΟΥΒΙΝΩΑΧΕ ΕΣΧΑΧΩ ΧΕ  
 ΜΠΕΡΟΥΕΖ ΖΙΣΕ ΕΡΟΙ. ΝΤΣΥΝΗΘΙΑ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΤΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΕ Ε†  
 ΜΠΑΙΔΗΜΑ ΜΠΕΤΑΙΤΕΙ ΜΜΟΦ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΑΧΝ ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ  
 ΝΤΕΦΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ. ΝΘΕ ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΖΗ ΠΤΕΥΤΡΟΝΩΜΙΟΝ ΧΕ  
 ΦΝΑΧΟΝΤΚ ΝΦΧΙ ΧΝΙΤ ΜΜΟΚ ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΖΗ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ.

**18** ΜΠΕΡΟΥΕΖ ΖΙΣΕ ΕΡΟΙ, ΠΕΧΑΦ, ΔΙΟΥΩ ΓΑΡ ΕΙΩΤΑΜ ΜΠΑΡΟ. Α  
 ΝΕΚΝΟΒΕ ΤΡΕ ΠΑΣΩΝΤ ΖΡΟΩ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΚ. ΜΠΗ, ΠΑΣΟΝ, ΕΝΕΝΤΑ  
 ΤΕΥΩΗ ΟΥΕΙΝΕ, ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΕΝΕΚΝΑΒΕΝ ΑΡΙΚΕ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΓΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΙΣ  
 ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑΦΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ, ΒΩΚ ΝΓΕΡΖΩΒ ΤΑΡΕΚΧΠΕ ΠΕΤΕΤΗΝΝΑΟΥΟΜΦ,  
 ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑΙΕΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΤΠΑΦΕ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ. Ε<Ν>ΕΝΤΑΙΧΕ<Κ> ΠΑΑΖΕ  
 ΤΗΡΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΙΕΡ ΝΟΒΕ, Ω ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ, ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΝΓΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ Α ΠΝΑΥ

<sup>11</sup> εἶδος.

<sup>12</sup> σωφροσύνη.

ΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΩΝ ΝΑΚ ΜΠΡΟ ΝΤΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ, ΑΛΛΑ ΔΙΕΙ ΝΑΚ ΜΠΑΤΕ  
ΤΗΠΕ ΝΝΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΑΩΝΖ ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ.

**19** ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕ ΝΑΩΗΡΕ ΖΙ ΠΕΒΛΟΒ ΝΜΜΑΙ (f. 41v) ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΧΕ  
ΕΙC ΝΕΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟC, ΕΤΕ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΝΕ, ΑΥΟΥΩ ΕΥΧΙ  
ΝΤΕΥΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ· ΑΥΕΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΜΩΒΒΙΩ ΝΝΕΥΖΙCΕ  
ΝΤΑΥΩΠΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΚΟCΜΟC. ΜΝ ΒΟΜ ΜΜΟΙ ΕΦΕΙ ΠΕΥΟΕΙΚ  
ΝΤΑΤΑ{Τ}ΑΦ ΝΑΚ ΜΠΑΤΕΚΩΠ ΕΤΕΥΗΠΕ. CΩΤΜ ΖΩΩΦ ΟΝ  
ΕΝΩΔΧΕ ΜΠΕΙΚΕΟΥΑ. †CΟΟΥΝ, ΠΕΧΑΦ, ΠΑΧΟΕΙC, ΧΕ ΜΠΕΡ ΑΖΙΟC  
ΕΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΩΗΡΕ, ΑΛΛΑ † ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΩΠΕ ΕΙΧΡΕΩCΤΕΙ  
ΝΑΚ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΚΤΑΑΦ ΝΑΙ ΕΙΕΤΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ. ΔΙCΩΤΜ, ΠΑΧΟΕΙC, ΕΤΒΕ  
ΚΕCΖΙΜΕ ΝΧΑΝΑΝΕΑ ΧΕ ΝΤΑCΕΙ ΝΑΚ ΕCΕΤΕΙ ΜΠΤΑΛΒΟ  
ΝΤΕCΩΕΕΡΕ, ΕΑΚ† ΝΑC ΜΠΕΧΑΡΤΗC ΝΝΕCΝΟΒΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΩC ΩΗΡΕ  
ΖΜ ΠΤΡΕΚΧΟΟC ΝΑC ΧΕ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΤΕ ΤΟΥΠΙCΤΙC, ΒΩΚ ΖΝ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ·  
ΑΚΟΠC ΖΩΩC ΜΝ ΜΠΙCΤΟC. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΒΕ, ΠΑΧΟΕΙC, Ν†ΝΑΚΑΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΑΝ ΜΠΕΚ† ΝΑΙ ΝΝΕΟΕΙΚ ΝΤΑΙΕΤΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΜΜΟΥ.

**20** ΝΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΩΒΗΡ ΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΦΜΝΤΛΑC ΑΦΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΦ† ΝΑΦ ΟΥ  
ΜΩΝΟΝ ΧΕ ΩΟΜΝΤ ΝΟΕΙΚ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΦΤΩΟΥΝ ΑΦ† ΝΑΦ  
ΝΤΕΥΧΡΙΑ (f. 42r) ΤΗΡC· ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΧΕ ΕΡΩΑΝ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΚΟΤΦ  
ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΦΕΤΕΙ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΙ, ΩΑΦ† ΤΟΟΤΦ ΟΝ ΕΤΡΕ ΖΑΖ  
ΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΦ ΟΥΩΖ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΕΥΧΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ.

**21** ΑΤΕΤΝΝΑΦ, Ω ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ, ΕΤΝΟΒ ΜΜΝΤΩΝΖΗΤΗΦ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ<sup>13</sup>  
ΝΘΕ ΕΩΑΦCΩΤΜ ΕΝΕΤΕΤΕΙ ΜΜΟΦ ΝΦΝΑ ΝΑΥ ΚΑΝ ΑΥΖΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ  
ΕΠΩΙΚ ΝΝΟΒΕ ΝΙΜ. ΕΡΩΑΝ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΦ ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΚΖΗΤ,  
ΜΠΕΡΧΝΑΑΦ ΕΕΤΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΕΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΚΩΑΝΝΗΦΕ ΜΜΟΚ,  
ΠΚΑΚΟΥΡΓΟC ΝΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΟC ΝΑΧΟΟC ΝΑΚ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ, ΝΦΟΥΩΦ ΑΝ  
ΕΤΡΕΚΒΩΚ ΝΤΟΟΤΦ, ΧΕ ΕΚΩΑΝΕΤΕΙ ΟΝ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑ ΝΕΚΝΟΒΕ,  
ΝΦΝΑCΩΤΜ ΕΡΟΚ ΑΝ, ΝΤΚ ΟΥΑCΕΒΗC ΓΑΡ. ΜΠΕΡCΩΤΜ ΒΕ ΝCΩΦ

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<sup>13</sup> Read ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

αλλα αρι πμεεγε ντεγνοϋ ννεντακκοτμοϋ ζν τπαραβολη  
μπχοεις.

**22** σωτη ον ταταοϋο ερωτη νογωπηρε εασωωπε ριωωτ,  
ανοκ πετνειωτ αθανασιος. παντωσ α τετνημντμαιοϋτε  
σωτη ενενταγωωπε μοι ριτη (f. 42v) τεφωωνηρια  
ννεωηρε μπδιαβολοσ ετε ναι νε ναριανοσ ετσο[ο]ϋ.  
μπεοϋοειω νταιβωκ επιμαρhc κημε ερατϋ μπμακαριοσ αϋω  
πεπροφητησ παρωμο, παρχημανδριτησ νταβεννησε, πρωμε  
ναμε ετφορει μπνοϋτε, εαιναϋ εζεντωω ζμ πμα ετμμαϋ  
νζεντωω ηρωμε αν νε αλλα ζεντωω ναγγελικον νε, εϋτηω  
εβολ ριτη πνοϋτε. ρωμε γαρ νιμ ετνασωτη εβολ ριτοοτοϋ  
νσα τεϋσβω ζν νετοϋναζονοϋ ετοοτοϋ, ωαϋοϋϋαι κατα θε  
ετρε πλογοσ ναταμον ενωανμοοωε εθη.

**23** νεγν οϋρωμε δε ζν διοσπολις,<sup>14</sup> ετε {c}ζωοϋ τε,  
εϋρημαο εματε πε, επεφραν πε φιβαμων. πειρωμε δε νε  
οϋατνα τωνοϋ πε ηρεϋϋινδονσ αϋω νεωαϋϋι μπβεκη  
ννεζηκε ετερ ζωβ ναϋ ζν οϋμντπονηροσ. ραζ νσοπ νεωαϋει  
επιμοναστηριον ερατϋ μπρωμε μπνοϋτε παρωμο, νσετα(f.  
43r)οϋο εροϋ μπεϋεμκαζ νζητ εβολ δε νε οϋρωμε πε  
ναγαθοσ αϋω νωνηητϋ εζοϋν ερωμε νιμ, νζοϋο δε εζοϋν  
ενζηκε. αϋω νεωαρε ηρλλο ϋπιε πρωμε νατνα ετμμαϋ δε †  
σο ετεκϋϋχη ηγνα ννεζηκε. πετμμαϋ δε νεωαϋϋοοσ ναϋ ζν  
οϋζο νατωπιε δε απα, νωκ νε νεκασκησισ μη νεκπολητια,  
πωι ζωωτ πε πλογοσ νναζβηϋε.

**24** ασωωπε νογσοπ εϋειρε νογσγναζισ ζμ πμοναστη[ρι]ο]η  
ερε οϋνοσ μμηηωε σοοϋζ, νεαϋει ζωωϋ νσι πρημαο νατνα

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<sup>14</sup> Ms. διοσπολοσ.

ΕΤΗΜΜΑΥ ΕΤΕ ΦΙΒΑΜΩΝ ΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ Α ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ. ΝΤΕΡΟΥΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΣΩΟΥΖ ΝΟΙ ΝΖΗΚΕ ΕΤΟΥΧΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΣΟΝΣ, ΑΥΑΡΧΕΙ ΝΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΑΡΑССΕ ΝΤΣΥΝΑΖΙΣ. ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΦΑΖΕΡΑΤΥ ΕΦΚΩ ΝΡΩΥ ΖΩС ΝССΜΕΛΕΙ ΝΑΥ ΑΝ ΕΠΤΗΡΥ ΖΑ ΝΕΤΧΗΥ ΝΣΟΝΣ ΕΤΧΙ ΩΚΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ. ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΔΕ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜΟ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΝΑΥ (f. 43v) [ΕΤΗΝ]ΤΑΤΩΠΕ ΜΠΕΤΗΜΑΥ, ΑΦΑΠΟΦΑΝΕ ΕΧΩΥ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΧΕ †ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΠΕΧ(ΡΙСΤΟ)С, ΠΕΠΡΟСТАТΗΣ ΝΝΑΙ ΕΤΧΙ ΩΚΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ, ΕΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ, ΧΕ ΝΦΝΑΚΑΑΚ ΑΝ ΕΟΥΩΝ ΝΤΕΚΤΑΠΡΟ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΝΕΚСΝТ ΠΕΙΜΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΕΚΑΖΕΡΑТК ΝΖΗТΥ ΩΑΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡ ΠΕΥΖΑΠ.

**25** ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ Α ΡΩΥ ΤΩΜ ΑΦΑΖΕΡΑТΥ ΕΦΟ ΝΑТКΙМ ΖΩСТΕ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙМ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΑΦΕΡ ΘΕ ΝΟΥΩΝΕ ΝΑΨΥΧΟΝ. ΝΤΕΡΕΦΖΙСE ΕΜΑΤΕ ΖΙТН ΝΕΝΟС ΜΠΕΔΕΥСΙС<sup>15</sup> ΕΤΟΥΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΠΕΘΗΠ, ΑΥΚΙМ ΝΤΕΦΑΠΕ ΖΩС ΕΦΕΤΕΙ ΖΙТМ ΠЕСМОТ ΜΠΕΦТΗНВЕ ΝΟΥΠΕΝΑΓΙС.<sup>16</sup> ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΟΥΤΑΑС ΝΑΥ ΑΥСΖΑΙ ΖΝ ΤΕΦСΙХ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟС ΧΕ †ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ, ΠΑΕΙΩТ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ, ΧΕ ΕΡΩΑΝ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ ΝΑΙ ΖН ΝΕΒΑСΑΝΟС Ε†ΕΝΖΗТΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕ ΤΑΤΑΠΡΟ ΟΥΩΝ, ΟΥ ΜΩΝΟΝ ΧΕ †ΝΑЕР ΠΖΑΠ ΝΝΕΖΗКЕ ΝΤΑΙΧΙТΟΥ ΝΣΟΝС ΑΛΛΑ †ΝΑΚΩ ΝСΩΙ ΝΝΑΠΡΑГМА ТΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΑΕΙ ΕΠΜΟΝΑСТΗΡΙΟΝ (f. 44r) ΝΤΑЕР ΜΟΝΑХОС ΖΑΖТΗК ΝΤΑΜΕΤΑΝΟΙ ΕΧΝ ΝΝΟВЕ ΝΤΑΙΔΑΥ ΩΑ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΑСЕМΠΩΙΝЕ.

**26** ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ Α ΤΕΦΤΑΠΡΟ ΟΥΩΝ. ΑΦΩΑ.ΧΕ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙМ ΘΕΩΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ. ΑΥΝΟС ΔΕ ΝΖΟΤΕ ΤΑΖΕ ΝΕТНАΥ ΕΡΟΥ ТΗΡΟΥ. ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΝΤΕΡΟΥКА ТСΥΝΑΖΙС ΕΒΟΛ Α ΠΛΑОС ВΩК ΕΝΕΥΗΝΙ ΩΑТЕН ΝΕТΧΗΥ ΝΣΟΝС ΜΜΑΤЕ. ΑΥΑΖΕРАТΟΥ КАТА ΘЕ ΝΤΑΦΟΥΕΖСΑΖНЕ

<sup>15</sup> παιδείσις.

<sup>16</sup> πινακίς.

ΝΑΥ ΝΟΙ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΖΩΜΟ. ΤΟΤΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ, ΕΤΕ ΦΙΒΑΜΩΝ  
ΠΕ, ΑΥΣΖΑΙ ΝΤΕΥΔΙΑ[ΘΗΚΗ] ΕΩΜΟΝΤ ΜΜΕΡΟΣ· ΟΥΜΕΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΑΑΥ  
ΝΝΖΗΚΕ, ΚΕΟΥΑ ΑΥΤΑΑΥ ΝΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΝΤΕΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΩΗΡΕ,  
ΚΕΟΥΑ ΑΥΤΑΑΥ ΕΤΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ. ΑΥΣΩ ΖΑΤΜ  
ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΖΩΜΟ ΑΥΕΡ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΖΑΖΤΗΥ.

**27** ΜΗΝΝΑ ΖΕΝΖΟΥΥ ΔΕ ΑΥΕΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΠΙΚΟΠΟΣ  
ΝΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ ΧΕ ΚΗΒΤ ΕΣΣΑΡΗΣ ΜΜΟΥΥ. ΑΥΩ ΖΙΤΝ ΤΕΥΥΦΟΣ  
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ Α ΠΕΚΛΗΡΟΣ ΤΑΖΟΥ ΑΥΑΑΥ ΝΕΠΙΚΩΠΟΣ ΕΡΟΣ.  
ΤΝΝΑΤΑ(f. 44v)Μ[Ω]ΤΝ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΖΙΤΝ ΑΩ ΝΑΙΔΙΑ ΑΥΜΑΤΕ  
ΜΠΕΙΖΩΒ. ΝΤΕΡΕΥΕΡ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΥΝΑΥ ΕΠΜΗΗΩΕ ΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ ΧΕ  
ΣΕΩΩ, ΜΠΕΥΣΩ ΖΝ ΤΕΥΜΗΤΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΣΕΡ ΑΝΑΥ ΕΤΡΕΥΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ  
ΜΑΥΑΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ, ΑΥΜΟΟΩΕ  
ΕΡΗΣ ΖΝ ΝΤΟΩ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ, ΑΥΣΩ ΕΥΣΕΡΑΖΤ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΑ ΜΑΥΑΑΥ.  
ΖΙΤΝ †ΕΤΙΑ ΟΥΝ ΝΤΑ ΝΑ ΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΣΟΤΠΥ ΑΥΧΙΡΩΔΩΝΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΑΥ  
ΝΕΠΙΚΩΠΟΣ, ΜΜΟΝ ΜΕΡΕ ΝΑ ΤΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΒΩΚ ΖΝ  
ΑΖΙΩΜΑ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΥΘΒΒΙΟ ΕΤΟΩ. ΕΑΥΩΩΠΕ  
ΝΟΥΕΠΙΚΩΠΟΣ ΕΥ† ΣΟΕΙΤ ΖΜ ΠΤΟΩ ΤΗΡΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ, ΕΥΕΙΡΕ  
ΝΖΕΝΝΟΒ ΜΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΕΥΟ ΝΩΝΖΤΗΥ ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΖΗΚΕ  
ΜΝ ΝΕΤΜΟΚΖ, ΕΥΧΟΡΗΓΕΙ ΝΑΥ ΝΤΕΥΧΡΙΑ<sup>17</sup> ΤΗΡΣ ΕΜΕΥΣΤΕ ΛΑΑΥ  
ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΕΤΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ.

**28** ΑΤΕΤΝΝΑΥ, Ω ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ, ΧΕ ΕΡΩΑΝ ΠΡΕΥΕΡΝΟΒΕ ΚΤΟΥ  
ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΥΕΡ ΠΕΥΟΥΩΩ, ΟΥΜΩΝΟΝ ΧΕ ΩΑΥΩΟΠΥ ΕΡΟΥ  
ΕΥΡΑΩΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΩΑΥΧΑΣΤΥ (f. 45r) ΝΥ† ΕΟΥΥ ΝΑΥ ΝΖΟΥΟ.  
ΕΙΩΑΝΟΥΩΩ ΔΕ ΕΤΑΥΕ ΝΕΩΠΗΡΕ ΜΠΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ, ΜΝ ΖΑΖ  
ΝΧΩΩΜΕ ΝΑΕΩΥΙΤΟΥ. ΠΛΗΝ †ΝΑΤΑΟΥΕ ΚΕΟΥΕΙ ΝΤΕΝΣΦΡΑΓΙΖΕ  
ΜΠΚΕΣΕΕΠΕ.

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<sup>17</sup> Ms. ντευχρια.

**29** ζενρωμε νε νετογααβ μμοναχος ετμμαγ εμερε λααγ  
 ρρωμε εφτολμ ζενλααγ ννοβε εω† πεφογοι εζογν  
 επεθγσιαστηριον ειε μπογειμε εροφ ζιτμ πεπν(εγμ)α ετογααβ  
 ετογηζ ζραι νζητογ. λιναγ ον εζοινε ζμ πμα ετμμαγ ζν  
 νεφωηρε ζμ π[τρεγωα.]νε ζραι η[ζητογ] εερ νοβε ηεωαρε  
 πρωμε μπνογτε, παζωμο, ειμε μπατογδεκ τεπραζις εβολ  
 αγω ντειρε ωαφει μπεςχημα ριχωογ νφααγ νωμμο  
 επταγμα νμμοναχος ζν ογωπε. ατετνναγ, ω ναμερατε, δε  
 πετνα† μπεφζητ επνογτε ωαφερ ογα νογωτ μν πεπν(εγμ)α  
 ετογααβ. ανον δε ρωων μαρενκωζ ενερωμε ετογααβ  
 ντενφει εβολ μμον ναμελια νιμ ετε νζητν (f. 45v) [...] δε  
 ζεν[.....] εαν[.]α[.]ο νναι ενερ ωπηρε ντιπολητια  
 ννετογααβ.

**30** μαρενκτον εχμ πκεσεεπε μπζητημα ντα  
 τετνμντμαινογτε ωινε νωωφ. επειδη ατετν.χοος ετβε

(Vat. Copt. 145, f. 15r) [---]

ιδναθαν μν δαγεια δε ζιτν	ιδναθαν μν δαγεια δε ζιτν
αω νλοισε αγματε	αω νλο<ι>σε αγμαζτε
ντειμντωβηρ ντεισοτ. σωτμ	ντεμντωβηρ ντεισοτ. σωτμ,
αγω ανοκ †ναταμωτν.	ταταμωτν. τμητρα μ<ε>ν
τμητρα μεν νετεσναχποογ	νετεσναχποογ αν κατα
ντοογ αν νε νεωβηρ,	ογακαπη αλλα ογσαρκικον.
τεπραζις δε ντος	τεπραζις δε ρωωσ
νετεσναχποογ· μεγεωπωρχ	νετσναχποο'γ'· μεγεωπωρχ
ενεγερηγ ωα ενεζ.	ενεγρη'γ' ενεζ εωωπε
τετνογωω εειμε; σωτμ.	ζενπροζαιρε{c}†κος <sup>18</sup> νε.
	κογωω εειμε ετμε; σωτμ.

<sup>18</sup> προαιρετικός.

**31** ΚΑΕΙΝ ΜΝ ΑΒΕΛ ΖΕΝCΝΗΥ ΝΕ ΚΑΕΙΝ ΜΝ ΑΒΕΛ ΖΕΝCΝΗΥ <ΝΕ>  
 ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΑΥΩ ΤΕΥΜΑΔΥ  
 ΝΟΥΩΤ ΜΝ ΟΥΜΑΔΥ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΜΝ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΝΟΥΩΤ  
 ΝΕΝΤΑΥΧΠΟΥ ΑΥΩ Α ΚΑΕΙΝ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΧΠΟΥ. Α ΠΟΥΑ  
 ΜΟΥΟΥΤ ΝΑΒΕΛ ΠΕΦCΟΝ. ΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΧΝ<sup>19</sup> ΠΟΥΑ ΑΦΖΟΤΒΕΦ.  
 ΙΩΝΑΘΑΝ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΦ ΜΝ ΙΩΝΑΘΑΝ ΖΩΩΦ ΜΝ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ  
 ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΖΕΝΩΜΜΟ ΝΕ ΖΕΝΩΜΜΟ ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΝΕ.  
 ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΑΥΩ Α ΙΩΝΑΘΑΝ ΙΩΝΑΘΑΝ ΑΦΜΟΥ ΕΧΝ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ  
 ΜΟΥ ΕΧΝ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΖΝ ΖΝ ΤΕΦΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕCΙC. ΚΑΝ ΜΠΕ  
 ΤΕΦΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕCΙC. ΚΑΝ ΜΠΕ ΠΖΩΒ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ, ΕΡΕ ΠΕCΖΑΙ  
 ΠΖΩΒ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ, ΕΡΕ ΠΕCΖΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ Ρ ΜΝΤΡΕ (f. 15v)  
 ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΕΡ ΜΝΤΡΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΧΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΧΕ ΑΥΩ ΙΩΝΑΘΑΝ ΑΦΕΙ  
 ΑΥΩ ΙΩΝΑΘΑΝ ΑΦΕΙ ΕΡΑΤΥ ΕΡΑΤΥ ΝΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΑΥΩ ΖΜ ΠΤΡΕ  
 ΝΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΑΥΩ (f. 46r) ΦΖΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΑΦΩΔΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΦ, Α  
 ΝΤΕΡΕΦΖΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΑΦΩΔΧΕ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΤΑΥΕ ΝΕΦΑΡΙΚΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΝΜΜΑΦ, Α ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΤΑΟΥΕ ΕΡΟΥ. ΑΥΩ ΙΩΝΑΘΑΝ'Ν' ΑΦΧΟΟC  
 ΝΕΦΑΡΙΚΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ. ΑΥΩ ΙΩΝΑΘΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΝΑΕΙΜΕ ΕΝΕΤΖΜ  
 ΙΩΝΑΘΑΝ ΑΦΧΟΟC ΕΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΧΕ ΠΖΗΤ ΜΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΤΑΤΑΜΟΚ  
 ΤΝΑΕΙΜΕ ΕΝΕΤΖΜ ΠΖΗΤ ΝΡΑCΤΕ. ΟΥΜΟΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΜΠΕ  
 ΜΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΝΤΑΤΑΜΟΚ ΝΡΑCΤΕ. CΑΟΥΛ ΩΔΧΕ ΜΝ ΙΩΝΑΘΑΝ  
 ΑΥΩ ΟΥΜΩΝΟΝ ΧΕ ΜΠΕ CΑΟΥΛ ΕΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΨΥΧΗ  
 ΩΔΧΕ ΜΝ ΙΩΝΑΘΑΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΙΩΝΑΘΑΝ Α CΑΟΥΛ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ  
 ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΕΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΑΥΩ ΕΡΟC ΕΦΙΤC ΖΜ ΠΤΡΕΦΖΙΤΟΥΤΥ  
 ΤΚΕΨΥΧΗ ΝΙΩΝΑΘΑΝ Α CΑΟΥΛ ΕΡΟC ΕΡΑΖΤΥ ΖΝ ΤΛΟΓΧΗ. ΖΙ  
 ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΕ ΕΡΟC ΕΒΙΤC ΖΜ ΝΑΙ ΟΝ ΜΠΕ ΙΩΝΑΘΑΝ ΕΡ ΖΟΤΕ  
 ΠΤΡΕΦΖΙΤΟΥΤΥ ΕΡΑΖΤΥ ΖΝ ΖΗΤC<sup>20</sup> ΝΤΕΠΕΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΕ<sup>21</sup>  
 ΤΛΟΓΧΗ. ΑΥΩ ΖΙ ΝΑΙ ΟΝ ΜΠΕ ΜΠΕΦΕΙΩΤ ΕΦΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΦΚΑΚΙΑ  
 ΙΩΝΑΘΑΝ ΕΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤC <Ε>ΑCΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ. ΝΕΦΝΗΥ ΓΑΡ  
 ΝΤΑΠΕΙΛ[Η Μ]ΠΕΦΕΙΩ[Τ ΕΦ]ΝΑΥ ΩΔ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΝΧΙΟΥΕ ΕΦCΜΝ  
 ΕΤΚΑΚΙΑ ΕΑCΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ. ΑΥΩ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΝΜΜΑΦ ΕΦΖΑΡΕΖ ΝΑΦ  
 ΝΕΦΝΗΥ ΩΔ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΝΧΙΟΥΕ ΕΤΕΦΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕCΙC.

<sup>19</sup> Read εχμ.

<sup>20</sup> Ms. ζητφ.

<sup>21</sup> Read ντεπειβουλη, from ἐπιβουλή.

ΕΦΣΜΝ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΝΗΜΑΦ  
 ΕΦΖΑΡΕΖ ΝΑΦ ΕΤΕΦΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ  
 ΕΝΑΝΟΥΣ.

**32** ΝΑ ΠΕΙΚΕΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΖΩΟΥ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥ ΜΩΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΜΕΥΜΟΥ ΕΧΝ ΝΕΥΩΒΗΡ ΑΛΛΑ ΦΑΥΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΥ ΝΝΕΥΩΒΗΡ ΕΠΜΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΑΠΟΤ ΝΗΡΠ ΜΝ ΟΥΚΛΑΣΜΑ ΦΗΜ ΝΟΕΙΚ ΔΕ ΝΝΑΧΟΟΣ ΡΩ ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΝΟΥΒ Η ΟΥΖΑΤ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΚΕΣΚΕΥΗ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ. ΕΦΔΕ ΝΓΝΑΡΟΕΙΣ (f. 46v) [ΑΝ ΕΤΕ]ΚΠΡΟΖΑΙ[ΡΕΣΙΣ] ΕΙΕ ΑΚΛΟ ΕΚΟ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΑΚΕΡ ΤΒΝΗ. ΤΕΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ· ΕΦΔΕ ΚΝΑΕΡ ΦΥΣΙΣ ΝΤΒΝΗ ΕΙΕ ΜΠΕΡΤΡΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΔΕ ΡΩΜΕ.

ΝΑ ΠΕΙΚΑΙΡΟΣ ΖΩΟΥ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ (f. 16r) ΔΕ ΜΕΥΜΟΥ ΕΧΝ ΝΕΥΩΒΗΡ ΑΛΛΑ ΦΑΥΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΥ ΝΝΕΥΩΒΗΡ ΕΤΡΕΥΖΟΤΒΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΑΠ{ΑΠ}ΟΤ ΝΗΡΠ ΜΝ ΟΥΛΑΚΜ ΝΟΕΙΚ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΙΧΟΟΣ ΡΩ ΔΕ ΟΥΝΟ'Υ'Β ΜΝ ΟΥΖΑΤ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΚΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΙΜΕΙΝΕ. ΕΦΔΕ ΝΓΝΑΡΟΕΙΣ ΑΝ ΕΤΕΚΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ, ΑΚΛΟ ΕΚΩ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΑΚΡ ΤΒΝΗ. ΤΕΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΜΠΤΒΝΗ ΠΕ ΑΛΩΓΟΝ· ΕΦΔΕ ΕΚΝΑΡ ΦΥΣΙΣ ΝΤΒΝΗ, ΜΠΡΤΡΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ<sup>22</sup> ΕΡΟΚ ΔΕ ΡΩΜΕ.

<sup>22</sup> Ms. μπρτρειμοϋτε.

**33** ΜΟΥ ΕΧΜ ΠΕΚΩΒΗΡ ΕΧΜ ΜΟΥ ΕΧΝ ΠΕΚΩΒΗΡ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΔΕ  
 ΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΔΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΧΜ ΕΧΝ {Π}ΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΔΝ. ΟΥΝ ΩΒΗΡ  
 ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΦ. ΟΥΝ ΩΒΗΡ ΓΑΡ ΔΕ ΕΥΟΣΕ ΤΕ ΤΕΦΜΝΤΩΒΗΡ  
 ΕΥΟΣΕ ΤΕ ΤΕΦΜΝΤΩΒΗΡ ΖΙΤΝ ΖΙΤΝ <Τ>ΚΟΙΝΟΝΙΑ  
 ΤΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΜΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΟΣ ΜΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΣ<sup>23</sup>  
 ΕΤΟΥΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ. ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ. ΕΩΧΕ ΕΚΟΥΩΩ  
 ΕΩΧΕ ΚΟΥΩΩ ΝΑΜΕ ΕΤΡΕ ΝΑΜΕ ΕΤΡΕ ΤΕΚΜΝΤΩΒΗΡ  
 ΤΕΚΜΝΤΩΒΗΡ ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΙΕ † ΜΟΥΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΙΕ<sup>24</sup> † ΣΒΩ  
 ΣΒΩ ΜΠΕΚΩΒΗΡ ΕΤΜΖΕ ΕΤΜΖΕ (f. 16v) ΕΖΡΑΙ Ε'Π'ΝΟΒΕ.  
 ΕΠΝΟΒΕ.

**34** ΕΝΕΙΟΥΩΩ ΜΕΝ ΠΕ ΕΧΕ ΝΕΙΟΥΩΩ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΑΥΕ ΠΡΩΩΕ  
 ΟΥΜΗΝΩΕ ΝΩΑΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΩΑΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΑΙ ΑΛΛΑ †ΣΟΟΥΝ  
 ΑΛΛΑ †ΣΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΟΥΩΙ ΧΕ ΟΥΩΙ ΠΕΤΩΟΠ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ  
 ΠΕΤΩΟΠ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ, ΚΑΤΑ ΝΙΜ, ΚΑΤΑ ΠΩΑΧΕ ΜΠΟΦΟΣ.  
 ΠΩΑΧΕ ΜΠΟΦΟΣ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝ. †ΕΙΡΕ ΟΝ <Μ>ΠΜΕ'Ε'ΥΕ ΧΕ Δ  
 †ΕΙΡΕ ΓΑΡ ΜΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ Δ ΤΕΤΝΑΓΑΠΗ ΩΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΤΕΤΝΑΓΑΠΗ ΩΙΝΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ  
 ΧΕ ΕΝΝΑΜΟΟΩΕ ΝΖΗΤΣ ΝΑΩ ΕΤΣΟΥΤΩΝ ΧΕ <Ε>ΝΝΑΜΟΟΩΕ<sup>25</sup>  
 ΝΖΕ. †ΝΑΤΑΜΩΤΝ ΕΥΖΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΝΑΩ ΝΖΕ ΝΖΗΤΣ. †ΝΑΤΑΥΟ<sup>25</sup>  
 ΕΑΣΩΩΠΕ ΖΙΩΩΤ ΖΙ ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ, ΕΡΩΤΝ ΝΟΥΖΙΣΤΩΡΙΑ  
 ΖΝ ΝΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΕΙΟΥΗΖ ΝΣΑ ΕΑΣΩΩΠΕ ΖΝ ΝΕΖΟΟΥ  
 ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΑΠΑ (f. 47r) ΝΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ, ΖΝ ΝΕΖΟΟΥ  
 ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΠΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΩΠΟΣ, ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΕΙΟ ΝΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΕΙΟΥΗΖ  
 ΕΙΟ ΝΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΜΠΕΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΣΑ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΤΡΟΣ,<sup>26</sup>  
 ΕΙΟ ΝΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΜΠΕΥΟΕΙΩ  
 ΕΤΜΜΑΥ.  
 ΕΤΜΜΑΥ.

<sup>23</sup> Ms. ημοου.

<sup>24</sup> Ms. ηει.

<sup>25</sup> Zoega's edition starts here.

<sup>26</sup> Zoega αλεξανδρος.

**35** ασωωπε δε ντερε ασωωπε δε ντερε  
 τσγνζωδος ννενειοτε τσγνζωδος ετογααβ  
 ετογααβ νεπισκοπος σωουζ νεπισκοπος σωουζ ενικαια  
 ενικεα ριτη πογερσαρνε ριτη πογερσαρνε μπινο'γ'τε  
 μπρο μμαιουτε μν πρρο μμαιουτε  
 κωσταντινος, νεγν ογα δε κωσταντινος, νεγν ογα δε  
 χε καρποκρατιος, χε καρποκρατιος,

εγωουτμταγε πεφραν πε, ενεζημοος ρωωφ πε ρν  
 τσγνζωδος. αγω ντερε ννενειοτε ετογααβ ταχρε νρορος  
 ντιστικ, ερε πεπν(εγμ)α ετογαα[β ωοοπ νμμαγ], εφρ[οριζε]  
 ναγ, α πανρωσ[ιος ετμ]μαγ ογωωβ ρν ογμντφλεαρ<sup>27</sup> εφτ  
 των νμμαγ.

**36** αγω ντερεφσω εφαντιλεγε ογβε τμε εφχω μμοσ δε ντμε  
 αν τε ται ερε ννενειοτε χω μμοσ αλλα σεφωβτ ρν τπιστικ,  
 τοτε πρρο κωσταντινος αφμουτε ερω ραρτηφ πεχαφ ναφ  
 χε ναφ νρε ακειμε ντοκ δε ντμε αν τε ται ερε ννενειοτε χω  
 μμοσ; μν ερε (f. 47v) [---]ητκ; [αφογω]ωβ νσι  
 [πετφο]γτμταγε πεφραν, καρποκρατιος, πετσοολε μπσαρογ  
 μν πωιπε, χε ντμε αν τε δε απεχ(ριστο)ς ερ ψις νεβοτ ρν  
 τκαλαρη μμαρια τπαρθενος ετογααβ αλλα σαωφ νεβοτ νε.  
 αφογωωβ νσι πετφορει μπεχ(ριστο)ς, απα αλεξανδροσ πα  
 κωσταντινογπολις, εβολ χε νεζημοος ρωωφ πε  
 ετσγνζωδος, χε ννεσωωπε ετρηνπιστεγε ντειρε, νοε  
 ετκχω μμοσ, αλλα ενπιστεγε δε ρενρωβ νιμ εωαρε νρωμε  
 ααγ α πεχ(ριστο)ς χι πια μμοογ ρν τεφμντωνηητη ερογν  
 επρωμε ωατεν νοβε.

<sup>27</sup> φλύαρος.

**37** αγω ντερε πανοητος νανζωσιος ετμμαγ βω εφαντιλεγε  
 δε νται αν τε τμε, α προ αποφανε ντειζε δε μαρουχι

μπεφελονιον	σναγ,	πα	(f. 17r)	[μπεφελο]νιον	σναγ,
παρχηνεπισκοπος	ετογααβ	απα	πα	παρχηνεπισκοπος	
αλεξανδρος	μν	πα	ετογααβ	απα	αλεξανδρος μν
καρποκρατιος	πετσοοϋ,	πα		καρποκρατιος	
νσενοδοϋ	εζοϋν	επκωστ	πετςζοϋορτ,	νσενοδοϋ	
μπεσναγ	αγω	πετναρωκζ	επκωστ	μπεσναγ	αγω
ντοϋ	πετερε	τεϋπιςτις	πετναρωκζ	ντοϋ	πετερε
ωοϋ(f. 48r)ειτ.	αϋχιτοϋ	δε	τεϋπιςτις	ωοϋειτ.	αϋχιτοϋ
αϋνοδοϋ	εζοϋν	επκωστ	κατα	δε	αϋνοδοϋ
τεκελεϋσις	[μ]προ.	ντεινοϋ	μπεσναγ	κατα	τεκελεϋσις
α	πραπ	οϋωνζ	εβολ,	α	πραπ
†	εοοϋ	ννετμιωε	εχν	μπρο	αγω
ντεινοϋ	νταϋζε	επκωστ.	πα	ετμμαγ,	καρποκρατιος,
πετογααβ	δε	ζωωϋ	αϋρωκζ	αϋρ	ατϋαϋ
παρχηνεπισκωπος	απα	ντεινοϋ	νταϋταζε	[ε]πκωστ.	πα
αλεξανδρος	αϋβω	εφοϋοϋ	δε	ζωωϋ	απα
ντειζε	εαϋερ	ζοϋε	ταατε	ζν	εφοϋοϋ
οϋωπηρε.					ντειζε
					{τεϋζε}
					εϋρ
					ζοϋο
					εταατε
					εβολ
					εματε.

<b>38</b> ζν	τεινοϋ	ετμμαγ	α	ζν	τεινοϋ	α	πμνηωε
πμνη[ωε	ντςϋνκλν]	τ[οσ	ωω	ντςϋνκλν	τ[οσ	ωω	εβολ
εβολ	δε]	οϋα	[πε	πωη]ρε	οϋα	πε	πωηρε
μμα[ρια·	ι(ησοϋ)ς	αϋϋρο·	17v)	[ι(ησοϋ)ς	πε]	χ(ριστο)ς	
ι(ησοϋ)ς	αϋχι	εοοϋ·	οϋνοϋτε	[αϋϋρο·	ι(ησοϋ)ς	πεχ(ριστο)ς	
μμε	εβολ	ζν	οϋνοϋτε	μμε.	[α]	ϋχι	εοοϋ·
πεχ(ριστο)ς	ντοϋ	πε	εβολ	ζν	οϋνοϋτε	μμε.	

ΠΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ· ΟΥΖΟΜΟΟΥΣΙΟΝ ΠΕ Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ ΝΤΑϚ<sup>28</sup>  
 ΜΝ ΠΩΤ ΜΝ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΠΕ ΠΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ· ΟΥΖΟΜΟΟΥΣΙΟΣ  
 ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ· ΑΥΩ ΟΥΕΙ ΤΕ ΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α  
 ΜΠΩΜΝΤ ΝΩΕ ΜΝΤΩΜΗΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΕΙ ΤΕ ΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ  
 ΝΕΠΙΣΚΩΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ, ΜΠΩΜΝΤ ΩΕ ΜΝΤΩΜ<Η>Ν  
 ΝΕΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΣ ΝΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΝΝΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ, ΜΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΣ  
 ΤΗΡΣ. ΚΑΡΠΟΚΡΑΤΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΗΝΗ ΤΗΡΣ.  
 ΝΤΕΡΕϚΧΙ ΩΠΕ ΜΠΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑΡΠΟΚΡΑΤΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΡΕϚΧΙ  
 ΝΤΕΙΣΥΝΖΩΔΟΣ ΝΤΕΙ(f. ΩΠΕ ΝΤΜΗΤΕ ΜΠΕΙΜΗΝΩΕ  
 48v)[ΩΤ, Α ΠΡΡΟ ΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΙΩΤ, Α ΠΡΡΟ ΚΕΛΕΥΕ  
 ΕΑΦΟΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟ]Ϛ. [ΝΕΠΙΣΚΟ]ΠΟΣ ΕΕΦΩΡΙΖΕ<sup>29</sup> ΜΜΟϚ. ΝΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ  
 ΔΕ [ΑΥΧΙ] ΜΠΤΕΛΙΟΝ Μ ΔΕ ΖΩΟΥ ΑΥΧΙ ΜΠΕΒΡΑΒΙΟΝ  
 ΠΕΒΡΑΒΙΟΝ ΜΠΕΧΡΟ, ΑΥΚΤΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΧΡΟ, ΑΥΚΟΤΟΥ  
 ΕΝΕΥΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΕΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ † ΕΟΟΥ ΕΝΕΥΠΑΡΗΤΟΡΙΑ<sup>30</sup> ΕΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ  
 ΝΑΥ. † ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ, ΕΡΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΜΝ  
 † ΤΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ † ΕΟΟΥ ΝΑΥ.

**39** ΤΕΝΟΥ ΣΕ, Ω ΝΑΩΗΡΕ, ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ, ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΑΥΩ  
 ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΩΤΝ ΕΤΜΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΝΑΩΗΡΕ, ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΩΤΝ  
 ΝΝΕΖΩΡΟΣ ΝΤΑΤΕΤΝΣΒΩ ΕΤΜΠΑΡΑ<ΒΑ> ΝΝΖΩΡΟΣ  
 ΕΡΟΟΥ, ΕΑΙΤΑΑΥ ΕΤΟΟΤΤΗΥΤΝ, ΝΤΑΤΕΤΝΤΣΑΒΟ ΕΡΟΟΥ, (f. 18r)  
 ΕΤΜΩΤΜ ΝΣΑ ΝΕΙΣΒΩ ΝΩΜΜΟ [ΕΑΙΤΑ]ΑΥ ΕΤΟΟΤΤ[ΗΥ]ΤΝ,  
 ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΕΤΝΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΤΕΤΡΙΑΣ ΝΤΕΤΝΤΜΟΥΗΖ ΤΗΥΤΝ ΝΣΑ  
 ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ, ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΕΣΒΩ ΝΩΜΜΟ ΑΥΩ  
 ΜΝ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ. ΠΑΙ ΝΤΕΤΝΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΤΕΤΡΙΑΣ  
 ΠΕ ΠΤΑΧΡΟ ΑΥΩ ΘΕΛΠΙΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ, ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ ΠΩΗΡΕ  
 ΝΝΕΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ. ΝΤΩΤΝ ΜΝ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ. ΠΑΙ  
 ΔΕ ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΩΤΝ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΠΕ ΠΤΑΧΡΟ ΑΥΩ ΠΤΟΥΧΟ  
 ΕΤΕΤΝΑΜΟΩ[Ε] ΖΜ ΠΕΜΠΩ[Α ΝΝΕΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ'Υ'.  
 Μ]ΠΤΩΖΜ ΝΤΑΥΤΕΖΜ ΤΗΥΤΝ ΝΤΩΤΝ ΔΕ ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΩΤΝ  
 ΝΖΗΤϚ. ϚΣΗΖ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΠΣΒΒΕ ΕΡ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΤΕΤΝ<Ν>ΑΜΟΟΩΕ ΖΜ

<sup>28</sup> Read ΝΤΟΥ.

<sup>29</sup> ἀφορίζω.

<sup>30</sup> πραιτώριον.

ΝΟΒΡΕ ΕΚΩΔΑΝΕΡ ΠΝΟΜΟΣ· ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΚΩΔΑΝΧΙ ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ ΟΝ ΝΓΤΜΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΝΤΜΝΤΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΝΓΝΑ† ΖΗΥ ΔΑΝ ΝΛΑΑΥ.

ΠΜΩΔ ΜΠΤΩΖΜ ΝΤΑΥΤΕΖΜ ΤΗΥΤΗ ΜΜΟΦ. ΥΗΖ ΓΑΡ ΔΕ ΠΣΒΒΕ Ρ ΝΟΦΡΕ ΕΚΩΔΑΝΡ ΠΝΟΜΟΣ. ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΚΩΔΑΝΧΙ ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ ΟΝ ΝΓΤΜΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΜΠΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ ΜΝ ΤΜΝΤΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΝΓΝΑ†<sup>31</sup> ΖΗΥ ΔΑΝ ΝΛΑΑΥ.

40 ΕΩΔΕ<sup>32</sup> ΠΚΕΖΗΤΗΜΑ ΟΝ ΝΤΑ ΤΕΤΝΜΝΤΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΩΙΝΕ ΝΣΩΦ ΝΤΟΟΤΣ<sup>33</sup> ΝΤΑΜΝΤΕΥΤΕΛΗΣ ΔΕ ΕΝΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΝΑΣΥΝΑΓΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΕΝΕΥ(f. 49r)ΣΙΧ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΕΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΔΙΝ ΕΜΜΟΝ; ΠΕΙΖΩΒ ΠΑΙ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΜΟΤΝ ΝΕΙΜΕ ΕΡΟΦ. (f. 18 v) ΕΩΔΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΤΟΛΜ ΝΛΟΙΖΕ ΝΑΕΩΤΟΛΟΜΑ ΔΑΝ ΕΖΜΟΟΣ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΜΝ ΠΡΡΟ ΜΠΕΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ, ΕΥΡΩΜΕ ΖΩΩΦ ΠΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ, ΕΙΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΩΩΦ ΝΑ† ΜΠΕΥΣΩΜΑ ΕΝΣΙΧ ΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΡΕΦΕΡΝΟΒΕ; ΝΘΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΜΕΖ ΝΣΑΦ ΑΥΩ ΕΡΕ ΝΕΥΣΑΦ ΩΟΥΕΙΑΒΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑΕΩΝΟΧΦ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΕΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ ΜΠΡΡΟ ΝΦΟΥΩΜ ΝΜΜΑΦ], †[ΔΙ

ΕΤΒΕ ΠΚΕΖΕΔΗΜΑ ΝΤΑΤΕΤΝΩΙΝΕ ΝΣΩΦ ΝΤΟΟΤΣ<sup>34</sup> ΝΤΑΕΥΤΕΛΙΑ ΔΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΣΥΝΑΓΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΤ† ΕΤΟΟΤΦ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΕΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΔΙΝ ΜΜΟΝ; ΠΕΙΖΩΒ ΠΑΙ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΜΟΤΝ ΝΕΙΜΕ ΕΡΟΦ. (f. 18 v) ΕΩΔΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΤΟΛΜ ΝΛΟΙΖΕ ΦΝΑΩΤΩΛΜΑ <Δ>Ν ΕΖΜΟΟΣ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΜΝ ΠΡΡΟ ΜΠΕΙΚΑΖ, ΚΑΙΠΕΡ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΖΩΩΦ ΠΕ ΝΘΕ <ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ>, ΕΙΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΩΩΦ ΝΑ† ΜΠΕΥΣΩΜΑ ΕΤΣΙΧ ΝΟΥΡΕΦΡΝΟΒΕ; ΝΘΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΜΕΖ ΝΣΑΦ ΑΥΩ ΕΡΕ ΝΕΥΣΑΦ ΩΟΥΕΙΑΒΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΦΛΟΜΣ ΦΝΑΩΤΩΛΜΑ ΕΝΟΧΦ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΕΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ ΜΠΡΡΟ ΝΦΟΥΩΜ ΝΜΜΑΦ, ΤΑΙ ΟΝ ΤΕ Θ[Ε] <ΕΤΕΡΕ> ΠΝΟΥΤΕ

<sup>31</sup> Ms. ηφνα†.

<sup>32</sup> Read ετβε.

<sup>33</sup> Ms. ητοοτφ.

<sup>34</sup> Ms. ητοοτφ.

ΟΝ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ[Α]ΝΝΙΧΕ ΑΝ ΕΤΡΕ  
 ΝΑΑΝΙ]ΧΕ ΑΝ ΕΤΡΕ ΖΕΝΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΣ ΖΗ ΠΝΟΒΕ  
 [Π]ΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΣ ΜΕΤΕΧΕ ΜΕΤΕΧΕ ΕΤΕΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ ΜΝ  
 ΕΠΕΦΩΜΑ. ΝΕΝΤΑΥΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΕΦΟΥΩΩ.

41 ΠΕΙΖΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΧΙ ΖΗ ΠΕΙΖΩΒ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ  
 ΜΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΩΩΕ ΜΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΩΩΕ  
 ΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΒΒΟΦ ΝΩΟΡΠ, ΕΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΒΒΟΦ ΜΠΑΤΦΧΙ  
 ΕΦΣΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΕΦΩΑΝΧΙ ΕΦΧΑΖΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ, ΕΦΣΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ  
 ΕΦΧΙ ΕΥΚΡΙΜΑ ΝΑΦ. ΑΡΑ ΕΦΩΑΝΧΕΙ ΕΦΧΑΖΜ ΕΦΧΙ  
 ΕΚΜΕΕΥΕ, Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ, ΧΕ ΕΥΚΡΙΜΑ ΝΑΦ. ΑΡΑ, Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ,  
 ΚΝΑΕΩΖΩΠ ΕΠΕΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΜΠΩΙΚ ΕΚΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΦΑΚΖΩΠ ΕΠΕΤΝΑΥ  
 ΜΠΖΗΤ ΜΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΜΟΝ, ΠΑΙ ΝΩΙΚ ΜΠΖΗΤ ΕΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ  
 ΕΤΑΖΕΡΑΤΦ ΖΙΧΜ ΕΦΑΖΕΡΑΤΦ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΕΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ  
 ΠΕΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ; ΕΦΣΟΟΥΝ [---]

42 ΕΣΕΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ (f. 49v) [--- ΝΤΝ]Ρ ΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ  
 ΕΝΕΝΩΩΠΕ ΕΝΕΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΖΗ ΠΕΦΕΟΟΥ, ΧΕΚΑΣ ΟΝ ΕΝΕΜΑΤΕ  
 ΝΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΜΠΕ ΒΑΛ ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ, ΜΠΕ ΜΑΑΧΕ  
 ΣΟΤΜΟΥ, ΜΠΟΥΑΛΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΜ ΠΖΗΤ ΝΡΩΜΕ, ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΣΒΤΩΤΟΥ  
 ΝΝΕΤΜΕ ΜΜΟΦ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΕΦΕΝΤΟΛΗ, ΖΙΤΝ ΤΕΧΑΡΙΣ ΜΝ  
 ΤΜΝΤΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΝΣΩΤΗΡ Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ, ΠΑΙ ΠΕΟΟΥ  
 ΝΑΦ ΜΝ ΠΕΦΕΙΩΤ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΜΝ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΗ)Δ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΦΑ ΝΑΙΩΝ  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΝΑΙΩΝ. ΖΑΜΗΝ.

## Homily on Luke 11: 5-9, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria

*Title.*

**0** A homily by the man who bears Christ and the son of the apostles, saint Apa Athanasius, the archbishop of Alexandria, which he delivered at the time when the clergy and the great of the land of Isauria came to him and asked him: "Let us hear from you a word of consolation, for we are thirst after your sweet words. We beg the Spirit that dwells within you that you explain to us the saying from the holy Gospel according to Luke about the friend concerning whom the Lord said: 'Whom of you shall have a friend and go to him in the middle of the night ...?' - and about the three loaves that he asked on loan; and also as to whether God gives himself in the hands of everyone who shares in the Eucharist or not," and that he would tell them about Jonathan and David. He told a short story about the canons that were provided by the three-hundred-and-eighteen bishops and also commended the brothers of the community at Tabennese and the miracles that happened through them at the time that he went to them at their monasteries. And about the intention, as well as the thought of the heart, at which God looks, whereas he does not look at arduous asceticism, but when God sees the intention, he gives everyone the ability to fulfill his will. In the peace of God. Amen.

*Prologue.*

**1** The trouble that you have endured is not in vain, but gladdened us today as when Jacob saw the face of Esau and said: "I saw your face as one who saw the face of God."<sup>1</sup> And also it is said through the mouth of the true God of the universe, Christ: "What the eye will behold, the heart will seize."<sup>2</sup> This is our state now. For the Holy Spirit, when it sees the heart of men receiving light from that light without blemish, tries hard to make us perceive the knowledge of the life of the holy intelligibles,

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<sup>1</sup> Gen. 33: 10.

<sup>2</sup> I could not identify this quotation.

desiring that in the end they see each other in the way the harvester collects in his basket the harvest, which is you now.

**2** For you are blessed by the Lord, O people loving Christ, and blessed is the one who invited you to his holy faith, Christ. When the one who possesses herds of cattle, wise children and virtuous women rejoices with full joy, knowing that no sorrow whatever has hold of him, then who will put to shame the leaders of the churches, that is us, each and everywhere, when they see all the nations of every country gathering in a single unity of spirit, glorifying and worshiping a holy, boundless Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit?

**3** When people who lead this earthly life see their possessions prospering nicely and (then) troubles befall them and sorrows, due to their enemies, they will be consoled by their possessions. For even if everything has happened to them, they are firmly supported by their possessions and their wealth, for they are theirs. In this way, too, the envy of him who plots against us, I mean Satan, arises against us from time to time, higher than the waves of the sea. But through the wisdom of the captain of truth, I mean the Messiah, the hypostatic Word, Christ, (God) governs his church and restores it to tranquility.

**4** Those who fight us He puts to shame, but us, we arise and stand straight.<sup>3</sup> Even if the heretics robbed us of our house for a while, they have not been able to rob what is inside of the house. Let those people become master of the treasury, we in turn will seize the money that is inside. If we are fined, we will joyfully accept the robbery of our possessions, for the commandment obliges us to this. For the glory of the children of the church is not to do injustice to others, but their glory is to keep accepting injustice always, while they are hoping firmly for a kingdom of heavens.

**5** In order that we do not lengthen the prologue too much so that the sermon drags on excessively, let us return (to our subject), as we know that the question gives us lots to do. For I see that the road is long and I,

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lk. 21: 28.

this most humble one, I am not good in running, but may your holy prayers help us so that we will be able to pay off the debt that you have claimed.

*Material exegesis of Luke 11: 5-9.*

**6** This is the point of departure of the argument: the evangelist and wise physician, Luke, spoke thus: "Whom of you shall have a friend and go to him in the middle of the night and say unto him: 'Friend ... .'"<sup>4</sup> O, wisdom of him who desires what is profitable for mankind! For if a man answers another man's call in his need at the time of noon, there is no great charity, but if he answers him in the middle of the night, when he needs something, it is obvious that his charity has doubled. Thus it is that the Lord said: "When the man goes to his friend in the middle of the night."

**7** Now if he goes to him, these are the words that he will say to him in supplication: "You know, my brother, my poverty and that there is no one who will have mercy upon me except you. It is a friend who has come to me, for if he were a stranger, I would shirk from him, but he is a friend. I know, my brother, your munificence: therefore I came to you. I know that you will give me everything I need. Give me three loaves only and do not give me anything besides."

**8** When he had asked him like this, the other answered from inside, putting his intention to the test: "Do not cause me trouble, he said, do not ask me what is beyond my ability, for the time is advanced. If you had come during day time, I would have given all you need. My children are in bed with me and I am not able to get up to give you. You say: 'Give me' – I, for my part, know that it is not the time to console you." Then, when he kept importuning him, as he knew him – and his friend saw the distress of him who asked of him, since he was a kinsman, he got up and gave him all he needed. He asked him for three loaves only and he gave him all the needs that he was in want of.

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<sup>4</sup> Lk. 11: 5.

*Spiritual exegesis of Luke 11: 5-9.*

**9** Hitherto, we have approached the problem materially. Let us now investigate it spiritually, because the lamp is not hidden under a bed, according to the word of the Lord, no, but it is put on the lamp stand, so that everyone will see the light.<sup>5</sup>

**10** Our teacher, Christ, did not say: "Who will have an enemy ... ?", but "a friend." Who, then, is this friend? It is God. Man asks God all the time, for He is his friend when he obeys his commandments. We do not need a demonstration at his point, for He himself has said with his divine mouth to his disciples: "You are my friends, if you obey my commandments."<sup>6</sup>

**11** He said: "He went to him in the middle of the night." For all the time of man's life that he will spend sinning is night, just as the prophet says: "Your mother is likened to the night."<sup>7</sup> When a man loves sin, you will find that the demons urge him forward towards it until he believes that they desire his salvation. He does not know that they are plotting in a wicked way against his soul.

**12** Therefore, the Gospel did not say: "the friend went to his friend at the time the sun was just about to set", but it said: "in the middle of the night." For you will find that everybody is heavy with sleep for a while at the time he is going to bed. When the middle of the night has come, for sure many are waking. Thus also you will find that the man who is going to approach sin will find it sweet in the beginning, before he knows salvation, because its ease weighs heavy upon him. Surely when he comes to know it in the middle of his life, which is the middle of the night, he will return to God in tears and cry out: "Have mercy on me, O Lord, according to your great mercy."<sup>8</sup>

**13** "A friend has come to me from a journey", that is repentance, which touched my heart. Rightly he said: "A friend came to me from a journey."

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<sup>5</sup> Mt. 5: 15; Mk. 4: 21; Lk. 11: 33.

<sup>6</sup> Jn. 15: 14.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Hos. 4: 5.

<sup>8</sup> Ps. 50: 2.

He did not say: "An inhabitant of this same city is with me", for he had not yet become his fellow-citizen. Look into the matter and investigate it and grasp the idea precisely. At the time when Nathan went to King David and blamed him for what he had done,<sup>9</sup> he said that a foreign man had come to visit him,<sup>10</sup> meaning sin, which is a stranger. Here, however, it is said: "It is a friend who came to me", I mean repentance.

**14** Come, let us inquire into the words of the Lord that he spoke in the parable and we will understand its full meaning. He said: "Ask and you shall be given, knock and there will be opened to you."<sup>11</sup> Now, listen to the words of the request: "Is not true friendship in eating and drinking? O my brother, if you persist in not giving me, I will be put to shame before him who has visited me!" That is: "When you leave me to my sins, O God, the merciful, everyone who has done your will, will mock me. Even worse, the devil will rejoice over the perdition of my soul. Look, the friend has come to me. I beg you, my Lord, do not let him go, but give me what he can accept. Give me just three loaves on loan!"

**15** What are these three loaves for which he asks? These are prayer, fasting and tears. "Behold, repentance has come to me, he said, and I will reconcile myself with it through these three." But perhaps some quarrelsome person will tell me that these things are not the three loaves. I will give you again proof from the Scripture.

**16** When the prophet had stumbled as a man,<sup>12</sup> surely you know who said: "My tears became for me like bread?"<sup>13</sup> As for fasting too, another one, namely Moses, said: "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by the words of God."<sup>14</sup> Similarly, also the author of the Proverbs, Solomon, says about prayer: "To man shall be given the yield of his lips."<sup>15</sup> As for the loan, "If you give me these three things, O my Lord, I will give you

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<sup>9</sup> 2 Sam. 12: 1-14.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. 2 Sam. 12: 4.

<sup>11</sup> Mt. 7: 7; Lk. 11: 9.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. 2 Sam. 12: 13.

<sup>13</sup> Ps. 41: 3.

<sup>14</sup> Dt. 8: 3.

<sup>15</sup> Prv. 18: 20.

my body in a pure state and my heart as a sacrifice and my mouth that it blesses you, for I know that this is your will. Because, as for the friend who came to me, he said, I do not have anything to eat that I can offer him. The table is not well provided for him who came to me. Now, you are my friend, do not let me down in front of him!", that is: "As I am defiled by fornication, give me the chance to wash myself through chastity and moderation. Let my hands, my Lord, be cleaned of injustice and my tongue be purified of false swearing. I believe that I will please the repentance that came to dwell within me."

**17** But let us see what the other told him, when he had made his request. Indeed, he told him in harsh tones: "Do not bother me!" For it is not the custom of God to satisfy the demands of one who asks from him immediately, without putting his intention to the test. As is said in Deuteronomy: "He will test you and examine you, so that what is in your heart appears."<sup>16</sup>

**18** "Do not bother me, he said, for I already closed my door. Your sins have made me wroth with you." - "No, my brother, if the night had passed, you could surely blame me and say: 'Look, the day has risen, go and work, in order to earn something that you can eat', but I came to you in the middle of the night. If I had spent all my life in sinning, O my Lord, for sure you would say: 'The time has passed to open the door of repentance for you', but I came to you before the number of the days of my life are fulfilled."

**19** He said: "My children are with me in bed." That is to say: "See, the heirs, who are the just, already received their inheritance. They went to rest in return for their sufferings which they faced in the world. I cannot take their bread and give it to you while you are not counted in their number yet." Listen, however, also to the words of this other one: "I know, he said, my Lord, that I have not proved worthy to call myself a son of yours, but give me, so that I become indebted to you for what you gave me when I asked you."<sup>17</sup> I have also heard, my Lord, about a

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. Dt. 13: 3.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Lk. 15: 19.

Canaanite woman, who came to you, asking for the healing of her daughter,<sup>18</sup> to whom you granted the document of all her sins, as a child,<sup>19</sup> while saying to her: 'Great is your faith, go in peace. You too are counted among the believers.'<sup>20</sup> Now then, my Lord, I will not leave you as long as you have not given me the loaves for which I asked you."<sup>21</sup>

**20** When the friend saw his persistence, he got up and gave him not only three loaves, but he got up and gave him everything he needed. That is, when man returns to God and asks Him for little, He will also help him so that many good things will come to dwell inside him that induce him to repentance.

**21** You have seen, O my beloved, the great mercy of God, how He listens to those who ask him and has pity on them even if they have fallen into the pit of all kinds of sins. When the right thought arises in your heart, do not hesitate to ask God. But if you change your mind, the evil enemy will immediately say to you, as he does not want you to escape him: "If you once again ask God about your sins, he will not listen to you for you are impious." Do not then listen to him, but remember right away what you have heard in the parable of the Lord.

*Saint Pachomius and the wicked rich man Phoibamon.*

**22** Listen now and I will recount you a miracle that happened in my own time, me, your father Athanasius. Undoubtedly your piety have heard about what happened to me through the envy of the sons of the devil, the filthy Arians. At the time when I went to the south of Egypt, to the blessed man and prophet Pachomius, the archimandrite of Tabennese, the man who truly bore God, I saw standards of behaviour at that place that are not human standards but angelic ones, ordained by God. For all men who through their (i.e. the brethren's) agency will obey their teaching by (observing) the commandments which they impose upon them, will be saved, as the story will show us when we proceed.

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<sup>18</sup> Cf. Mt. 15: 22.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Mt. 15: 26.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Mt. 15: 28.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Gen. 32: 26.

**23** There was a man living in Diospolis, that is Hoou,<sup>22</sup> who was very rich and whose name was Phoibamon. This man was extremely merciless and unjust and he wickedly deprived the poor who worked for him from their salary. They often went to the monastery, to the man of God, Pachomius, and used to tell him their sufferings, for he was a good man and merciful for everyone, but in particular for the poor. And the old man would blame that merciless man, saying: "Spare your soul and have mercy upon the poor." But that man told him with a shameless face: "Apa, your concern are your mortifications and your asceticism, but accounting for my business is mine."

**24** It happened once, when they were celebrating the Eucharist in the monastery, with a large crowd gathering, that merciless rich man, Phoibamon, had come too and at the same moment the man of God appeared. When the poor who had been treated unjustly entered the congregation, they began to shout his name and disturb the Eucharist. But he stood there silently as if he did not care at all about the oppressed who were shouting. When the holy Apa Pachomius saw the shamelessness of that man, he pronounced the following verdict over him: "I believe by Christ, the patron of those who are screaming, who is God, that He will not let you open your mouth and that you will not leave this place where you are standing until God judges their case."

**25** And immediately his mouth shut and he stood motionless, so that everyone thought that he had become like a stone without life. When he had suffered a lot from the heavy chastisements that were inflicted upon him invisibly, he moved his head as if he asked, by indicating his finger, for a writing tablet. And when they had given him one, he wrote with his hand as follows: "I believe, my holy father, that if God grants me mercy from the torments that I suffer and my mouth will open, I will not only do justice to the poor to whom I was unfair, but also leave all my business behind and go to the monastery and become a monk with you and repent for the sins that I have committed until the day of my visitation (i.e. my death)."

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<sup>22</sup> I.e. Diospolis Mikra, modern Huw.

**26** And immediately his mouth opened. He spoke, while everybody gazed at him. A great fear came over all those who saw him. Then, when the Eucharist had come to an end, the people went to their homes except for those alone who had been treated unjustly. They remained standing just as the man of God, Pachomius, had instructed them. Then the man, that is Phoibamon, wrote his testament in three parts. He gave one part (of his possessions) to the poor, another part destined for the needs of his wife and his children, and another one he gave to the community of the saints. He remained with the holy Apa Pachomius and became a monk with him.

**27** Some days later, the bishop of a city called Kebt,<sup>23</sup> which is (located) to the south of them, went to rest (i.e. died). And by God's decree, the clergy seized him and made him bishop over it. We will tell you for what reason he obtained this thing. After he had become a monk, he saw the crowd of the brothers, how numerous it was, and he did not stay among them but preferred to become an anchorite on his own. And thus he left the monastery and wandered to the south, in those districts, and stayed in a place on his own, living in solitude. For this reason, then, the inhabitants of the city chose him and ordained him as their bishop, for habitually the members of the holy community do not accept a dignity of this kind, because of their great humility. He became a bishop who was famous in that whole district, achieved great acts of asceticism and was merciful in particular for the poor and the distressed, supplying them with all they needed, without ever rejecting anybody who appealed to him.

**28** You have seen, O my beloved, that if the sinner turns back to God and performs his will, He will not only receive him joyfully, but He will raise him and glorify him all the more. If I wanted to recount all the miracles of that one (i.e. Pachomius), many books could not contain them.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, I will tell you one more, in order that we save up the remainder.

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<sup>23</sup> I.e. Koptos, modern Qift.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Jn. 21: 25.

**29** Those holy monks are such men that nobody who is defiled by any sin is able to approach the altar unless they discover him through the Holy Spirit that dwells within them. I saw also that when some of his sons in that place in private considered committing a sin, the man of God, Pachomius, knew it before they had performed the act and thus he stripped them of the monastic habit and dispelled them from the rank of the monks in ignominy. You have seen, O my beloved, that he who will direct his heart towards God will become entirely one with the Holy Spirit. Let us, for our part, emulate these holy men and chase from ourselves every negligence that is inside us ... for ... these, while we admire the ascetism of the saints.

*The friendship between Jonathan and David.*

**30** Let us return to the remainder of the question after which your piety inquired. For you spoke about

Jonathan and David, (inquiring) for what reason they enjoyed such friendship.<sup>25</sup> Listen and I will tell you. It is not the ones who are produced by the (same) womb that are friends, but it is the ones who are produced by practice: these will not be able to separate forever. Do you want to understand? Listen.

(Vat. Copt. 145, f. 15r) Jonathan and David, (inquiring) for what reason they obtained such friendship. Listen, I will tell you. The ones who are produced by the (same) womb are not (friends) according to love but according to the flesh. On the contrary, it is the ones who are produced by practice: these will not be able to separate forever even when they are free to choose. Do you want to know the truth? Listen.

**31** Cain and Abel were brothers to each other, and they were born from the same father and the same mother, yet Cain killed his brother Abel.<sup>26</sup> Jonathan, however, and David were strangers to each other,

Cain and Abel were brothers to each other, and they were born to their one mother and the same father, (yet) one arose against the other and killed him. Jonathan, however, and David were strangers

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<sup>25</sup> 2 Sam. 1: 26.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Gen. 4: 1-8.

yet Jonathan died for David out of his free will. Even if this was not stated explicitly, Holy Scripture testifies thus.<sup>27</sup> And Jonathan went to meet David and when he had found him, he spoke with him and David told him all his complaints. And Jonathan said to David: "I will find out what is in my father's heart and I will tell you tomorrow." And not only did Saul not speak with Jonathan about David in a peaceful way, but Saul even plotted to take Jonathan's life, when he attempted to hit him with the spear. And also in these circumstances Jonathan did not fear the menace of his father, seeing the full measure of evil. And he went secretly to David, concluding a covenant with him and preserving his good disposition towards him.

to each other, (yet) Jonathan died for David out of his free will. Even if this was not stated explicitly, the Holy Scriptures testifies (f. 15v) thus: And Jonathan went to meet David and once he had found him, he spoke with him and David told him all his complaints. And Jonathan said to David: "I will find out what is in my father's heart and I will tell you tomorrow." And not only did Saul not speak with Jonathan in a peaceful way, but Saul even wished to take Jonathan's life, when he attempted to hit him with the spear. Also in these circumstances, Jonathan did not fear the plot of his father, seeing the full measure of his evil. For he went secretly to David, concluding a covenant with him and preserving his disposition towards him.

**32** The people of this present age, however, not only do not die for their friends, but they deliver their friends onto death for a glass of wine and a small piece of bread, let alone for gold or silver and other things of that kind. If you will not watch your disposition, then you have stopped being a human and have become an animal. For the disposition represents the rational faculty: When you take the animal nature, then resign from being called man.

The people of this present age, however, not only (f. 16r) do not die for their friends, but they deliver their friends to be killed for a glass of wine and a piece of bread, let alone for gold and silver and things of this kind. If you will not watch your disposition, you have stopped being a human and have become an animal. For the animal disposition is irrational: When you take the animal nature, resign from being called man.

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<sup>27</sup> 1 Sam. 20.

**33** Die for your friend, not for evil but for good. For there is a friend whose friendship is perdition because of the forbidden commerce which they (the friends) have with each other. If you really want your friendship to last, then teach your friend not to fall into sin.

Die for your friend, just not for evil. For there is a friend whose friendship is perdition because of the forbidden commerce which they (the friends) have with each other. If you really want your friendship to last, then teach (your friend) not to fall (f. 16v) into sin.

*The heretic Carpocratius.*

**34** I would like to give a long speech about these things, but I know that there is a limit to everything, according to the word of the wise Solomon.<sup>28</sup> For I remember that your love asked about faith, (inquiring) how we shall keep it. I will tell you a story that happened in my time and that of our fathers, in those days when I followed my holy father Apa Alexander, the archbishop,<sup>29</sup> as I was a deacon at that time.

I would like to deliver a full speech about these things, but I know that there is a limit for everything according to the word of the wise man. Also I remember that your love asked about the upright faith, (inquiring) how we shall keep it. I will recount to you a story that happened in the days of our fathers, in those days when I was a deacon, following my father, Alexander, as I was a deacon at that time.

**35** It happened, when the council of our holy fathers, the bishops, had gathered in Nicaea, at the order of the pious emperor Constantine, that there was someone called Carpocratius,

It happened, when the holy council of the bishops had gathered in Nicaea, at the order of God and the pious emperor Constantine, that there was someone called Carpocratius,

whose name is not even worthy to be pronounced, who was also sitting at the council. And when our holy fathers established the canons of the faith, while the Holy Spirit was with them, giving them guidelines, that impure one reacted with foolish talk and argued with them.

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<sup>28</sup> Cf. Ecc. 8: 6.

<sup>29</sup> I.e. Alexander of Alexandria (312-328).

**36** And when he continued contradicting the truth, saying that what our fathers said is not the truth, but that they erred in the faith, then the emperor Constantine summoned him and said to him: "How have you come to know that it is not the truth what our fathers say? Are then ... you?" The one whose name is not worthy to be pronounced, Carpocratius, who is covered with curse and shame, answered: "It is not true that Christ spent nine months in the womb of Mary, the Holy Virgin, but they were seven months." The one who bears Christ, Apa Alexander of Constantinople, for he too was sitting in the council, replied: "By no means shall we believe thus as you say, but we believe that Christ experienced, in his mercy for mankind, everything man that does, except for sin."<sup>30</sup>

**37** And when that foolish and impure fellow kept contradicting, saying that this was not the truth, the emperor decreed in this way, that

the two cloaks, that of the holy archbishop Apa Alexander and that of the defiled Carpocratius, be taken and both be thrown into the fire. And the one that would burn, would be his whose faith is vain. And they were taken and thrown into the fire according to the order of the emperor. Immediately, the judgment became manifest and God glorified those who fight for his faith. The cloak of the impure wretch burned and became worthless right away as it fell into the fire. By contrast, the one of the holy Archbishop, Apa Alexander, remained unharmed as it was before and even, in a miraculous way, became more lustrous.

(Vat. Copt. 145, f. 17r) the two cloaks, that of the holy archbishop Apa Alexander and that of the accursed Carpocratius, be taken and both be thrown into the fire. And the one that would burn, would be his whose faith is vain. And they were taken and both thrown into the fire according to the order of the emperor. Immediately, the judgment of God became manifest and God glorified those who fight for his faith. The cloak of that wretched one, Carpocratius, burned and became entirely worthless right away as it reached the fire. By contrast, the one of the holy Apa Alexander, remained unharmed as it was before and even became much more lustrous.

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. Heb. 4: 15.

**38** At that moment, the crowd of the Senate cried out: "One is the son of Mary! Jesus prevailed! Jesus is glorified! True God from true God! Christ is our God! He is consubstantial with the Father and the Holy Spirit. And one is the faith of the three-hundred-and-eighteen holy bishops, the patrons of the entire inhabited world." After Carpocratius had been put to shame before such a distinguished assembly, the emperor ordered to excommunicate him. As for the bishops, they obtained the fullness of the trophy of triumph and returned to their fatherland while God glorified them.

Right away, the crowd of the Senate cried out: "One is the son of Mary! (f. 17v) Jesus Christ prevailed! Jesus Christ is glorified! He is true God from true God! Jesus Christ is our God! He is consubstantial with the Father and the Holy Spirit. And one is the faith of the three-hundred-and-eighteen bishops, the patrons of the entire inhabited world." After Carpocratius had been put to shame in the middle of such a distinguished crowd, the emperor ordered to excommunicate him. As for the bishops, they obtained the trophy of triumph and returned to their residences while God helped them and the emperor and the Senate glorified them.

**39** Therefore, O my sons, take care not to transgress the canons that you were taught and which I entrusted to you, and not to listen to these foreign teachings, but to believe in the Holy Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Such is the strength and the hope of all Christians. Take care that you walk in the dignity of the vocation by which you have been called.<sup>31</sup> It is written that: "Circumcision is of value if you obey the law",<sup>32</sup> that is to say: even if you are baptized but do not observe the commandments of

Therefore, my beloved and my sons, take care not to transgress the canons that you were taught (f. 18r) and which I entrusted to you, and not to follow foreign teachings, and to believe in the Holy Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Such is the strength and the salvation of all Christians. Take care that you walk in the dignity of the vocation by which you have been called. It is written that: "Circumcision is of value if you obey the law", that is to say: even if you are baptized but do not observe the commandments of baptism and

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. Eph. 4: 1.

<sup>32</sup> Rom. 2: 25.

Christianity, you will not profit in any way.

Christianity, you will not profit in any way.

*On Holy Communion.*

**40** As for the other problem, about which your piety has also inquired with my ignorance, to wit: whether or not God gives himself upon the altar into the hands of everyone who will go to communion - this matter is easy to understand for everyone. If indeed someone who is defiled with filth will not dare to sit down with the king of this world, who is himself a man like everybody, then will God himself give his body into the hands of a sinful man? Just as, once more, no man who is full of sores and whose sores emit pus is able to lay down at the table of the emperor and eat with him, in the same way God will not suffer that the impure partakes of his body.

As for the other problem, about which your piety has inquired with my ignorance, to wit: whether or not God gives himself upon the altar to everyone who will go to communion – everyone can easily understand this matter. (f. 18v) If someone who is defiled with filth will not dare to sit down with the king of this earth, even though he is himself a man like everybody, then will God himself give his body into the hand of a sinner? Just as, once more, no man who is full of sores and whose sores emit pus and who stinks foul will dare to lay down at the table of the emperor and eat with him, in the same way God will not suffer that those who are impure with sin partake of his table together with those who did his will.

**41** For this matter of receiving the holy mysteries befits the man who purifies himself first, knowing that if he receives (them) in state of defilement, he will be subject to judgment. Do you think, O man, that you will be able to hide before Him who knows the depth of the heart of each of us?<sup>33</sup> He who stands near the holy altar?

This matter of receiving the holy mysteries befits each man who purifies himself before he partakes from them, knowing that if he receives (them) in state of defilement, he will be subject to judgment. Do you think, O man, that you can hide before Him who sees the depth of the heart, that is God, who stands near the table, knowing ...

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<sup>33</sup> Cf. Rev. 2: 23.

42 May it be ... that we become holy, so that we will come to resemble Him in his glory, so that moreover we will receive these great boons "which no eye has seen, no ear has heard, no human mind has conceived, the ones that He has prepared for those who love him"<sup>34</sup> and keep his commandments, through the grace and the charity of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, this one to whom is the glory together with his good Father and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

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<sup>34</sup> 1 Cor. 2: 9.

## Homily on Pentecost, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria

(f. 118v) **Θ** οὐκαθῆγησις<sup>1</sup> ντε ἀπα ἀθανασίος παρχιεπίσκοπος  
πρακοτε εαφταγος ετβε πωα ντπεντεκοστη ετογᾶαβ ερε  
οὔμνηθε νεπίσκοπος ῥμοος ῥαῖτηγ νῥοῦν ετεκκλησία, ετβε  
πτωῶ ντμντρμμαο μν τμντζηκε δεκας ερε πογα πογα να†  
εοοῦ μπινοῦτε ῥν τοικονομία ντα π.χ.ο.ε.ι.ς τοῦς ναφ. ῥν  
οὔειρηνη ντε π.νο.ῦ.τε, ῥαμην.

**1** σῶτμ, τπε, χι σμη, πκαῖ, ενῶα.δε νταταπρο· μαρε πκαῖ  
τηρῆ σῶτ εβολ ῥητῆ μπαῖροοῦ ἀγῶ ντετνωῶπ ερωτν  
νναῶα.δε νθε νοὔειῶτε ῥιχ.ν οὔνηθῆ ἀγῶ νθε νοὔνιβ ῥιχ.ν  
οὔχορτος δε πραν μ.π.χ.ο.ε.ι.ς πε †να.χ.ο.ο.ς ἀγῶ †να†  
νοὔμνητος μ.π.ε.ν.νοὔ.τε δε νεφῖβηγε τηροῦ ῥμμε νε ἀγῶ  
ῥενῥαπ νε νεφῖοογε· οὔνοῦτε μ.π.ι.ς.τ.ο.ς πε εμν χιῖο  
ῥαῖτηγ· οὔδικαίος πε π.χ.ο.ε.ι.ς ἀγῶ φογᾶαβ.

**2** ερε μῶγ.χ.η.ς βε ταγῶ ν.ν.αι ετβε πεφλαος, ναι ετε  
μ.π.ο.ῦ.<ο.ῦ>ῶῶ ε.σ.ῶ.τ.μ ν.σ.α πε.π.ρ.ο.φ.η.τ.η.ς μ.π.ι.ν.οὔ.τε ν.σ.ε.ο.ῦ.χ.α.ι.  
ετβε παι βε μ.π.ο.ῦ.ο.ν.ο.μ.α.ζ.ε<sup>2</sup> ν.τ.ῶ.δ.η μ.π.ι.ν.ο.μ.ο.ς. ἀ.φ.ε.ι.μ.ε ε.ρ.ο.ο.ῦ  
δε οὔλαος <ν>να.ῶ.τ.μ.α.κ.ῖ πε· ν.σ.ε.ῶ.ι.ν.ε ἀν ν.σ.α π.ι.ν.οὔ.τε.

**3** ἀ.ν.ο.ν δε ῥ.ῶ.ῶ.ν, ν.α.σ.ν.η.ῖ, μα.ρ.ε.ν.ρ ῥ.ο.τ.ε μ.η.π.ῶ.ς ν.τ.ε π.ε.ν.χ.ο.ε.ι.ς  
ι(η.σ.ο.ῦ).ς κ.α.α.ν ν.σ.ῶ.φ ν.θ.ε ν.τ.α μ.ῶ.γ.χ.η.ς ν.τ.ο.ῦ ε.β.ο.λ ῥ.μ π.κ.α.ῖ  
ν.κ.η.μ.ε ε.χ.ι.τ.ο.ῦ ε.π.κ.α.ῖ μ.π.ε.ρ.η.τ· ν.τ.ε.ρ.ο.ῦ (f. 119r) {ρ.ο.ῦ}ρ

<sup>1</sup> καθήγησις for κατήχησις.

<sup>2</sup> ὀνομάζω.

ΑΤΣΩΤΗ ΝΣΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΑΥΖΕ ΖΗ ΤΕΡΗΜΟΣ. ΔΝΟΝ ΔΕ  
ΔΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ ΝΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΤΜΝΤΑΣΕΒΗΣ ΕΖΟΥ(Ν) ΕΤΜΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ.  
ΑΦΙΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΑ ΠΚΑΖ, ΑΦΧΙΤΝ ΕΝΑ ΜΠΗΥΕ· ΜΗΠΩΣ ΝΤΝ†  
ΣΩΝΤ ΝΑΦ ΝΘΕ ΜΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΝΤΑΥ† ΣΩΝΤ ΝΑΦ, ΝΦΝΑΧΝ  
ΕΤΤΕΖΕΝΝΑ ΝΣΟΤΕ.

4 ΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΝΖΕΝΚΕΚΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΛΩΝΗΣ ΜΝΝ ΜΠΟΡΝΗ ΝΑΡ  
ΩΟΡΠ ΕΡΩΤΗ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΜΝΤΡΡΟ ΝΝΜΠΗΥΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΟΥΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΥ.  
ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ †ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΗΤΝ ΔΕ ΣΕΝΗΥ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΝ ΜΜΑΝΩΑ ΜΝΝ ΜΜΑΝΖΩΤΠ ΝΣΕΝΟΧΟΥ ΜΝ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΜΝ  
ΙΣΑΑΚ ΜΝ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΖΗ ΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΝΕΜΠΗΥΕ. ΝΩΗΡΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ  
ΝΣΕΝΑΧΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΚΑΚΕ ΕΤΖΙΒΟΛ, ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΡΙΜΕ ΝΑΩΩΠΕ  
ΜΜΑΥ ΜΝ ΠΧΑΖΧ ΝΝΟΒΖΕ.

5 ΤΕΝΟΥ ΣΕ, ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ, ΜΕΩΔΑΚ ΟΥΝ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΝΖΗΤΤΗΥΤΝ ΕΥΧΩ  
ΜΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ ΝΣΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΔΝ. ΝΑΙ ΣΕ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ  
ΜΑΡΟΥΣΩΤΗ ΕΠΩΔΧΕ ΝΔΑ(ΕΙ)Δ ΔΕ ΔΙΚΑ ΖΤΗΙ ΕΡΟΚ, ΠΧΟΕΙΣ, ΖΗ  
ΠΑΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΦ. ΜΗΠΩΣ ΕΚΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΜΠΕΦΡΑΝ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΖΗ  
ΤΕΚΤΑΠΡΟ, ΝΓΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΔΝ ΖΗ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ ΔΕ ΕΚΕΟΥΧΑΙ. ΜΗ  
ΝΓΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΔΝ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΧΟΟΥ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ ΔΕ ΠΕΙΛΑΟΣ  
ΣΕΤΜΑΙΟ ΜΜΟΙ ΖΗ ΝΕΥΣΠΟΤΟΥ, ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΔΕ ΟΥΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΙ,  
ΠΕΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ.

6 ΑΥΩ ΠΑΝΤΩΣ ΝΣΕΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΚ ΝΘΕ (f. 119v) ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥΡ  
ΑΤΝΑΖΤΕ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΥΚΩ ΝΣΩΟΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ,  
ΠΕΥΣΩΤΗΡ, ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΣΑΝΟΥΩΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΑΥΚΩ ΝΣΩΟΥ  
ΝΤΠΥΓΗ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΩΝΖ, ΑΥΩΙΚΕ ΝΑΥ ΝΖΕΝΛΑΚΚΟΣ ΝΣΕΝΑΦΑΜΑΖΤΕ  
ΔΝ ΜΠΕΥΜΟΟΥ, ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ Ρ ΜΝΤΡΕ ΝΜΜΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ  
ΤΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΑ ΝΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΔΕ ΑΥΣΟΥΩΝΕΤ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΧΙΝ ΠΕΥΚΟΥΙ ΦΑ  
ΠΕΥΝΟΣ, ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ ΕΡΕ ΠΧΩΚ ΤΗΡΦ  
ΝΤΜΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΩΟΟΠ ΝΖΗΤΦ ΣΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ.

7 εΙΕ ΝΓΣΝ ΖΕΝΚΕΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΥΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΝΣΕΣΩΤΜ ΔΝ  
 ΝΣΑ ΤΕΥΣΒΩ, ΝΦΧΟΟΥ ΝΑΥ ΖΜ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ  
 ΤΕΤΝΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΙ ΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ, ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΤΝΕΙΡΕ ΔΝ  
 ΝΝΕΨΧΩ ΜΜΟΥ; ΕΩΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΧΕ  
 ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕΡΩΜΕ, ΕΥΜΟΟΥΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΑΥΘΑΤΗΣ,<sup>3</sup>  
 ΜΠΟΥΚ[[Δ]]Ω ΝΑΥ Ν{Τ}ΘΕΛΠΙΣ ΝΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΝΕΜΠΗΥΕ ΜΝ  
 ΝΣΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΜΝ ΠΟΥΝΟΦ ΜΠΠΑΡΑΔΙΣΟΣ, ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΗΤ  
 ΜΜΟΥ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΝΑΜΕΡΙΤΥ ΝΣΕΙΡΕ ΝΝΕΦΝΤΟΛΗ, ΕΑΥΜΕΡΕ ΠΑΙΩΝ  
 ΕΤΕ ΟΥΠΡΟΣΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΠΕ.

8 Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ, ΟΥΗΡ ΝΕ ΝΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΚΩΝΖ ΧΕ ΕΚΕΡ ΩΜΜΟ  
 ΕΝΕΙΩΔΕΝΕΖ; ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΡΕΚΣΩΤΜ ΝΓΑΙΣΘΑΝΕ  
 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΣΒΟΚ ΜΠΟΥΝΟΦ ΜΠΕΙΔΙΩΝ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΩΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΚ (f.  
 120r) ΕΦΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΝΕΖΟΟΥ ΝΝΕΝΡΜΠΟΟΥΕ ΩΦΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΝΕ.  
 ΝΓΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΔΝ ΣΕ ΧΕ ΜΝΝΣΑ ΤΡΕΚΡ Ω<φ>Ε ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΖΟΠΣ ΠΕ  
 ΕΤΡΕΥΨΙΤΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΦ;

9 ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΜΠΕΚΤΝΤΩΝΓ{Κ} ΕΠΕΤΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΡΕ  
 ΠΕΝΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΜΑ ΖΝΝ ΕΜΠΗΥΕ; ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΑΥΣΩΤΜ ΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΦΧΩ  
 ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΜΠΕΡΣΩΟΥΖ ΝΗΤΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΖΕΝΑΖΩΩΡ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ, ΠΜΑ  
 ΕΦΑΡΕΧΟΟΛΕΣ ΜΝ ΘΟΟΛΕ ΤΑΚΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΩΑΡΕ ΝΡΕΦΧΙΟΥΕ ΣΩΤΖ  
 ΕΡΟΟΥ, ΑΛΛΑ ΣΩΟΥΖ ΝΗΤΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΤΟΦ ΝΖΕΝΑΖΩΩΡ ΖΝ ΤΠΕ,  
 ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕ ΜΕΡΕ ΧΟΟΛΕΣ ΤΑΚΟ ΝΖΗΤΥ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΕΡΕ ΡΕΦΧΙΟΥΕ ΣΩΤΖ  
 ΕΡΟΦ. ΝΓΝΑΥ ΔΝ ΧΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΧΠΙΟ ΝΝΕΝΡΗΚΟΛΑΣΣΑΕΙΣ  
 ΝΑΩ ΝΖΕ, ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΕΩΧΕ ΑΤΕΤΝΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΣΤΟΙΧΙΟΝ ΜΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ, ΑΖΡΩΤΝ ΤΕΤΝΚΤΟ ΜΜΩΤΝ ΟΝ  
 ΕΡΟΟΥ; Ο<Υ> ΣΕ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕΦΩΔΧΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΦΠΑΡΑΓΓΙΛΕ  
 ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ ΧΕ ΜΠΡΧΩΖ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΡΧΙ ΨΠΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΕΡΖΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ

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<sup>3</sup> αὐθάδης.

ΕΡΟΥ,<sup>4</sup> ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΥ <ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ> ΧΕ ΜΟΥΟΥΤ  
ΝΝΕΤΝΜΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΡΙΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ' ΤΠΟΡΝΙΑ, ΤΑΚΑΘΑΡCΙΑ, ΠΧΩΖΗ,  
ΠΠΑΘΟΣ, ΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ, ΤΗΝΤΜΑΙΤΟ ΝΖΟΥΟ; ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ  
ΝΙΜ ΕΤΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΝΑ ΠΚΑΖ.

**10** ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΣΕ ΚΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ <Ε>ΟΥΝΤΑΚ CΖΙΜΕ ΜΜΑΥ; ΑΧΙC ΝΑΙ ΧΕ  
ΟΥ ΠΕ ΡΖΗΥ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΚΤΑΚΕ ΟΥC(f. 120v)ΖΙΜΕ ΝΤΩΚ  
ΑΝ ΤΕ; ΜΗ ΝΓΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΥΤΑΖΟΚ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΡΩΜΕ; ΕΙΕ  
ΝΓΑΙCΘΑΝΕ ΑΝ ΕΠΕΝΤΑΥΧΟΟΥ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΥ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΦΩΒΩ ΝΝΕΦΧΙ  
ΡΙΚΡΙΚΕ ΝCΙ ΠΕΤΡΟΕΙC ΕΠ(ΙCΡΑ)ΗΛ; ΦΘΕΩΡΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΜΜΟΚ ΖΜ ΜΑ ΝΙΜ.  
ΝΓCΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΧΕ ΦΝΑΧΙ ΖΑΠ ΝΜΜΑΚ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ  
ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΑΥΚΑΑΤ ΝCΩΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ, ΠΕΧΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΑΥΟΥΩΖ ΖΝ ΝΗΙ  
ΜΠΟΡΝΗ, ΑΥΩΠΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΙΖΤΟ ΝΛΑΒCΖΙΜΕ, ΕΡΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΖΜΖΜ  
ΕΧΝ ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ ΜΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΥΩΦ;

**11** ΚΑΝ ΜΕΝ ΧΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΝΟΕΙΚ ΑΝ, Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ, ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑΚΝΚΑΤΚ  
ΜΗ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΝΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΟC ΕΜΝΤC ΖΑΙ ΜΜΑΥ, ΕΙΕ <Ε>ΩΠΠΕ  
ΕCΩΑΝΩ, ΟΥ ΠΕΤΚΝΑΑΑΦ; ΜΗ ΚΝΑΠΘΕ ΕΤΡΕΦΧΙ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΜΗ  
ΝΕΚΩΗΡΕ; ΕΩΠΠΕ ΔΕ ΕΚΤΜΜΟΟΥΤΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΩΠΠΕ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ, ΕΙΕ  
ΕΦΩΑΝΩΝΖ ΦΝΑΡ ΠΕΦΑΖΕ ΤΗΡΥ ΕΦCΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΗΝΤΖΗΚΕ  
ΕΤΦΝΖΗΤC. ΟΥ ΣΕ ΠΕΤΕΚΝΑΧΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΖΟΥΥ ΕΤΗΜΑΥ Η ΔΩ ΤΕ  
ΤΕΚΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΜΠΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΚΡΙΤΗC, ΕΚΝΑΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ ΖΑ  
ΠCΩΩΦ ΝΤΑΚΑΑΦ; ΧΕ ΕΚΝΑΟΥΩΦΒ ΖΑ ΤΠΟΡΝΙΑ ΕΤΕΚ† ΜΜΟC  
ΕΤΕΚΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑ; ΧΕ ΕΚΝΑ† ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΖΑ ΠΑΩ<ΑΖ>ΟΜ ΝΝΕΚΩΗΡΕ  
ΝΤΑΚΧΙΤΟΥ ΝCΟΝC, ΕΚΧΟ ΜΠΕΤΝΤΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΝΗ ΕΜΠΟΡΝΗ ΖΝ  
ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΝΑ;

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<sup>4</sup> Ms. twice ερουν.

**12** πετεωψε γαρ εροκ πε ετρεκτοικει μπεντα πνουτε τααυ  
νακ κατα πεφουωψ· ογμερος ετβε πεκνι μν νεκωη(f.  
121r)ρε, κεμερος ετβε τεχρια ννηκε, ταρεκοντq εροκ ζμ  
παιων ετνηγ, πμα ετεκναπωτ ερατογ ννεκειοτε νζητq,  
αγω νγκανω ννηκε μν νεχηρα μν νορφανος εβολ ζμ  
περογο μπετντακ.

**13** ωα τναγ εκπητ ερμμανω μν ζμμηνωε νατωαγ; ετβε ογ  
κqi ροογω ζαροκ μαγαακ; μη ακχι ασφاليا ντοοτq μπμογ  
δε φνακαατ μπειμα ωαβολ; ετβε ογ σεqi νων μμηνε αγω  
ντηρ ζοτε αν δε σεναqιτη ζων; αναγ δε ντα πεπροφητης  
χιπε ζενκοογε ναω νζε, ντερεφζε εροογ εγζελπize επκοσμοс  
μματα· πεχαq ναγ δε εγτων νετνειοτε ειε εγτων  
νετνπροφητης; μη αγωνζ ωα ενεζ; πλην ναωαδε μν  
νανομοс ωπογ ερωτη, πεχε πχοεις.

**14** ενε ντακειμε ζωακ δε νтк ογρμνσοιλε ζιχμ πκαζ, κατα  
θε ντα ταγεια χοοс δε ανг ογρμнсоиλε ζιχμ πκαζ ειβαλωγ  
κατα θε νнаиоtе τηρογ, ενε ντακμελετα νнай, ω πρωμε, ογ  
μονон δε μεκωογζ νακ εζογн νzenαζωωp ζιχμ πκαζ ογδε  
νгнапорнеγε αν πε αλλα τεκκεζιμε κнаεγκратеγε μμοκ  
нсавол μμοс. κнаωωπε нөε νnentαγχοοс δε νтeиποlic  
смант ан· тетνωине нωс, тαι εтенωωт εβολ ζηтс те, ναι  
ετμοωε ζн ογζко μн ογειβε μн ογбρωζ εγθλιβε, ναι εтmπ(f.  
121v)κοсμοс мπωα μμοογ ан.

**15** αζροκ σε, ω πρωμε, νταγτανζογтк εγсzιme μн ζенωнpe  
μн ζензγπαρχонτα; μη αγχαριζε μμοογ νακ ωαβολ; μη  
νгсooγн ан δε ποογ конз, ραcte ακμογ; κω ναтсooγн δε  
νταγτανζογтк εγсzιme μн ζенωнpe εтρεκнтоγ ερpai ζн  
ογμнтμαιноγте; нток γαρ πεтна† логос ζαροογ. προογт γαρ

ΠΕ ΤΑΠΕ ΝΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ, ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΝΒΙ ΠΣΟΦΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ.  
ΕΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΕΚΣΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΙΕ ΝΕΚΩΗΡΕ ΝΑΩΩΠΕ  
ΝΑΤΑΡΙΚΕ ΜΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΠΖΑΠ. ΕΩΩΠΕ ΕΚΟ ΜΜΑΙΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΙΕ ΜΑΙΤΩΡΠ  
ΕΙΕ ΡΕΦΧΙ(Ν)ΣΟΝΣ ΕΙΕ ΡΕΦΧΙΟΥΕ, ΝΣΕΜΟΟΩΕ ΖΩΟΥ ΖΝ ΤΕΚΖΗΝ,  
ΚΝΑ† ΛΟΓΟΣ ΖΑΡΟΟΥ ΜΠΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ.

**16** ΕΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΚΟΥΟΧ ΕΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ, ΜΠΟΥΣΩΤΜ ΕΥΩΑΧΕ ΝΧΙΟΥΑ  
ΕΙΕ ΜΝΤΝΟΥΧ ΖΝ ΤΕΚΤΑΠΡΟ ΟΥΔΕ ΚΑΤΑΛΑΛΙΑ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΟΣΤΕ ΟΥΔΕ  
ΜΝΤΧΑΣΙΖΗΤ, ΝΤΟΚ ΔΕ ΚΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΕΚΟ ΝΑΤΝΟΒΕ ΝΣΑΒΟΛ  
ΝΝΕΚΩΗΡΕ. ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΖΩΟΥ ΣΕΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΖΝ  
ΤΜΝΤΡΕΦΩΜΩΕΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΑΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ. ΣΕΝΑΡ ΖΜΜΕ  
ΝΜΜΑΚ ΖΩΣ ΕΙΩΤ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΦ ΝΣΕΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ.<sup>5</sup> ΧΙΝ ΕΩΩΡΠ  
ΓΑΡ ΑΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΚΩ ΝΤΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΠΖΟΟΥΤ ΖΙΧΜ ΤΕΦΣΖΙΜΕ ΜΝ  
ΝΕΦΩΗΡΕ. (f. 122r) ΕΥΜΟΟΩΕ ΓΑΡ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ν†ΖΕ ΝΒΙ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ  
ΕΥΡΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΦ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ, ΕΥΤΩΒΖ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΥΟΥΧΑΙ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΩΗΡΕ.

**17** <ΟΥ> ΜΟΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΖΝ ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΛΛΑ ΖΝΝ  
ΕΜΜΕΕΥΕ ΟΝ ΜΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΤΕΤΝ† ΛΟΓΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΖΑΡΟΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ  
ΙΩΒ ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΜΗΩΑΚ Δ ΝΑΩΗΡΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΖΜΠΕΘΟΟΥ  
ΕΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΖΜ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΕΦΤΑΛΟ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΑΡΟΟΥ  
ΝΖΕΝΘΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ. ΩΩΠΕ ΣΕ, Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ, ΝΟΥΣΑΖ ΝΝΕΚΩΗΡΕ  
ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΚ, ΕΚ† ΣΒΩ ΝΑΥ ΕΤΡΕΥΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
ΜΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΖΜ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΑΥΩ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΖΙ ΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ,  
ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΜΟΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΕΚΕΜΕΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ  
ΠΕΚΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΖΜ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΦ ΜΝ ΝΕΚΜΕΕΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΝ ΤΕΚΎΓΧΗ  
ΤΗΡΣ, ΑΥΩ ΝΕΙΩΑΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ Ε† ΖΩΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΟΟΤΚ ΜΠΟΟΥ  
ΕΥΕΩΩΠΕ ΖΜ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ ΜΝ ΤΕΚΎΓΧΗ ΝΓΤΣΑΒΕ ΝΕΚΩΗΡΕ<sup>6</sup> ΕΡΟΟΥ  
ΕΤΡΕΥΜΟΟΩΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ.

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<sup>5</sup> Ms. μμοφ.

<sup>6</sup> Ms. νεγωηρε.

**18** ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΓΑΡ ΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΑΙ ΕΥСОΠС ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟС ΧΕ ΜΠΡϞΙ ΜΠΩΔΑΧΕ ΝΤΜΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΡΩΙ. ΤΝΝΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΥΤСАВО<sup>7</sup> ΝΝΕΥΩΗΡΕ ΕΖΕΝΝΟС ΝΑΝΑΩ ΕΥΖΑΖΟΤΕ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΧΙΟΥΑ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΩΔΑΧΕ ΝΩΛΟϞ ΔΙΝ ΤΕΥΜΝΤΚΟΥΙ. ΕΙΕ ΝΓСΩТМ ΔΝ, Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ, ΧΕ ΩΔΑΧΕ ΝΙМ ΝΑΡΓОН ΕΤΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΧΟΟΥ ϞΝΑ† ΛΟΓΟС ΖΑΡΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΝТЕКΡΙСΙС; ΤΑΧΑ ΝΓСООУН ΔΝ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΤΕ ТЕКΡΙСΙС Ν(f. 122v)ΤΑ ΙΑΚΩΒΟС ΠΑΠΟСТΟΛΟС ΩΔΑΧΕ ΕΡΟС ΧΕ ТЕКΡΙСΙС ΟΥΑТНА ΤΕ ΜΠΕТМΠЕϞΕΙΡΕ ΜΠНА; ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ ΜΜΟК ΜΑΥΑΑК ΕΡΩΔΑΝ ΟΥΩΩΝΕ ΤΑΖΟК ΑΥΩ ΚΝΑСΟΥН ТМНТАКРІВНС ΝТЕКΡΙСΙС. ΕΩΩΠЕ ΜΕΝ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΖМΟМ ΝΖΗТК ΧΕ ΩΔΑΡΕ ПЕКЛАС ΩΟΟΥЕ ΝΑΩ ΝΖЕ ΖΑ ΠΕΙΒЕ ΝΘЕ ΝΩΑКΩΩ ΕΚСЕ ΜΟΟΥ ΖΝ ΟΥМОУ(Н) ΕΒΟΛ ΕТВЕ ΘММЕ, ΕΩΩΠЕ ΡΩ СЕНА† ΘЕ ΝΑК ΕТРЕКСΩ ΕТВЕ НЕФЛЕКМА<sup>8</sup> ΜΝ ΝΑΚΑΘΑΡСΙΑ ΕТННУ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖМ ПЕКЗΗТ.

**19** ΜΗΝСΑ ΝΑΙ ΟΝ ΔΝΑΥ ΕΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΥΩΔΑΝΕΙ ΕΠМОУ, ΜΠНАΥ ΝΩΔΑΡΕ ΠΖΑΠ ΜМЕ ΤΑΖΟΟΥ ΕМН ΘЕ ΝΚΟТΟΥ ΕΠΑΖΟΥ, ΜΠНАΥ ΕΤΕΡЕ ΠΡΩΜЕ ΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϞ ΕΥϞΙ ΜΠЕϞΩΝΖ ΚΟΥΙ ΚΟΥΙ. ΕΝΕΥΝΩСОМ ΓΑΡ ПЕ, ΝЕϞНА† ΝΝЕϞΖΥΠΑΡΧОНТА ТΗΡΟΥ ΩΑΝТЕϞΜΟΥΖМ ΝТООТϞ ΜΠМОУ. ΜΠЕУОЕΙΩ ΓΑΡ ΝТАϞΖΩΝ ΕТООТК ΕТРЕК† ΝΝЕКΖΥΠΑΡΧОНТА ΝΝΖΗКЕ, ΕΝЕКΩΒΩ ΜΜΟК ΕΡΟΟΥ ПЕ, ΖΟΙΝЕ ΜΕΝ ΕΥΖΟКР, ΖΕΝΚООУЕ ΔЕ ΕΥКНК ΔΖНУ, ΖΟΙΝЕ ΕΥР ΖΩВ ΝΑК ΕКВΩСЕ ΜМОΟΥ ΜΠЕΥВΥКЕ.

**20** ΟΥ СЕ ПЕ†НАΧООϞ ΝΑК, Ω ΠΡΩΜЕ, ΕТВЕ ΝΙΝΟС ΝΧΟЛМЕС ΝΑΙ ΕТЕКΠЕРІСНА ΝΖΗТΟΥ, ΕΚΟΥΩСϞ ΝΟΥМННΩЕ ΝΡΩΜЕ ΕΝЕКΖВНУЕ ΝΓΚΩ ΜМОΟΥ ΔΝ ΕТРЕУР ΖМΖАЛ ΕΠНОУТЕ ΝТАϞТАМІООУ; ΖΑΖ ΓΑΡ ΝЕТЕКΟΥΩСϞ ΜМОΟΥ ΕΝЕКΖΥΔОНН, ΖΟΙΝЕ ΕТЕКСΩΩЕ, ΖΕΝΚООУЕ ΕΝЕКЕΔНУ, ΖΟΙΝЕ ΕТЕКΖΥПЕРНСІА ΑΥΩ ΝЕККЕΩΗΡЕ

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<sup>7</sup> е҃тсабо was corrected from е҃тсабе.

<sup>8</sup> φλέγμα.

ΕΚΣΑΝΩ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΖΝ ΤΑΠΑΤΗ ΜΠΕΙΑΩΝ, (f. 123r) ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΟQ  
ΝΓΤΝΤΩΝΓ ΕΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ. ΠΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΕ ΟΥΡΜΜΑΟ  
ΕΜΑΤΕ ΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΝΕΦΧΡΩ ΝΤΕΦΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΥΩΩ  
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΕΝΕΦ† ΣΒΩ ΝΝΑ ΠΕΦΗΙ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΩΣ  
ΕΝΑΝΟΥΦ.

**21** ΜΑΡΕΝΕΙΜΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΜΠΕΦΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΝΟΘ ΕΤΖΜ ΠΕΦΗΙ ΝΘΕ  
ΕΤΦΩΛΗΛ ΖΝ ΟΥΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΦΧΘΕΙΣ. ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΠΕΦΖΜΖΑΛ  
ΜΜΑΤΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΥΤΣΑΒΕ ΙΣΑΑΚ ΟΝ, ΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ, ΕΩΜΩΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΧΙΝ ΤΕΦΜΝΤΚΟΥΙ, ΜΠΕΦΚΑΑΦ ΕΤΡΕΦΧΙΣΕ ΝΖΗΤ ΕΧΝ ΝΕΦΖΜΖΑΛ,  
ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΑΑΥ ΝΑΦ. ΝΤΟΚ ΔΕ ΜΠΕΚ† ΣΑ ΕΝΕΚΖΜΖΑΛ,  
ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΕΥΚΟΙΝΟΝΕΙ ΝΜΜΑΚ ΖΝ †ΧΑΡΙΣ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΖΜ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ  
Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ, ΕΜΝ ΖΜΖΑΛ ΜΝ ΡΜΖΕ ΠΟΡΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΖΤΗΦ. ΜΗ ΝΓΩΠΕ  
ΑΝ ΝΤΟΚ ΖΗΤΦ ΜΠΕΚΧΘΕΙΣ, ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΧΙ ΝΟΥΣΧΗΜΑ ΝΖΜΖΑΛ  
ΕΤΒΗΗΤΗ; ΝΤΟΚ ΔΕ ΑΚ† ΖΙΣΕ ΝΝΕΚΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΝΑ, ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑ  
ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ † ΜΠΕΦΣΩΜΑ ΜΝ ΠΕΦΣΝΟΥ ΖΑΡΟΥΦ.

**22** ΜΗ ΜΝ ΣΟΜ ΝΜΟΚ ΕΤΡΕΚΕΙΑΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΜΑΥΑΑΚ  
ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΝΣΕΕΙΑΑΚ ΖΙΤΝ ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ; ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΕΚΣΩΩ ΜΠΕΚΧΘΕΙΣ  
ΕΚΑΝΙΧΕ ΕΤΡΕ ΚΕΟΥΑ ΕΙΑ ΝΕΚΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ, ΕΚΝΑΥ ΕΠΧΘΕΙΣ ΝΤΠΕ ΜΝ  
ΠΚΑΖ ΕΑΦΜΟΡΦ ΝΟΥΛΕΝΤΙΟΝ, ΑΦΝΕΧ ΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΛΑΚΑΝΗ, ΑΦΕΙΩ  
ΝΝΕΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΝΝΕΦΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ; ΝΤΟΚ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΚ, Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕ  
ΟΥΝ ΡΩΜΕ ΒΑΛΛΗ ΕΡΟΦ ΕΙΤΕ ΩΕ (f. 123v) ΕΙΤΕ ΤΑΙΟΥ ΕΙΤΕ ΠΕΤΕ  
ΟΥΝ ΜΗΤ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΩΟΟΠ ΖΑΡΑΤΦ, ΖΑΠΛΩΣ ΩΑΖΡΑΙ ΕΟΥΑ ΝΟΥΩΤ,  
ΜΑΡΕΚΣΒΤΩΤΚ<sup>9</sup> Ε† ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΜΠΧΘΕΙΣ ΖΑΡΟΥΦ. Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑ  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΑΝΖΟΥΤΚ ΕΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ ΕΤΡΕΚΩΩΠΕ ΝΑΦ ΝΘΕ  
ΝΟΥΕΙΩΤ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΦ, ΝΤΟΚ ΖΩΩΚ ΚΜΕ ΝΖΟΙΝΕ ΑΥΩ  
ΚΜΟΣΤΕ ΝΖΟΙΝΕ, ΚΠΗΤ<sup>10</sup> ΕΖΟΥΝ ΩΑ ΖΟΙΝΕ, ΚΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙ ΝΖΟΙΝΕ.

<sup>9</sup> Ms. μαρεσβτωτφ.

<sup>10</sup> Ms. κπη.

**23** ΝΓΖΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΖΩΩΚ, Ω ΠΤΑΛΑΙΠΟΡΟΣ, ΜΗΝΣΑ ΤΡΕΚΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΣΟΙΛΕ, ΝΣΕΤΩΩΒΕ ΝΑΚ ΝΤΩΒΒΙΩ ΝΝΕΝΤΑΚΑΔΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΚΑΖ. ΜΗ ΝΓΣΩΤΜ ΝΤΟΚ ΔΝ, Ω ΠΑΘΗΤ, ΕΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΕΧΙΣΟΟΥΕ, ΔΡΙ ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΜΗ ΝΕΤΝΖΜΖΑΛ· ΕΤΕΤΝΣΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΜΗ ΠΩΟΥ ΖΗΝ ΜΠΗΥΕ ΑΥΩ ΜΗ ΜΗΤΡΕΦΧΙΖΟ ΖΑΖΤΗΦ. ΦΑΚΖΕ ΖΞΟΙΝΕ ΖΩΟΥ ΕΥΩΒΩ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΝΕΥΖΜΖΑΛ ΖΝ ΤΕΥΖΡΕ ΜΗ ΤΕΥΖΕΒΣΩ, ΝΤΟΟΥ ΖΩΟΥ ΕΥΤΡΗΦΑ ΖΝ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΜΗ ΝΕΥΩΗΡΕ.

**24** ΜΑΡΟΥΣΩΤΜ ΔΕ ΕΠΣΩΤΗΡ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΟΥΟΙ ΝΗΤΝ, ΝΡΜΜΑΟ ΧΕ ΔΤΕΤΝΧΙ ΜΠΕΤΝΜΤΟΝ, ΟΥΟΙ ΝΗΤΝ, ΝΕΤΣΜΟΥ, ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΕΤΝΝΑΣΑΖΟΥ, ΟΥΟΙ ΝΗΤΝ, ΝΕΤΣΗΥ ΧΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΤΕΤΝΝΑΖΚΟ. ΦΑΡΕ ΗΣΑΙΔΣ ΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΟΥΟΙ ΝΝΕΝΧΩΩΡΕ ΕΤΣΩ ΜΠΗΡΠ ΜΗ ΝΔΥΝΑΤΟΣ ΕΤΚΥΡΑ <sup>11</sup> ΜΠΣΙΚΗΡΑ. ΑΛΛΑ ΤΝΤΩΝΓ ΝΤΟΦ ΕΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΙΩΒ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΖΑΖ ΝΣΟΠ Δ ΝΑΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΣΖΙΜΕ ΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΤΑ(f. 124r)ΔΣ ΝΑΝ ΕΣΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΚΣΑΡΖ; ΔΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΕ(Ν)ΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΦΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ ΨΥΧΗ ΝΙΜ ΝΟΥΙ ΝΕ. ΦΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΚΖΟΧΖΕΧ ΝΟΥΩΜΜΟ ΜΗ ΟΥΖΜΖΑΛ ΕΠΩΚ ΠΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΝΑ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΝΕΚΘΛΙΒΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ· ΕΥΩΑΝΩΩ ΓΑΡ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΡΟΙ, ΦΑΙΣΩΤΜ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΧΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΟΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΑΗΤ.

**25** Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ, ΕΤΓΑΩΟ ΝΘΕΠΕΡΗΣΙΑ ΝΝΕΦΖΜΖΑΛ ΕΤΜΤΡΕΥΣΡΒΕ ΕΠΕΤΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΣΡΒΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΝΑΩ ΒΕ ΝΖΕ ΕΥΝΑΣΡΒΕ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΕΥΣΡΒΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΝΑΥ ΝΙΜ; ΖΟΙΝΕ ΜΕΝ ΕΝΕΚΖΟΙΤΕ ΕΦΑΚΤΑΔΥ ΖΙΩΩΚ, ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΥΣΒΤΩΤ ΕΝΕΤΕΚΝΑΚΑΔΚ ΚΑΖΗΥ ΜΜΟΟΥ, ΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΥΣΑΖΤΕ ΝΑΚ, ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΥΠΩΡΩ ΖΑΡΟΚ, ΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΥΣΩΖΡ ΕΥΝΟΥΧ, ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΥΠΗΤ ΕΤΣΩΩΕ ΝΣΑ ΝΕΤΕΚΝΑΟΥΟΜΟΥ, ΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΥΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΝΕΚΖΒΗΥΕ ΧΕ

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<sup>11</sup> κεράννυμι.

ΝΝΕΥΑΜΕΛΙΑ ΩΩΠΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΓΖΙΟΥΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΘΕ ΕΤΕΥΟ ΝΑΜΕΛΗΣ  
ΕΩΛΗΛ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

**26** ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΝΓΝΑΤΡΕ ΟΥΑ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΑΝ ΡΩΩΕ ΕΤΕΚΖΥΠΕΡΗΘΙΑ,  
ΝΤΕ ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΩΟΥ ΣΡΒΕ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΦΖΒΗΥΕ; ΝΑΙ  
ΕΚΩΑΝΑΔΥ ΚΝΑΜΟΥ(Ν) ΕΒΟΛ ΕΚΟ ΝΑΡΧΩ(Ν) ΕΧΜ ΠΕΚΜΗΗΩΕ ΖΝ  
ΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΝΜΠΗΥΕ. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΘΕ ΕΚΩΑΝΣΩΤΗ ΝΣΩΙ †ΝΑ† ΣΒΩ  
ΝΑΚ ΕΝΕΡΙΟΟΥΕ ΜΠΩΝΖ. ΜΑΡΕ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΝΝΕΚΖΜΖΑΛ ΒΩΚ ΩΑ  
ΝΕΤΟΤΠ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΝ (f. 124v) ΖΕΝΤΑΠΑΝΗ, ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΜΑΡΟΥΘΜ  
ΠΩΙΝΕ ΝΝΕΤΩΩΝΕ, ΝΓΧΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΖΕΝΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΧΕΚΑΣ  
ΕΥΕΣΛΩΛΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΥΩΩΝΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟΚ ΖΩΩΚ ΝΓΠΩΤ  
ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ. ΜΑΡΕ ΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΩΩΠΕ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΘΙΣ  
ΝΝΕΚΩΗΡΕ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΥΧΙΣΕ ΝΖΗΤ.

**27** ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΝΑΚ ΝΤΑΡΕΚΡ ΠΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΦ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑΦΑΑΚ ΑΝ  
ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΠΧΙΝΧΗ ΑΛΛΑ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΚΕΣΟΥΝ ΠΕΤΖΙΧΝ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΙΜ  
ΜΑΥΑΑΦ ΑΥΩ ΝΓΤΝΤΩΝΓ ΕΡΟΥ, ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΩΗΡΕ  
ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΙ ΑΝ ΕΤΡΕΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΝΑΦ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΑΥΩ Ε†  
ΝΤΕΦΥΓΧΗ ΝΣΩΤΕ ΖΑ ΖΑΖ. ΠΕΧΑΦ ΓΑΡ ΝΝΑΖΡΝ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΝΤΑΥΧΕΚ  
ΤΕΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΧΕ ΕΠΙΔΗ ΑΚΩΩΠΕ ΕΚΟ ΝΖΟΤ  
ΕΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ, †ΝΑΚΑΘΙΣΤΑ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΧΝ ΖΑΖ. ΠΕΤΟΥΩΩ ΟΥΝ ΕΤΡΕ  
ΠΩΑΧΕ ΤΑΖΟΥ ΧΕ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΝΙΛΑΟΣ ΑΥΣΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΝΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ, ΜΑΡΕΦ† ΣΒΩ ΝΝΕΤΩΟΟΠ ΖΑΡΑΤΦ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΥΩΩ  
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΜΑΡΕΦΣΑΝΩ ΝΝΕΦΩΗΡΕ ΖΝ ΘΟΤΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΦ†  
ΕΟΟΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΑΦΤΑΔΥ ΝΑΦ, ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝΦΩΩΝΤ ΕΡΩΤΗ ΝΦΦΙ  
ΝΕΤΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΩΑΧΕ ΕΤΣΗΖ ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΝ ΤΗΥΤΗ ΧΕ †ΝΑΦΙ  
ΝΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΝΤΕΤΝΦΥΧΗ ΕΤΕ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΕΤΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΝ  
ΝΕΤΝΩΕΕΡΕ.<sup>12</sup> ΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΝΝΕΤΗΜΑΥ ΧΕ ΑΠΑΤΑΣΣΕ

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<sup>12</sup> Ms. ΝΕΥΩΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΩΕΕΡΕ.

ΝΝΕΤΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΩΕΕΡΕ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕΤΝΩΩΠ (f. 125r) ΕΡΩΤΝ  
ΝΤΑΣΒΩ, ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕΧΟΕΙΣ.

**28** ΜΠΩΡ ΟΕ, ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ, ΜΠΡΤΡΕΥΤΑΖΟΝ ΝΟΙ ΝΕΙΩΑΧΕ ΕΤΝΑΩΤ  
ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΡΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΜΟΝ † ΣΒΩ ΜΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΥΩΥ ΕΠΑΓΑΘΟΝ  
ΜΝ ΠΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΥ. ΝΕΤΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΑΡΟΥΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΤΜΝΤΩΟΥΩΩ  
ΜΝ ΤΜΝΤΤΑΣΒΑΛ ΜΝ ΠΧΕΡΧΡ ΝΝΩΕΕΡΕ ΝΣΖΙΜΕ ΝΙΟΥΔΑ, ΝΑΙ  
ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ ΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΑΘΒΒΙΕ  
ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΜΝ ΩΕΕΡΕ ΝΣΖΙΜΕ ΝΣΙΩΝ ΧΕ ΑΥΜΟΟΩΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΑΚΖ  
ΕΥΧΟΟΕ ΜΝ ΠΚΙΜ ΝΝΕΥΒΑΛ, ΕΥΣΩΩΕ ΖΝ ΝΕΥΛΟΟΥ ΝΤΕΖΙΗ  
ΝΝΕΥΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΣΙΝΣΩΒΕ ΕΥΩΟΥΕΙΤ.

**29** ΔΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΝ ΝΕΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΜΠΕΤΕΩΩΕ ΕΡΟΝ ΔΝ ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕ  
ΝΕΙΖΒΗΥΕ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΩΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΝ, ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝΤΝΜΟΟΩΕ ΖΝ  
ΟΥΜΝΤΩΟΥΩΩ ΝΥΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΝ ΖΩΩΝ ΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΑΦΙ ΜΜΑΥ  
ΜΠΕΟΟΥ ΝΝΕΥΖΒΣΩ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΚΟΣΜΗΣΙΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΖΩΛΚ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΖΟΥΡ  
ΜΝ ΝΕΥΠΕΡΕΙΔΕΖΙΟΝ<sup>13</sup> ΜΝ ΝΕΥΩΤΗΝ ΝΧΗΘΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΩΚΙΛ ΜΝ  
ΝΕΥΚΟΧΜΒΟΣ<sup>14</sup> ΜΝ ΝΕΥΜΗΝΙΣΚΟΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΚΑΘΗΜΑ ΜΝ ΤΚΟΣΜΗΣΙΣ  
ΜΠΕΥΖΟ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΤΩΤΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΨΕΛΙΟΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΣΑΧΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΜΗΡ  
ΜΜΟΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΕΩΑΥΤΑΔΑΥ ΖΙΩΟΥ ΖΝ ΝΕΥΗΙ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΖΟΙΤΕ  
ΕΤΠΡΙΩΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΩΝΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΒΗΣΣΙΝΟΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΖΙΑΚΙΝΘΙΝΟΝ<sup>15</sup>  
ΜΝ ΠΩΝΣ ΕΤΣΑΖΤ ΕΠΝΟΥΒ ΜΝ ΠΖΙΑΚΙΝΘΙ<Ν>ΟΝ (f. 125v) ΕΤΣΟΤΠ  
ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΩΩΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΠΡΗΩ. ΕΠΜΑ ΝΟΥΣ†ΝΟΥΒΕ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΩΟΕΙΩ  
ΩΩΠΕ ΝΗ ΑΥΩ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΟΥΜΑΧΖ ΕΡΕΜΑΡΕ ΝΟΥΝΟΥΖ<sup>16</sup> ΑΥΩ ΕΠΜΑ  
ΝΤΟΥΩΤΗΝ ΝΧΗΘΕ ΕΡΕ† ΝΟΥΣΟΟΥΝΕ ΖΙΩΩΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΠΜΑ  
ΝΤΚΟΣΜΗΣΙΣ ΝΤΟΥΑΠΕ ΣΕΝΑ† ΝΟΥΣΟΟΥΝΕ ΖΙΩΩΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ

<sup>13</sup> Ms. νευπερειπεζιον, read περιδέξιον.

<sup>14</sup> κόσμβος.

<sup>15</sup> ὑακίνθινος.

<sup>16</sup> Ms. νογνεζ.

ΝΟΥΣΒΗΥΕ. ΠΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΕΤСОΠС, ΠΑΙ ΕΝΕΡΜΕ ΜΜΟΥ, ΕΦΕΖΕ ΖΝ ΤСΗΦΕ.

**30** ΤΕΤΝΝΑΥ ΒΕ, Ω ΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ ΜΜΑΙΚΟСΜΗСΙС, ΕΠΤΟΥΕΙΟ ΕΤΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΝΗΤΝ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΕΤΝΚΟСМΗСΙС ΧΕ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΟΥС†ΝΟΥΒΕ Δ ΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ † ΝΗΤΝ ΝΟΥΩΟΕΙΩ, ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΕΤΝΩΥΤΗΝ ΝΧΗΒΕ ΔΦ† ΖΙΩΤΤΗΥΤΝ ΝΟΥΒΟΟΥΝΕ, ΕΠΜΑ ΝΝΕΤΝΩΥΚΙΛ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΖΩΛΚ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΑΝΤΡΙΧΕ<sup>17</sup> ΜΝΟΥΒ ΜΝ ΝΕΙΝΟΒ ΝΤΩΤΕ ΝΛΟΥΥ ΕΤΖΙΧΝ ΝΕΤΝΑΠΕ, ΟΥΖΩΩΚΕ ΝΤΑΚΟ ΠΕΤΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΝΗΤΝ.

**31** ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΡΩ, Ω ΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ, ΝΤΕΤΝΜΟΟΩΕ ΔΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠЕСМОТ ΝΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΧΕΚΑС ΕΤΕΤΝΝΑΡ ΒΟΛ ΕΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ; ΝΤΕΤΝΝΑΥ ΝΤΩΤΝ ΔΝ ΕΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ ΝΖΑΚ, ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΥΡ ΖΜΖΑΛ ΜΠΕΧ(ΡΙСТО)С ΖΝ ΟΥΔΙΚΑΙΟСΥΝΗ ΧΕ ΔΥΝΕΧ ΝΕΙСΧΗΜΑ ΕΘООΥ ΝСАВОЛ ΜΜΟΥΥ, ΝΝΕΙСΧΗΜΑ ΝΡΕΦΑΠΑΤΑ; ΝΙМ ΓΑΡ ΝСΖΙМЕ ΝΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑ ΠΕΤΝΑΚΑ ΟΥΒΩ ΝΩΥΚΙΛ ΖΙΧΝ ΤЕСΑΠΕ ЕСΩΛΠ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΕΡΕ ΝΖООΥТ ΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ; ΕΙΕ ΝΙМ ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑ† ΝΖΕΝΛΟΥΥ ΕΧΝ ΤЕСΑΠΕ<sup>18</sup> ΜΠΚΩΤΕ ΜΠЕСЗО<sup>19</sup> ΕΙΕ ΟΥ(f. 126r)ΑΝΤΡΙΧΕ ΜΝΟΥΒ ΕΤΡΕ ΝΖООΥТ БΩΩΥТ ΕΡΟС ΝΤΕ ΤΕΥΨΥΧΗ<sup>20</sup> ΧΙ ΒΟΒС ΖΙТМ ПЕССХΗΜΑ ΜΠΟΡΝΙΚΟΝ ΜΝ ΠΕΖΡООΥ ΝΝΕΝΝΟΥΒ ΕΤΖΝ ΝЕСΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ;

**32** ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΝΤΩС ΝΤΕ ΟΥΔ ΧООС ΧΕ ΤΑΧΑ ΕΥΚΟСΜΕΙ ΜΜΟΥΥ ΝΝΕΥΖΑΙ. ΔΝΟК Ν†ΧΩ ΜΜΟС ΔΝ ΕΤΑΙ Ν<ΤΕΙ>ΜΙΝΕ ΧΕ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑ· ΕΡΕ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗС ΕΙΕΖΕΚΙΗΛ ΜΟΥΓΤΕ ΕΡΟС ΧΕ ΠΟΡΝΗ. ΠΕΧΑΦ ΓΑΡ Ν†ΖΕ ΧΕ ΔΡΚΟСΜΕΙ ΜΜΟ ΝΝΕΧΑΛΔΑΙΟС ΔΡ† ΝΟΥСΤΗМ ΕΝΟΥΒΑЛ ΔΥΩ ΖΜΨΕΛΛΙΟΝ ΕΝΟΥΒΙΧ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΒΑΧΕ ΕΝΟΥΜΑΔΧΕ ΔΥΩ ΟΥΚΛΟМ ΝΦΟΥΦΟΥ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΟΥΑΠΕ. ΔΡΚΟСΜΕΙ ΜΜΟ ΜΝ ΠΝΟΥΒ

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<sup>17</sup> έντριχος.

<sup>18</sup> Ms. τεφαπε.

<sup>19</sup> Ms. ηπεχο.

<sup>20</sup> Ms. τεψψχη.

ΜΗ ΠΡΑΤ. ΜΗ ΕΡΟ ΑΝ ΝΝΟΕΙΚ ΖΝ ΝΑΙ; ΑΥΩ ΝΟΥΖΒΗΥΕ ΜΗ ΝΝΑ  
ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΜΠΟΡΝΗ ΑΝ ΝΕ; ΜΠΕΥ† ΣΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΒΙ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΩΑΔΕ  
ΕΠΣΩΩ ΝΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ ΕΤΟ ΜΜΑΙΝΟΒΕ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ Ω ΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ,  
ΑΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΟΥ ΤΕ ΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΝΝΙΖΟΥΡ ΝΝΟΥΒ ΜΗ ΝΙΠΕΡΙΔΕΖΙΟΝ ΜΗ  
ΝΕΙΩΝΕ ΜΜΕ ΕΤΑΩΕ ΕΠΟΥΜΑΚΖ; ΜΗ ΑΡΑ ΣΕΝΑ† ΖΗΜΕ ΝΕ ΝΤΕΠΡΩ  
Η ΜΜΟΝ ΣΕΝΑ† ΚΒΑ ΝΕ ΜΠΩΩΜ; ΕΥΤΩΝ ΝΕΙΖΟΙΤΕ ΕΤΣΗΝ; ΕΤΒΕ  
ΤΜΗΤΣΩΒ ΜΠΣΩΜΑ; ΟΥ ΖΩΩΩ ΤΕ ΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΝΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΝΤΩΤΕ  
ΝΛΟΟΥ ΕΤΖΙΧΝ ΤΟΥΑΠΕ;

**33** ΕΙΕ ΝΤΕΝΑΥ ΝΤΟ ΑΝ ΕΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ ΝΣΑΒΕ· ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΛΟΟΥ  
ΖΙΧΩΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΔΕ ΠΕΥΚΕΖΟ ΝΦΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ, ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΡΕ  
ΠΕΥΠΑΛΛΙΝ ΝΗΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΝΕΥΜ(f. 126v)ΧΝΖ. ΜΟΓΙΣ ΕΩΑΚΝΑΥ  
ΕΖΤΗΥ ΝΝΕΥΒΙΧ ΕΩΩΠΕ ΠΝΑΥ ΠΕ ΝΤΕΧΡΙΑ. ΕΝΩΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ  
ΔΕ ΜΠΟΥΩΩΠΕ ΝΑΝ ΝΒΟΡΒΣ, ΩΑΝΣΜΟΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΑΝΟΝ ΓΑΡ  
ΑΝΟΝ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΖΩΩΝ ΑΥΩ ΕΝΩΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΤΜΗΤΕ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ. ΠΕΧΕ  
ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΗΣΑΙΑΣ ΔΕ ΑΝΚ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΡΕ ΖΕΝΣΠΟΤΟΥ  
ΕΥΧΑΖΜ ΜΜΟΥ. ΕΩΔΕ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΠΑΙ, ΕΑΦΝΑΥ  
ΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ ΖΝ ΝΕΦΒΑΛ, ΕΙΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑΛΑΙΠΟΡΟΣ ΕΤΕ ΑΝΟΚ  
ΠΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ†ΝΑΧΟΟΥ;

**34** ΤΕΝΟΥ ΒΕ, Ω ΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ, ΜΠΕΡΚΟΣΜΕΙ ΜΜΟ ΖΗ ΠΝΟΥΒ ΜΗ ΠΡΑΤ,  
ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΡΑΙΤΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ. ΠΕΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΜΜΩΥΣΗΣ ΔΕ ΦΙ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΩΤΗ ΝΝΕΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΝΕΟΟΥ ΜΗ ΝΕΙΚΟΣΜΗΣΙΣ, ΤΑΤΣΑΒΕ  
ΤΗΥΤΗ ΕΝΕ†ΝΑΑΑΥ ΝΑΚ. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΤΖΟΒΣ ΖΝ  
ΤΕΙΚΟΣΜΗΣΙΣ ΕΤΖΙΒΟΛ, ΝΦΝΑΝΑΥ ΑΝ ΕΛΑΔΥ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ  
Ε(Ν)ΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ. ΝΙΜ ΓΑΡ ΝΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΝΕΖ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΣΡΟΟΥΩ ΖΝ ΖΝΝΟΥΒ ΜΗ  
ΖΕΝΖΩΛΚ, ΠΕΤΝΑ† ΝΟΥΩΛΗΛ ΕΦΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ; ΜΗ ΕΡΕ ΠΒΩ  
ΝΤΕΣΑΠΕ ΝΑΚΑΘΑΡΙΖΕ ΜΠΕΣΖΗΤ ΕΤΡΕΣΡ ΜΑΝΟΥΩΖ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ;  
ΜΜΟΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΣΝΑΡ ΜΑΝΟΥΩΖ ΜΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ. ΠΕΧΑΦ ΓΑΡ ΝΒΙ  
ΠΣΟΦΟΣ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ ΜΜΑΙΚΟΣΜΗΣΙΣ ΔΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΣΖΗΤ Ο ΝΘΕ

ΝΟΥΑΒΩ ΔΥΩ ΟΥΒΟΡΒΣ ΠΕΤΖΝ ΝΕΣΒΙΧ. ΠΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΜΠΜΤΟ (f. 127r)  
ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΣΕΝΑΝΑΖΜΕΦ ΕΡΟΣ. ΠΡΕΦΝΟΒΕ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΦ  
ΣΕΝΑΒΟΠΦ ΝΖΗΤΣ, ΕΦΟΥΩΝΖ ΜΜΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΣΖΗΤ Ο  
ΜΜΑΝΟΥΩΖ ΜΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ. ΝΤΟΦ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΤΑΒΩ ΕΦΩΜΚ  
ΝΝΕΤΦΝΑΒΟΠΟΥ ΖΝ ΤΕΦΟΙΜΕ ΔΥΩ ΔΦΒΟΠΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΕΦΩΝΗ ΝΖΙΟΥΕ,  
ΔΦΣΟΟΥΖ<ΟΥ> ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΝ ΤΕΦΑΒΩ. ΤΕΦΟΙΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ ΤΕΤΡΟΦΗ  
ΕΤΖΟΡΦ. ΤΕΦΟΙΜΕ ΤΕ ΤΗΝΤΡΕΦΧΙΝΒΟΝΣ. ΤΕΦΣΒΩ ΤΕ ΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ  
ΝΤΜΝΤΜΑΙΣΖΙΜΕ.

**35** ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΜΠΕΡΩΠΕ ΝΑΦ ΝΒΟΡΒΣ ΜΑΥΑΑΤΕ, Ω ΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ,  
ΑΛΛΑ ΩΠΠΕ ΕΡΤΝΤΩΝ ΕΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΣΟΥΣΑΝΝΑ ΜΝ ΣΑΡΡΑ  
ΝΤΑΥΧΟΟΣ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ ΧΕ ΖΕΝΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕ. ΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ  
ΓΑΡ ΝΖΗΚΕ ΔΥΩ ΝΩΔΥ ΣΤΑΙΗΥ ΜΠΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΠΕΧΑΦ  
ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΠΕ(Ν)ΤΑΦΖΕ ΕΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΣ' ΤΑΙ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΣΤΑΙΗΥ  
ΕΖΟΥΕ ΠΩΝΕ ΜΜΕ. ΦΑΣΡΖΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΕΠΣΑΡΤ ΜΝ ΠΕΙ{Ν}ΑΔΥ ΔΥΩ  
ΝΕΣΖΙΩΜΕ ΦΑΣΤΑΧΡΟΟΥ ΕΠΜΠΑΙ. ΦΑΣΟΥΩΝ ΝΤΟΟΤΣ, ΦΑΣΤ  
ΝΝΖΗΚΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΩΔΑΤ ΔΥΩ ΝΕΖΙΟΟΥΕ ΜΠΕΣΧΙ ΜΕΖ ΝΣΜΟΥ. ΝΘΕ ΔΕ  
ΝΟΥΒΑΧΕ ΕΣΖΝ ΦΑΔΑΝΤΣ ΝΟΥΕΩΩ, ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΜΠΣΑ ΝΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ  
ΕΣΖΟΟΥ.

**36** ΙΑΚΩΒ ΓΑΡ ΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΦΣΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΦΑΡΕ ΠΝΟΒΕ ΩΠΠΕ  
ΖΙΤΗ ΠΕΖΟΥΟ ΝΝΚΟΣΜΗΣΙΣ, ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΔΦΧΙ ΝΝΒΑΑΧΕ ΝΝΟΥΒ  
ΕΤΖΗΝΝ ΕΜΜΑΔΧΕ ΝΝΕΦΖΙΟΜΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΦ(f. 127v)ΩΒΕΡΕ, ΔΦΤΑΚΟΟΥ  
ΔΥΩ ΔΦΖΟΠΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΚΑΖ. ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΑ ΤΑΡΧΗ ΝΤΜΝΤΡΕΦΩΜΩΕ  
ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΩΠΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΝΒΑΑΧΕ ΝΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ, ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΧΙΤΟΥ  
ΝΒΙ ΔΑΡΩΝ ΔΦΤΑΜΙΟΟΥ ΝΟΥΜΑΣΕ.

**37** ΤΕΝΟΥ ΒΕ, ΝΑΩΗΡΕ, ΠΑΙ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΕΙ ΝΑΖΡΑΙ ΜΠΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ, ΜΠΕΙΤ ΣΑ ΕΧΟΟΦ ΕΡΩΤΗ, ΕΙΣΟΠΣ ΜΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΜΩΤΗ  
ΕΤΡΕΦΦΙ ΠΡΟΟΥΩ ΝΤΕΦΥΓΧΗ ΜΠΑΤΟΥΦΙΝΕ ΝΣΩΝ. ΝΣΕΝΑΚΑΔΑΝ  
ΔΝ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΦΑΒΟΛ, ΑΛΛΑ ΣΕΦΙ ΝΣΩΝ ΜΜΗΝΕ. ΕΥΤΩΝ ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ

ΝΤΑΥΧΠΟΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΩΒΕΕΡ ΝΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΝ; ΜΗ Δ ΛΑΑΥ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΚΤΟΦ ΩΑΡΟΝ; ΤΝΣΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΔΝΟΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΒΩΚ  
 ΕΡΑΤΟΥ, ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΜΕΥΟΥΩΖ ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΕΚΤΟΟΥ ΩΑΡΟΝ ΝΚΕΣΟΠ.  
 ΟΥΝ ΖΑΖ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΑΥΜΟΥ ΜΠΟΥΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΜΤΟΝ ΝΖΗΤ ΝΝΕΥΩΗΡΕ.  
 ΟΥΝ ΖΑΖ ΟΝ ΕΑ ΝΕΥΩΗΡΕ ΜΟΥ ΑΥΚΑ ΝΕΥΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΥΟ ΝΕΒΗΗΝ.  
 ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΑΥΠΩΩΣ ΝΖΗΤ ΕΧΜ ΠΜΟΥ ΝΝΕΥΩΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΜΕΡΑΤΕ  
 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΩΔΑΙ ΝΝΕΥΖΥΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ, ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΖΕΝΩΜΜΟ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ  
 ΜΜΟΥ ΧΕ ΜΝΤΟΥ<sup>21</sup> ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΜΜΑΥ. ΖΕΝΚΕΜΗΗΩΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ  
 ΑΥΤΑΚΟ ΝΝΕΥΖΥΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ ΕΠΧΙΝΧΗ ΕΧΝ ΝΕΥΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΝΤΑΥΜΟΥ  
 ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ.

**38** ΝΕΡΕ ΤΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΓΑΡ ΜΠΜΟΥ ΩΟΟΠ ΔΝ ΖΑΡΟΣ ΜΑΥΑΑΣ ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΕΣΩΟΟΠ ΖΜ ΠΤΩΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕ ΛΑΑΥ Ρ ΠΩ(f. 128r)ΒΩ  
 ΜΠΜΟΥ ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ<sup>22</sup> ΜΕΡΕ <ΝΑ> ΠΕΙΔΙΩΝ, ΝΗΜΕΕΥΕ  
 ΕΡΟΟΥ ΧΕ ΖΕΝΝΟΣ Ν<Ζ>ΒΗΥΕ ΝΕ, ΕΥΟ ΓΑΡ ΝΘΕ ΝΖΕΝΖΟΙΒΣ  
 ΕΑΥΡΙΚΕ. ΕΥΤΩΝ ΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΝΡΑΝ ΝΣΑΕΙΤ, ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΥΡ ΣΑΕΙΤ ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΠΝΟΥΒ ΜΝ ΠΖΑΤ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΖΥΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ ΕΤΩΩ ΑΥΩ ΝΡΡΩΟΥ  
 ΝΝΖΕΘΝΟΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΡ ΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΝΕΘΕΡΙΟΝ; ΕΥΤΩΝ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΚΩΤ  
 ΝΝΕΙΝΟΣ ΜΠΟΛΙΣ, ΝΑΙ ΕΩΔΥΝΕΧΝΕΣ<sup>23</sup> ΝΕΝΖΕΘΝΟΣ ΖΙΤΜ ΠΜΗΗΩΕ  
 ΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΝΣΩΟΥ; ΜΗ ΜΠΟΥΡ ΚΑΖ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΣΕΡ ΘΕ ΜΠΟΥΩΩΠΕ ΡΩ;  
 ΜΗ ΜΠΟΥΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΖΑΙΒΣ;

**39** ΑΝΑΥ ΕΘΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΩΧΝ ΑΥΩ ΕΜΝ ΛΑΑΥ † ΝΖΗΤΦ.  
 ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΜΟΥΚΖ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΣΕΝΑΚΑΑΥ ΔΝ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ  
 ΩΑΒΟΛ. ΖΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΝΚΕΡΕΦΡΝΟΒΕ ΝΣΕΚΑΑΥ ΔΝ ΖΜ ΠΕΥΟΥΩΩ  
 ΜΑΥΑΑΥ. ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΣΕ ΤΝΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΝΣΑΛΩΟΥ ΕΡΟΦ  
 ΠΡΟΣ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ, ΠΗΙ ΖΩΩΦ ΕΤΕΝΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΡΟΦ ΩΑ ΕΝΕΖ  
 ΤΝΟ ΝΑΜΕΛΗΣ ΕΡΟΦ; ΕΝΩΔΑΝΚΩ ΓΑΡ ΝΔΑΝ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ, ΝΤΝΝΑΒΙΝΕ ΔΝ

<sup>21</sup> Read ΜΝΤΑΥ.

<sup>22</sup> Ms. ΠΕΥΖΗΤ.

<sup>23</sup> Read ΕΩΔΥΝΕΣΝΕΣ.

ΜΠΚΕΜΑ. ΝΓΝΑΥ ΔΝ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΠΤΑΛΑΙΠΟΡΟΣ ΝΙΝΕΥΗ ΝΘΕ ΕΤΕ ΨΑΥ†  
 ΖΙΩΩΥ ΝΟΥΧΗΘΕ ΜΗ ΟΥΩΝΣ ΕΥΖΜ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΝΦΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ  
 ΜΜΗΝΕ ΚΑΛΩΣ; ΝΤΕΡΕΦΩΚ ΔΕ ΕΠΚΕΜΑ, ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΔΕ  
 ΜΠΕΦΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ, ΠΚΕΤΗΗΒΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΜΠΟΥΚΑ(f. 128v)ΑΥ ΕΧΜ  
 ΠΕΥΛΑΣ, ΚΑΙΠΕΡ ΝΕΥΣΟΠΣ ΝΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ  
 ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ, ΜΑΤΗΝΕΥ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΣ ΝΥΣΕΠ ΖΤΗΥ ΜΠΕΥΤΗΗΒΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ  
 ΝΥΚΒΕ ΠΑΛΑΣ ΔΕ †ΜΑΚΖ<sup>24</sup> ΔΝΟΚ ΖΡΑΙ ΖΜ ΠΕΙΚΩΖΤ.

**40** ΔΝΑΥ ΖΩΩΥ ΔΕ ΝΤΑΥΧΝΟΥΥ ΔΕ ΟΥ. ΠΕΧΑΥ ΔΕ ΔΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ  
 ΔΕ ΑΚΟΥΩ ΕΚΧΙ ΝΝΕΚΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΖΜ ΠΕΚΩΝΖ, ΛΑΖΑΡΟΣ ΖΩΩΥ  
 ΝΖΕΝΠΕΘΟΟΥ. ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΣΕΣΟΛΣΛ ΜΜΟΥ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ, ΝΤΟΚ ΔΕ  
 ΣΕΜΟΥΚ<Ζ> ΜΜΟΚ. ΑΤΕΤΗΝΑΥ ΔΕ, Ω ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ, ΔΕ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΖΑ  
 ΟΥΩΝΖ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕΙΑ<sup>25</sup> ΠΕ ΠΕΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΡΩ  
 ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΒΕ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΒΕ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΣ. ΤΑΧΑ  
 ΝΕΥΝΑΒΕΠ ΛΟΙΘΕ ΝΥΧΟΟΣ ΔΕ ΔΝΓ ΟΥΡΜΜΑΟ' ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΔΙΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ  
 ΕΝΙΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ. ΝΤΟΚ ΔΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΖΗΚΕ' ΑΚΟΥΧΑΙ. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΡΩ  
 ΜΠΕΥΕΩΣΜ ΣΟΜ ΕΧΕ ΠΑΙ ΖΩΣ ΕΥΣΟΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΤΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ ΜΠΕΙΖΩΒ  
 ΝΤΑ<sup>26</sup> ΤΜΗΤΡΜΜΑΟ ΔΝ ΤΕ<sup>27</sup> ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΟΥ ΖΩΩΥ.

**41** ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΜΠΕΥΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΝΤΕΥΜΗΤΡΜΜΑΟ ΖΗ ΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΑΤΝΑ  
 ΟΥΔΕ ΖΗ ΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΑΣΥΝΘΕ<sup>28</sup> ΜΠΕ. ΚΑΙΓΑΡ ΖΗ ΤΜΗΤΕΡΟ ΟΥΝ ΖΑΖ  
 ΝΡΜΜΑΟ, ΟΥΝ ΖΑΖ ΝΖΗΚΕ ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΠΕΙΣΜΟΤ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΠΕΤΖΗ  
 ΝΕΝΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ. ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΓΑΡ ΝΕΥΡΜΜΑΟ ΠΕ ΖΗ ΠΖΑΤ ΜΗ ΠΝΟΥΒ ΜΗ  
 ΖΕΝΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ ΕΝΑΩΩΟΥ ΜΗ ΖΕΝΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΖΟΟΥΤ ΜΗ ΖΕΝΖΜΖΑΛ  
 ΝΣΖΙΜΕ, ΖΩΣΤΕ ΝΤΕ ΤΗΠΕ ΝΝΕΥΜΕΣ ΖΗ ΗΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΖΟΟΥΤ, ΧΩΡΙΣ  
 ΝΕΖΙΟΟΜΕ, ΡΩΟ(f. 129r)ΜΗΤ ΝΩΕ ΜΗΤΩΜΗΗ, ΧΟΡΙΣ ΝΕΥΕΙΟΤΕ

<sup>24</sup> Read †ΜΚΟΖ.

<sup>25</sup> δοκιμασία.

<sup>26</sup> Ms. ΗΠΑ.

<sup>27</sup> Ms. ΠΕ.

<sup>28</sup> ἄσύνετος.

ΝΖΟΥΤ ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΙΟΤΕ ΝΣΖΙΜΕ, ΔΥΩ ΠΕΙΡΜΜΑΟ ΝΤΕΙΣΟΤ ΔΒΒΩΚ<sup>29</sup>  
ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΩΝΖ, ΖΩΣΤΕ ΝΥΩΠΕ ΝΕΙΩΤ ΜΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΡΥ ΕΤΒΕ  
ΤΕΥΜΝΤΗΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΤΕΥΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΜΝ ΤΜΝΤΡΜΡΑΩ ΜΠΕΥΖΗΤ.  
ΠΖΗΚΕ ΔΕ ΕΤΝΥΝΑΚΑ ΠΝΑ ΝΖΗΤΥ ΔΝ, ΣΕΝΑΝΑΧΥ ΕΝΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ.

**42** ΔΩ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΖΩΒ ΝΤΑ ΛΑΖΑΡΟΣ ΔΔΥ, ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΔΥΣΩ  
ΕΥΩΠΖΜΟΤ ΝΤΟΟΤΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΕΧΝ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΑΔΥ ΝΔΥ;  
ΕΥΩΠΕ ΝΤΚ ΟΥΖΗΚΕ, ΣΩ ΕΚΩΠΖΜΟΤ, ΑΛΛΑ ΕΚΩΔΝΧΙΟΥΕ ΕΙΕ  
ΝΓΚΛΜΡΕΜ,<sup>30</sup> ΣΕΝΑΚΟΛΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΚ. ΝΤΚ ΟΥΡΜΜΑΟ ΟΝ, ΖΩΜΟΙΟΣ  
ΝΓΣΩ ΕΚΜΟΟΨΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΧΑΣΙΖΗΤ ΜΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΩΟΥΩΟ ΜΝ  
ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΝΑ, ΚΝΑΧΙ ΝΟΥΚΟΛΑΣΙΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΜΠΕΚΤΝΤΩΝΓ  
ΕΠΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ. ΠΕΙΝΟΣ ΝΡΜΜΑΟ ΝΨΣΟΤ ΜΠΕΥΡ  
ΧΑΣΙΖΗΤ ΕΝΕΖ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΥΜΟΟΨΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΘΒΒΙΟ. ΕΝΕΥΤΑΛΗΥ ΓΑΡ  
ΕΥΕΙΩ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΨΩΣ ΜΜΑΝΕΣΟΟΥ ΕΡΕ ΖΜΖΑΛ ΣΝΔΥ ΜΟΟΨΕ  
ΝΜΜΑΥ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΖΕΝΡΜ<ΟΥ>ΕΙΗ, ΕΥΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΘΒΒΙΟ ΖΝ  
ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ.

**43** ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΡΩ ΔΥΜΠΩΔ ΜΠΕΙΝΟΣ ΝΤΑΙΟ ΝΤΕΙΣΟΤ, ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ  
ΝΤΑ ΔΔΥΕΙΔ ΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΔΙΘΒΒΙΟΙ, Δ ΠΧΘΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΧΟΙ, Δ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ  
ΚΤΟΣ ΕΥΜΤΟΝ. ΝΤΟΚ ΣΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ, Ω ΠΡΜΜΑΟ, ΨΑΚΑΛΕ  
ΕΝΕΚΖΤΩΩΡ ΝΓΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΚΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΖΜ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ (f.  
129v) ΧΕ ΔΝΓ ΟΥΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΝΤΕ Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ, ΕΚΚΩ ΝΟΥΜΗΝΩΕ  
ΕΥΟΥΗΖ<sup>31</sup> ΝΣΩΚ ΔΥΩ ΕΥΣΩΚ ΖΔΧΩΚ. ΔΧΙΣ ΕΡΟΙ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕ  
ΠΕΙΣΜΟΤ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ; ΜΗ ΕΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ΕΡΕ ΝΕΙΜΗΝΩΕ  
ΟΥΗΖ ΝΣΩΚ ΜΝ ΝΕΙΣΕΡΩΒ; ΑΛΛΑ <ΕΨΧΕ> ΝΤΚ ΟΥΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ  
ΝΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΕ, ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΧΕ ΜΕΚΣΒΤΩΤΚ ΕΜΙΩΕ ΝΘΕ  
ΕΤΚΟ ΜΜΟΣ, ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΤΕΨΩΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕ ΝΓΣΒΤΕ ΤΕΚΟΥΟΟΒΕ  
ΕΖΕΝΔΑΣ ΕΠΕΤΝΑΡΑΖΤΚ ΕΡΟΣ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΚΧΘΕΙΣ.

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<sup>29</sup> Read ΔΥΒΩΚ.

<sup>30</sup> Read ΝΓΚΡΜΡΜ.

<sup>31</sup> Ms. ΕΥΟΥΗΖ.

44 ΑΥΩ ΕΝΕ ΝΤΑΚΟΥΩΩ ΕΡ ΒΟΛ ΕΝΚΟΛΑCΙC ΕΘΟΟΥ ΝΝΙΝΕΥΗ, ΠΡΜΜΑΟ ΝΑΤΝΑ, ΝΕΥΝΑΡΑΖΤΚ ΕΤΕΚΟΥΟΟΒΕ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΝΓΠΩΩΝΕ ΝΤΕΚΚΕΟΥΕΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ. ΜΗ ΝΤΑΙ ΑΝ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΕΚΧΟΕΙC CΖΑΙ ΝΑΚ ΖΝ ΝΕΦΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ;<sup>32</sup> ΕΝΕΚΟΥΩΩ ΕΩΝΖ ΠΕ, ΜΗ ΝΓΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΑΝ ΖΗΤC ΝΤΕΚΡΙCΙC ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ; ΑΧΙC ΝΑΙ, Ω ΠΡΜΜΑΟ, ΧΕ ΕΚΚΩ ΝΖΗΤΚ ΕΟΥ, ΕΚΩΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΤΕΙΜΝΤΧΑCΙΖΗΤ; ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΖΗΥ ΝΝΙΖΟΥΡ ΝΝΟΥΒ ΕΤΖΝ ΝΕΚΤΗΗΒΕ; ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑΙ ΝΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΤΕΚΜΝΤΩΑΥ ΤΗΡC ΕΤΡΕΚΚΟCΜΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΖΜ ΜΝΤΩΑΥ ΝΙΜ, ΝΤΕ ΤΑΡΕΤΗ ΧΙ ΜΟΕΙΤ ΖΑ ΤΕΚΖΗ ΖΜ ΜΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΚΝΑΜΟΟΩΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ.

45 ΝΩΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΜΑΡΟΥΖΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC, ΕΚΤΗΖ ΑΝ ΜΝ CΖΙΜΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΟΥΝΤΑΚ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΝΖΑΚ ΑΥΩ ΝCΥΜΝΗ ΕΡΕ ΝΕCΖΙΟΟΥΕ ΟΥΑΑΒ, ΕΚ† CΒΩ ΝΑC ΕΡ ΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΜΜΑΙΖΗΚΕ, ΕΚΧΙ ΜΜΟC ΕΤΕΚΚ(f. 130r)ΛΗCΙΑ ΜΜΗΝΕ ΜΝ ΝΕCΩΗΡΕ, ΕΚΩΛΗΛ ΝΜΜΑΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΚΖΜΖΑΛ ΕΤΩΟΟΠ ΝΑΚ. ΕΚΩΑΝΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΚΗΙ ΕΚΕΧΝΟΥΟΥ ΕΝΑΝΩΓΝΟCΙC<sup>33</sup> ΝΤΑΥΟΩΟΥ ΖΝ ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ. ΚΑΝ ΕΩΧΕ ΚΝΑΡ ΤΕΛΙΟC, † ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΚΖΥΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΓΤΑΑΥ ΝΝΖΗΚΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΜΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ. ΜΠΕΡΤCΤΕ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΦΑΙΤΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΖΝ ΟΥΠΙCΤΙC, ΦΧΩ ΓΑΡ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΝΝΕΦΩΩΩΤ ΝΒΙ ΠΕΤ† ΝΝΖΗΚΕ, ΧΕΚΑC ΕΚΕΦΩΠΕ ΜΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΝΙ(ΗCΟΥ)C ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C, ΤΑΡΕΚ† ΝΑΦ ΝΝΕΚΕΤΗΜΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ. ΜΠΡΚΤΕ ΠΕΚΖΟ ΝCΑΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΤΡ ΧΡΙΑ ΕΦΤΩΒΖ ΜΜΟΚ ΧΕ ΦCΗΖ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΩΤΟΜ ΝΝΕΦΜΑΑΧΕ ΕΤΜCΩΤΗ ΕΠΖΗΚΕ, ΦΝΑΩΩ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΦΤΜCΩΤΗ ΕΡΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΦΝΑΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΝΝΕ ΠΑΒΑΛ † CΑ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΚ.

46 ΤΕΝΟΥ ΒΕ †, ΤΑΡΟΥ† ΝΗΤΗ. ΜΠΕΡΤΡΕ ΠΑΡΙΚΕ ΜΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΤΑΖΕ ΤΗΥΤΗ ΝΘΕ ΝΤΑΦΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΝΕCΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΥΟ ΝΘΕ

<sup>32</sup> Correct νεφευαγγελιον?

<sup>33</sup> ἀνάγνωσις.

ΝΖΕΝ<ΟΥ>ΩΝΩ ΖΝ ΤΕΣΜΗΤΕ΄ ΠΖΗΚΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΒΙΗΝ ΝΕΥΧΙ ΜΜΟQ  
 ΝΘΟΝC ΑΥΩ ΠΩΜΜΟ ΝΕΥΜΟΥΚΖ ΜΜΟQ ΝCΕΕΙΡΕ ΔΝ ΜΠΕQΖΑΠ.  
 QΧΩ ΟΝ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΝΕCΑΡΧΩΝ CΕΟ ΝΑΤCΩΤΜ, CΕΟ ΝΩΒΗΡ  
 ΕΝΡΕQΧΙΟΥΕ, ΕΥΜΕ ΝΧΙ ΔΩΡΟΝ, ΕΥΠΗΤ ΝCΑ ΤΩΩΒΕ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΖΑ  
 ΟΥΟΝ΄ ΝΕΤΚΡΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΟΡΦΑΝΟC ΝCΕ† ΝΖΤΗΥ ΔΝ ΕΤΕΚΡΙCΙC  
 ΝΟΥΧΗΡΑ. ΩΑQΧΟΟC ΟΝ ΧΕ (f. 130v) ΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΗΥ ΕΠΖΑΠ ΜΝ  
 ΝΕΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡΟC ΜΠΛΑΟC ΜΝ ΝΕΥΑΡΧΩΝ. ΩΑQΧΟΟC ΟΝ ΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΟΥ ΤΕΤΝΧΙ ΜΠΑΛΑΟC ΝΘΟΝC ΑΥΩ ΠΤΩΡΠ ΝΝΕΝΖΗΚΕ QΖΝ ΝΕΤΝΗΙ;  
 ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΩΑΖΕΡΑΤQ ΕΡΟQ ΜΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ Η ΝQΧΟΟC ΧΕ  
 ΔΙCΩΤΜ ΕΤΕΚCΜΗ, ΔΙΡ ΖΟΤΕ, ΔΙΖΟΠΤ ΧΕ †ΚΗΚ ΑΖΗΥ; ΧΕ ΖΜ ΠΖΔΕ  
 ΝΖΟΟΥ ΕΤQΝΑ† ΖΑΠ ΕΡΟΝ, ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΕΩQΙ ΖΑ ΤΕQΟΡΓΗ;

**47** ΝΤΟΟΥ ΓΑΡ CΕΝΑΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΜΟΥΛΑΖ. ΑQΤΑΜΟΝ ΓΑΡ  
 ΝΒΙ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΧΙ(Ν) ΕΩΟΡΠ, ΕQΟΥΩΩ ΕΤΡΕΝΡ ΖΟΤΕ,  
 ΠΕΧΑQ ΧΕ ΠΕQΘΟΝΟC ΟΥΩΔΖ ΝΚΩΖΤ ΠΕ, ΝΕQΤΡΟΧΟC ΖΕΝΚΩΖΤ  
 ΕΥΜΟΥΖ ΝΕ, ΕΡΕ ΟΥΕΙΕΡΟ ΝΚΩΖΤ CΩΚ ΖΑ ΤΕQΖΕ. ΖΕΝΩΟ ΝΩΟ  
 ΝΕΤΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΕΡΟQ ΑΥΩ ΖΕΝΤΒΑ ΝΤΒΑ ΝΕΤΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΡΟQ.  
 ΜΝΝCΑ ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ QΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΝΒΙ ΠCΩΤΗΡ ΧΕ CΑΡΖ ΝΙΜ  
 CΕΝΑΔΟΚΡΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΚΩΖΤ. ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΜΑΥΑΑΚ, Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ,  
 ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕΚΠΡΑΖΙC ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΘΟΜ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΧΙΟΟΡ ΕΠΠΕΡΟ ΝΚΩΖΤ  
 ΧΝΝΕΚΡΩΚΖ;<sup>34</sup> ΕΩΑΥΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΖΜ ΠΚΩΖΤ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ.  
 QΧΩ ΟΝ ΜΜΟC ΖΝ ΕΙΕΖΕΚΙΗΛ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΧΕ †ΝΑΧΙ ΤΗΥΤΝ,  
 ΤΑCΕΥΖ ΤΗΥΤΝ, ΤΑΝΙΒΕ ΕΡΩΤΝ ΖΜ ΠΚΩΖΤ ΝΤΑΟΡΓΗ, ΤΑΧΙ  
 ΤΗΥΤΝ ΖΜ ΠΑΘΕΡΩΒ.

**48** ΕCΕΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΕΤΡΕQCΟΟΥΖΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟQ ΝQΤΜΚΑΔΝ  
 ΕΝΧΟΟΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ. (f. 131r) ΔΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΝ ΜΑΡΕΝΧΟΟC ΝΑQ ΧΕ ΕΙC  
 ΖΗΗΤΕ ΔΝΟΥΑΖΝ ΝCΩΚ ΖΜ ΠΕΝΖΗΤ ΤΗΡQ. ΝΤΟQ ΖΩΩQ

<sup>34</sup> Read ΧΕ ΗΝΕΚΡΩΚΖ.

ΝΥΩΔΑΝΖΤΗΥ ΖΑΡΟΝ ΝΥϞΟΟΥΖΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΜ ΠΣΕΡΩΒ ΝΤΕΦΑΓΑΠΗ.  
 ΝΑΝΟΥϞ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΝ ΕΤΡΕΝΩΩΠΕ ΖΑ ΠΣΕΡΩΒ ΝΤΕϞΒΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ.  
 ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΩΑΥΧΟΟϞ ΧΕ ΝΤΟϞ ΩΑΥΡΑΖΤΝ ΑΥΩ ΩΑΥΤΑΛϞΟΝ.  
 ΜΑΡΕΝΧΟΟϞ ΖΩΩΝ ΧΕ ΝΤΕΡΙΡ ΝΟΒΕ, ΝΑΝΟΥϞ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΡΑΘΒΒΙΟΙ ΧΕ  
 ΕΙΕΕΙΜΕ ΕΝΕΚΔΙΚΑΙΩΜΑ. ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΑΥΧΟΟϞ ΝϞΙ ΕΙΕΡΗΜΙΑϞ ΧΕ ΑΚ†  
 ΒΩ ΝΑΙ ΑΥΩ ΔΙΧΙ ΒΩ, ΑΚΚΟΤΚ ΕΡΟΙ ΑΥΩ †ΝΑΚΤΟΙ ΧΕ ΝΤΟΚ  
 ΠΧΟΕΙϞ ΠΕ ΠΑΟΥΧΑΙ. ΖΑΘΗ ΝΤΑΔΙΧΜΑΛΩϞΙΑ ΔΙΜΕΤΑΝΟΙ. ΩΑΡΕ  
 ΔΑ(ΥΕΙ)Δ ΟΝ ΧΟΟϞ ΧΕ ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΙ, ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΝΓΕΙΜΕ ΕΠΑΖΗΤ.

**49** ΖΩϞΤΕ, ΝΑϞΝΗΥ, ΝΑΝΟΥϞ ΕΩΠΖΙϞΕ ΝΙΜ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΡΟϞ  
 ΕΤΡΕΚϞΩΤΗ ΕΤΕΙΝΟϞ ΝϞΜΗ ΕΤΖΑΖΟΤΕ ΩΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΧΕ ϞΑΖΕ ΤΗΥΤΝ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΙ, ΝΕΤϞΖΟΥΟΡΤ, ΕΤϞΟΤΕ ΝΩΑΕΝΕΖ, ΤΑΙ ΝΤΑΥϞΒΤΩΤϞ  
 ΜΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟϞ ΜΗ ΝΕΦΑΓΓΕΛΟϞ ΤΗΡΟΥ. ΑΥΧΟΟϞ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΝΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΧΕ ϞΕΝΑΧΙ ΝΟΥϞΟΛΑϞΙϞ ΕϞΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ. ΔΙΖΚΟ ΓΑΡ  
 ΜΠΕΤΝΤΜΟΙ, ΔΙΕΙΒΕ ΜΠΕΤΝΤϞΟΙ, ΝΕΙΚΗΚ ΑΖΗΥ ΜΠΕΤΝ† ΖΙΩΩΤ,  
 ΝΕΙΖΜ ΠΕΩΤΕΚΟ ΜΠΕΤΝΕΙ ΩΑΡΟΙ, ΝΕΙΟ ΝΩΩΜΟ ΜΠΕΤΝΩΟΠΤ  
 ΕΡΩΤΝ. ΝϞϞΟΟΥ(Ν) ΔΝ, Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ, ΧΕ ΜΝΝϞΑ ΠΕΚΜΟΥ ΕΥΝΑΕΙΡΕ  
 ΝΑΚ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΚΕΙΡΕ; (f. 131v) ϞΧΩ ΓΑΡ ΜΜΟϞ ΝϞΙ  
 ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗϞ ΑϞ†ΟΥϞ<sup>35</sup> ΧΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΤΑΚΕΙΡΕ ΕΥΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΝΑΚ, ΝΘΕ  
 ΝΝΙΝΕΥΗ, ΠΕΙΑΤΝΑ.

**50** ΕΡΕ ΠΕΙΜΑΚΑΡΙΟϞ ΛΑΖΑΡΟϞ ΝΗΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΕϞΖΟΕΙΤ ΕϞΟ ΝϞΑΩ  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΕϞΕΠΘΥΜΕΙ ΕϞΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΤΖΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΕΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ  
 ΜΠΡΜΜΑΟ. ΠΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΖΩΩϞ ΑϞΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΕϞΕΤΕΙ ΝΟΥΤΗΗΒΕ  
 ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΚΒΕ ΠΕϞΛΑϞ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΒΑϞΑΝΟϞ ΜΠΚΩΖΤ ΕΤϞΩΟΟΠ ΝΖΗΤϞ  
 ΑΥΩ ΜΠΟΥΤΑΔϞ ΝΑϞ· ΑΛΛΑ ΖΕΝΚΕΧΠΙΟ ΝΕΝΤΑϞϞΟΤΜΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΤϞ  
 ΜΠΕΝΤΑϞΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΟΥΒΗΒ<sup>36</sup> ΧΕ ΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΝΑΝΑΙ. ΝϞΕΝΑΝΑ ΝΑΚ ΔΝ,  
 Ω ΠΤΑΛΔΙΠΟΡΟϞ, ΧΕ ΜΠΕΚΝΑ ΜΠΕΚΩΒΗΡ. ΜΗ ΝϞ<Ν>ΚΑΤΚ ΔΝ ΖΝ

<sup>35</sup> Read ΔΒΔΙΟΥ ΟΓ ΔΒΔΙΑϞ.

<sup>36</sup> Read ΟΥΒΗϞ.

ΤΕΚΖΟΕΙΤ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΚΜΑ ΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΚΜΑ ΝΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ; ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΜΠΕΚΡΑΚΤΚ ΕΧΩΦ ΝΟΥΣΟΠ, ΝΓΧΝΟΥΦ ΔΕ ΕΚΡ ΧΡΙΑ ΝΟΥ; ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΚΜΟΟΨΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΦΑΝΤΑΨΙΑ ΕΚΝΑΥ ΕΠΑΨΑΙ ΝΝΖΜΖΑΛ ΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΝΣΩΚ. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΙΟΥΡΟΤ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΨΟΥΕΙΤ ΜΠΕΚΕΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΕΚΨΒΗΡ, ΚΑΙΠΕΡ ΕΦΝΕΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΕΚΖΟΕΙΤ, ΕΚΒΗΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΥΩ ΕΚΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΧΩΦ. ΝΤΑΨΧΟΟΨ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΦΖΝ ΟΥΚΛΧΕ ΖΜ ΠΕΚΗΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΦΖΝ ΤΕΚΖΑΕΙΤ ΔΕΚΑΨ ΕΡΕ ΤΕΚΜΝΤΑΤΝΑ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ.

**51** ΜΗ ΜΠΑΙ ΑΝ ΠΑΡΙΚΕ ΝΤΑΨΤΑΨΟΥ ΕΧΝ ΤΗΥΤΝ ΝΟΙ ΠΕ(f. 132r)ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΨΧΩ ΜΜΟΨ ΔΕ ΟΥΟΙ ΝΝΕΤΨΩ ΜΠΗΡΠ ΕΤΨΟΤΨ ΕΖΕΝΦΙΑΛΗ, ΕΥΤΨΨΨ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΣΟΨΝ<sup>37</sup> ΑΥΩ ΕΥΨΠΑΤΑΛΑ ΖΙΧΝ ΖΕΝΠΡΗΨ ΕΥΨΗΝ, ΜΠΟΥΜΚΑΖ ΛΑΑΥ ΕΧΜ ΠΤΑΚΟ ΜΠΗΙ ΝΙΩΨΗΦ, ΕΤΕ ΝΕΥΨΝΗΥ ΝΖΗΚΕ ΝΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΡΧΡΙΑ. ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΝΝΑ† ΛΟΓΟΨ ΖΑ ΝΕΤΝΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΥΖΟΨΕ ΕΝΨΒΨ ΜΜΟΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΨΨΠ ΝΤΕΥΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΨΠΠΕ ΝΝΕΝΡΩΜΕ, ΨΕΝΑΧΝΕ ΤΗΥΤΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ.

**52** ΝΤΨΤΝ ΔΕ, Ω ΝΕ{ε}ΠΙΨΚΟΠΟΨ, ΜΠΕΡΕΒΨ ΤΗΥΤΝ ΕΝΑΙ Ν†ΜΙΝΕ. ΝΤΨΤΝ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΝΑ† ΛΟΓΟ<Ψ> ΖΑ ΠΟΖΕ ΤΗΡΨ, ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΡ ΤΗΥΤΝ ΝΕΠΙΨΚΟΠΟΨ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΦ ΕΜΟΟΝΕ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗΨΙΑ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΨ, ΤΑΙ ΝΤΑΨΧΠΟΨ ΝΑΨ ΖΙΤΜ ΠΕΨΨΝΟΨ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΨ. ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΨΜΝΤΨΑΝΖΤΗΨ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΖΗΚΕ ΜΝ ΠΚΕΝΟΨ<sup>38</sup> ΤΗΡΨ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ, ΝΘΕ ΕΤΨΧΩ ΜΜΟΨ ΝΝΕΨΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΔΕ Ν†ΟΥΨΨ ΑΝ ΕΚΑ ΠΕΙΜΗΗΨΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΖΚΑΕΙΤ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΥΨΨΨΜ ΖΡΑΙ ΤΕΖΙΗ. ΑΥΩ ΖΙΤΝ ΤΕΨΜΝΤΨΑΝΖΤΗΨ Α †ΟΥ ΝΟΕΙΚ ΤΨΙ Ε†ΟΥ ΝΨΟ ΝΡΩΜΕ, ΖΨΨΤΕ ΝΨΕΟΥΨΜ ΝΨΕΚΨ ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ. ΕΤΕΤΝΨΑ(Ν)ΚΨ ΔΕ ΝΗΤΝ ΝΤΜΝΤΨΑΝΖΤΗΨ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ,

<sup>37</sup> Ms. ΝΣΟΤΝ.

<sup>38</sup> γένος.

ΚΑΝ ΜΕΝ ΔΕ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΠΕΤΩΟΠ ΝΗΤΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΦΡΩΩΕ ΕΡΩΤΝ ΕΤΣΙ  
ΕΟΥΜΗΗΩΕ ΕΒΟΛ (f. 132v) ΝΖΗΤΦ.

**53** ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΓΑΡ Ρ ΜΗΤΡΕ ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΑΙ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ  
ΕΝΕΝΜΟΟΩΕ ΠΕ ΖΩΣ ΖΗΚΕ, ΕΝΕΙΡΕ ΝΟΥΜΗΗΩΕ ΝΡΜΜΑΟ.  
ΤΜΝΤΩΑΝΖΗΤΗΦ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΟΣ ΩΑССΑΝΩ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΑΩΑΙ  
ΝΤΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ. ΚΑΙΓΑΡ ΟΥΝ ΖΑΖ ΩΟΟΠ ΝΝΙΝΕΥΗ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕΦΦΙ  
ΠΡΟΟΥΩ ΝΟΥΖΗΚΕ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΕΝΕ ΠΕΦΡΜΗΗ ΠΕ. ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΔΕ  
ΖΩΩΦ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΕΝΕ ΟΥΑΠΟΤΑΚΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΡΕ ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ  
ΝΝΕΦΟΙΧ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΕΡΟΦ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΝΜΜΑΦ ΔΕΚΑΣ ΝΝΕ ΟΥΑ ΧΟΟΣ  
ΔΕ ΜΝ ΛΑΑΥ ΩΟΟΠ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΡΑΡΩΩΕ ΕΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΝΝΗΖΗΚΕ. Α ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΓΑΡ ΤΑΝΖΕΤ ΤΗΥΤΝ ΕΝΕΦΕΣΟΟΥ.

**54** Α{Υ}ΝΑΥ ΟΕ ΘΘΕ ΕΤΦΖΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤΦ ΜΠΕΤΡΟΣ {ΜΠΕΤΡΟΣ}  
<ΠΑ>ΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΝΩΟΜΝΤ ΝСОП ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΣΙΜΩΝ, ΠΩΗΡΕ  
ΝΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ, ΚΜΕ ΜΜΟΙ; ΠΕΧΑΦ ΔΕ ΟΕ, ΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ, ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤСОΟΥΝ  
ΔΕ †ΜΕ ΜΜΟΚ. ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΔΕ ΜΟΟΝΕ ΝΝΑΖΙΕΙΒ. ΑΝΑΥ ΔΕ  
ΑΦΟΥΑΖΜΕΦ ΕΡΟΦ ΝΩΟΜΝΤ ΝСОП, ΕΦ† ΕΤΟΟΤΦ ΜΠΕΙΩΑΧΕ  
ΕΤΡΕΦΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΕΖΙΕΙΒ ΜΝ ΝΕСОΟΥ. ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΠΖΩΒ Ν<ΝΕΦ>ΟΙΧ ΠΕ  
ΠΡΩΜΕ: ΕΤΒΕ <ΠΑΙ> ΑΦΡ ΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ, ΑΦΜΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΦΩΝΖ  
ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΝΝΑΩΝΖ ΝΜΜΑΦ. ΜΠΕΡΡ ΔΜΕΛΗΣ ΕΤΠΑΡΑΘΗΚΗ  
ΝΤΑΤΕΝΧΙΤС ΑΛΛΑ ΡΩΩΕ ΕΡΩΤΝ ΜΝ ΠΟΖΕ ΤΗΡΦ. ΝΡΜΜΑΟ ΔΕ Ρ  
(f. 133r) ΜΗΤΡΕ ΝΑΥ ΜΜΗΝΕ ΝΝΕΝΤΑ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΚΑΑΥ  
ΕΖΡΑΙ ΜΠΕΦΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΩΗΡΕ ΔΙΜΟΘΕΟΣ ΝΘΕ ΕΤΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΖΩΝ  
ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΝΡΜΜΑΟ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΥΧΙΟΕ ΝΖΗΤ ΑΥΩ ΝСЕТМКА ΖΤΗΥ  
ΕΤΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ ΕΤΝΑΤΑΚΟ ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΡΟΥΚΑ ΖΤΗΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΠΑΙ  
ΕΤ† ΝΑΝ ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ. ΜΑΡΕ ΝΡΜΜΑΟ ΜΠΕΙΑΩΝ  
СΩΟΥΖ ΝΑΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΟΥСЕНТЕ ΕΝΑΝΟΥС ΕΠΩΝΖ ΝΩΑ ΕΝΕΖ.  
ΚΑΙΓΑΡ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ † ΝΑΥ ΟΝ ΝΤΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ ΝΤΕΦΑΡΕΤΗ: ΕΩΩΠΕ  
ΜΜΟΝ, СЕНΑΖΟΥΡΩΟΥ ΜΠΩΝΖ ΜΜΕ.

**55** ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΜΑΡΟΥΩΩΠΕ ΝΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΕΥΦΙ ΜΠΡΟΥΩ ΝΝΖΗΚΕ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΥ ΝΤΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ ΕΤΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ. ΑΧΧΟΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΕΩΧΕ ΜΠΕΤΝΡ ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΖΜ ΠΕΤΕ ΠΩΤΗ ΠΕ ΕΙΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΩΤΑΝΖΟΥ<Τ> ΤΗΥΤΗ ΕΠΕΤ ΜΠΩΤΗ ΑΝ ΠΕ; ΜΠΕΤΕ ΠΩΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΝΜΠΗΥΕ' ΕΥΝΑΦΙΤΣ ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΥΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ ΕΤΕ ΜΝ ΝΑ ΝΖΗΤΣ. ΠΕΤΝΑ ΜΠΩΑ ΝΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΝΩΔΕΝΕΖ.<sup>39</sup>

**56** ΤΕΝΟΥ ΣΕ, Ω ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ, ΜΠΕΡΤΡΕ ΠΕΙΚΟΥΙ ΝΩΟΥΩΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΙΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΔΑΝ ΝΩΜΜΟ ΕΝΕΙΩΔΕΝΕΖ. ΜΠΕΡΤΡΕ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΠΟΡΧ<Ν> ΕΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ' ΜΠΕΡΤΡΕ ΠΜΟΥ ΠΟΡΧΝ ΕΠΩΝΖ. ΝΖΗΚΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ Ν†ΖΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΣΟΛΣΛ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΥΡ (f. 133v) ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΥΕΤΠΩ ΕΤΑΣΩΟΥ ΝΣΕΕΙΜΕ ΕΠΕΖΜΟΤ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΑΦ ΝΜΜΑΥ ΕΑΦΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΖΩΒ ΕΦΑΣΩΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΕ ΝΡΜΜΑΟ, ΕΑΦΑΔΥ ΝΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΟΣ ΕΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ ΖΑ ΟΥΜΗΗΩΕ ΝΖΩΒ ΕΦΖΟΡΩ. ΕΥΝΑΧΝΟΥΚ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΕΤΕΚΨΥΧΗ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΚ, Ω ΠΖΗΚΕ, ΜΠΡΛΥΠΗ ΧΕ ΜΝΤΚ ΝΟΥΒ ΜΜΑΥ ΖΙ ΖΑΤ ΖΙ ΣΩΜ ΖΙ ΩΖΕ ΖΙ ΖΜΖΑΛ ΖΙ ΤΒΝΗ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΤΕΩΩΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤΡΕΚΡΑΩΕ ΧΕ ΝΣΕΝΑΧΝΟΥΚ ΑΝ ΕΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΒΗΜΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

**57** ΝΣΕΝΑΧΝΟΥΚ ΑΝ ΕΝΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΜΠΚΑΖ ΧΕ ΑΚΧΟΟΡΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑΚΩΣ, ΜΠΕΚΡ ΠΟΥΩΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ, ΜΠΕΚΤΑΔΥ ΝΝΖΗΚΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΧΗΡΑ Η ΧΕ ΑΚ<ΤΑΔΥ> ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑ ΝΟΥΒ ΑΚΤΟΜΣΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΚΑΖ Η ΧΕ ΑΚΤΑΔΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΧΗΒ ΖΑ ΝΟΣ Ν†ΜΗ, ΕΚΖΟΧΖΧ ΜΠΖΗΚΕ ΝΣΑ ΣΑ ΝΙΜ, ΕΑΚΡ ΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ ΕΠΕΤΕ ΠΩΚ ΑΝ ΠΕ. ΝΤΕΡΕΚΧΙ ΝΤΕΥΔΙΜΗ ΜΠΕΚΡ ΖΤΗΚ ΝΓΚΑΤΚ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΦΚΩ ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΚΤΩΜΣ ΜΠΕΥΝΟΥΒ ΖΜ ΠΚΑΖ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΦΙΤΚ ΖΙΧΩΦ, ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΒ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΦ ΣΩ ΕΦΤΟΜΣ ΖΜ ΠΚΑΖ ΝΤΕΦΖΕ, ΝΤΕ ΝΕΚΝΟΒΕ ΔΕ ΖΩΟΥ ΣΩ ΕΥΜΟΟΩΕ ΝΗΜΑΚ ΕΠΒΗΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΧΙΤΚ ΕΡΟΦ. ΕΙΕ ΝΓΧΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ

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<sup>39</sup> Ms. ογωαενεζ.

ΖΗ ΟΥΜΝΤΩΝΑ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΜ ΝΤΑΦΧΩΩΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΦΟΥΣΙΑ  
ΖΗ ΟΥΜΝΤΩΝΑ; ΜΗΝΣΩΣ ΝΤΕΡΕΦΩΩΩΤ ΑΦΡ ΖΤΗΦ ΑΦΖΜΟΟΣ  
ΑΦΡΙΜΕ. (f. 134r) ΕΝΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΕΤΝΤΑΦ ΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤΦ ΝΟΥΝΑΗΤ ΝΦΧΟΦ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΟΥΩΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΦΝΑΡ ΒΟΛ ΕΥΜΗΗΩΕ ΝΝΟΒΕ. ΦΣΗΖ  
ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΑΥΣΩΟΥΖ ΝΤΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ ΝΝΑΣΕΒΗΣ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ.

**58** ΜΗ ΜΠΕΚΡ ΒΟΛ ΕΝΕΙΧΠΙΟ ΤΗΡΟΥ, Ω ΠΖΗΚΕ; ΜΗ ΣΕΝΑΧΝΟΥΚ ΧΕ  
ΝΤΑΚΟΥΩΤ<ρ> ΜΠΝΟΥΒ ΜΗ ΠΖΑΤ ΝΝΕΚΠΑΛΛΑΚΗ, ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΝΤΑ  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΣΝ ΑΡΙΚΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ  
ΠΑΝΟΥΒ ΜΗ ΠΑΖΑΤ ΔΙΤΑΔΥ ΝΑΥ' ΝΤΟΟΥ ΖΩΟΥ ΑΥΤΑΜΙΟΥΦ  
ΝΤΒΑΖΑΛ ΕΤΕ ΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΤΕ; ΜΗ <σε>ΝΑΤΣΑΙΟΚ ΖΙΧΝ  
ΖΕΝΖΤΩΩΡ ΧΕ ΑΚΦΙ ΜΠΕΥΡΟΟΥΦ ΕΖΟΥΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΤΑΜΙΟΥΦ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΦΖΙΚΩΝ; ΕΙΕ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΑΧΙ ΖΑΠ ΝΗΜΑΚ  
ΖΗ ΠΒΗΜΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΕ ΑΚ† ΖΙΣΕ ΝΑΦ Η ΧΕ ΑΚΟΒΩΚ ΕΡΟΦ  
ΕΤΕΦΖΡΕ ΜΗ ΤΕΦΖΒΣΩ Η ΧΕ ΑΚΟΥΕΖΣΑΖΝΕ ΝΑΦ ΕΥΖΩΒ ΕΦΖΟΡΦ  
ΠΑΡΑ ΤΕΦΣΟΜ' ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΕΦΣΩΩΤ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΚΟΥΩΜ ΕΚΣΩ ΖΗ  
ΝΕΤΕΡΕ ΤΕΦΨΥΧΗ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ. ΝΤΟΚ ΣΕ, Ω ΠΡΜΜΑΟ, ΚΟΥΩΜ  
ΖΗ ΟΥΒΑΛ ΜΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ, ΜΠΕΚΣΟΥΤΝ ΤΟΟΤΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΡΟΦ ΕΤΡΕΦΧΙ  
†ΠΕ ΖΩΩΦ ΖΗ ΠΕΤΕΚΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΦ. ΜΗ ΜΠΕΚΡ ΒΟΛ ΕΝΑΙ  
ΤΗΡΟΥ, Ω ΠΖΗΚΕ, ΝΓΩΩΠΕ ΖΗ ΟΥΜΝΤΡΜΖΕ ΕΚΑΖΕΡΑΤΚ ΕΠΡΜΜΑΟ  
ΕΥ† ΖΑΠ ΕΡΟΦ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ;

**59** ΜΑΡΟΥΧΙ ΩΠΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΝΣΙ ΝΖΕΡΕΤΙΚΟΣ' ΜΑΡΟΥΤΩΜ ΝΤΕΥ(f.  
134v)ΤΑΠΡΟ ΕΤΜΕΖ ΜΜΑΤΟΥ, ΤΑΙ ΕΤΧΙ ΟΥΑ ΕΤΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ  
ΜΠΡΕΦΣΩΝΤ ΜΠΤΗΡΦ, ΠΑΙ ΕΤΦΙ ΜΠΡΟΟΥΦ ΜΨΥΧΗ ΝΙΜ  
ΝΤΑΦΤΑΜΙΟΥΦ ΕΦΟΥΩΩ ΕΤΡΕΥΩΝΖ ΖΙ ΟΥΣΟΠ, ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕ  
ΑΦΡ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΝΖΗΚΕ, ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΝΡΜΜΑΟ.

**60** ΕΙΣ ΤΕΧΑΡΙΣ ΣΕ ΔΙΖΕ ΕΡΟΣ, ΤΑΙ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΙΩΤ  
ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ ΤΑΑΣ ΕΠΖΗΚΕ ΜΗ ΝΚΟΟΥΕ  
ΕΤΩΩΝΕ' ΚΑΙΓΑΡ ΜΠΕ ΛΑΔΥ ΝΖΩΒ ΩΩΠΕ ΑΧΝ ΠΤΩΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

ΝΖΗΚΕ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΉ ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΖΙΗ ΕΣΣΟΥΤΩΝ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΜΟΤΝ  
 ΕΤΡΕΥΜΟΟΨΕ ΝΖΗΤΣ ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΥΕΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥ(Ν) ΕΠΩΝΖ ΩΑ ΕΝΕΖ  
 ΖΝ ΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΝΕΜΠΗΥΕ. ΜΗ ΘΕ ΟΥΝΤΑΚ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΖΕΝΜΗΗΩΨΕ  
 ΝΗΡΠ ΕΤΡΕΚΣΩ ΜΜΗΝΕ ΩΑΝΤΕΚΤΖΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΓΘΛΙΒΕ, ΝΓΣΩΩΤ ΝΣΑ  
 ΟΥΣΖΙΜΕ ΝΤΩΚ ΑΝ {ΤΩΚ ΑΝ} ΤΕ Η ΝΓΒΩΚ, ΝΓΧΙΟΥΕ ΝΣΕΣΟΠΚ  
 ΝΣΕΜΟΟΥΤΚ; ΑΛΛΑ Α ΤΕΚΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΕΤΕΚΩΟΟΠ ΝΖΗΤΣ ΩΩΠΕ ΝΑΚ  
 ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΣΑΖ ΜΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ ΝΡΕΥΤΉ ΣΒΩ ΕΤΡΕΚΚΑΤΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΘΟΟΥ  
 ΝΙΜ, ΝΓΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΝΓΩΩΠΕ ΕΚΕΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΕΚΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΕΦΝΤΟΛΗ ΑΥΩ ΝΓΤΉ ΕΟΟΥ ΝΑΥ ΜΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΝ ΤΕΥΩΗ.

**61** ΜΗ ΝΓΣΟΟΥΝ ΝΤΟΚ ΑΝ, Ω ΠΖΗΚΕ, ΔΕ ΤΑΡΧΗ ΜΠΚΩΚΑΖΗΥ ΠΕ  
 ΠΗΡΠ; ΜΑΡΕ ΠΕΚΝΟΥΣ ΩΩΠΕ ΕΥΡΗΣ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΑΥΩ ΝΓΣΩ  
 ΕΚΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΑΥΤΑΜΙΟΚ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΦΕΙΝΕ ΜΝ  
 ΤΕΥΖΙΚΩΝ, ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΥ(ῆ. 135γ)ΚΑΔΚ ΕΚΟ ΝΡΜΜΑΟ ΖΜ ΠΕΙΔΙΩΝ  
 ΕΤΝΗΥ ΜΝ ΤΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ ΝΝΜΠΗΥΕ ΝΩΑΕΝΕΖ. ΕΚΩΔΝΣΩ ΔΕ  
 ΕΚΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΑΙ, Ω ΠΖΗΚΕ, ΕΚΩΠ ΖΜΟΤ ΝΤΜ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ <ΖΝ>  
 ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΖΑ ΤΕΚΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ, ΝΦΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΚΖΗΤ ΕΥΣΟΥΤΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΡΟΥ, ΦΝΑΧΟΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΩΚ ΜΠΕΦΝΑ.<sup>40</sup> ΜΗ ΝΓΣΩΤΜ ΑΝ ΝΤΟΚ  
 ΕΝΣΑΙΔΣ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΥΡΕΥΤΖΑΠ ΠΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ  
 ΝΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΖΜ ΠΗΙ ΜΠΙ(ΣΡΑ)ΗΛ, ΕΦΝΑΕΙΝΕ ΕΧΩΚ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΦΝΑ;  
 ΝΕΥΧΡΙΑ<sup>41</sup> ΓΑΡ ΝΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ ΜΠΕΦΚΑΔΥ<sup>42</sup> ΝΦΩΩΤ ΜΜΟΟΥ, ΕΤΕ  
 ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΠΟΕΙΚ ΜΝ ΠΜΟΟΥ. †ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ ΜΝ ΛΑΔΥ  
 ΝΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΡΕ ΝΑΙ ΩΟΟΠ ΝΑΥ <ΕΙΜΗΤΙ> ΖΙΤΝ ΤΜΝΤΑΓΑΘΟΣ  
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΠΕ΄ <ΚΑΝ> ΝΤΕ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΟΒΩΟΥ ΕΟΥΑ ΕΥΡ ΧΡΙΑ, ΕΜΕΡΕ  
 ΤΜΝΤΩΑΝΖΤΗΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΒΩΣ ΕΡΟΥ.

**62** ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΜΠΕΤΕΩΨΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΑΝ ΠΕ, Ω ΠΖΗΚΕ, ΕΟΒΩΚ  
 ΕΤΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ ΝΤΑΡΕΤΗ ΕΤΩΟΟΠ ΝΑΚ. ΜΠΕΡΚΩΖ ΘΕ

<sup>40</sup> Ms. ηπεκνα.

<sup>41</sup> Ms. ηεφχρια.

<sup>42</sup> Ms. ηπεφκαδτ.

ΕΝΕΤΣΟΥΤΩ(Ν) ΖΜ ΠΕΥΩΝΖ,<sup>43</sup> ΝΑΙ ΕΤΣΜΑΚΖ{Κ}<sup>44</sup> ΝΑΥ<sup>45</sup> ΕΒΩΚ  
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΝΕΜΠΗΥΕ· ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ; ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ ΜΠΟΥΟΥΩΩ  
 ΕΜΑΚΖΟΥ, ΚΑΤΑ ΠΩΑΧΕ ΜΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ, ΑΛΛΑ ΑΥΤΑΑΥ ΕΠΧΩΖΜ  
 ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΜΝ ΑΚΑΘΑΡΧΙΑ ΝΙΜ ΜΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΜΑΙΤΟΝΖΟΥΟ. ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΠΑΙ ΝΣΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΑΝ {ΑΝ} ΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ, ΠΑΙ ΕΤ† ΝΤΗΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ ΜΝ  
 ΤΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ.

**63** (f. 135v) ΠΕΤΟΥΩΩ ΖΩΩΦ ΕΩΝΖ ΖΝ ΤΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ ΝΦΩΚ  
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΝΜΠΗΥΕ, ΜΑΡΕΦΜΕΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΖΜ ΠΕΦΖΗΤ  
 ΤΗΡΦ. ΜΗ ΝΟΥΡΗΜΑΟ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΖΑΧΑΙΟΣ; ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕ ΠΕΖΟΥΟ  
 ΜΠΕΤΝΤΑΦ ΚΩΛΗ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΜΝΤΡΟ ΝΝΕΜΠΗΥΕ, ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΧΕ ΑΦΜΕΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΖΜ ΠΕΦΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΦ, ΚΑΙΠΕΡ ΟΥΤΕΛΩΝΗΣ ΠΕ,  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΖΙΤΜ ΠΕΦΟΥΩΩ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΖΜ ΠΩΑΧΕ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΑΝ,  
 ΑΛΛΑ ΑΦΧΕΚ ΠΖΩΒ ΕΒΟΛ. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΑΦΜΠΩΑ ΜΠΩΝΖ ΦΑ ΕΝΕΖ.  
 ΦΧΩ ΓΑΡ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΒΙ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΧΕ ΕΡΦΑΝ ΟΥΑ ΜΕΡΙΤ, ΦΝΑΖΑΡΕΖ  
 ΕΠΑΦΑΧΕ. ΝΑΙ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΕΤΜΕΛΕΤΑ ΖΝ ΤΕΙΛΕΖΙΣ ΧΕ ΣΜΟΤΝ ΕΤΡΕ  
 ΟΥΒΑΜΟΥΛ ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΙΤΝ ΤΟΥΑΤΒΕ ΝΖΑΜΕΝΤΩΝ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΡΟΣ  
 ΕΤΡΕ ΟΥΡΗΜΑΟ ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΝΜΠΗΥΕ, ΑΥΜΕΡΕ †ΛΕΖΙΣ,  
 ΑΥΟΡΒΟΥ ΜΑΥΑΑΥ ΕΤΜΤΡΕΥΕΙ ΕΖΟΥ(Ν) ΕΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΝΜΠΗΥΕ,  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΑΥΜΕΡΕ ΠΜΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΕ ΠΩΝΖ, ΑΥΜΕΡΕ ΠΕΙΔΙΩΝ  
 ΕΤΝΑΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΕΖΟΥΕ ΠΕΙΔΙΩΝ ΕΤΕ ΜΝ ΖΑΗ ΟΥΗΖ ΝΣΩΦ. ΤΝΝΑΥ  
 ΓΑΡ ΕΖΑΖ ΝΡΜΜΑΟ ΝΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ ΕΑΥΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ  
 ΝΝΕΜΠΗΥΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΥΜΝΤΝΑΗΤ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΖΗΚΕ, ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΜΠΟΥ†  
 ΣΑ ΕΠΕΤΝΤΑΥ.

**64** ΝΤΩΤΝ ΔΕ, Ω ΝΕΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ, ΜΠΡΡ ΔΜΕΛΗΣ ΕΧΩ (f. 136r)  
 ΕΡΟΥ ΜΠΩΑΧΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΕΤΕΤΝΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΩΤΝ ΝΤΥΠΟΣ ΝΤΜΕ ΜΝ  
 ΤΒΒΟ ΜΝ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ, ΕΤΕΤΝΟ ΜΜΑΙΖΗΚΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΕΤΝΣΟΛΣΛ ΜΜΟΥ

<sup>43</sup> Ms. πεφωονζ.

<sup>44</sup> Read ετςμοκζ{κ}.

<sup>45</sup> Ms. ναι.

ΖΗ ΠΩΔΑΧΕ, ΕΤΕΤΝΖΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΡΕΥΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ  
ΜΠΩΔΑΧΕ ΜΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΑΥΩ ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙCΤΗC ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC ΝΘΕ  
ΝΤΑΥCΖΑΙ ΖΗ ΤΕΥΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ ΧΕ ΜΠΕΡΤΡΕΝΜΕ ΖΗ ΠΩΔΑΧΕ ΜΜΑΤΕ,  
Ω ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ, ΑΛΛΑ ΖΗ ΠΖΩΒ ΜΗ ΤΜΕ.

**65** ΕΩΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΑ ΕΥΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΒΙΟC ΜΠΕΙΚΟCΜΟC,  
ΕΥΩΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΥCΟΝ ΕΥΡΧΡΙΑ, ΝΥΩΤΑΜ ΝΝΕΥΜΝ<Τ>ΩΝΖΤΗΥ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΥ, ΝΑΩ ΝΖΕ CΩΟΟΠ ΝΖΗΤΥ ΝΒΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ;  
ΝΤΕΤΝΕΙΡΕ ΑΝ ΜΠΜΕΕΥΕ, Ω ΝΡΩΜΕ, ΧΕ ΝΤΩΤΗ ΝΕ ΝΕΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟC  
ΝΝΕΚΤΗΜΑ ΜΠΕΙΚΟCΜΟC; ΑΥΩ ΥΝΑΥΙ ΩΠ ΝΜΜΗΤΗ ΝΒΙ ΠΧΟΕΙC  
ΝΝΕΚΤΗΜΑ ΩΑΖΡΑΙ ΕΥΖΟΒΟΛΟC ΝΟΥΩΤ; ΜΗ ΝΤΕΤΝCΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ  
ΝΤΕΥΜΝΤΑΚΡΙΒΗC; ΑΥΖΩΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΥΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΧΕ  
CΩΟΥΖ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΝΛΑΚΗ ΝΤΑΥCΕΕΠΕ ΧΕ ΝΝΕ ΛΑΔΥ ΤΑΚΟ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΝΖΗΤΟΥ. ΜΠΚΩΖ <Ε>ΝΡΜΜΑΟ, ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΥΩΩΠΕ ΖΗ ΤΕΙΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ  
ΝΤΕΙCΟΤ ΜΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΖΑΠ. CΕΝΑΔΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΝΒΙ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ  
ΜΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΖΑΠ. ΠΕΝΤΑΥΒΑΛΕ ΖΑΖ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΥ CΕΝΑΩΑΤΥ ΝΖΑΖ  
ΑΥΩ ΠΕΝΤΑΥ† ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΖΟΥΟ CΕΝΑΩΙΝΕ (f. 136v) ΝCΑ ΟΥΖΟΥΟ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥΤΥ.

**66** ΚΤΕ ΤΗΥΤΗ ΕΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΑΤΕ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΩΩΠΕ,  
ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ· ΜΠΕΡΤΡΕ ΝΕΤΝΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΧΙ ΧΡΟΠ. CΩΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΥ  
ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤΝΨΧΗ ΝΑΡΙΜΕ ΕΠΖΑΗ, ΝΤΕ  
ΝΕΤΝΒΑΛ ΩΟΥΟ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΝΖΕΝΡΜΕΙΗ ΧΕ ΑΤΕΤΝΧΩΩΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΝΝΕCΟΟΥ ΜΠΟΖΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΑΧΙC ΜΠΡΡΟ ΜΗ ΝΕΤCΜCΟΜ ΧΕ ΑΥΥΙ  
ΜΠΕΚΛΟΜ ΖΙΧΝ ΤΕΤΝΑΠΕ. ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC ΩΑΧΕ  
ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΘΒΒΙΕ ΤΗΥΤΗ, ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΝΡΜΜΑΟ ΜΠΕΙΚΑΙΡΟC, ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΕ  
ΑΡΙΚΕ ΝΙΜ ΧΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΥ. ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΟΥΝ ΟΥΜΗΝΩΕ  
ΕΠΘΥΜΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΖΩΒ; ΕΥΩΑΝ ΟΥΡΜΜΑΟ ΝΔΥΡΑΝΝΟC ΑΜΑΖΤΕ, ΩΑΥΡ  
ΩΟΡΠ ΝΥΒΟCΥ ΖΙΧΝ ΝΕCΟΟΝΕ.

**67** ΠΜΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΜΠΖΗΚΕ ΤΑΙΗΥ ΑΥΩ ΨΜΕΖ ΝΚΑΤΑΚΤΑΚΙΣ ΕΖΟΥΕ ΠΑ  
 ΝΡΜΜΑΟ. ΕΡΩΔΑΝ ΠΡΜΜΑΟ <ΜΟΥ> ΨΑΡΕ ΖΑΖ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΕΥΕ. ΖΟΙΝΕ  
 ΔΕ ΑΨΧΙΤΟΥ ΝΘΟΝΣ· ΨΑΥΡΑΨΕ ΜΜΟΥ, ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΔΕ ΕΥΜΟΤΝ  
 ΜΜΟΥ, ΨΑΥΩΚΜ ΔΕ ΔΩΔΧΝ ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΘΙ ΘΕΛΠΙΣ ΜΠΕΥΖΩΒ.  
 ΕΨΩΠΕ ΟΝ ΑΨΚΑ ΖΕΝΧΡΗΜΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΨΒΩΚ, ΝΤΕ ΝΕΨΩΗΡΕ ΔΟΟΡΟΥ  
 ΕΒΟΛ· ΜΗΝΣΩΣ ΨΑΡΕ ΠΑΙ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΝΟΘΝΕΘ ΕΠΖΔΕ. ΕΨΩΠΕ ΟΝ  
 ΜΠΕΨΚΩ, ΨΑΥΣΑΨΥ ΜΠΖΑΗ ΝΣΕΒΑΒΩΩΨ ΖΜ ΠΕΨΜΟΥ. ΠΖΗΚΕ ΔΕ  
 ΝΤΟΥ ΨΟΥΟΧ ΕΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ. ΟΥΚΚΕΥΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΠΕΨΩΟΠ (f.  
 137r) ΝΑΨ ΕΤΡΕΥΘΟΝΤΨ ΔΕ ΟΥΖΗΚΕ ΝΣΑΒΕ ΠΕ. ΤΗΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ ΔΕ  
 ΜΠΕΙΑΙΩΝ ΜΠΕΡΚΑ ΖΤΗΤΝ ΕΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΣΜΕΖ ΝΑΚΑΘΑΡΚΙΑ ΝΙΜ.

**68** ΜΕΨΣΡΒΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΥΨ ΝΘΙ ΝΡΜΜΑΟ. † ΖΤΗΚ ΝΑΚ  
 ΝΖΟΥΝ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗΚΙΑ. ΜΗ ΜΕΚΘΝ ΟΥΜΗΗΨΕ ΝΖΗΚΕ  
 ΕΥΠΡΟΣΚΑΡΤΗΡΕΙ ΕΠΨΑΔΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ; ΕΨΩΔΑΝΕΙ ΔΕ ΕΖΟΥ(Ν) ΝΘΙ  
 ΟΥΡΜΜΑΟ ΜΕΨΑΝΙΧΕ ΖΩΛΟΣ ΕΖΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΕΨΕΣΩΤΜ ΕΠΨΑΔΕ  
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΠΕΤΨΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΑΨ ΔΕ † ΖΤΗΚ ΕΤΕΚΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ  
 ΕΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥ(Ν) ΕΠΗΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΖΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΥ  
 ΝΤΑΡΕΚΣΩΤΜ ΕΝΕΨΨΑΔΕ. ΝΡΜΜΑΟ ΔΕ ΝΣΕΟΥΨΩ ΔΝ ΕΖΩΝ  
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΨΣΩΤΜ ΕΝΕΨΠΠΟ ΕΤΨΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΣΕΟΥΨΩ  
 ΔΝ ΕΣΩΤΜ ΝΣΕΟΥΨΑΙ. ΕΣΨΑΝΨΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΔ <ΕΙ> ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΚΙΑ, ΨΑΨΨΩΠΕ ΕΨΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΜ ΠΟΥΕ· ΜΕΨΖΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΝΖΗΚΕ ΝΘΕ ΕΨΔΕ ΕΡΕ ΝΖΗΚΕ ΣΨΩ, ΕΨΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΨΤΩΛΜ  
 ΝΝΕΨΖΟΙΤΕ. Ω ΤΕΙΝΟΘ ΜΜΝΤΑΤΖΟΤΕ ΜΗ ΤΕΙΜΝΤΜΑΣΤΕΡΨΜΕ. Ω  
 ΠΡΩΜΕ, ΝΓΝΑΜΟΨΕ ΔΝ ΝΓΚΤΟΚ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΜ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ ΤΗΡΨ; ΜΗ  
 ΝΨΑΡΕ ΠΜΑΝΖΜΟΟΣ {ΔΝ} ΝΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΨΩΠΕ ΔΝ ΖΑΤΝ ΠΕΤΨΑΛΛΕΙ,  
 ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΨΔΟΟΣ ΝΘΙ ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΔΑ(ΥΕΙ)Δ ΔΕ ΑΨΡ ΨΟΡΠ ΝΘΙ  
 ΝΑΡΧΩ(Ν) ΕΥΖΗΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΤΨΑΛΛΕΙ;

**69** ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΑΨΚΑΔΥ ΕΥΖΗΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ (f. 137v) ΕΠΜΑΝ† ΣΒΩ ΝΖΟΥΟ;  
 ΜΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ ΔΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΨΑΔΕ ΧΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ; ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΣΕΝΑΨΩΠΕ

NCΩQ<sup>46</sup> ΝΖΟΥΟ. ΕΙΩΔΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΚ, Ω ΠΡΜΜΑΟ, ΕΤΟ ΝΡΜΜΑΟ ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ  
ΔΥΩ ΕΤΟ ΝΑΜΕΛΗC ΕΒΩΚ ΕΠΗΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΔΥΩ ΕΤΟ ΝΑΜΕΛΗC  
ΕΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ, ΑΛΛΑ ΕΦCΕΕΤ ΖΙ ΠCΑΝΒΟΛ ΖΙΡΝ ΝΡΡΩΟΥ, ΜΝ  
ΠΕΝΤΑΦΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΕΦΖΜΟΟC ΖΜ ΠΜΑ ΝΤΑΥΤΟΥΦ ΝΑΦ. ΝΑΙ CΕ  
ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΠΩΔΑΧΕ ΕΤCΗΖ ΝΑCΝ ΔΡΙΚΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΝΑΙ  
ΝΕΤΕΡΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΧΩ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΧΕ ΔΙΜΟΥΓΤΕ ΕΡΩΤΝ, ΜΠΕΤΝCΩΤΜ  
ΕΡΟΙ· ΔΙΠΕΡΩ ΝΑCΙΧ ΕΒΟΛ, ΜΠΕΤΝ† ΖΤΗΤΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ  
ΤΕΤΝΝΑΖΕ ΤΗΡΤΝ ΖΝ ΤCΗΦΕ, ΠΕΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC. ΠΕΧΑΦ ΟΝ ΧΕ  
†ΝΑΜΟΟΥΤΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΩΔΑΧΕ ΝΡΩΙ.

**70** ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΝΤΕΤΝΟΥΩΩ ΔΝ ΕCΡΒΕ ΕΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ, ΠΑΙ ΕΤΧΩ ΜΜΟC  
ΧΕ CΡΒΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ; ΑΛΛΑ ΕΡΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ  
ΠΗΤ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΥΩΩ ΝΤΕΦΥΧΗ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΦ· ΖΟΙΝΕ ΜΕΝ ΕΥΠΗΤ  
ΕΝΕΘΕΑΔΡΟΝ ΜΝ ΝCΥΝΤΥΧΙΑ ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ, ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΥΠΗΤ ΖΝ  
ΖΕΝΠΕΤΩΟΕΙΤ ΝΤΕ ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΕΤΦΟΥΕΙΤ ΔΥΩ ΕΤΝΑΠΑΡΑΓΕ,  
ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕCΩΤΜ ΕΠΩΔΑΧΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC, ΠΑΙ ΕΤΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟC  
ΧΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΕΤΕ ΜΕΦΩΙΒΕ ΕΝΕΖ. Δ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΓΑΡ ΚΑΘΙCΤΑ  
ΝΟΥΑ ΖΙΧΝ ΟΥΜΗΗΦΕ (f. 138r) ΧΕΚΑC ΕΡΕ ΟΥΑ ΝΙΜ ΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΖΝ  
ΟΥΤΑΖΙC ΝΟΥΩΤ.

**71** ΕΡΩΔΑΝ ΟΥΑ ΖΝ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ, ΤΑΝΑΓΚΗ  
ΤΕ ΕΤΡΕ ΝΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΝCΩΦ ΔΥΩ ΕΦΑΡΧΕΙ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
ΝΜΜΑΦ ΝCΕΩΛΗΛ· ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΡΕΦ† ΖΗΥ ΜΜΟΦ ΜΑΥΑΑΦ ΑΛΛΑ ΦΑΦ†  
ΖΗΥ ΟΝ ΝΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ, ΝΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΝCΩΦ. ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ CΕΝΑ† ΕΟΟΥ  
ΜΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΦ ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΕΦΩΔΑΝΡ ΝΟΒΕ ΝΦCΩ ΖΝ ΟΥΒΙΟC  
ΕΦCΗΩ ΝΑΖΡΑΥ ΔΥΩ ΕΦΒΗΛ ΕΒΟΛ, ΝΤΟΟΥ ΖΩΟΥ ΟΝ CΕΝΑΚΩΖ  
ΕΝΕΦΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΘΟΟΥ ΝCΕΜΟΟΩΕ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ. ΠΕΤΑΡΧΕΙ ΔΕ ΕΧΩΟΥ  
ΝΤΟΦ ΠΕΤΝΑ† ΛΟΓΟC ΖΑ ΝΕΥΝΟΒΕ. ΝΕΤΟ ΝΑΜΕΛΗC ΕΤCΥΝΑΖΙC  
ΕΥΟ ΝΑΜΕΛΗC ΧΕ ΝΝΕΥCΩΤΜ ΕΝΕΧΠΙΟ ΕΤΧΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ. ΜΝ

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<sup>46</sup> Ms. NCΩΟΥ.

ΝΤΝΝΑΣΝ ΔΡΙΚΕ ΔΝ ΕΝΕΤΟ ΝΑΜΕΛΗΣ ΕΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, ΕΑ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΔΔΥ ΝΑΤΡΟΥΩ ΖΝ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ, ΔΦΚΑΔΥ ΕΥΣΡΒΕ ΕΠΕΥΟΥΧΑΙ ΗΜΙ(Ν) ΗΜΟΥ; ΝΤΟΥ ΖΩΟΥ ΔΥΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙ, ΜΠΟΥΒΩΚ ΕΠΗ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΖΝ ΝΖΙΡ ΜΝ ΝΑΓΟΡΑ, ΕΡΕ ΠΩΔΧΕ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΟΡΩ ΕΒΟΛ, ΠΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΩΩ ΕΤΡΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΣΟΥΝ ΝΤΜΕ.

**72** ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΖΩΟΥ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΜΕΖ ΜΜΝΤΣΟΣ ΕΥΧΙ ΝΖΡΑΥ ΖΝ ΖΕ(Ν)ΩΔΧΕ ΕΜΝ ΖΗΥ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΕΡΩΔΑΝ ΝΜΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΩ ΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΩΜΩΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ, ΩΔΡΕ ΝΑΙ ΖΩΟΥ ΕΙ ΖΝ (f. 138v) ΟΥΒΑΔ ΝΑΤΩΠΕ, ΝΣΕ† ΜΠΕΥΟΥΟΙ ΝΣΕΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΣΩΜΑ ΜΝ ΠΕΣΝΟΥ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ, ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΦΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΜΠΗΥΕ ΕΥΜΠΕΥΚΩΤΕ ΝΣΙ ΟΥΜΗΗΩΕ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΜΝ ΗΠΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΧΕΡΟΥΒΙΝ ΜΝ ΝΣΕΡΑΦΙ(Ν) ΔΥΩ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΝΜΜΑΦ ΜΝ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΗ)Δ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ, ΕΥΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΟΥΩΝ<sup>47</sup> ΝΙΜ ΧΕ ΔΜΗΙΤΝ, ΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΑΟΕΙΚ ΝΤΕΤΝΣΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΑΗΡΠ ΔΙΚΥΡΑ<sup>48</sup> ΓΑΡ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΤΕΤΝΝΑΣΩ ΝΤΕΤΝΩΝΖ. ΤΑΣΑΡΖ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΖΡΕ ΜΜΕ ΤΕ ΔΥΩ ΠΑΣΝΟΥ ΟΥΣΩ ΜΜΕ ΠΕ. ΠΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΑΣΝΟΥ ΜΝ ΠΑΣΩΜΑ, ΠΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΤΑΔΦ ΖΑΡΩΤΝ ΕΠΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΤΝΝΟΒΕ.

**73** ΝΤΟΚ ΣΕ, Ω ΠΕΤΟ ΝΑΜΕΛΗΣ ΕΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΗ ΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΝΑΩ ΝΖΕ ΑΚΤΟΛΟΜΑ Ε† ΜΠΕΚΟΥΟΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΘΗΝΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ, ΕΚΟΥΩΩ ΕΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΣΩΜΑ ΜΝ ΠΕΣΝΟΥ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ; ΕΩΩΠΕ ΜΕΚΩΟΡΠΚ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, ΜΑΤΑΜΟΙ ΧΕ ΝΤΑΚΣΩΤΗ<sup>49</sup> ΕΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΑΩ ΝΖΕ Η ΔΩ ΤΕ ΤΕΣΩ ΝΤΑΚΣΩΤΗΕΣ ΝΤΗ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ; ΔΧΙΣ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ ΔΩ ΠΕ ΠΕΨΑΛΜΟΣ ΝΤΑ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΧΟΥ ΦΑΝΤΟΥΣΩΚ ΝΝΕΜΜΕΕΥΕ<sup>50</sup> ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΙΔΙΩΝ; ΑΛΛΑ ΩΑΚΕΙ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΜΜΝΤΑΤΩΠΕ, ΝΓ†

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<sup>47</sup> Read εουον.

<sup>48</sup> κεράννυμι.

<sup>49</sup> Ms. ντοκσωτη.

<sup>50</sup> Read ννεμμεεγε.

ΜΠΕΚΟΥΟΙ ΕΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟΒ ΝΤΟΛΜΗΡΙΑ ΖΑΘΗ ΕΤΡΕΚΤΒΒΟΚ  
 ΖΜ ΠΕΩΛΗΛ ΜΝ ΠΩΑΧΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΕΚΜΟΟΨΕ ΖΝ  
 ΟΥΜΝΤΝΑΨΤΖΗΤ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΘΗΡΙΟ(Ν). ΖΑΜΗΝ ΕΝΕ Ν(f.  
 139r)ΤΑΚΑΖΕΡΑΤΚ ΠΕ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΘΗΝΙΑ ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΑΚΤΩΡΠ ΜΜΟΦ, ΑΚΠΩΤ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΤΡΗ. ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ Α ΠΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΗΣ  
 ΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΝΕΚΟΥΩΜ ΜΠΕΤΡΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΠΕΤΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΦ.

**74** ΜΗ ΜΠΕΚΩΤΜ ΝΤΟΚ, Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ, ΕΠΕΤΒΑΙΟ ΜΠΡΕΦΧΝΑΑΥ<sup>51</sup>  
 ΜΝ ΠΑΜΕΛΗΣ, ΝΘΕ ΕΤΣΗΖ ΧΕ ΨΑΤΝΑΥ ΕΚΝΚΑΤΚ, Ω ΠΡΕΦΧΝΑΑΥ,  
 Η ΕΚΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΖΑ ΠΡΙΝΗΒ ΝΤΝΑΥ; ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΕΚΝΚΑΤΚ, ΟΥΚΟΥΙ  
 ΕΚΡΙΝΗΒ ΕΡΕ ΤΕΚΣΙΧ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ. ΜΝΝΣΩΣ ΨΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΧΕ ΨΑΡΕ  
 ΤΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΕΙ ΝΑΚ ΖΝ ΟΥΒΕΠΗ ΑΥΩ ΤΜΝΤΡΕΦΨΩΩΤ ΝΘΕ  
 ΝΟΥΤΡΟΜΕΟΣ<sup>52</sup> ΕΝΑΝΟΥΦ. ΑΨ ΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΝΣΑ ΤΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ  
 ΝΤΑΡΕΤΗ; ΜΗ ΜΝ ΜΝΤΣΝΟΟΥΣ ΝΟΥΝΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΕΖΟΥ; ΕΚΨΑΝΡ  
 ΜΗΤΕ ΝΟΥΝΟΥ ΕΚΕΙΡΕ ΝΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΜΠΕΚΩΜΑ, ΝΓΝΑΡΒΕ ΑΝ  
 ΖΩΩΦ ΕΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΝΤΕΚΨΥΧΗ ΝΟΥΝΟΥ ΣΝΤΕ;

**75** ΤΝΣΟΟΥΝ ΝΟΥΜΗΗΨΕ ΖΜ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΥΡ ΖΩΒ ΜΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΝ  
 ΤΕΥΩΗ ΕΥΣΩΟΥΖ ΝΑΥ ΕΖΟΥ(Ν) ΝΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΝΜΠΗΥΕ. ΝΤΩΤΝ ΒΕ,  
 ΝΕΤΟ ΝΑΜΕΛΗΣ ΕΝΕΥΣΥΝΑΖΙΣ, ΟΥΟΙ ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕ ΑΤΕΤΝ<Ρ> ΑΜΕΛΗΣ  
 ΑΥΩ ΑΤΕΤΝΡ ΨΜΜΟ ΕΝΑΓΑΘΟΝ. ΦΧΩ ΓΑΡ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΒΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΖΙΤΜ ΠΕΙΝΟΣ ΜΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΗΣΑΙΑΣ ΧΕ ΕΙΣ ΝΕΤΟ ΝΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΑΙ  
 ΣΕΝΑΟΥΩΜ, ΝΤΩΤΝ ΔΕ ΤΕΤΝΝΑΖΚΟ. ΕΙΣ ΝΕΤΟ ΝΖΜΖΑΛ ΝΑΙ  
 ΣΕΝΑΩ, ΝΤΩΤΝ ΔΕ ΤΕΤΝΝΑΕΙΒΕ. ΕΙΣ ΝΕΤΟ ΝΖΜΖΑΛ (f. 139v) ΝΑΙ  
 ΣΕΝΑΟΥΝΟΦ, ΝΤΩΤΝ ΔΕ ΤΕΤΝΝΑΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΤΑΛΑΙΠΟΡΙΑ  
 ΜΠΕΤΝΖΗΤ, ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΑΤΕΤΝΚΑΔΤ ΝΣΩΤΝ, ΠΕΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ.

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<sup>51</sup> Ms. ηπρεφχναααυ.

<sup>52</sup> δρομεύς.

76 εωδε νγκ{κ}ογωω αν εμογ, ω πρωμε, μπρ† μπεκογιο  
 επνογτε εκο νρητ снаγ δε ара παι πε πωμα μπex(ριcтo)c.  
 нтoк δε ρωωκ, ω πετο νχαδε επετρητογωω, ρη αω νβαλ  
 νατωπε ακ† μπεκογιο επνογτε ν†ρηνη; нтoк мен εκο  
 νχαδε επεκсон, κογηγ εβολ ντεφειρηνη. ειμε σε νακ ρωωκ  
 δε μπex(ριcтo)c να† νακ αν εβολ ρη πεφωμα ετογαав μη  
 πεφсноω ετταιηγ. καν εκωανχι οη, εφναωωπε νακ εγκριμα.  
 нтoк ρωωκ, ω ρεφχιносoс, ογ πε πεκρωб μη πωμα  
 μπex(ριcтo)c; αλλα ρομοιωс εκ{κ}εχι ημοω νβoнс αγω  
 ενεκωοоп πε μπεγoειω νταγс(ταγ)poγ ημοω νρηтq,<sup>53</sup>  
 некнавок πε ηγβι ηνεφρoιτε ρη ογχιносoс ηθε нта ηηατοι  
 ααс ναφ. μη μπексoтm ενωαδε μπсoтηp εφχω ημοс ναк  
 δε εφωсoн αтетнаас noγa <η>ηeиcнηγ εтсавк, αηoк πε  
 нтатетнаас ηαι. αγω ηηηсa тpeкχι μπex(ριcтo)c ηβoнс  
 ηсaφ, ακει ηαι ηποογ δε ηα ηαι εβολ ρη πεκсoма ηη  
 πεксoнoφ ετταιηγ. нтoк се η†ηα† ηак αν· ογ ηoηoн δε ηтoк  
 αλλα {ηη} ηκοογε οη εтпopηeγe ηсe(f. 140r)ει ερoγη.

77 μπρμееγe ηак, ω πρωμε, εтпopηeγe ηη тсrημε  
 ηπεтρηтоγωω δε κηαχι εβολ ρη тexapиc μπex(ριcтo)c тαι  
 ετογχι εβολ ηρηтс ηβι ηeογηηηб ηηλαoс. ω πρωμε, ογηтaк  
 тeксrημε ρη πεκηη αγω κηηγ εβολ ρη тeкκлнcиa εκ†  
 μπεκογιο ηαγαак εтpeγμopк ρη ηeηпaω ηтпopηиa.

78 αγω ηтoк ρωωк, πεтeηηтaφ сrημε ηηαγ ηη тпapθeηoc  
 μπex(ριcтo)c, † ρηηηη ηρωтη ηηeиcopбс ηηeиηηe.  
 пдiαβoлoс γap ηη тeφбoη тηpс φбopб ερωтη ηηeρoογ ηη  
 тeγωη εφφoηηeи ερωтη, εφoγωω εχερη тηγтη ρη  
 пeс†βoωη ηтпopηиa. poeиc σε ερωтη ηηαγ ηηη, ηтeтηρapeз

<sup>53</sup> Ms. ηρηтoγ.

ΕΝΕΤΝΖΗΤ ΔΕ ΠΕΤΝΑΝ††ΚΟΣ<sup>54</sup> ΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΜΟΟΩΕ ΕΦΕΛΖΗΜ ΝΘΕ  
 ΝΟΥΜΟΥ, ΕΦΟΥΩΩ ΕΩΜΚ ΝΝΕΤΝΨΥΧΗ. ΝΓΣΩΤΜ ΔΝ ΕΠΣΟΦΟΣ  
 ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΤΕΚΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΕΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΗΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ;  
 ΜΗ ΕΡΕ ΖΕΝΧΡΟΠ Η ΖΕΝΠΑΩ ΖΙΡΜ ΠΡΟ ΜΠΗΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ; ΟΥ ΤΕ  
 ΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΕΤΡΕ ΠΕΚ<Κ>ΛΗCΙΑ<C>ΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΙΩΔΑΔΕ ΔΕ ΖΑΡΕΖ  
 ΕΤΕΚΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ, ΖΟΣΟΝ ΕΡΕ ΝΕΚΒΑΛ ΜΜΟΚ, ΕΚΕΙΩΡΖ; ΑΛΛΑ ΕΦΧΩ  
 ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΡΟΕΙC ΕΡΟΚ ΕΝΠΑΩ ΝΤΠΟΡΝΙΑ. ΠΕΧΔΑΦ ΟΝ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕCΖΙΜΕ  
 ΜΠΟΡΝΗ ΔΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕCΖΗΤ Ο ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΑΒΩ ΔΥΩ ΟΥΖΑCΕ ΤΕΤΖΝ  
 ΝΕCCΙΧ.

**79** ΝΤΟΚ ΔΕ ΕΚΝΗΥ (f. 140v) ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΔΕΚΜ ΠΕΚCΩΜΑ ΖΝ  
 ΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΕΦΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΓ† ΖΙΩΩΚ ΝΖΕΝΖΟΙΤΕ ΕΥΠΡΙΩΟΥ, ΕΚΜΟΟΩΕ  
 ΖΝ ΟΥΕΠΙCΤΥΜΕΙ, ΕΡΕ ΝΕΚΒΑΛ CΩΩΤ ΕΠΕCΗΤ, ΕΡΕ ΝΕΚΜΕΕΥΕ  
 ΖΩΟΥ CΩΩΤ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΠΕ, ΕΡΕ ΠΕΩΛΗΛ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝ ΤΕΚΤΑΠΡΟ,  
 ΕΚΖΑ ΖΟΤΕ ΝΘΕ ΕΩΔΕ ΕΚΒΗΚ ΕΠΒΗΜΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΕΚΩΔΑΝΒΩΚ ΔΕ  
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΖΜΟΟC ΖΑΖΤΝ ΝΕΝΖΟΟΥΤ. CΩ ΕΚΖΗΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΠΕΤΜΕΛΕΤΑ ΜΠΩΔΑΔΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΔΕΚΑC ΕΚΕCΩΤΜ ΕΠΕΤΕΚΩΔΑΤ  
 ΜΜΟΥ, ΤΑΡΕΚΤΕΒΖ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΓΧΟΚΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΚΟ ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟC, ΝΓ†  
 ΜΠΕΚΟΥΟΙ ΖΝ ΟΥΠΑΡΡΗCΙΑ ΕΠΕΥCΩΜΑ ΜΝ ΠΕΥCΝΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΘΕ  
 ΝΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΕΡΕ ΠΕΦΕΙΩΤ †ΠΙ ΕΡΩΦ ΖΝ ΟΥΡΑΩΕ, ΝΦΩΟΠΚ ΕΡΟΥ ΖΝ  
 ΟΥΟΥΝΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΝΦΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΚ ΜΠΕΦΠΝ(ΝΕΥΜ)Α ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ,  
 ΠΕΝΤΑΦΕΙ ΕΧΝ ΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΚΑΤΑ ΠΩΔΑΔΕ ΜΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ  
 ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΔΕ ΕΙΩΔΑΝΒΩΚ, †ΝΑΧΟΟΥ ΝΗΤΝ ΜΠΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΟC,  
 ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΝΤΜΕ, ΠΑΙ ΕΤΝΑΤCΑΒΩΤΝ ΕΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΔΥΩ  
 ΝΥΤΡΕΤΝΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ<sup>55</sup> ΕΩΔΑΔΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΝΤΑΙΧΟΟΥ<sup>56</sup> ΝΗΤΝ. ΠΕΟΟΥ  
 ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΠΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ ΜΜΕΡΙΤ ΜΝ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α

<sup>54</sup> αντίδικος.

<sup>55</sup> Ms. ηφτcαβε τηγτη. Corrected after Jn. 14: 26.

<sup>56</sup> Ms. ετφναχοου. Corrected after Jn. 14: 26.

ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ, ΝΑΙ ΕΤΩΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ, ΤΑΙ ΕΤΝΑCΩ ΕΤΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΧΙΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΩΔ ΕΝΕΞ. ΖΑΜΗΝ.

## **Homily on Pentecost, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria**

### *Title*

**0** A homily of Apa Athanasius, the archbishop of Alexandria, which he delivered about the feast of the holy Pentecost while a crowd of bishops were sitting in his presence in the church, (and) about the ordinance of wealth and poverty, so that everyone may glorify God according to the dispensation that God has ordained for him. In the peace of God, Amen.

### *Prologue: belief and unbelief*

**1** "Listen, heaven, hear, earth, to the words of my mouth! Let the whole earth pay attention to my voice and may you receive my words as dew upon herbs and a breeze upon grass, for it is the name of the Lord which I will proclaim and I will boast upon our God, for all his works are true and judgements are his ways, a faithful God who does not show partiality. Just is the Lord and holy."<sup>1</sup>

**2** These things Moses said on account of his people, they who did not want to obey the prophet of God and be saved. Therefore they did not recite the Ode of the Law. He realized that it was a stiff-necked people<sup>2</sup> and that they did not seek God.

**3** We, too, my brothers, let us beware that not our Lord Jesus leaves us behind, as when Moses brought them out of the land of Egypt to take them to the Land of Promise: when they had become disobedient to God, they perished in the desert.<sup>3</sup> Us, Christ brought out of impiety into piety. He took us out of the terrestrial world and brought us to the heavenly

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<sup>1</sup> Dt. 32: 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. 32: 9; Dt. 9: 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 10: 1-11.

world. Beware that we cause him anger, just as they caused Moses anger, so that he throws us in the fiery Gehenna!

**4** For to others He said: "The publicans and the prostitutes will enter the kingdom of heavens before you,"<sup>4</sup> because they did not believe in him. Therefore he told them: "Truly, I tell you, they will come from east and west and recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heavens. But the children of the kingdom will be cast out into the outer darkness, the place where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth."<sup>5</sup>

**5** Now then, my beloved, perhaps there are some among you who pronounce the name of Christ while they do not believe in him. May people of this kind listen to the word of David: "I have set my trust upon you, Lord, with the whole of my heart."<sup>6</sup> Beware not to confess his name with your mouth alone, while you do not believe in him with your heart, in order that you will be saved. Do you not fear then on account of what was said about you: "This people honours me with their lips, but their heart is far from me, said the Lord."<sup>7</sup>

**6** And surely there will be said to you, as to those who have become unbelievers of God, these words: "They forsook God, their Saviour, who fed them,"<sup>8</sup> and also: "They forsook the fountain of living water. They hewed out for themselves cisterns that cannot contain their water."<sup>9</sup> Rather may the Lord be witness with me, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, that: "They have known me, from their smallest up to their greatest,"<sup>10</sup> for in the Lord Jesus the whole fullness of divinity dwells bodily.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Mt. 21: 3.

<sup>5</sup> Mt. 8: 11-12.

<sup>6</sup> Ps. 118: 10.

<sup>7</sup> Isa. 29: 13; quoted in Mt. 15: 8; Mk. 7: 6.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Jer. 5: 7.

<sup>9</sup> Jer. 2: 13.

<sup>10</sup> Jer. 31: 34.

<sup>11</sup> Col. 2:9.

*Obedience and disobedience*

7 Then you may find others who perfectly believe in him, but do not obey his teaching, and to whom He will say on that day: "Why do you call me Lord, Lord, and do not do what I tell you?"<sup>12</sup> When there are some who are called Christians by men, while they are walking in arrogance, they will not be granted the hope of the kingdom of heavens nor its benefits nor the delight of Paradise, the things that God promised to those who will love him and keep his commandments,<sup>13</sup> since they have loved this age, which is temporary.

8 O man, how many are the days of your life that you can turn your back on these things that last forever? The prophet cries out that you may listen and understand the brevity of the delight of this age. Therefore he tells you, crying out: "The days of our years are seventy years."<sup>14</sup> Then are you not afraid since, after having lived seventy years, it is inevitable for you to be taken out of the age that you are presently seeing?

9 Why have you not followed the example of him who says: "Our citizenship is in heavens"?<sup>15</sup> For the Lord is heard saying: "Do not store up treasures for yourselves on earth, there where moth and rust destroy them and thieves steal them. But store up for yourselves treasures in heaven, there where the moth does not destroy and where thieves do not steal."<sup>16</sup> Do you not see how the Apostle upbraids the Colossians, saying: "When you died with Christ to the principles of the world, why do you return to them?"<sup>17</sup> What then are those things about which he says and proclaims: "Do not touch nor taste nor approach them!",<sup>18</sup> but those about which he preaches to them: "Put to death your members that are upon the earth: fornication, uncleanness, impurity, passion, desire and greed"?<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Lk. 6: 46

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Dt. 7: 9.

<sup>14</sup> Ps. 90: 10.

<sup>15</sup> Php. 3: 20.

<sup>16</sup> Mt. 6: 19-20.

<sup>17</sup> Col. 2: 20.

<sup>18</sup> Col. 2: 21.

<sup>19</sup> Col. 3: 5.

These are the works of every man who thinks in the categories of the world.

**10** Why then do you fornicate, although you have a wife? Tell me, what is the benefit that you will find when you destroy a woman who is not yours? Are you then not afraid that you will be arrested by men? Are you not aware of him of whom it was said: "He who watches over Israel will neither sleep nor slumber"?<sup>20</sup> For he watches you in every place. Do you not know that he will judge you like the Jews, to whom he told: "They all forsook me, said the Lord, they settled in the houses of prostitutes, they became like randy horses, each neighing after the wife of his neighbour"?<sup>21</sup>

*The Christian household*

**11** Even if you are not an adulterer, O man, but you have slept with an alien woman who has no husband, when she becomes pregnant, what will you do? Will you then agree to let it (the child) inherit with your (legitimate) children? If you do not kill it because of the scandal of men, then - if it will live - it will spend all its life-time cursing you because of the poverty that it lives in. What then will you say on that day and what is your defence before the judge, when you shall account for the abomination that you committed? Will you answer for the infidelity that you have shown to your spouse? Will you account for the complaint of your children, whom you treated unjustly by ruthlessly spending your possessions with the prostitutes?

**12** For what is proper for you (to do) is to administer what God has given to you according to his will: one portion for your household and your children and another portion for the needs of the poor, so that you may find it to your credit in the coming age, in the place where you will join your fathers,<sup>22</sup> and that you feed the poor, the widows and the orphans from the abundance of your possessions.

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<sup>20</sup> Ps. 120: 4.

<sup>21</sup> Jer. 5: 7-8.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. 1 Chr. 17: 11.

**13** For how long will you frequent the cafes and the useless crowds? Why do you care only about yourself? Did you then acquire exemption from death, thinking that He will leave you here forever? Why do they take from us daily and are we not afraid that we ourselves will be taken? Look how the prophet admonished others when he had found them putting their trust in the world alone. He told them: "Where are your fathers and where are your prophets? Did they perhaps live forever? Rather, accept my words and my laws, said the Lord."<sup>23</sup>

**14** If you, however, would have understood that you are a sojourner upon earth, just as David said: "I am a sojourner upon earth, sojourning just like all my fathers"<sup>24</sup> - if you would have considered these words, O man, not only you would not gather yourself treasures upon earth nor would you commit adultery, but you would even abstain from intercourse with your wife. You would become like those who have said: "This city is not permanent; it is the one for which we are searching, the one we are looking forward to,"<sup>25</sup> those who are walking in hunger and thirst and need while suffering, those whom the world was not worthy.<sup>26</sup>

**15** Why then, O man, have you been entrusted with a wife and children and possessions? Are they granted to you forever? Do you perhaps not know that you live today and have died tomorrow? Are you unaware that you have been entrusted with a wife and children in order to bring them up in piety? You are the one who will account for them. For the man is the head of the woman, as the wise Paul said.<sup>27</sup> If you did not cause offence, then your children will be blameless in the day of the judgment. If you are a womanizer or rapacious or violent or a thief and they too will walk in your ways, you will account for them before God.

**16** But when you are free of all these things, and they have not heard a word of blasphemy or falsehood from your mouth, nor slander or hatred or arrogance, you will be innocent as regards your children. And they, for

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<sup>23</sup> Zec. 1: 5-6.

<sup>24</sup> Ps. 38: 13.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Heb. 13: 14.

<sup>26</sup> Heb. 11: 37-38.

<sup>27</sup> 1 Cor. 11: 3; Eph. 5: 23.

their part, will live in piety and they will bless you. They will govern with you as a good father and be your heirs. For since the beginning, God has established the authority of the man over his wife and his children.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, thus all the saints behaved, fearing the Lord, entreating him for their salvation together with their children.

**17** For not only concerning visible acts, but also the thoughts of their heart you will account for them, according to what Job says: "Perhaps my sons have nourished wicked thoughts against God in their heart." Therefore that he offered sacrifices to God for them.<sup>29</sup> Become then, O man, a teacher for your own children, teaching them to keep all the commandments of God in their heart and in every work that they will undertake, according to what the lawgiver says: "You shall love the Lord, your God, with your entire heart, with all your thoughts and with your entire soul. And these words that I command you today are to be in your heart and your soul and you are to teach them to your children so that they follow them."<sup>30</sup>

**18** David, indeed, did this when he entreated, saying: "Do not snatch the word of truth from my mouth."<sup>31</sup> For we see some who teach their children great terrible oaths, blasphemy and shameful talk from their early age. Did not you hear then, O man, that: "for every idle word they will speak, men will have to account on the day of judgment"?<sup>32</sup> Perhaps you do not know what the judgment is, about which the Apostle James said: "Judgment is merciless to the one who has not shown mercy"?<sup>33</sup> Examine yourself when an illness has befallen you and you will know the exact nature of the judgment. How, when there is a fever inside you, your tongue becomes dry from thirst, and how you go on drinking water all the time because of the heat, if at least you will be given the chance to drink, because of the phlegm and the filth that come up from your heart.

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<sup>28</sup> Cf. Gen. 3: 16.

<sup>29</sup> Job. 1: 5.

<sup>30</sup> Dt. 6: 5-7.

<sup>31</sup> Ps. 118: 43.

<sup>32</sup> Mt. 12: 36.

<sup>33</sup> Jam. 2: 13.

**19** Look, furthermore, also at people when they are going to die, at the moment the true judgment comes and they do not have the chance to return, at the moment man will see his life being taken bit by bit. Indeed, if it were possible, he would give all his possessions in order to be saved from death. For at the time when He ordered you to give your possessions to the poor, you forgot about them, even though some were being hungry, others naked, some working for you while you robbed them of their wages.

**20** What shall I tell you, O man, about these great distractions with which you waste your time, while you employ a mass of people for your works, not allowing them to serve the God who created them? For you employ many for your pleasures, some for your field, others for your ships as well, some for your service and even your children you nourish in the deception of this age, instead of following the example of Abraham the patriarch. For he was very rich and he used his wealth according to the will of God and also taught those who belonged to his household like a good teacher.

**21** Let us consider also the faith of his chief servant, who was in his house, how he prayed faithfully for his lord.<sup>34</sup> Not only his servant alone, but he taught also Isaac, his son, to serve God from his early age, not allowing him to behave arrogant towards his servants, whom God had granted him.<sup>35</sup> But you, you did not spare your servants, who - on top of it - share with you in the single grace of Christ Jesus, with whom there is no difference between slave and freeman.<sup>36</sup> Do you not feel ashamed before your Lord, Him who took the form of a slave for our sake?<sup>37</sup> But you harass your servants without mercy, them for whom Christ gave his body and his blood.

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<sup>34</sup> Gen. 24.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Gen. 25: 5-6.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Ga. 3: 28.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Php. 2: 7.

**22** Are you not able to wash yourself with water, only to be washed by others? Why do you scorn your Lord by letting someone else wash your feet, whereas you see the Lord of heaven and earth who, wrapped in a towel, poured water into the basin and washed his disciples' feet?<sup>38</sup> But you, O man, to whom other men are entrusted, either hundred or fifty or who has ten men under him or, briefly, up to a single one, be prepared to answer for him to the Lord. O man to whom God has entrusted someone who depends on you in order that you become for him like a father in every good thing, you - instead - love some and hate some, you frequent some and despise some.

**23** And you too, O miserable one, you will find yourself, after having passed out of this place of sojourn, being requited in return for all what you have done upon earth. Do you not hear, O fool, Paul saying: "Masters, give unto your servants what is just, knowing that your master and theirs is in heavens,<sup>39</sup> and that there is no partiality before him."<sup>40</sup> Instead, you find people neglecting their servants in their food and their clothing, while they themselves are enjoying every good thing with their children.

**24** May they listen to the Saviour who says to them: "Woe to you, rich ones, for you have received your comfort! Woe to you who bless, now you will curse! Woe to you who are well fed, for now you will be hungry."<sup>41</sup> Isaiah says: "Woe to those who are heroes at drinking wine, and champions at mixing drinks."<sup>42</sup> Rather, follow the example of the blessed Job, who says: "Many times, my maids told me: 'Who will give us to be satisfied of your flesh?'"<sup>43</sup> Remember how our Lord cried out, saying: "All souls are mine."<sup>44</sup> He also says: "You shall not ill-treat a foreigner nor a servant of your own without mercy and you shall not

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<sup>38</sup> Jn. 13: 4-5.

<sup>39</sup> Col. 4: 1.

<sup>40</sup> Eph. 6: 9.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Lk. 6: 24-25.

<sup>42</sup> Isa. 5: 22.

<sup>43</sup> Job. 31: 31.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Jh. 17: 10.

oppress them, for if they cry out to me, I will listen to them, since I am a merciful God."<sup>45</sup>

**25** O man, who multiplies the duties of his servants so as not to let them be free for Him who tells them: "Free yourselves and perceive that I am God,"<sup>46</sup> how can they occupy themselves with God since they are all the time occupied with you? - some with the clothes that you are going to wear, others standing ready for the clothes that you are going to lay off, some light the fire for you, others prepare your bed, some are sweeping and sprinkling, others running to the field to gather what you will eat, some watch your works so that no carelessness will occur in them, and you strike them so that they are careless in praying to God.

**26** Why do you not let one single person suffice for your service, so that all these in turn devote themselves to God and his works? If you do this, you will continue being a leader of your people in the kingdom of heavens. Now then, if you listen to me, I will teach you the ways of life. Let some of your servants go to those who are imprisoned, with some money. Let others visit those who are ill, and send with them some good things, so that they will be consoled in their illness, and you yourself should visit the saints. Let the others supervise the behaviour of your children, so that they will not become arrogant.

**27** God gave to you in order that you do what is right and He did not make you a leader for nothing, but in order that you would acknowledge Him who alone is above all leaders and follow the example of Him who said: "The Son of Man did not come to be served but to serve and to give his life as a ransom for many."<sup>47</sup> For to some who had fulfilled their service well He said: "Since you have been faithful over few, I will put you in charge of many."<sup>48</sup> So he who wants the word to apply to him, that the leaders of the peoples gathered to the God of Abraham,<sup>49</sup> let him teach those who are under him according to God's will and let him

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<sup>45</sup> Cf. Ex. 22: 27.

<sup>46</sup> Ps. 45: 11.

<sup>47</sup> Mt. 20: 28.

<sup>48</sup> Mt. 25: 21.

<sup>49</sup> Ps. 46: 9.

nourish his children in the fear of the Lord, glorifying God who gave them to him, lest He becomes angry with you and takes your children, so the word that is written is fulfilled in you which says: "I will take away the desire of your souls, that is your sons and your daughters."<sup>50</sup> To those people He said: "I struck your sons and your daughters and you did not accept my teaching, said the Lord."<sup>51</sup>

**28.** Nay, my beloved, do not let these harsh words apply to us, but let each of us teach his neighbour what is good and what is right. As for our children, let them be wary of the vanity, the impudence and the frivolity of the daughters of Judah, about whom the prophet cries out: "The Lord will humiliate the leaders and the daughters of Zion, for they walked with outstretched necks and flirting eyes, dragging their fringes while stepping along, and with vain laughter."<sup>52</sup>

**29** For us, Christians, it is not fitting us to let things of this kind happen to us, for fear we walk in vanity and he will tell us too: "The Lord will snatch away the glory of their garments, their finery, their plaits, their finger-rings, their bracelets, their purple tunics, their curly hairs, their hair-nets, their crescents, their necklaces, the adornment of their face, their tassels, their anklets, their ear-rings, what they wear as girdles and dresses in their houses, their shiny garments, their fine linen, their byssos, their jacinth, the fine linen interwoven with gold and precious jacinth, their cloaks and their shawls. Instead of fragrance, you will get dust and instead of a sash, you will gird yourself with a rope and instead of your purple tunic, you will dress yourself in sack-cloth and instead of the adornment of your head, you will be dressed in sack-cloth, because of your works. Your chosen son, whom you loved, will fall by the sword."<sup>53</sup>

**30** You see then, O adornment-loving women, the reward that you will obtain for your adornment, for instead of fragrance, God has given you dust, instead of your purple tunics, he has dressed you in sack-cloth, instead of your curls, your plaits, your golden hair-net and these great

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<sup>50</sup> Cf. Ez. 24: 21.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Ez. 23: 25.

<sup>52</sup> Isa. 3: 16-17.

<sup>53</sup> Isa. 3: 18-25.

strands of curls which are upon your heads, fatal baldness is what you will obtain.

**31** Why then, O women, do you not walk in the manner of the holy women, in order to escape all these things? Do you not see that virtuous women, who became servants of Christ in righteousness, have done away with these evil appearances, these misleading appearances? Which married lady will allow curled hair upon her head, uncovering it in order that the men will see it? Or who will put fringes upon her head and around her face or a golden hair-net in order that men look at her so that their soul leaps up because of her rakish appearance and the sound of the golden ornaments that are at her feet?

**32** But undoubtedly someone will say that perhaps they dress up for their husbands. I, for my part, do not call such a woman a married lady, since the prophet Ezekiel calls her 'whore'.<sup>54</sup> For he said thus: "You have dressed yourself up for the Chaldeans, you have put kohl upon your eyes, bracelets on your arms, ear-rings in your ears and a superb crown upon your head. You adorned yourself with gold and silver."<sup>55</sup> Are you not an adulterer in this way? And your works, are they not those of a whore? Indeed, the prophet did not shrink from speaking about the shame of women who love sin, saying: "O woman, look: What is the need of these golden finger-rings, these bracelets and these precious stones which are hanging from your neck? Will they give you warmth in the winter or, if not, will they give you cooling in summer? What are these soft clothes for? For the weakness of the body? What is, moreover, the need of these great these great strands of curls which are upon your head?"<sup>56</sup>

**33** Then, look again at the prudent women. Not only do they not wear curls, but not even is their face visible and their cloak comes down upon their eyebrows. You will hardly see the tips of their hands in case it is necessary. When we see that they have not become a snare for us, we praise God. For we are men, too, and we live among men. The holy

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<sup>54</sup> Cf. Ez. 16: 35.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Ez. 16: 11-13, 23: 40.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Jer. 4: 30.

prophet Isaiah said: "I am a man whose lips are impure."<sup>57</sup> When the prophet of the Lord says this, who had seen the Lord Sabaoth with his eyes,<sup>58</sup> then what shall I, the wretched man that I am, say?

**34** Now then, O woman, do not bedeck yourself with gold and silver, which God has rejected. The Lord told Moses: "Take off these glorious dresses and these adornments, and I will show you what I will do for you."<sup>59</sup> He says this, because the one who is covered with this external adornment will not see anything profitable, unless the punishments. For which woman, who is concerned with gold and plaits, will ever deliver a pure prayer to God? Will perhaps the hair of her head purify her heart, so that she will become a dwelling of God? No, instead she will become a dwelling of the devil. For the wise said about the woman who loves adornment: "Her heart is like a drag net and a snare is what in her hands. Who is upright before God will escape from her. The sinner, however, will be caught in her,"<sup>60</sup> showing that her heart is a dwelling of the devil. For he is the drag net that swallows those whom he will catch with his hook and has caught with his casting net and gathered in his drag net.<sup>61</sup> For his hook is heavy food. His hook is violence. His teaching is the desire of womanizing.

**35** Therefore, O woman, do not become yourself a snare for him, but become like the blessed Susanna and Sara, about whom it is said that they are children of God.<sup>62</sup> For the poor yet virtuous woman is precious in the eyes of God. For he said: "As for him who has found a good wife, such a (woman) is more valuable than precious stone."<sup>63</sup> For she works with wool and linen and she strengthens her women on the spindle. She opens her hand and gives to the poor and the needy, and the paths of her

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<sup>57</sup> Isa. 6: 5.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Isa. 6: 1-3.

<sup>59</sup> Ex. 33: 5.

<sup>60</sup> Ecc. 7: 26.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Hab. 1: 15.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Sus. 1: 2-3; 1 Pe. 5-6.

<sup>63</sup> Pro. 31: 10.

house are full of blessings.<sup>64</sup> Like an ear-ring in a sow's snout, thus is the beauty of a wicked woman.<sup>65</sup>

**36** Indeed, the patriarch Jacob, as he knew that sin is caused by abundant adornment, took for that reason the golden rings that were in the ears of his women and his daughters, destroyed them and hid them in the earth.<sup>66</sup> For the principle of idolatry arose from women's earrings, those that Aaron took and fashioned into a calf.<sup>67</sup>

*Wealth and poverty*

**37** Now then, my children, this is what has occurred to me in the presence of the Lord and I did not shrink from telling it to you, begging each of you to take care of his soul before we will be fetched. We will not be left here forever! On the contrary, daily people are snatched away from us. Where are our parents who begot us? And our friends who left us? Did any of them return to us? We know that it is us who are going to them, but they will not return again to us. There are many, indeed, who died without seeing the contentment of their children. There are also many whose children died and left their parents in a miserable state. Others became insane due to the death of their children and their beloved, because of the great amount of their possessions, which strangers inherited since they did not have a heir. Many other people, again, squandered their possessions without purpose because of their beloved who had died.

**38** The differentiation of death does not depend on itself alone, but on the disposition of God, in order that nobody will forget death, for fear his heart will love the realities of this age and believes them to be marvellous things, while they are in fact shadows that decline. Where are these great and famous names, those who became famous through gold and silver and their numerous possessions? And the kings of the nations and those who subdued the wild beasts? Where are they who built these great cities,

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<sup>64</sup> Cf. Pro. 31: 13, 19-20.

<sup>65</sup> Pro. 11: 22.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Gen. 35: 4.

<sup>67</sup> Ex. 32: 2-4

those who mocked the nations thanks to the crowd of their followers? Have they not all turned into dust and become as if they even did not exist? Did they not all pass like a shadow?

**39** Look at how the righteous one has perished while nobody paid attention. Indeed, the righteous and those who toil will not be left here forever. Likewise, also the sinners will not be left according to their own desire. Why then are we diligent for the place where we sojourn for a short time and are we careless, by contrast, about the house where we will go forever? For if we attach ourselves to this place, we will not find the other one. Do you not see the wretched Nineve, how he used to dress in purple and fine linen while being in the world and how wonderfully he rejoiced daily?<sup>68</sup> When he had gone to the other place, he not only did not rejoice, but not even a finger (wet) with water was allowed upon his tongue, although he begged Abraham saying: "My father Abraham, send Lazarus that he may dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue, for I am suffering in this fire."

**40** Also consider how he answered <sup>69</sup> him. He (Abraham) said: "Remember that you have already received your good things in your lifetime, Lazarus, however, evil things. And now he is comforted here and you are being tormented." You have seen, O my beloved, that a life is held for a life and that this world is a test.<sup>70</sup> Exactly therefore he (the rich man) called upon Abraham and did not call upon Lazarus. Likely he would find an excuse and say: "I am rich, that is why I went down into the tortures. You, however, are poor and you were saved." Exactly therefore he was not able to say this, as he knew that the difference in this situation did not depend on wealth, but on him himself.

**41** Abraham did not dispose of his fortune with a merciless heart nor with a faithless heart. No! Indeed, in the kingdom there are many rich ones and there are many poor ones and this same situation applies to the punishments (of Hell) as well. For Abraham was rich in silver and gold

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<sup>68</sup> For what follows, cf. Lk. 16: 19-31.

<sup>69</sup> Lit. asked.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Dt. 19: 21.

and cattle in great numbers and male and female slaves,<sup>71</sup> so that the number of all the males who were born in his house, apart from the women, were three hundred and eighteen,<sup>72</sup> not counting their fathers and mothers, and such a wealthy person entered life, to become the father of the whole world because of his piety, his faith and the gentleness of his heart. But the poor who will not be moved by mercy will be cast into the punishments.

**42** Indeed, what was the work that Lazarus did, but that he merely kept thanking God for what He had done to him? If you are poor, then keep thanking, but if you start to steal and murmur, you will be punished. In the same way, if you are rich and you keep walking in arrogance, pride and pitilessness, you will be punished, because you did not follow the example of the patriarch Abraham. Such a very wealthy man, he never became arrogant, but walked in humility. For when he rode a donkey, as a shepherd of a flock, only two servants accompanied him, in the manner of peasants, being of perfect humility in everything.<sup>73</sup>

**43** Therefore, indeed, he became worthy of such great glory, according to what David said: "I humbled myself, the Lord saved me and my soul returned to rest."<sup>74</sup> You now, O rich man, you ride your horses and go out of the city, saying to yourself: "I am a disciple of Jesus," while you let a crowd of people follow you and prepare your way. Now, tell me, what kind of behaviour is this? Are you then intending to go to war, with this crowd following you with these sticks? But when you are truly a Christian disciple, you would not only not prepare yourself for fighting in the way you do, but it would fit you, on the contrary, to turn your cheek to (receive) blows to whom will strike you upon it, just like your Lord.<sup>75</sup>

**44** And if you had wished to escape the evil punishments of Nineve, the merciless rich man, they would have hit your right cheek and you would

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<sup>71</sup> Gen. 12: 16; 13: 2.

<sup>72</sup> Gen. 14: 14.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Gen. 22: 3.

<sup>74</sup> Ps. 114: 6-7.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Mt. 26: 67; Jn. 18: 22.

have turned your other one to them.<sup>76</sup> Is this then not like what your Lord wrote for you in his epistles?<sup>77</sup> If you wished to live, would you not fear God's judgment?<sup>78</sup> Tell me, O rich man, in what do you put your trust while you live in this arrogance? What is the benefit of those golden rings on your fingers? Rather, this is your full worth that you adorn yourself with every propriety and that virtue precedes you where ever you will go.

**45** First of all, let you be found righteous, not mixing up with women, but having a virtuous and decent wife whose ways are pure, teaching her to love God and the poor, taking her to the church daily, together with her children, in order to pray together with them and your servants that you have. When you enter your house, you should ask them about the lessons that were read in the church. Even if you are going to be perfect, sell all your possessions and give them to the poor, according to the commandment of our Saviour.<sup>79</sup> Do not turn down anyone who asks you in faith, for He says: "He who gives to the poor, will not be wanting,"<sup>80</sup> in order that you become a disciple of Jesus Christ and He fulfil all your needs. Do not turn your face away from a needy one who implores you, for it is written: "He who shuts his ears in order not to hear the poor, he will cry out to God and He will not listen to him,"<sup>81</sup> but He will say: "My eye shall not spare you."<sup>82</sup>

**46** Now then, give, so that there will be given unto you.<sup>83</sup> Do not let the reproach of the prophet apply to you, as when he said: "Her leaders are like wolves in her midst; the poor and the needy they violated, and the foreigner they oppressed, so as not to do him justice."<sup>84</sup> He also says: "Her rulers are disobedient, they are the companions of thieves, they love to receive bribes, they run after repaying one thing for another; they who

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<sup>76</sup> Mt. 5: 39; Lk. 6: 29.

<sup>77</sup> Probably Gospels?

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Rom. 2: 2.

<sup>79</sup> Mt. 19: 21.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Pro. 28: 27.

<sup>81</sup> Pro. 21: 13.

<sup>82</sup> See for instance, Ez. 8: 18.

<sup>83</sup> Lk. 6: 38.

<sup>84</sup> Ez. 22: 29.

judge an orphan do not pay heed to the judgment of a widow."<sup>85</sup> He also says: "The Lord will enter into judgment with the elders of the people and their leaders."<sup>86</sup> He also says: "Why do you oppress my people and is the plunder of the poor in your houses?"<sup>87</sup> Who will be able to stand up to him in that day or to say: "I heard your voice, I was afraid and I hid for I am naked"?<sup>88</sup> For in the last day, when he will judge us, who will be able to bear his anger?<sup>89</sup>

**47** Indeed, they will melt like wax!<sup>90</sup> For the prophet Daniel already told us in the beginning, wishing to inspire us with fear, he said: "His throne is a flame of fire, its wheels are ablaze with fire, while a river of fire is flowing before him. Thousands upon thousands are serving him and ten thousands upon ten thousands are waiting upon him."<sup>91</sup> After all these, the Saviour says: "All flesh will be seasoned in fire."<sup>92</sup> Test yourself, O man, through your acts,<sup>93</sup> to see whether you are able to cross the river of fire so that you will not burn. For in that fire you will be tested. It is also said in Ezekiel, the prophet: "I will take you, I will gather you and I will blow upon you with the fire of my wrath; I will take you with my rod."<sup>94</sup>

**48** May it happen to us that He gathers us to him and does not leave us to be dispersed. We, for our part, let us say to him: See, we have followed you with our entire heart.<sup>95</sup> So that He, for his part, will have mercy upon us and gather us with the rod of his love. For it is good for us to come under the rod of God's discipline. As he says: "He will strike us and heal us."<sup>96</sup> We, for our part, let us say: "When I have sinned, it is good for me to humiliate myself, so that I may understand your ordinances."<sup>97</sup> And

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<sup>85</sup> Cf. Isa. 1: 23.

<sup>86</sup> Isa. 3: 14.

<sup>87</sup> Isa. 3: 14.

<sup>88</sup> Gen. 3: 10.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Rev. 6: 17.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Ps. 21: 14.

<sup>91</sup> Dan. 7: 9-10.

<sup>92</sup> Mk. 9: 49.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Sir. 37: 30.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Ez. 20: 34, 22: 21.

<sup>95</sup> 1 Kgs. 14: 8.

<sup>96</sup> Job. 5: 18.

<sup>97</sup> Ps. 118: 71.

Jeremiah, too, said: "You disciplined me and I have been disciplined. You turned yourself to me and I will turn myself, for you are the Lord, my salvation. Before my captivity, I repented."<sup>98</sup> David also says: "Prove me, O God, and know my heart."<sup>99</sup>

**49** So that, my brothers, it is better to accept every pain than that you hear this great and fearful voice forever: "Depart from me, you who are cursed, into the eternal fire that is prepared for the devil and all his angels."<sup>100</sup> For about those it is said: "They will receive everlasting punishment."<sup>101</sup> For I was hungry and you did not feed me, I was thirsty and you did not let me drink, I was naked and you did not cover me, I was in prison and you did not come to me, I was a foreigner and you did not receive me."<sup>102</sup> O man, do you not know that after your death, there will be done to you like what you have done? For the prophet Obadiah says: "Like you have done, there will be done to you,"<sup>103</sup> just as to this unmerciful man, Nineve.

**50** This blessed man, Lazarus, had been lying in his porch, covered with sores, and desired to be satisfied with what fell from the table of the rich man.<sup>104</sup> The latter in turn cried out asking for a finger of water to cool his tongue, because of the torture of the fire where he was, but it was not granted to him. Instead, it was further blame which he heard from the one to whom he had appealed, saying: "My father, have mercy upon me!" "No mercy will be shown to you, O miserable man, for you did not have mercy upon your fellow man."<sup>105</sup> Did he not sleep in your porch, that is the place where you went out and in? Why did you not even once bow down to him and ask him: "What do you need?" On the contrary, you went about with ostentation, seeing the great number of servants that followed you. Indeed, because of this empty joy, you did not remember your fellow, even though he was lying in your porch and you were

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<sup>98</sup> Jer. 31: 18-19.

<sup>99</sup> Ps. 138: 23.

<sup>100</sup> Mt. 25: 41.

<sup>101</sup> Mt. 25: 46.

<sup>102</sup> Mt. 25: 42-43.

<sup>103</sup> Ob. 1: 15.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Lk. 16: 19-31.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Jam. 2: 13.

passing him while entering and leaving. For it is not said: "He was in a corner of your house," but: "He was in your porch," in order that your mercilessness would be obvious to everyone.

**51** Is this not the reproach that the prophet pronounced over you when he said: "Woe to those who drink pure wine from bowls, while they anoint themselves with lotions and idle away upon soft blankets and do not grieve at all over the ruin of the house of Joseph,"<sup>106</sup> that is their poor brothers and those who are in need. Not only will we be taken to account for those whom we see suffering and forget, but also about the others, who hide their poverty because of the disgrace of the people, you will be asked.

**52** You then, O bishops, do not forget such people. For you will account for the entire flock over whom the Holy Spirit ordained you as bishops in order to pasture the church of the Lord, which he acquired with his own blood.<sup>107</sup> Remember His compassion for the poor and the entire race of men, as he said to his disciples: "I do not want to send this crowd away hungry, lest they faint on the road."<sup>108</sup> And through his compassion, five loaves fed five thousand men, so that they ate and left over from them.<sup>109</sup> When you acquire this compassion, even if it is only a little bit that you possess, it is yet sufficient for you to feed a crowd with it.

**53** Indeed, Paul bears witness for us about these things, when he says: "While we live like poor, we yet make many rich."<sup>110</sup> Because compassion feeds man better than great wealth. For Nineve owned much, yet he did not take care of a single poor man, even though he belonged to his own household. The blessed Paul, by contrast, had renounced everything, but the work of his hands served him and those with him,<sup>111</sup> so that nobody would be able to say: "I have nothing to provide for the need of the poor." For God has entrusted you with his sheep.

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<sup>106</sup> Am. 6: 4, 6.

<sup>107</sup> Ac. 20: 28.

<sup>108</sup> Mt. 15: 32.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Mt. 14: 20; Mk. 6: 43; Lk. 9: 17; Jn. 6: 13.

<sup>110</sup> 2 Cor. 6: 10.

<sup>111</sup> Ac. 20: 34.

**54** See how he enjoined the apostle Peter three times, saying: "Simon, son of John, do you love me?" He said: "Yes, my Lord, you know that I love you." He told him: "Herd my lambs."<sup>112</sup> See how He repeated it three times, impressing this word upon him in order that he would watch the lambs and the sheep. For man is the work of his hands, and because of this did He become man, though being God, and did he die and live, so that we would live with him.<sup>113</sup> Do not be negligent with the deposit that you have received, but be responsible for the entire flock. To the rich bear witness daily with what the apostle Paul wrote down for his beloved son Timothy, as he told him: "Enjoin the rich not to be arrogant and not to put their trust in wealth, which will perish, but let them put their trust in God, who richly provides us with everything. Let the rich of this age collect for themselves a good foundation for eternal life."<sup>114</sup> Indeed, God also gives them the richness of his virtue. If not, they will be deprived of true life.

**55** Therefore, let them become stewards of God who take care of the poor, so that God may grant them the wealth that lasts forever. For he said: "If you have not been trustworthy in what is yours, then who will be able to entrust you with what is not yours?"<sup>115</sup> For the kingdom of heavens is not theirs: it will be taken from them on account of their wealth, which is devoid of mercy. Who shows mercy is worthy of that eternal kingdom.<sup>116</sup>

**56** Now then, my beloved, do not let such insignificant pride in this world make us strangers to those eternal gifts. Do not let darkness separate us from the light. Do not let death separate us from life. As for the poor, now, this is the way in which you console them so that they remember their burden that is light and realize the grace that God has shown them by granting them a responsibility that is lighter than that of the rich, as He saved them the necessity to account for many heavy responsibilities. Since you will be questioned about your own soul alone, O poor, do not

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<sup>112</sup> Jn. 21: 15-17.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Rom. 6: 8; 2 Cor. 13: 4; 2 Tim. 2: 11.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. 1 Tim. 6: 17-19.

<sup>115</sup> Cf Lk. 16: 10-12.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Jm. 2: 13.

be grieved that you do not have gold, silver, gardens, pasture, slaves and cattle; on the contrary, what fits you is to rejoice, because you will not be questioned about all these things in the tribunal of God.

**57** You will not be asked whether you evilly squandered the produce of the land, not doing God's will with it, as you did not give it to the poor and the widows, or whether you sold it for gold and buried it in the earth, or whether you sold it at a time of scarcity for a high price, oppressing the poor from all sides, having made bad use of what does not belong to you. When you had received its price, you did not think of turning back to God so that he might forgive you. Instead, you buried the gold it had yielded in the earth, from which you will be taken away; the gold, however, will remain hidden in the earth as it was, but your sins will remain walking together with you to the tribunal where you will be taken. Will you then spend it in profligacy, like the young man who squandered his wealth in a dissolute way?<sup>117</sup> Afterwards, when he had become needy, he came to his mind, sat down and cried. If his possessions had been used by him for the sake of charity and he would have spent them according to the will of God, he would have escaped many sins. For it is written: "The wealth of the impious is stored up for the righteous."<sup>118</sup>

**58** Have you not been saved all these reproaches, O poor? Will you be asked whether you melted down gold and silver for your concubines, just like those whom God rebuked by mouth of the prophet, saying: "I gave them my gold and my silver, but they made them into Baal, which is lust?"<sup>119</sup> Will you be condemned because of horses, because you took better care of them than of human beings, whom God created according to his own image?<sup>120</sup> Will ever a servant bring a charge against you at the tribunal of God because you ill-treated him and neglected to give him his food and his clothes, and because you ordered him to a job that was heavy beyond his power, in particular as he witnessed you eating and drinking from whatever his soul desired. And you, O rich man, you are

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<sup>117</sup> Cf. Lk. 15: 11-32.

<sup>118</sup> Pro. 13: 22.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Ez. 16: 17.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Gen. 1: 27.

eating with a jealous eye, without extending your hand towards him in order to let him, too, taste of what you eat. Have you not been saved all these things, O poor man, and have you not become free to stand up against the rich man when he is judged because of all these things?

**59** Now, let the heretics be ashamed! Let them close their mouth full of poison that blasphemes against the dispensation of the creator of the universe, Him who takes care of all souls, which he created, and desires that they live all together, when they say that he created some poor and others rich.

**60** See, I have come upon the very grace that God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, bestowed upon the poor and others who are ill, for nothing has happened without God's ordainment. Since to the poor he gave a straight and easy way to go, in order that they enter eternal life in the kingdom of heavens. Do you have lots of wine to drink daily so that you get drunk and start to cause difficulties and leer at a woman who is not yours or go and steal, so that you get caught and be killed? On the contrary, your poverty, in which you live, has become for you like a master of philosophy, who teaches you to turn away from all evil and do what is good and become inspired with the fear of God, while you keep his commandments, and give glory to him by day and by night.<sup>121</sup>

**61** Do you not know, O poor man, that the origin of nakedness is wine?<sup>122</sup> Let your mind become wakeful in everything and may you remain remembering the God who created you in his likeness and his image,<sup>123</sup> he who allowed you to be rich in the coming age and with the eternal wealth of heavens.<sup>124</sup> If you persevere in remaining like this, O poor man, thanking God in everything for your poverty,<sup>125</sup> and if He sees that your heart is sincere towards Him, he will bestow his mercy upon you.<sup>126</sup> Have you not heard the prophet Isaiah saying: "The Lord is a

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<sup>121</sup> Cf. Ps. 1: 2.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Gen. 9: 21.

<sup>123</sup> Gen. 1: 26.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Jam. 2: 5.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Col. 3: 17.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. 1 Kgs. 3: 6.

good judge in the house of Israel: He will bestow upon you according to his mercy"<sup>127</sup> - for indeed, He did not leave them in need of their basic needs, to bread and water. For I trust in God to the effect that there is indeed nobody who owns these things but through the goodness of the God of heaven. Even if some people may forget someone who is in need - the compassion of God will not forget him.<sup>128</sup>

**62** Therefore, what is unfitting for you, O poor man, is to forget the wealth of virtue which belongs to you. Do not envy those who are easy-going in their life, those for whom it is difficult to enter the kingdom of heavens.<sup>129</sup> Why? Because they did not wish to give themselves pain, according to the word of the apostle, but on the contrary gave themselves over to self-defilement and all kinds of impurity and greed.<sup>130</sup> Therefore, they do not believe in the Lord, who gives wealth and poverty.

**63** He, however, who wants to live in wealth and yet enter the kingdom of heavens, should love the Lord with the whole of his heart.<sup>131</sup> Was not Zacchaeus a rich man? And yet the excess of his possessions did not prevent him from entering the kingdom of heavens,<sup>132</sup> because he loved the Lord with the whole of his heart, even though he was a publican, because of his love for the Lord not in words alone, but he also put it into practice.<sup>133</sup> Therefore he became worthy of the eternal life. For the Lord says: "If someone loves me, he shall observe my word."<sup>134</sup> Those who now study this verse: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heavens,"<sup>135</sup> have loved this verse, (but) they have defiled themselves so as not to allow them to enter the kingdom of heavens, because they have loved death more than life and they have loved this world, which will be pass by,

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<sup>127</sup> Isa. 63: 7.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Ps. 9: 19.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Ps. 36: 1, 7.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Eph. 4: 19.

<sup>131</sup> Dt. 6: 5; Mt. 22: 37; Mk. 12:3.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Lk. 19: 9.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. 1 Jn. 3: 18.

<sup>134</sup> Jn. 14: 23.

<sup>135</sup> Mt. 19: 24; Mk. 10: 25; Lk. 18: 25.

more than that world to which no term is set.<sup>136</sup> Indeed, we see that many rich men of ancient times have entered the kingdom of heavens on account of their compassion upon the poor, because they did not hoard up what they possessed.

**64** You, O bishops, do not be negligent in explaining to them the word of God, making yourself models of justice and purity and love, being lovers of the poor, consoling them with the word, enjoining upon everyone to remember the word of the apostle and evangelist John as he wrote in his letter: "Let us not love with words alone, O my beloved, but in practice and truth."<sup>137</sup>

**65** When there is someone, who lives the life of this world and - if he sees his brother in need - excludes him from his compassion, in what way does God's love dwell within him? Do you not remember, O men, that you are the administrators of the riches of this world? And that the owner of the riches will ask you to render account up to a single obol?<sup>138</sup> Do you not know his meticulousness? For He ordered his apostles: "Gather the fragments that were left over, so that none of them be lost."<sup>139</sup> Do not envy the rich people who had to justify themselves in this way on the day of judgment. For all will stand trial on the day of judgment. From him to whom much was entrusted, much will be demanded and from him to whom more was given, more will be asked.<sup>140</sup>

**66** Return to the Lord, our God, before the darkness comes, my beloved.<sup>141</sup> Do not allow your feet to stumble. Watch for the light of God. Further, your souls will weep in the end and your eyes will shed tears because you have scattered the sheep of the pasture of God. Tell the emperor and those who are in power: "The crown upon your head has been taken."<sup>142</sup> Who are they about whom the prophet says: "Humiliate

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<sup>136</sup> Cf. 2 Tim. 4: 10.

<sup>137</sup> 1 Jn. 3: 18.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Mt. 25: 24-28.

<sup>139</sup> Jn. 6: 12.

<sup>140</sup> Lk. 12: 48.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Jn. 12: 35.

<sup>142</sup> Jer. 13: 18.

yourselves,"<sup>143</sup> but the rich of this moment, who are guilty of every blame? And why then are so many people desirous for this thing (i.e. wealth)? When a rich tyrant assumes power, he will start by jumping upon the robbers.

**67** Indeed, the death of the poor is more honourable and more peaceful than that of the rich one. If the rich man dies, many are at risk. Some he ill-treated and they will mock him. Others, who had good relations with him, will be sad because they have been deprived of their hope for work. If he left money and went away, then his sons will squander it; afterwards, the man will become an object of derision in the end. On the other hand, if he did not leave (anything), they will despise him in the end and mock him in his death. The poor man, however, has been saved all these things. One single thing is what he owns in order to be found a wise poor man. Do not put your confidence in the wealth of this age, for it is full of all kinds of impurity.

*Behaviour in church*

**68** Indeed, rich people are not used to stay unoccupied. Pay heed to yourself in church. Do you not find many poor people cleave to the word of God? But when a rich man enters, he has no patience at all to come closer in order to hear the word of God, which tells him: "Watch your steps when you are going to enter the house of God and draw near to him so that you will hear his words."<sup>144</sup> But the rich do not want to get closer lest they would hear the reproaches that apply to them, for they do not want to listen and be saved. If it happens that one enters the church, he will take a seat at a distance; he will not come close to the poor, as if the poor were despicable, since he is afraid that they will defile his garments. Oh what a great lack of respect and what a misanthropy! O man, will you not go and turn to God with the whole of your heart? Are not the seats of the dignitaries beside the singers, in accordance with what the blessed David said: "First the rulers came, close to those who sing"?<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Jer. 13: 18.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. Ecc. 5: 1.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Ps. 67: 26.

**69** Why are they allowed to be closer to the place of instruction? Perhaps because the word applies to them? Therefore they shall seek it more diligently. I am speaking of you, O rich man, who is excessively rich and yet is careless about going to the house of God and who is slow to enter, but remains outside, at the gates, and whoever has entered, yet did not sit on the place that was appointed to him. Such people can be reproved by the word that is written and says: "This is what the Lord says; 'I called you and you did not listen to me. I stretched out my hands and you did not pay heed to them. Therefore, you all will fall by sword', said the Lord."<sup>146</sup> He also said: "I will kill them by the word of my mouth."<sup>147</sup>

**70** Why do you not want to make yourself free for God, who says: "Be free and acknowledge that I am God"?<sup>148</sup> Instead, each is hurrying according to the wish of his own soul. Some are hurrying to the theatres and to parties; others run after vanities of the vain and short-lived world, rather than listening to the word of the Lord, He who cries out, saying: "I am the Lord, who does not change ever."<sup>149</sup> For the Lord has appointed one over many, so that all would be part of one single order.

**71** If one of the dignitaries enters the church, it is inevitable that those who follow him and over whom he has authority enter together with him and pray. Instead of gaining benefit for himself alone, he will rather gain benefit for others as well, who follow him. Moreover, they will praise God because of him and, inversely, if he sins and perseveres in a despicable and dissolute way of life in front of them, they will in turn envy his evil acts and follow them. He who has authority over them will be held accountable for their sins. Those who are negligent about the Holy Mass, are negligent for fear of hearing the reproaches that apply to them. Shall we not reproof those who are negligent about going to church in spite of the fact that the Lord made them free of care about anything and allowed them to devote themselves to their own salvation? They despised it; they did not go to the house of God, telling it in the streets

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<sup>146</sup> Isa. 65: 12.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Hos. 6: 5.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. Ps. 45: 11

<sup>149</sup> Cf. Mal. 3: 6.

and the markets, even though the word of God, who wishes to let everyone enter the knowledge of truth,<sup>150</sup> is overtly available.

**72** But their heart is full of foolishness and they take pleasure in useless words and when the pious have already finished celebrating the holy service, they enter with a shameless eye and approach and take from the body and the blood of the Lord, He who came down from the heavens surrounded by a crowd of countless angels and the Cherubim and the Seraphim and the Father with him and the Holy Spirit, crying out to everyone: "Come, eat of my bread and drink of my wine, for I mixed it for you in order that you will drink and live."<sup>151</sup> For my flesh is real spice and my blood is real drink.<sup>152</sup> For this is my blood and my body, which will be given for you for the forgiveness of your sins."<sup>153</sup>

**73** Therefore, you who are negligent in entering the house of God, how have you dared to approach the altar, wishing to receive from the flesh and the blood of the Lord? If you do not go to church early, then tell me, how have you heard the Gospel? Or what is the teaching that you have heard from Paul? Tell me, what is the psalm that David sung, so that our thoughts are lifted from this age? But you enter with great shamelessness and you approach what is holy with great insolence, before you have purified yourself by prayer and the word of God, walking in stubbornness as the beasts do. Verily, if only you had remained until the sacrifice had been brought to an end! But you snatched it and ran off like a kite. For this reason, the law-giver said: "You shall not eat the kite nor what resembles it."<sup>154</sup>

**74** Did you not hear, O man, him who derides the sluggard and the negligent, as it is written: "How long will you sleep, O sluggard, and when will you rise from sleep? You sleep a little, you slumber a little, with your hand upon your chest."<sup>155</sup> After that he says: "Poverty will

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<sup>150</sup> 1 Tim. 2: 4.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Pro. 9: 5.

<sup>152</sup> Jn. 6: 55.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Mt. 26: 26-28.

<sup>154</sup> Lev. 11: 13.

<sup>155</sup> Pro. 6: 9-10.

reach you quickly and need like a good runner."<sup>156</sup> What is poverty but poverty of virtue? Are there not twelve hours in the day? When you spend ten hours in performing the works of your body, are you not even free for two hours for the works of your soul?

**75** We know many people in the world who are working by day and by night, gathering for themselves (treasures) in the kingdom of heavens. You, who are negligent about their Holy Masses, woe to you that you have become negligent and strangers to what is profitable. For God says, by mouth of this great prophet Isaiah: "Behold, my servants will eat, but you will go hungry. Behold, my servants will drink, but you will go thirsty. Behold, my servants will enjoy, but you will cry out from the anguish of your heart, because you have left me behind, said the Lord."<sup>157</sup>

**76** If you do not want to die, O man, do not approach God while you are hesitating whether this is the body of Christ. You, indeed, who are the enemy of your neighbour, with what shameless eyes have you approached the God of peace? You, who are the enemy of your brother, you are far removed from his peace.<sup>158</sup> Know then that Christ will not give you from his holy body and precious blood. Even if you partake, it will be condemnation for you.<sup>159</sup> You, too, O violent man, what is your business with the body of Christ? Rather, you shall violate him in a similar manner! And if you had been present at the time when he was crucified, you would have gone and taken his clothes with violence, just as the soldiers did to him.<sup>160</sup> Did you not hear the words of the Saviour, who tells you: "Whatever you did for one of these little brothers, you did it for me"?<sup>161</sup> After having violated Christ yesterday, you came to me today, saying: "Give me from your body and your precious blood!" To you, however, I will not give it, and not only you, but also the others, who commit adultery and then enter (the church).

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<sup>156</sup> Pro. 6: 11.

<sup>157</sup> Isa. 65: 13-14.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Mt. 5: 23-24.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 11: 29.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Mt. 27: 35; Mk. 15: 24; Lk. 23: 34.

<sup>161</sup> Mt. 25: 40.

**77** Do not even think, O man who commits adultery with his neighbour's wife, about partaking from the grace of Christ, of which partake the priests of the people. O man, you have your own wife at home and you leave the church and go out alone to be caught in the traps of prostitution.

**78** And you, too, who is without wife and the virgin of Christ, pay heed to such snares. The devil and his entire host are hunting you day and night, since he envies you and wants to defile you with the stench of prostitution. Guard yourselves all the time and watch your hearts, for your enemy, the devil, prowls around, roaring like a lion, wishing to devour your souls.<sup>162</sup> Do you not hear the wise saying: "Watch your steps when you go to the house of God"?<sup>163</sup> Are there then obstacles or traps at the door of the house of God? What is the reason for which the Ecclesiastes spoke this word: "Watch your steps," as long as you have your eyes and see? But he says: "Beware of the traps of prostitution!" He likewise said about the prostitute: "Her heart is like a drag net and a snare is what is in her hands."<sup>164</sup>

**79** You, then, when you come to church, wash your body with holy water, put on radiant clothes, walk prudently, with your eyes cast down, but your thoughts watching up to heaven and the prayer of God in your mouth, while you are full of fear as if you were on your way to the tribunal of God. When you enter the church, sit down with the men. Remain close to him who recites the word of God, so that you will hear what is lacking you, in order that you pray to God to fulfil you so as to be perfect, and draw freely near to his body and his holy blood, just like a son who gladly kisses his father's mouth,<sup>165</sup> and he will receive you with delight and grant you his Holy Spirit, who came over the fathers, the apostles, according to the word of our Saviour who said: "When I leave, I will send you the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, who will teach you all things and who will make you remember every word that I spoke to

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<sup>162</sup> 1 Pet. 5: 8.

<sup>163</sup> Ecc. 5: 1.

<sup>164</sup> Ecc. 7: 26.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Lk. 15: 20.

On Pentecost: Translation

you."<sup>166</sup> To God be the glory, the Father and his beloved Son and the Holy Spirit, they who dwell within the Church that will always remain from now till eternity. Amen.

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<sup>166</sup> Jn. 14: 26.

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## English Summary

In this dissertation, four homilies preserved in Sahidic Coptic and attributed to Saint Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 296-373) are presented for the first time in a critical edition, together with an English translation. The edition is made after manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, which originate from a deserted medieval monastery in the Egyptian province of al-Fayoum and date from the ninth-tenth centuries. The surviving fragments of other manuscripts are presented in columns parallel to the text of the main manuscripts.

The first homily, which is preserved in manuscript M 602, f. 89r-98r, is an encomium in praise of the archangels Michael and Gabriel. This encomium heavily depends on storytelling in delivering its moral lessons. The homilist narrates no less than five stories in order to illustrate his argument.

The second homily is about murder and greed and about Saint Michael, the archangel. It is preserved in manuscript M 602, f. 98v-110v. Its title claims that it was delivered in the presence of Saint Pachomius, the famous monastic leader from Upper Egypt, when he came to visit Athanasius in Alexandria. Two visions of Pachomius, narrated by Athanasius, occupy most of the homily. The first vision exposes an unworthy deacon who proved to be a murderer. The second deals with the punishment of sinful Christians in Hell. By the end of the homily, Athanasius narrates a vision of his own, in which Michael, the archangel, appeared to him during his exile in Panopolis in Upper Egypt. In various passages of this homily, the influence of the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Paul* can be discerned.

The third homily is preserved in manuscript M 577, f. 37v-49v. Its title claims that this homily was delivered by Athanasius in response to the inquiries of clergymen from Isauria, in Asia Minor, who had come to visit him. The first and main subject of the homily is an exegesis of the pericope of the midnight friend in

Luke 11: 5-9. Then Athanasius relates the story of an unmerciful rich man, Phoibamon, who following a miracle of Saint Pachomius, became a monk and later a bishop of Koptos in Upper Egypt. A brief discussion of the friendship between Jonathan and David follows. Finally, the miraculous refutation of the heretic Carpocratius during the Council of Nicaea in 325 is recounted.

The fourth homily is, according to its title, about Pentecost. It is preserved in manuscript M 595, f. 118v-140v. Athanasius as an author is not manifest in this homily, except in the title. The homilist addresses various themes on the basis of a great number of Biblical quotations. The most important ones are: the Christian household, wealth and poverty and behaviour in church. Pentecost is only briefly discussed in the very last lines of the homily.

The editions and translation of the four texts are preceded by a general introduction. The first chapter of this introduction describes the textual transmission of the homilies and the individual manuscripts. The second chapter contains a literary analysis of the homilies. The third chapter deals with the question of authorship, date and place of origin of the texts. A fourth chapter discusses the picture of the historical St. Athanasius as it is transmitted by the first three of the homilies. An appendix reports about the search for later translations of these texts into Arabic. Finally the principles underlying the edition are outlined.

It appears that the first three homilies are didactic homilies, composed with the help of various earlier sources. Their final redaction may have taken place as late as the period of the so-called 'synaxarial systematization', around the ninth century, when they were adapted for liturgical use. The fourth homily was probably conceived as unity and may go back to a late-antique original, presumably written in Greek. None of the homilies was authored by Athanasius himself, but they are valuable witnesses to the reception of the figure of Athanasius in later centuries,

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reflecting the needs of the Egyptian miaphysite Church following the schism of the sixth century.



## Samenvatting

Deze dissertatie omvat de eerste kritische editie (editio princeps) met Engelse vertaling van vier preken, die geschreven zijn in het Sahidisch Koptisch en toegeschreven worden aan H. Athanasius van Alexandrië (c. 296-373). Deze tekstuittgave is gebaseerd op enkele 9<sup>e</sup>-10<sup>e</sup> eeuwse handschriften uit de Pierpont Morgan Bibliotheek, die afkomstig zijn uit een verlaten middeleeuws klooster in de provincie al-Fayyum in Egypte. De bewaard gebleven tekstfragmenten van andere handschriften worden met de tekst van de centrale handschriften in parallelle kolommen gepresenteerd.

De eerste preek, die is overgeleverd in manuscript M 602, f. 89r-98r, is een lofrede over de twee aartsengelen Michaël en Gabriël. In deze preek worden met behulp van verhalen morele lessen overgebracht. De prediker vertelt niet minder dan vijf verhalen ter illustratie van zijn betoog.

De tweede preek gaat over moord en hebzucht, en over de aartsengel Michaël. De tekst is overgeleverd in manuscript M 602, f. 98v-110v. In de titel wordt beweerd dat de preek werd gehouden in aanwezigheid van H. Pachomius, de archimandriet van Thebe, tijdens zijn bezoek aan Athanasius in Alexandrië. Het grootste deel van de preek, verteld door Athanasius, gaat over twee visioenen van H. Pachomius. Het eerste visioen toont een diaken die een moordenaar blijkt te zijn. Het tweede visioen gaat over de kwellingen die Christelijke zondaars in de hel moeten ondergaan. Aan het eind van de preek vertelt Athanasius over een visioen, dat hij zelf heeft ontvangen tijdens zijn ballingschap in Panopolis in Opper Egypte, waarin de aartsengel Michaël aan hem verschijnt. In verscheidene passages van deze preek kunnen invloeden van de apocriefe tekst *De Apocalyps van Paulus* waargenomen worden.

## Samenvatting

De derde preek is bewaard gebleven in manuscript M 577, f. 37v-49v. De titel vermeldt dat de preek werd gehouden door Athanasius als een antwoord op de vragen die gesteld werden door enkele priesters afkomstig uit Isauria in Klein-Azië, tijdens hun bezoek aan hem. Het eerste en belangrijkste onderwerp van de preek is een bijbelexegese over de perikoop van de nachtelijke bezoeker uit Lukas 11: 5-9. Vervolgens vertelt Athanasius over een onbarmhartige rijke man, Phoibammon, die na een wonder van H. Pachomius tot bekering is gekomen, toen monnik is geworden en later bisschop van Koptos in Opper Egypte. Daarna volgt een korte verhandeling over de vriendschap tussen Jonathan en David. Tenslotte spreekt hij over de wonderbaarlijke wijze waarop de visie van Carpocrates, een ketter, op het concilie van Nicea weerlegd werd.

De vierde preek lijkt over Pinksteren te gaan, tenminste, zo wordt aangekondigd in de titel. De preek is overgeleverd in manuscript M 595, f. 118v-140v. Athanasius, aan wie de tekst is toegeschreven, komt in het geheel niet in de preek voor met uitzondering van de titel. De prediker behandelt verschillende thema's aan de hand van bijbelcitaten. De belangrijkste zijn: het christelijk gezin, rijkdom en armoede, en hoe men zich in de kerk behoort te gedragen. Pas in de laatste regels wordt kort iets over Pinksteren geschreven.

De tekstedities met vertaling van de vier preken worden voorafgegaan door een algemene inleiding. Het eerste hoofdstuk geeft een beschrijving van de tekstoverlevering van de preken en van de afzonderlijke handschriften. Het tweede hoofdstuk geeft een literaire analyse van de preken. Het derde hoofdstuk bespreekt het auteurschap, de datum en de plaats waar de teksten zijn ontstaan. Het vierde hoofdstuk bespreekt het beeld van de historische Athanasius zoals dat geschetst wordt door de eerste drie preken. Het resultaat van de zoektocht naar latere, Arabische, vertalingen van deze preken wordt weergegeven in een appendix.

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Tenslotte worden de principes die ten grondslag liggen aan de editie uiteengezet.

Het is duidelijk dat de eerste drie preken didactische preken zijn, opgesteld met behulp van verscheidene andere literaire bronnen. De definitieve eindredactie heeft waarschijnlijk later plaats gevonden, namelijk in de periode die genoemd wordt 'de synaxarische systematisering (d.w.z. het systematiseren van het synaxarium), dat is rond de negende eeuw, toen deze teksten werden aangepast voor gebruik in de liturgie. De vierde preek is hoogst waarschijnlijk in zijn geheel in een keer opgeschreven en gaat terug op een waarschijnlijk in het Grieks geschreven origineel uit de Late Oudheid. De auteur van deze preken is niet Athanasius, maar de preken zijn waardevolle getuigen van de receptiegeschiedenis van de persoon Athanasius in latere eeuwen, en weerspiegelen de behoeften van de Egyptische miafysitische Kerk na het schisma van de zesde eeuw.



## المخلص العربي

قدمت هذه الرسالة نشرة نقدية، تظهر للمرة الأولى لأربعة نصوص قبطية صعيدية منسوبة للقديس أنثاسيوس الرسولي (حوالي 296-373م)، مصحوبة بترجمة إنجليزية. أعدت النشرة من خلال المخطوطات المحفوظة بمكتبة بونت مورجان بنيويورك، والتي اكتشفت في خرائب دير الملاك، بمنطقة الحامولي بالفيوم، ويعود تاريخ نساختها إلى القرنين التاسع والعاشر. قدمت الرسالة كذلك نشرة للمخطوطات التي تضم أجزاء شبيهة بهذه العظات في أعمدة متقابلة.

العظة الأولى محفوظة في مخطوط مورجان رقم 602، الصفحات 89 وجه - 98 وجه. وهي عبارة عن مديح لرئيسي الملائكة ميخائيل وجبرائيل. يعتمد هذا المديح على القص في توصيل رسائله الروحية. حكى الكاتب على الأقل خمسة قصص ليقوي أدلته ويوصل رسائله الروحية.

العظة الثانية محفوظة في مخطوط مورجان رقم 602، الصفحات 98 ظهر - 110 ظهر. هي عظة عن الجشع والقتل وعن رئيس الملائكة ميخائيل. يذكر عنوانها أنها أُلقيت في حضور الأنبا باخوميوس، أب رهبان صعيد مصر، عندما جاء لزيارة أنثاسيوس في الإسكندرية. الواعظ روى رؤيتين لباخوميوس، الأولى عن شماس قاتل، والثانية عن عذاب الخطة المسيحيين في الجحيم. قرب نهاية العظة يروي الواعظ عن ظهور رئيس الملائكة ميخائيل لأنثاسيوس لتعزيته في منفاه بأحميم في صعيد مصر. يُلاحظ في هذه العظة تأثيرات واضحة للنص الأبوكريفي الشهير رؤيا بولس.

العظة الثالثة محفوظة في مخطوط مورجان رقم 577، الصفحات 37 ظهر - 94 ظهر. يقول عنوانها أنها أُلقيت في حضور رجال الإكليروس من مدينة إيسوريا في آسيا الصغرى عندما جاءوا لطرح أسئلتهم على أنثاسيوس الرسولي. أول وأهم عنصر في العظة هو تعليق على مثل صديق نصف الليل (لوقا 11: 5-9). يروي الواعظ بعد ذلك قصة فوبيامون الذي بدأ حياته كرجل غني جشع، ثم من خلال معجزة، تحول إلى راهب ثم سيم أسقفًا على مدينة فقط. ثم يقص علينا الواعظ صداقة داود ويوناتان، وبعدها يختتم عظته بما حدث في مجمع نيقية (325) ومقاومة المهترق كريبوكراتيوس.

العظة الرابعة محفوظة في مخطوط مورجان رقم 595، الصفحات 118 ظهر - 140 ظهر. يقول عنوانها أنها عن العنصرة. أنثاسيوس لا يظهر في العظة مطلقًا إلا في العنوان. الواعظ يتحدث عن عدة موضوعات مستخدمًا عددًا كبيرًا من الاقتباسات الكتابية. أهم موضوعات العظة هي الغنى والفقر، والأسرة المسيحية. تكلم الواعظ عن العنصرة في آخر سطرين بالعظة.

## Arabic Summary

سُبقت العظّات الأربعة وترجماتها بمقدمة عامة. الفصل الأول من المقدمة يتناول المخطوطات ووصفها وتاريخ انتقالها. الفصل الثاني يتناول التحليل الأدبي للعظّات. الفصل الثالث يعالج قضية المؤلف ومكان وزمان التأليف. الفصل الرابع يُركّز على شخصية أثناسيوس التاريخية وكيف تطورت عبر العصور. قدمت الرسالة ملحفاً عن احتمالية وجود نسخ عربية من هذه العظّات.

يبدو أن العظّات الثلاثة الأولى هي عظّات تعليمية مركبة، اعتمد بنائها على عدد من المصادر القديمة. آخر مرحلة من مراحل انتقال نصوص هذه العظّات كانت حوالي القرن التاسع فيما يعرف بعملية "التنظيم السنكساري". وقد كان الغرض من نساختهم هو استخدامهم في الصلوات الليتورجية. العظة الرابعة، غالباً، صيغت مرة واحدة، وغالباً مترجمة عن أصل يوناني. أثناسيوس ليس المؤلف الحقيقي لأي من هذه العظّات. هذه العظّات هي شاهد مهم من الماضي يساعد على فهم صورة أثناسيوس بعد قرون من موته. حاولت هذه العظّات سد حاجة الكنيسة المصرية، المؤمنة بالطبيعة الواحدة للمسيح، بعد الانفصال في القرن السادس.

## **Curriculum Vitae**

Ibrahim Saweros was born in Tema, near the city of Sohag in Upper Egypt in the year 1980. He started his studies in the field of Egyptology at the Faculty of Arts, Sohag University, Egypt in the year 1999 and graduated in 2002 with honours. He did his Pre-Master at Tanta University, Egypt, in Egyptology. He wrote his MA thesis on mercenaries in ancient Egypt and graduated with excellence. He worked as an assistant-lecturer at Sohag University between 2002 and 2010. In addition, he was trained to excavate with a team from Mainz University, Germany. In 2008-2009, he joined a German-Egyptian mission to excavate the tombs of the western mountain of Asyut. He attended courses in the field of Coptic studies in Egypt and decided to continue for his PhD in that field. The Egyptian Ministry of Higher Education granted him a scholarship to study Coptic abroad for four years. He came to the Netherlands in 2010 and attended many courses to improve his skills. He studied Biblical Greek, Coptic Art and Architecture, Arabic Manuscripts in addition to many courses in literary and documentary Coptic. During his stay in the Netherlands, he attended several international congresses to present his project on the Coptic homilies attributed to St. Athanasius of Alexandria. As a result, he published some articles about his project and on other subjects. He was invited to teach Coptic in his home country and taught courses in the Franciscan Cultural Centre, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, the Coptic Orthodox Seminary and the Société d'Archéologie Copte in Cairo, in addition to his home university. The Dr. Dr. Gerda von Mach Memorial Foundation, Berlin, Germany, awarded him a grant for eighteen months to continue his work on the Coptic corpus attributed to St. Athanasius of Alexandria. The results of his doctoral research can be found in this book.

