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

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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.¹ The collection of Pierpont Morgan grew later on through the help of H. Hyvernat and others.² Hyvernat also prepared a preliminary catalogue of the collection which

¹ 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.

² 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.

remained unpublished till today, but which was used by L. Depuydt in preparing his own catalogue.³

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.⁴ 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."⁵ 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.⁶

To understand the exceptional importance of the collection of al-Hamuli manuscripts, H. Hyvernât'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

³ L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. XLVII-XLVIII, n. 16.

⁴ L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. CIII.

⁵ 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).

⁶ 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".⁷ W. E. Crum also referred briefly to the importance of this collection in the introduction to his dictionary.⁸ 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 1945.⁹

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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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.¹²

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

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

⁹ 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.

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ H. Hyvernat, "The Morgan Collection", p. 56.

¹² H. Hyvernat, "The Morgan Collection", p. 56-57.

The Manuscripts

The collection was offered to Pierpont Morgan and he asked Hyvernât to evaluate it. Hyvernât persuaded Morgan to make the deal and buy the collection for his own library. The price was kept secret, but Hyvernât mentioned that at his time one sheet of an ancient manuscript might cost eighty American dollars,¹³ while the entire collection amounts to 7,248 pages.¹⁴ The collection left Egypt to Paris where it was quickly examined by Hyvernât and acquired for Morgan's library. The collection arrived in New York on the 28th 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.¹⁵ Probably the collection visited the British Museum before returning to New York in 1929.¹⁶

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.¹⁷ A version of the Book of Psalms was lacking.¹⁸ 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

¹³ H. Hyvernât, "The Morgan Collection", p. 56.

¹⁴ "Dr. Henry Hyvernât and the Morgan Coptic Manuscripts", p. 15.

¹⁵ 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.

¹⁶ 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.

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

¹⁸ S. Emmel, "The Library of The Monastery of the Archangel Michael at Phantou", p. 64.

coloured frontispieces. One biblical book was kept in a golden cover.¹⁹

The collection attracted the attention of scholars quite soon. Hyvernât prepared a checklist of the collection in 1919.²⁰ 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.²¹ Hyvernât started working on a full catalogue of the collection, which he finished in 1930. It was never published, however. Hyvernât's student, Th. C. Petersen, prepared a catalogue of the bindings of the manuscripts, which knew the same destiny as Hyvernât's catalogue.²² 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 1993.²³ 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.

¹⁹ H. Hyvernât, "The Morgan Collection", p. 56.

²⁰ H. Hyvernât, *A Checklist of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, 1919.

²¹ H. Hyvernât, *Bibliothecae Pierpont Morgan codices coptici photographice expressi*, 57 vols., Rome, 1922.

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

²³ 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 Gabrielem', 'On Michael and Gabriel', which derives from the original Sahidic title, appeared first in the facsimile edition²⁴ and was later adopted in M. Geerard's *Clavis*.²⁵ L. Depuydt describes it under nr. 116.6 in his catalogue and provides an edition of its title.²⁶ The facsimile edition appeared in 1922.²⁷ 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.²⁸

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

²⁴ H. Hyvernat, *Codices*, vol. 25, p. I.

²⁵ M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. II, Turnhout, 1974, nr. 2197.

²⁶ L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 228-230.

²⁷ H. Hyvernat, *Codices*, vol. 25, p. 179-197.

²⁸ 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 *p*, *γ*, and *q*, and narrow *ε*, *o*, and *c*. 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.²⁹ The title itself is written in the so-called colophon-script in which the letters appear sloping to the right.³⁰ 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 *ⲙⲓ* appears instead of *ⲙⲓ*, 'to take', in (§1),³¹ and *ⲙⲉⲕⲏ* instead of *ⲙⲉⲕⲉ*, 'wage', in (§11).³² Sometimes the scribe has an *ⲁ* instead of an *o*, 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

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

³⁰ L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 229.

³¹ W.E. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 620a.

³² W.E. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 30b.

neighbouring districts.³³ At some point in the ninth century, however, the scribal centres of the Fayoum stopped copying in Fayoumic and switched to Sahidic.³⁴ 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'.³⁵ As a result almost all of the manuscripts of the al-Hamuli collection are marginally tainted by the Fayoumic dialect.³⁶

Some singular words or expressions can be observed. In (§10), the text has ⲥⲏ ⲩⲁⲗⲁⲉ ⲉⲗⲱ, which literally means 'to find a word (of complaint)',³⁷ in order to say 'not to be found fault with'. In (§1), ⲉⲗⲏⲣⲁⲛⲉ is used, which most likely derives from the rare Greek verb ἐγξηραίνω, 'to dry up'.³⁸ The scribe used ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉⲣ in the very rare sense of 'even' in (§17).³⁹ In (§25), the verb ⲭⲛⲟⲩ, 'to ask',⁴⁰ is used in the opposite meaning, 'to answer'.

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

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

³⁴ 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.

³⁵ 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.

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

³⁷ Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 614a-b.

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

³⁹ 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.

⁴⁰ W.E. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 774b.

equivalent.⁴¹ 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 ΜΠΕΖΟΟΥ 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.⁴² 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.⁴³

⁴¹ W.E. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 533b.

⁴² 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.

⁴³ B. Layton, *Catalogue*, nr. 156, p. 183-184.

The British Library fragment was published by van Lantschoot.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶

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*.⁴⁷ Depuydt repeated Lefort's statement in his catalogue without reservation.⁴⁸ Upon careful examination of these fragments, I found that only one can be attributed with certainty to St. Athanasius of Alexandria.⁴⁹ 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.

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

⁴⁵ 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.

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

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

⁴⁸ L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 228.

⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰ Its appeared in a facsimile edition in 1922.⁵¹ Depuydt describes it under number 116.7 of his catalogue and edited its title.⁵² An Italian translation of this homily appeared in 1981.⁵³

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.⁵⁴

As in the encomium described above, some Fayoumic influence can be noted, such as the use of $\text{nh}\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$, 'to wake up', instead of $\text{ne}\zeta\epsilon$ (§29).⁵⁵

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.

⁵⁰ M. Geerard, *Clavis*, nr. 2191.

⁵¹ H. Hyvernat, *Codices*, vol. 25, p. 198-222.

⁵² L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 228-9.

⁵³ T. Orlandi, *Omèlie copte*, Torino, 1981, p. 58-70.

⁵⁴ 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.

⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ This codex bears the *siglum* MONB.FQ.⁵⁷ 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 131⁶, f. 28 and Paris BnF 131⁷, f. 32. The fragments were identified by Suciu who published photos of them in a recent article without an edition of the texts.⁵⁸ 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 129¹², f. 72+70 and Paris BnF 129¹², f. 71+133², f. 57 which were published first by Amélineau⁵⁹ and then by Lefort.⁶⁰ 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 Zoega⁶¹ and then by Lefort.⁶² 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 Munier⁶³ and was

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

⁵⁷ 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.

⁵⁸ A. Suci, "Further Leaves", pl. 22-25.

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

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

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

⁶² 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.

⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ 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 Morard⁶⁵ and then by Lucchesi⁶⁶ and was edited by Youssef.⁶⁷ Pages 41-42 of this codex are preserved in fragment Paris BnF 161⁶, f. 38, which is parallel to M 602, f. 109v-110r, (§48-50). This leaf was first identified by Morard.⁶⁸ 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 602.⁶⁹

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.⁷⁰ 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

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

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

⁶⁶ E. Lucchesi, "Identification", p. 94.

⁶⁷ 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.

⁶⁸ F. Morard, "Les recueils", p. 81-82.

⁶⁹ E. Lucchesi, "Identification", p. 95.

⁷⁰ B. Layton, *Catalogue*, p. 179-180, nr. 153.

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.

MONB.FQ	Fragments	M 602	Edition
P. 1-6.	---	f. 98v-100r.	§1-6.
P. 7-10.	BnF 131 ⁶ , f. 28. BnF 131 ⁷ , f. 32.	f. 100r-101v.	§7-14.
P. 11-12.	---	f. 101v-102r.	§15-16.
P. 13-16.	BnF 129 ¹² , f. 72+70. BnF 129 ¹² , f. 71+133 ² , 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 ⁶ , 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. Hyvernat⁷¹ and then also in Geerard's *Clavis*.⁷² It is known to scholars via the facsimile edition.⁷³ L. Depuydt gave it number 172.4 in his catalogue and partly edited its title.⁷⁴ An Italian translation appeared in 1981.⁷⁵

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

⁷¹ H. Hyvernat, *Codices*, vol. 53, p. I.

⁷² M. Geerard, *Clavis*, nr. 2194.

⁷³ H. Hyvernat, *Codices*, vol. 53, p. 70-98.

⁷⁴ L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 354-5.

⁷⁵ T. Orlandi, *Omellie*, 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.⁷⁶ 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 *ο*. 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 *ο*, and short *ρ*, *γ* and *κ*. 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.⁷⁷ 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 Phantou in Sopehes.⁷⁸ 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

⁷⁶ For a full description, see L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 355.

⁷⁷ L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 119.

⁷⁸ 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 ⲥⲛⲁⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲓⲥⲓⲧⲱⲣⲓⲁ, 'I will recount to you a story', ending with ⲛⲉⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲁⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ 'there was someone called Carpocratius'.⁷⁹ 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.⁸⁰ 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).⁸¹

⁷⁹ G. Zoega, *Catalogus*, nr. 145, p. 239.

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

⁸¹ 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: εἰς διακονοῦς, '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 edition⁸² and then was adopted in Geerard's *Clavis*.⁸³ This homily is known to scholars through the facsimile edition.⁸⁴ L. Depuydt described it under number 170.9 in his catalogue and provided an edition of its title.⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶ The date of copying is 8 Barmuda 571, i.e. 3 April 855.⁸⁷

⁸² H. Hyvernat, *Codices*, vol. 43, p. II.

⁸³ M. Geerard, *Clavis*, nr. 2192.

⁸⁴ H. Hyvernat, *Codices*, vol. 43, p. 238-282.

⁸⁵ L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, p. 345-350.

⁸⁶ For this monastery, see L. Depuydt, *Catalogue*, CV.

⁸⁷ A. van Lantschoot, *Colophons*, p. 16-18.

Exceptionally, in one of the colophons, the whole codex is entitled in Coptic ⲧⲭⲟⲙⲓ <ⲛ>ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ, '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 ⲛ at the end of a line is sometimes rendered by an abbreviation stroke (e.g. in ⲛⲉⲛ- 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 ⲧ instead of ⲧⲉⲓ in the demonstrative (§16, 42, 52 and 56). This feature is known from dialect *F5* which is the chief subdialect of classical Fayoumic.⁸⁸ The most notable feature is the free interchange o and ⲁ; thus in (§3, 11, 35, 50, 57, 60, 74 and 76). Sometimes the scribe writes the same word once with o and once with ⲁ in the same paragraph, as for example ϣⲟⲓⲃⲥ and ϣⲁⲓⲃⲥ, 'shadow', in (§38).⁸⁹ He also uses the Fayoumic form of the verb

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

⁸⁹ W.E. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 657b.

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

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.⁹¹ See for example, ⲙⲛⲛ ⲉⲙⲡⲟⲣⲛⲛ, 'with the prostitutes' (§11), ⲉⲛⲛ ⲉⲙⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ 'in the thoughts' (§17), ⲉⲛⲛ ⲙⲡⲛⲩⲉ, 'in the heavens' (§23), and more in (§4 and 36). He freely interchanges ⲧ and ⲁ in words or names of foreign origin, for example ⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓⲁ 'David', instead of ⲁⲁⲩⲉⲓⲁ, in (§14 and 16), and ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲁⲓⲙⲛ, 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 ⲁⲓⲁⲥⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ in (§20). In (§2), the author used the Greek verb ὀνομάζω, 'to name',⁹² in the meaning 'to recite', which is a very rare usage, for which only a few examples are known, mostly in magical texts.⁹³ It is important to observe that the author or translator used the verb ⲭⲛⲟⲩ, '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.⁹⁴ Upon examining this fragment, it appeared that its recto

⁹⁰ W.E. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 163a.

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

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

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

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

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.

