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The Journal of Juristic Papyrology 31, 187-208

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The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Vol. XXXI, 2001, pp. 187-208

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## SHENUTE'S FIFTH CANON IN THREE FOLIOS AT THE NATIONAL LIBRARY IN VIENNA

TThat Shenute (obt 465$)^{1}$ is recognized today as the outstanding Coptic author is due partly to homilies or discourses meant for public delivery and partly to expository writings, often lengthy, embodying admonitions and rules intended to guide the monks and nuns in three religious communities, whose location lay close by the present town of Sohag in Upper Egypt. The latter works were gathered into a series of nine tomes, each bearing in its title the designation "Canon". ${ }^{2}$ Like all but the eighth of these volumes, the one called The Fifth Canon has come to us in a very fragmentary state. ${ }^{3}$ Only one copy is known, a codex identified now by the siglum XS. It had at least 310 pages, yet of these a meager 56 , i.e. about one-sixth, have been found in modern collections.

There exists another important witness to The Fifth Canon in the so-called "florilegium Sinuthianum" (now codex XL), a work presenting a series of selections from the nine Canons that follow largely the order of their occurrence in

[^0]the volumes from which they were taken. ${ }^{4}$ Originally codex XL consisted of some two hundred leaves, ${ }^{5}$ most of which have disappeared. Our knowledge of it comes from only about fifty widely dispersed parchment folios, which fortunately preserve a goodly number of texts not otherwise known from copies of the original nine tomes. The majority of the extant leaves are presently at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. ${ }^{6}$ Several are in other European and British collections, ${ }^{7}$ and a few have remained in Egypt. ${ }^{8}$ The texts of less than half of them have been published in whole or in part, appearing mostly in Leipoldt's two-volume edition ${ }^{9}$ of portions of Shenute's corpus. ${ }^{10}$ Therefore, a comprehensive critical edition of the extant folios is an important desideratum for advancing the study of the entire body of Shenutean Canons, ${ }^{11}$ not the least advantage of which would be the partial elimination of gaps in the dismembered copies of the aforementioned nine volumes. The present article is a small contribution toward such an edition.

[^1]As it happens, a few pages of codex XL offset the extensive losses to The Fifth Canon, not to a great extent but in a significant way. Herein are presented three pieces from the Papyrussammlung at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ${ }^{12}$ viz. P. Vindob. K(optisch) 9593, 9596, and 9597, each of which has passages otherwise unknown to us from this Canon. I give a diplomatic edition of the texts and a translation accompanied by notes. But beforehand I describe the three folios and how they pertain to the Canon. To clarify their placement it is essential also to delineate what has survived of this Canon in fragments not from codex XL.

## A DESCRIPTION OF THE THREE PARCHMENT FOLIOS

The fragment K 9597 bears the pagination $\mathrm{P} \zeta$ and po (sic; subsequent extant page numbers in the codex reflect this error) and on the verso the signature $3 .{ }^{13}$ The posterior half of a bifolium, it was originally joined to the unpublished leaf conserved with the call number I.B. 16, fol. 16 at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples. One lacuna of 13 leaves and another of 22 leaves follow K 9597 in the codex. The second gap is ended by a folio in Venice and K 9596, which bear the pagination prid-Priz. As for our third folio, K 9593, it has by loss of parchment not retained its pagination. That it had a position somewhere in the said lacunae between the other two leaves edited here is beyond doubt, as I shall show below.

The skin pattern is of some value in assessing the position within quires to which parchment leaves belong (see below). In the instances at hand the hair side appears as the recto of K 9597 and the verso of the other two pieces. It is distinguishable mainly by color and ink retention and partly by small patches of grain.

The folio K 9597 has frayed edges, small holes, soiling and stains. There is much loss of ink on the flesh side. Two short tears extend from the top edge through the two uppermost lines of text. A crease runs diagonally from the upper corner of the fore-edge to the center. Another extends diagonally from the middle of the fore-edge to intersect a third crease running from the top edge near the fold to the center of the bottom edge. Along the fold-edge on the verso the leaf had been reinforced by a strip of vellum cut from an earlier codex. On the recto at the fore-edge is a glued tab inscribed with a reader's note in Arabic.

[^2]The fragment K 9593 is badly damaged, with frayed edges, large and small holes and extensive stains. The flesh side is severely rubbed with much loss of ink. The leaf is almost severed in two by breaks along a crease running vertically circa 10 cm from the fold-edge. The outer margin and some of the contiguous text are wanting. An ancient reinforcement along the upper part at the fold consists of a strip (circa 5 cm in length) of reused parchment on which bits of inscribed text are seen.

K 9596 is badly mutilated. It has severely frayed edges, large and small holes, extensive stains and diminution of ink on the flesh side. The mid-section of the upper margin has disappeared, and the destruction extends well into the written area. Damage to the inner margin has brought an attendant loss of a small part of the contiguous text.

The sizes of the folios are irregular. In maximum length K 9593 and 9597 are 38 cm , while K 9596 is 36 cm . The maximum widths are 29 cm (K 9597) and 28 cm (K 9596), whereas loss of parchment has reduced K 9593 to a maximum 23.2 cm . The written area is 27.6 to 28.6 by 19.4 to 20 cm , in two columns (maximum width 8.9 to 9.3 cm ) of 34 lines. The height of ten lines fluctuates between 7.8 and 8.7 cm . Between the left edges of the two columns is a distance of not more than 11.3 cm . For K 9593 the upper margin is 3.8 cm , the lower is 5.8 cm and the inner is 3.2 cm . The upper margin of K 9596 is 3.3 cm , the inner is 3.1 cm , the lower is 5.2 cm and the outer is 5.7 cm . As for K 9597 , the upper and inner margins are 3 cm , the lower is 6.5 cm and the outer is 6.1 cm .

The parchment of these three leaves from codex XL is pricked near the edge in the outer margin, and every line is ruled, with the letters resting on the line. The text is in dark brown ink, occasionally with silver marking added. The script is upright, with narrow $\epsilon, 0$ and $c$, tall $p$ and $\varphi$, short $\gamma$ and rounded three-stroke $M$. At the end of a line the letters $\dot{\alpha}, \boldsymbol{\epsilon}, \boldsymbol{Y}, \mathbf{M}, ~ ч$ (once: XL 186. 56), $\boldsymbol{x}$ and $\sigma$ are sometimes extended. In a top line the letter 3 is enlarged in medial position.

Raised points serve for logical punctuation. At the end of a paragraph either a raised point, a colon or a colon followed by a horizontal line occurs. Both single and connective superlineation were carefully positioned. Two-dot tremas were used in a restrained manner, e.g. пдї, пєi-, дшдї, єїмє, нї, коүї,
 ммої. The circumflex is seen with the morph $p$ - and occasionally above omega and exceptionally with $\underline{\omega}$, as in $\underline{\omega} \boldsymbol{\epsilon}$.

Apostrophes, usually slightly curved, appear as either a horizontal or a leftsloping diagonal line. They abound in a nearly consistent manner to mark word boundaries posteriorly. To the prevailing pattern there are notable exceptions where the mark is omitted. Examples: (1) with the morph $\Delta \gamma \omega$ and occasionally after $\pi \epsilon / \tau \epsilon / N \epsilon$; (2) after final $i$ (e.g. mai and $2 P \Delta i)$; (3) with words terminating in two consonants and connective superlineation (e.g. мाтнрч); (4) after
a final $\sigma, \dagger$ and sometimes extended $\gamma$ (only at the end of a line, as in the case of тнpor [ K 9597 recto 43 and 47]). It is apparent that a problem with orthographic placement is a factor in several of these instances. In the case of orthographic interference from a contiguous symbol, the apostrophe may even be shifted forward and might seem to be a circumflex (e.g. пєгmor (K 9596 recto 26). Much more rarely apostrophes set apart non-terminal morphs. Examples of the latter
 9596 recto 28 ) and oүєm’入дar` (K 9596 recto 46). The circumflex over the morph p is often indistinguishable from the mark used as an apostrophe.

Paragraphs are set off by letters either enlarged (e.g. $\pi$ is 7 mm to 1 cm in height) or oversized (e.g. $己$ is 4.5 cm and $\epsilon$ is 3 cm ) in brown ink in the margin. In K 9597 the oversized letters have a laced design within the outline of parallel lines. An ornamentation, drawn in brown ink with green and silver highlighting, extends 3.9 cm above the oversized $\rho$.

The text in the first fourteen lines of K 9597 has a parallel in MS. 710, folios 2 and 3 at the Pushkin Museum in Moscow, ${ }^{14}$ which are from a copy ${ }^{15}$ of Shenute's Canon 4. The remainder of K 9597 has excerpts from The Fifth Canon, the first of which appears to be the very beginning of that volume.

As for K 9593, without the page numbers its exact position within the codex remains uncertain. However, for the final lines there is a parallel text in a copy of the Canon, viz. codex XS (see below), which enables us to form some idea of the folio's approximate location in codex XL and, more importantly, to determine that the text is from a certain part of this Canon.

While a parallel text is presently unknown for K 9596, that it has textual material from a specific section of the Canon arises from the folio which preceded it in the codex. A large part of the text of that folio ${ }^{16}$ (XL 184/185) is seen also in a fragment from the aforementioned copy of The Fifth Canon, viz. codex XS 237/238. ${ }^{17}$ Moreover, since there is a parallel text to XL 194 in XS 257/258, ${ }^{18}$ we should expect the excerpts of K 9596 to fit somewhere in the lacuna of XS 239-252 (see below). A careful survey of the remains of codex XS will bring into sharper focus the placement of all three of our folios and their contributions to the Canon in question.

[^3]
## THE SOLE SURVIVING COPY OF THE FIFTH CANON

Apart from excerpts in codex XL, the Canon is attested presently by only one copy, the aforementioned codex XS, of which twenty-eight leaves have been identified. ${ }^{19}$ The highest extant page number is 390 , but this is far from accurate, as Emmel has demonstrated. ${ }^{20}$ There is evidence for repetition of two page numbers early in the codex, and another error apparently increased the pagination by a hundred, with $c$ " 200 " apparently usurping the position of $p$ " 100 ". ${ }^{21}$ If this is indeed the case, we should adjust the higher extant numbers (i.e. beginning with the given 253 and thereafter) by subtracting 98 (i.e. $100-2$ ). Thus, 253 is lowered to 155 . Later in the codex two more mistakes in numbering occur. One, the placing of 320 on successive pages, is of no consequence because in the first instance the figure supplants 319. A more serious error is seen after 386, where the numbers have fallen by 15 , so that 372 follows 386 .

In the following list of extant material from codex XS, page numbers are adjusted by taking into account the four known errors, and the variant pagination on the folios themselves is put in parentheses. This inventory shows that the highest number of pages amounts to only 308 rather than 390 . It is no coincidence that the extant signatures of the quires agree with the adjusted pagination (quire 19, e.g., ends on p. 304; there are sixteen pages in a quire, and $19 \times$ $16=304)$, for the signatures were put in the proper places separately from numbering the pages.

## AN INVENTORY <br> OF THE EXTANT FRAGMENTS OF CODEX XS ${ }^{22}$

$$
\begin{aligned}
1 / 2 & \text { wanting } \\
3-14 & \text { I.B. } 14, \text { fol. } 8-13, \text { Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples }{ }^{23} \\
\text { 15-52 } & \text { wanting except perhaps for P. Vindob. K } 909, \text { which has lost the pagina- } \\
& \text { tion }{ }^{24} \text { but which may have belonged to quire } 2 \text { by virtue of content remi- } \\
& \text { niscent of that of page } 14^{25}
\end{aligned}
$$

[^4]53/54 (51/52) MS. copte 130.5 , fol. 51 , Bibliothèque Nationale de France, unpublished
55-62 wanting
63/64 (pagination lost; quire 4 ends) MS. copte 130.5, fol. 91, Bibliothèque Nationale de France ${ }^{26}$
65-154
155/156
wanting
157-176
177/178

179-210
(253/254) P. Vindob. K $908^{27}$
wanting
(275/276; quire 12 begins) MS. 158, fol. 19, University of Michigan Library ${ }^{28}$

211/212 (309/310) Or. 3580, fol. 32, British Library, London ${ }^{29}$
213-220 wanting
221/222 (320/320, sic) Or. 3580, fol. $33^{30}$
223-226
227/228
229-236
237/238
239-252
253-258
wanting
(325/326) Or. 3580, fol. $34^{31}$
wanting
(335/336) Or. 3580, fol. $35^{32}$
wanting
(351-356) Or. 3580, fol. 36-38 ${ }^{33}$
259/260
261/262
263-266 (361-364) I.1.b. 293, fol. 1-2, Biblioteca, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow ${ }^{35}$
267/268
(365/366) P. Vindob. K $9243^{36}$
269/270
271/272
273-286
wanting
(369/370) MS. or. 1611, fol. 7, Orient-Abteilung der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz ${ }^{37}$

287/288
wanting
(385/386, end of quire 18) Or. 3580 , fol. $40^{38}$
${ }^{26}$ Ed. J. Leipoldt, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 78.6-79.21.
${ }^{27}$ Ed. D. W. YOUNG, Manuscripts (cit. n. 24), no. 17.
${ }^{28}$ Ed. D. W. YOUNG, Manuscripts (cit. n. 24), no. 19.
${ }^{29}$ Ed. J. LeIPOLDT, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 52.15-53.21, from the Oriental and India Office Collections (et passim for folios of Or. 3580).
${ }^{30}$ Ed. J. LeIPOLDT, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 53.22-55.4.
${ }^{31}$ Ed. J. LeIPOLDT, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 55.5-56.14.
${ }^{32}$ Ed. J. Leipoldt, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 57.6-58.17.
${ }^{33}$ Ed. J. Leipoldt, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 59.3-62.26.
${ }^{34}$ Ed. J. LeIPOLDT, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 63.11-64.22.
${ }^{35}$ Ed. J. Leipoldt, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 64.22-67.12.
${ }^{36}$ Ed. E. LUCCHESI, "Localisation d'une pièce manuscrite isolée dans la littérature chenoutienne", ZÄS 106 (1979) 80-81.
${ }^{37}$ Ed. J. LeIPOLDT, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 69.10-70.22.

| 289/290 | (372/373 [sic], quire 19 begins) I.1.b. 294, Biblioteca, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts ${ }^{39}$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| 291-302 | wanting |
| 303-306 | (385-388 [sic], quire 19 ends and quire 20 begins) I.1.b. 301 and 302, Biblioteca, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts ${ }^{40}$ |
| 307/308 | (389/390) Or. 3580, fol. $41^{41}$ |
| 309-end | wanting |

By this revised reckoning the excerpts from The Fifth Canon found in P. Vindob. K 9597, 9593 and 9596, in that order, are all to be placed, as we shall see, prior to XS 253 (written 351).

## THE RELATIVE POSITION OF THE THREE LEAVES BY QUIRES

Apparently The Fifth Canon was better represented in codex XL than any of the other volumes in the series. On the basis of extant pagination, we can account for 240 of the approximately 400 pages in the codex by the following reckoning: 106 pages of excerpts from Canons 1-4; 134 pages from Canons 7-9. This calculation allows 156 pages of excerpts from Canons 5 and 6, of which no less than 94 must be allocated to Canon 5 and 62 maximally to Canon 6 . Thus, selections from The Fifth Canon constituted perhaps as much as one-fourth of the contents in codex XL. This relatively high percentage of the excerpts indicates that nearly one-third of that Canon was included in the codex. While the reason for the lopsided proportion for Canon 5 is not clear, it may well have been due to the immediate applicability of its numerous detailed rules regarding daily life within the cloisters.

Two of the three leaves edited herein have the pagination 107/109 (sic) and $186 / 187$. The other folio presented, although with pagination wanting, can definitely be placed somewhere between the other two (see below). Now, page 109 bears as well the quire signature 3 . Since there were sixteen pages per quire, this signature suggests that pages 186/187 came from the twelfth quire. ${ }^{42}$ To

[^5]seek the possible position of our other folio, we must consider another two leaves from codex XL with pagination (viz. 136-139) that falls in the range between 109 and 186. They belong to the ninth quire. A look at these folios leaf by leaf in their respective quires reveals more clearly their positions within the codex.

Quire 7:

|  | I.B. 16 , fol. $16^{43}$ |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | five folios wanting |
|  | MS. Copte $208{ }^{44}$ |
|  | P. Vindob. K 9597 |
| Quire 8: | wanting |
|  | five folios wanting |
|  | C.G. 925745 |
|  | MS. Copte 130.4, fol. $135^{46}$ |
|  | final folio wanting |
| Quire 10: | wanting |
| Quire 11: | wanting |
| Quire 12: |  |
|  | five folios wanting <br> MS. Or. 192, fol. $30^{47}$ |
|  | P. Vindob. K 9596 |
|  | final folio wanting |


| (flesh side) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { pages 93-109 (sic) } \\ & \text { page } 93 \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| (hair side) | page 94 |
|  | pages 95-104 |
| (flesh side) | page 105 |
| (hair side) | page 106 |
| (hair side) | page 107 |
| (flesh side) | page 109 (sic) |
|  | pages 110-125 |
|  | pages 126-141 |
|  | pages 126-135 |
| (hair side) | page 136 |
| (flesh side) | page 137 |
| (flesh side) | page 138 |
| (hair side) | page 139 |
|  | pages 140/141 |
|  | pages 142-157 |
|  | pages 158-173 |
|  | pages 174-189 |
|  | pages 174-183 |
| (hair side) | page 184 |
| (flesh side) | page 185 |
| (flesh side) | page 186 |
| (hair side) | page 187 |
|  | pages 188/189 |

Inasmuch as on average one page in codex XL corresponds to about three pages in codex XS 1-238, the excerpts of XL 136-139 pertain most likely to the large lacuna of XS $65-154$. There are 28 pages in XL prior to page 136 which pertain to Canon 5, and the first of these 28 pages, i.e. K 9597, yields text which

[^6]|  | Əenkanwn｀є |  |  |
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|  |  |  | mentayxooc＇ $\boldsymbol{\text { ¢ }}$ ¢ |
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| 25 | TגNє |  |  |
|  |  | 60 | mentayxooc＇xe |
|  | оүwi＇mme＇mхo |  | mпpeipe＇nnei |
|  | EIC＇Cooyn＇NTa |  | кооүє ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{0}$ etbe |
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| 30 | Nток｀mnoyte｀mua |  | EIPG＇N己¢NMNT |
|  | enez＇arw mxo | 65 |  |
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|  | P．Vindob．K | erso | ate II） |
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| 5 | noeik｀¿nnentay |  | EBIHN｀弓UC＇$\downarrow$ ¢M |
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## THE TEXTS OF CODEX XL 107/109, 186/187 AND K 9593

The textual content of the three fragments is presented here in the order it occurred in its codex. Notes and a translation of the material follow thereafter.

Our second leaf, P. Vindob. K 9593, has its text extended by XS 211/212. From the text of the latter folio, Or. 3580, folio 32 at the British Library, which has been published, I reproduce here only the passage ${ }^{53}$ which completes the final paragraph of K 9593. For the sake of continuity with K 9593, I reserve the translation of these words until later in this study.


#### Abstract

யِ $\boldsymbol{\omega} \boldsymbol{H} \lambda$ NMM      


## P. Vindob. K 9597, recto (Plate I)



[^7]|  | Əenkanwn｀$\epsilon$ |  |  |
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|  |  |  | －：тоу artor ${ }^{\text {v }}$ ： |
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|  |  |  | мпрәштв．גүш |
|  | тє｀сәıмє｀дวєрдтоү |  |  |
|  | ᄅNоүщi｀ммє｀кa |  | mmpeipe｀nneí |
| 25 | TANETPДфH＇$\chi \in$ |  |  |
|  |  | 60 | пеNTAYXOOC＇$х \in$ |
|  | oүwi＇MMe＇mxo |  | MIIPEipe＇nnei |
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## P．Vindob．K 9593，recto（Plate III）

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Tame nə［o］oy［｀］$\in[T \epsilon \gamma]$

己NNHi．${ }^{v}$ п［גPMOY］ $T \epsilon \cdot{ }^{\prime} \cdot \boldsymbol{\pi} \dot{\omega}[$［ONC $\pi \alpha$ ］ $\left.\omega N \epsilon \cdot{ }^{0} \epsilon \Pi[H \pi)^{\bullet} \cdot \pi \epsilon\right]$ чтоо， $\mathrm{NCỌ}$［ $\mathrm{I}^{`} \mathrm{NCO}$ ］


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| кш入ટ єүш入нл | 65 | TNANOYY ${ }^{\text {a }}$ N己［H］ |
| ᄅмптсшоүə＇nnєy |  |  |
| РГНт｀wHM｀єY |  | TNANOYY＇$\left\langle\right.$［［［＇$\pi \epsilon^{\prime}$ ］ |
|  |  | 2noycoort［n $\epsilon$ ］ |

## P．Vindob．K 9593，verso（Plate IV）

［тчєıрє＇（？）］nоүпєөо

［ $\chi \in \Pi \AA$ ］i єтємMN
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［какє！＇ә］мпєтєоу ［n＠бо］м’ ммок｀$N$ ［．．．．．］оч＇єадяq．
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 ［ә入入о｀n］$\epsilon^{`}$ пдтбом＇．


［Оүбом｀］namє｀т $\epsilon^{`}$ є $\boldsymbol{\rho}$
 mnor ncworz＇．

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［山］${ }^{\prime} \mathbf{H}^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ 2NOYul＇$^{\prime}$ ［M］ME｀ЕЧTHW｀€प ［己N］TMHTE＇N己єN ［KOO］Y $\epsilon^{\prime} \cdot \mathrm{N} \in \mathrm{YN} \AA \dagger$ ［wi＇］$\left\langle N^{`} \pi \epsilon^{`}\right.$ хєоҮHP＇

50

## P．Vindob．K 9596，recto（Plate V）


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C\＆TPЄYEI＇ЄBO入｀ $\mathrm{Z}^{\prime}$
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aKONE1＇NYOY ${ }^{\circ}$

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$H^{`} c \epsilon^{`} \cdot H^{`} \underline{\omega} \epsilon^{\prime} \cdot{ }^{\circ} H^{\prime} \pi \epsilon$



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OYE＇$\epsilon$ Y［PNO］BE $\epsilon^{\wedge}$
NET己［ıTO］Ywor＇．
єво入［＇］хєпочрот＇
CWK｀nnaí nteï
MINE＇ЗNTZYITO
крнс1с＇ $2 \omega c^{`} \epsilon \underline{\omega}$

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PIIS
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［OYW］M｀NTEYTO

［EYP］N OB $\epsilon^{\wedge}$ EPON ${ }^{\circ}{ }^{0}{ }^{0}$

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## P．Vindob．K 9596，verso（Plate VI）

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or＇NCABBДTON［｀］€T
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## A TRANSLATION OF THE THREE EXCERPTS <br> OF P．VINDOB．K 9597，LINES 15－68

## Likewise The Fifth Canon ${ }^{54}$

Rules from the word of the Lord that every one who truly loves God，whether man or woman，might be weighed in honest scales ${ }^{55}$ in accordance with the scriptures，＂For I have been weighed in honest scales；the Lord knows my in－ nocence＂．${ }^{56}$

You，O eternal God and the Lord of all，Jesus，are the director of every one who hopes to come to you straightway，and this is a sign of your desire to

[^8]make them worthy and that there may abide in them truth, the beginning of all of your holy words and all of your perfect knowledge and all of your good deeds, as it is written, "The beginning of your words is truth". ${ }^{57}$

## By the Same Author

"For it is he who said, 'Do not commit adultery', who said, 'Do not kill'", 58 and who said, "Do not do these wicked deeds". It is he also who said, "Do not do these other things".

Therefore, just as one who when he perpetrated murders has committed rapes ${ }^{59}$ in connection with ${ }^{60}$ what he did, and (109) just as one who when he perpetrated rapes has committed murders in connection with what he did, thus also he has not been kept from a part of what is wicked but has perpetrated another part thereof with every kind of lawlessness, and he has become liable for them all according to the scriptures, "A person who keeps the whole law and yet transgresses one of these commandments or falls by a single instance of sin, he becomes liable for the entirety" ${ }^{\prime \prime}{ }^{61}$ Although it be a small thing, according to what is written, and if the person approaches God with his good deeds and it too is a small amount, and the person is far from God by his wicked deeds and these good deeds too and the likes of them, God's word has not deprived me ${ }^{62}$ of my misery as one unworthy for it to tell me about them, wishing me to repent for all my many sins. Howbeit, I have not contended at all with them, that I might do a few good deeds before God.

By the Same Author

If a sinner such as we are should reveal what good he has been doing, boasting with his (own) mouth before those who are listening to him, even more so should he tell them of his many wicked deeds which he has been doing secretly, that he may be ashamed and re[nounce them (?) ...].

[^9]
## A TRANSLATION OF P. VINDOB. K 9593 AND THE CONTINUING TEXT

[. . .] (K 9593, recto) which we not only said, but that they shared Christ's sufferings ${ }^{63}$ in everything, in fastings, in hunger and thirst, in keeping with the apostle's command.

## By the Same Author

Everything and every rule which our fathers laid down for us, we can neither add to them nor take from them.

During the great assembly (there are to be) twelve times of prayer in the morning (and) twelve times at eventide. No one should reduce them nor add thereto.

No one should be impatient when he is meditating on the pillar nor continue beyond the required time when he is meditating on the pillar. They who knock when they are praying in the assembly should not be impatient (to finish) when they pray, nor should they continue [beyond] the proper duration. ${ }^{64}$

As for the six times (of prayer) during the day, (there are to be) three times at each of the six times. No one should [reduce] them nor add [thereto].

The enumeration of the period [during which they] shall pray in the dormitories: During P[armou]te, Pash[ons, Pa]ône (and) Ep[êp] ${ }^{65}$, four ti[mes at the s]ix times [da]ily. During Mesorê, Thoth, Paope, Hathôr, Koiakh, Tôbe, Meshir (and) Parmhotep, ${ }^{66}$ three times at each of the six times daily. No one should reduce them nor add thereto, lest each restrict his fellow in what he thinks about, that he may be doing therein what is good, and [it is n]ot rightly a good thing (K 9593, verso) when [he does there]in an evil deed, be[cause this] person who [can]not lose [heart] in what you are [able ... ] him to do it.

It is no [feat] if an individual persists [in] prayers with [a large] group who are impotent old folk, novices and the infirm. However, it is truly [a feat] whenever the person finds the opportunity day or night to pray without ceasing, in accordance with the apostle's command. ${ }^{67}$

Were it not a good thing for the person who gives orders and the person who has been assigned on that day and at that time, to pray by a pre[scribed] amount when he is among others, they would not li[mit] how many times of prayer (there shall be) in the great assembly and how many in the evening and during the day according to our rules.

[^10]We are not wiser than our fathers. They too could pray frequently in the midst of others. But [th]ey were not unmindful of this, that rules might be imposed (which prescribe) ten times of prayer at a time or twenty or thirty or forty or fifty or sixty or a hundred or more, for un[taught] people to do when they pray in the midst of others, [si]nning against their fellows, because zeal impels such as these by hypocrisy, ${ }^{68}$ as though they have done a great feat.

And it shall come about if they avoid those with ${ }^{69}$ whom they pray, they cannot pray like a novice, let alone pray without ceasing. But our fathers of old too, ${ }^{70}$ this their greatness in the love which they had for God and his holy son, Jesus, being to pray without ceasing alone in private, continuously either during the day or at night, and to urge every one to (do) this, but recognizing that many lose a little for the sake of a great (feat), put on the individual the amount for him to pray among others.

## A TRANSLATION OF CODEX XL 185 (IN PART) AND OF P. VINDOB. K 9596

During Lent none of us, man or woman, great or small, can lay food by for oneself at all until Lent has completely passed, (that is,) from the first week until they come from Easter. Howbeit, on the day when each may eat, whether the person is going to eat (only every) four (days) or three or two ${ }^{71}$ when he comes from the refectory, he should be given his portion and may eat what he shall, but by eventide the food should be taken from him by those who are serving. And so it shall apply to our entire assembly, whether man (186) or woman, on the day appointed to eat therein from time to time throughout Lent, after they come from the refectory. If they wish, the portion of each person should be given to him by those who are serving, and he may eat what he needs with trembling and fear of God, and the food should be taken from them by eventide before (the gong) is struck for the (offering of prayers) six times. ${ }^{72}$

[^11]
## By the Same Author

Every year during Lent and the two weeks which we must observe as one unit when we assemble，the salt of which we partake in the refectory may be eaten also with the small loaf in one＇s dormitory．But perchance small servings of be［an］s and cucumbers are distributed during these［day］s［and some o］ne wishes to eat his portion［with the］small loaf，it is against us［he s］ins．But［i］f some［wi］sh not to partake of the salt that is in the refectory nor to eat any moistened meal with the small loaf in these days，it is an especially good thing．

And besides these（rules），he who will eat any other thing at all at any time with the small loaf in his dormitory，save salt alone with nothing added thereto in accordance with the commandment of our fathers，what he does is sin against his own soul and gather scorn to himself．${ }^{73}$

During the four weeks of Lent，things（187）to eat［which may］be given to the bre［thren at］any time，［whether］dates，［roasted］grain or any other thing like this，such food may be given to them also during these four weeks，with the exception of cooked dishes alone．Gruel，a flat cake and a wafer or any other thing of this sort should not be given to them in these days，except to a boy or girl novice or to an elderly man or woman well advanced in years．

During the first week of Lent and during Easter，no one should be given things to eat，whether dates，roasted meal or any other such thing，except moistened grain，beans and cucumbers．If this is available，${ }^{74}$ it should be given to them；otherwise，it is unnecessary．

Twice annually，namely，during the first week of Lent and during Easter， anything to eat which people have in their dormitories，whether small loaves， dates，roasted grain or any such thing at all，it should all be taken from them and not replaced．

But when a man or woman among us is found having left anything behind on their plates，or they have stolen some of it and laid it aside［ ．．．．．．］．］．

## AN INDEX OF GREEK WORDS

| $\alpha{ }_{\alpha} \gamma \alpha$ Oóv | $9596 r^{\circ} 50$ |  | $9593 v^{\circ} 14$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\dot{\alpha} \gamma \omega v i \zeta \varepsilon \sigma \theta \alpha ı$ | $9597 v^{\circ} 45$ | $\gamma \alpha{ }^{\prime}$ | $9597 r^{\circ} 26,53$ |
| $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \alpha$ | $9593 r^{\circ} 2, v^{\circ} 14 ; 9597 v^{\circ} 45$ | $\gamma \rho \alpha \varphi \eta$ ¢́ | $9597 r^{\circ} 25, v^{\circ} 15$ |
| $\dot{\alpha} \mathbf{v o \mu}{ }^{\text {í }}$ 人 | $9597 v^{\circ} 11$ | $\delta \varepsilon ์$ | $9593 v^{\circ} 47 ; 9596 r^{\circ} 33,41$ ， |
| $\dot{\alpha} \pi$ обтєрع̂v | $9597 v^{\circ} 37$ |  | $v^{\circ} 45,61 ; 9597 r^{\circ} 10, v^{\circ} 10$ |
| வ่ло́бто入оら | $9593 r^{\circ} 8, v^{\circ} 22$ | סtokoveîv | $9596 r^{\circ} 11$ |
| $\dot{\alpha} . \rho \chi$ ¢́ | $9597 r^{\circ} 42$ | $\delta$ ¢ııкптท่ร | $9597 r^{\circ} 33$ |

[^12]| غ̇үкокยıิจ | $9593 v^{\circ} 4$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| £i $\mu ⿰ 彳 亍$ ¢ı | $9596 r^{\circ} 57, v^{\circ} 11,20,37$ |
| ع⿺𠃊⿻丷木大 | $\begin{aligned} & 9596 r^{\circ} 1, v^{\circ} 3,4,6,33,34, \\ & 51,53,54 ; 9597 r^{\circ} 22 \text { (bis) } \end{aligned}$ |
| $\dot{\varepsilon} \lambda \pi \bar{\prime} \zeta$ ¢ $1 v$ | ટє入пıзє $9597 r^{\circ} 35$ |
| $\dot{\varepsilon} \nu \tau 0 \lambda \eta$ | $\begin{aligned} & 9593 r^{\circ} 8, v^{\circ} 21 ; 9596 r^{\circ} 60 \text {; } \\ & 9597 v^{\circ} 19 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | $9593 v^{\circ} 17$ |
| ท̈ | $\begin{aligned} & 9593 v^{\circ} 18,26,28,38,51 \\ & \text { (bis), } 52 \text { (bis), } 53 \text { (ter); } 9596 \end{aligned}$ |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & r^{\circ} 35, v^{\circ} 14,16,23,39,55 \\ & 62,66 ; 9597 v^{\circ} 19 \end{aligned}$ |
| $\dot{\eta} \lambda$ ıкí $\alpha$ | дү入нкı $9596 v^{\circ} 25$ |
| к $\alpha v \omega ́ v$ | $9593 v^{\circ} 39 ; 9597 r^{\circ} 17$ |
| $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha$ | $9593 r^{\circ} 7, v^{\circ} 20,38 ; 9596 r^{\circ}$ |
|  | 3，59； $9597 r^{\circ} 24,48, v^{\circ} 14$ ， |
|  | 24 （ |
| кotv $\omega$ veîv | $9593 r^{\circ} 3$ |
| $\lambda$ 入óyos | $9597 r^{\circ} 18, v^{\circ} 36$ |
| $\mu \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon \tau \alpha \bar{\alpha}$ | $9593 r^{\circ} 25,29$ |

$\mu \varepsilon ́ \rho о \varsigma \quad 9597 v^{\circ} 8,10$
$\mu \varepsilon \tau \alpha v$ оєiv $9597 v^{\circ} 42$
vクбтєía $\quad$ NнCTIA $9593 r^{\circ} 5$
vó $\mu$ о̧ $\quad 9593 v^{\circ} 48 ; 9597 v^{\circ} 16$
ö $\lambda \omega$ ¢̧ голшс $9597 v^{\circ} 46$
ov่ठ́ $\quad 9593 r^{\circ} 14,22,27,34,41$ ，
58； $9596 r^{\circ} 45$
$\pi \alpha \rho \alpha ́ \quad 9593 r^{\circ} 28,35$
$\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \beta \alpha i ́ v \varepsilon ı v$ пגрдвд $9597 v^{\circ} 17$
$\pi \alpha ́ \sigma \chi \alpha \quad 9596 v^{\circ} 29,48$
$\pi \lambda \alpha \kappa$ ќv $\tau$ ıо $9596 v^{\circ} 14$
ó́ßß $\alpha$ тоv $9596 r^{\circ} 22,67, v^{\circ} 10,27,46$

טло́крıбıऽ дҮпокрнсіс $9593 v^{\circ} 62$
чо́бпдо̧ фдснлє $9596 r^{\circ} 34, v^{\circ} 38$
хркі́ $9596 r^{\circ} 13$
хюрі́s $9596 r^{\circ} 51$
чขхท́ $9596 r^{\circ} 62$
ف́s $\quad$ Јwc $9593 v^{\circ} 63 ; 9597 v^{\circ} 39$

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P. Vindob. Koptisch 9597 Recto

PLATE II

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## PLATE III



P. Vindob. Koptisch 9593 Verso
(c) Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Photoatelier

P. Vindob. Koptisch 9596 Rekto
© Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Photoatelier



[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ See S. L. EmmEL, Shenoute's Literary Corpus, Yale University Ph. D. dissertation, New Haven 1993, 1-11, on the chronology of his life.
    ${ }^{2}$ A team consisting of Stephen EMmEL (leader), Heike BEHLMER, Anne BOUD'HORS, Bentley LAYTON, Tito OrLANDI, Frederick WISSE and myself has assumed the responsibility for preparing a comprehensive edition and translation of all nine Canons.
    ${ }^{3}$ The fourth, sixth, seventh and eighth are appreciably more fully known. The eighth is by far the best preserved, seen principally in the unpublished and largely intact MS. copte 2 (codex XO), in the Library of the Institut français de archéologie orientale du Caire, an edition of which is now being prepared by Anne BOUD'HORS. See further D. W. YOUNG, "Additional Fragments of Shenute's Eighth Canon", APF 44 (1998) 47-68, plates XIV-XIX, for an edition of other folios of the same codex.

[^1]:    ${ }^{4}$ See S. EmMEL, Corpus (cit. n. 1) 107-28. He gives also in Table 39 (pp. 662-66) a list of placed folios in the order of the page numbers.
    ${ }^{5}$ The highest attested pagination is 395 , which occurs on the verso of a fragment (MS. copte 130.4, fol. 156) conserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. A small piece of the contiguous leaf is conserved in the same collection (MS. copte 132.3, fol. 213). It has lost its page numbers, but we should expect the numbers 396 and 397.
    ${ }^{6}$ S. EMMEL, Corpus (cit. n. 1), 113-14, has identified the following as parts of the codex: MSS. copte 129.12 , fol. $43 ; 130.4$, fol. $131-160 ; 131.8$, fol. $134 ; 132.3$, fol. $213 ; 132.4$, fol. 303 ; and possibly 130.4 , fol. 161 and 132.2 , fol. 26.
    ${ }^{7}$ E. 10044 and perhaps E. 10095 f at the Louvre; at Cambridge University Library Or. 1699E and Add. 1876(2)+(14), the latter edited by P. Bellet, "Nou Testimoni de les Lettres de Sant Antoni (Cambridge, University Lib. Add. 1876.2)", Studia Monastica 31 (1989) 254 f.; at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden MS. 117 (ed. W. Pleyte \& P. A. A. Boeser, Manuscrits coptes du musḱe d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide [Leiden 1897] 344-46); P. Vindob. K 9593, 9594, 9596, 9597 and 9598 at the Papyrussammlung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; I.B. 16, fol. 16 and I.B. 17 (13) at the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples; at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice MS. Or. 192, fol. 30 (ed. J. A. Mingarelli, Aegyptiorum codicum reliquiae Venetiis in bibliotheca Naniana asseroatae, Bologna 1785, no. 5).
    ${ }^{8}$ The fragment C.G. 9257 in the Coptic Museum (ed. H. MUNIER, Manuscrits coptes [Catalogue du Musée du Caire 9201-9304], Cairo 1916, 80-81), and MSS. copte 189 and 208 at the Library of the Institut français de archéologie orientale du Caire. Also, W. E. CRUM had ventured the opinion (Notebook 106, p. 13, in the Griffith Institute at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford) that the fragment at the Coptic Museum with the inventory no. 2631/112 might belong to the codex (noted by S. Emmel, Corpus [cit. n. 1] 114, n. 143). I have not seen photographs of these leaves.
    ${ }^{9}$ J. LeIpoldt (adiuvante W. E. CRUM), Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia, III and IV [= CSCO 42, 73], Paris 1907, 1913.
    ${ }^{10}$ Parts of codex XL appear in Vol. III as nos. 6,16 (codex B), 20, 21 (codex A), 22 (codex B), 46 (codex B). Other pieces appear in Vol. IV on pages iv-v and as nos. 54 (codex B), 57-59, 60 (codex B), 71 (codex B), 76 (codex B), 77 (codex B). Also, an improved edition and translation of MS. 117 at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden appeared in D. W. Young, "Additional Fragments" (cit. n. 3) $50-51$.
    ${ }^{11}$ The task of preparing such an edition has been undertaken by Stephen EmMEL.

[^2]:    ${ }^{12}$ I am grateful to Prof. Hermann HARRAUER, Direktor of the Papyrussammlung, for authorizing publication of these manuscripts and for providing photographs.
    ${ }^{13}$ A total of 108 pages in seven quires suggests there were two flyleaves at the beginning of the book, leaving twelve numbered pages in the initial quire. Thus, $12+(16 \times 6)=12+96=108$ (see S. Emmel, Corpus [cit. n. 1], 119-20).

[^3]:    ${ }^{14}$ The text appears in J. LeIPOLDT, Opera III (cit. n. 9), 156.14-18.
    ${ }^{15}$ The codex is referred to by the siglum GI; see S. EmmeL, Corpus (cit. n. 1) 185-90, 617 (Table 20), and 1034 (Table 89).
    ${ }^{16}$ Ed. J. Leipoldt, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 56.15-57.25 and 58.18-59.2.
    17 Or. 3580, fol. 35, British Library, London (W. E. CRUM, Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum [London 1905] no. 168), ed. J. LEIPOLDT, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 57.6-58.17.
    ${ }^{18}$ Or. 3580, fol. 36 (W.E. CRUM, Catalogue, no. 168), ed. J. LEIPOLDT, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 61.1962.26 .

[^4]:    19 See S. EMMEL, Corpus (cit. n. 1), 190-94, 830-32 and 1038-41 (Table 90).
    ${ }^{20}$ S. EmMEL Corpus (cit. n. 1), 193.
    21 The twelfth quire begins with page number 275 , which, adjusted by subtracting 100 , is shy by 2 of the expected 177.
    ${ }^{22}$ Adapted from S. EMMEL, Corpus (cit. n. 1), 677-79 (Table 44).
    ${ }^{23}$ Ed. É. AmÉLINEAU, Oeuvres de Schenoudi: Texte copte et traduction française, II, Paris 1914, 494504.

    24 See the edition in D. W. Young, Coptic Manuscripts from the White Monastery: Works of Shenute [ $=$ MPER 22], Vienna 1993, no. 18.

    25 The page numbers of K 909 may be expressed as $15+x$ and $16+x$, in which $x$ is either 2 or a multiple of 2.

[^5]:    ${ }^{38}$ Ed. J. LeIPOLDT, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 71.19-73.5.
    ${ }^{39}$ Ed. J. LeIPOLDT, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 73.5-74.14.
    ${ }^{40}$ Ed. J. Leipoldt, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 74.15-76.29.
    ${ }^{41}$ Ed. J. Leipoldt, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 76.29-78.5.
    ${ }^{42}$ We may calculate that the twelfth quire of the codex consisted of pp. 174-89, since eleven quires of sixteen pages each, diminished by two flyleaves in the initial quire and the error in pagination (i.e. skipping from 107 to 109) seen in P. Vindob. K 9597 above, yield the number 173; i.e. (16 $\times 11)-4+1=176-3=173$. Therefore, our folio is the seventh leaf from the twelfth quire ( 14 pages [of quire 12] $+173=187$ ).

[^6]:    ${ }^{43}$ Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples; unpublished.
    ${ }^{44}$ Library, Institut français de archéologie orientale du Caire; unpublished.
    ${ }^{45}$ Coptic Museum, Cairo; ed. MUNIER, Manuscrits coptes, 80-81.
    ${ }^{46}$ Bibliothèque Nationale de France; unpublished.
    ${ }^{47}$ Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice; ed. J. LeIPOLDT, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 56.15-57.25.

[^7]:    53 Ed. J. LEIPOLDT, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 52.17-26.

[^8]:    54 The word kanew is not written．
    ${ }^{55}$ Lit．＂stand in a true／accurate measure＂．
    ${ }^{56}$ Job 31：6．

[^9]:    ${ }^{57}$ Psalm 118:160a.
    58 James 2:11a (based on Exod. 20:13, 15), altered to a Cleft Sentence. H. J. POLOTSKY, Grundlagen des Koptischen Satzbaus, I, Decatur, Georgia, 1987, 111, cites biblical examples of this type, in which "die Cleft Sentence sich scheinbar aus zwei gleichartigen Konstruktionen ... zusammensetzt". On the function of the Cleft Sentence see p. 140 in the same work.
    ${ }^{59}$ Usually the term refers to adultery, but linking the action to murder gives it surely the connotation of forced sexual intercourse.
    ${ }^{60}$ For ${ }^{2 N-}$ in this sense see amnoyte tady ${ }^{2 n n o y m u ~ n n e Y z h t ~ e y a k д e d p c i a ~ " B e c a u s e ~ o f ~ t h e ~}$ desires of their hearts God gave them over to impurity" (Rom. 1:24) and дчпшт дрai гmпешшaxe "At this word he fled" (Acts 7:29).
    ${ }^{61}$ An expansion of James 2:10.
    ${ }^{62}$ Shenute switches here from the third person to apply his hypothetical depiction to himself.

[^10]:    ${ }^{63}$ A sentiment known from 1 Peter 4:13.
    ${ }^{64}$ Lit. "the measure/amount".
    65 The period extends from the eighth through the eleventh months.
    66 The period extends from the twelfth through the seventh months.
    67 As expressed in 1 Thess. 5:17.

[^11]:    ${ }^{68}$ Here begins British Library Or. 3580, fol. 32 (no. 168 in W. E. CRUM, Catalogue [cit. n. 16], 55-56), ed. J. Leipoldt, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 52.15-53.21.
    ${ }^{69}$ P. Vindob. K 9593 breaks off. For the text which follows see above.
    ${ }^{70}$ For a like example of the post-referate augens see J. LeIPOLDT, Opera III (cit. n. 9), 109.19-20, noted in A. Shisha-Halevy, Coptic Grammatical Categories: Structural Studies in the Syntax of Shenoutean Sahidic [= Analecta Orientalia 53], Rome 1986, 176, § 6.1.3.1.4.
    ${ }^{71}$ Compare in J. LeIpoldt, Opera IV (cit. n. 9), 59.22-24 the protasis of a related stipulation in Canon 5: "If a man among us or a woman among you decides not to eat or drink for two days or three or four or more for the sake of God".
    ${ }^{72}$ Likewise in Canon 9 we find "the time for doing the six times of prayer" (codex BV 68, lines 18-19, ed. D. W. Young, Manuscripts [cit. n. 24], 61)

[^12]:    73 Similarly，єNCWఝ MMON MMIN MmON＂we despise／spite our own selves＂in codex XJ，page 78 （from Discourses 5，Work 1；see S．EmmEL，Corpus［cit．n．1］，1142－44［Table 110］），conserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale as I．B．5，folio 59，verso，ed．É．AMÉLINEAU，Oeuvres II（cit．n．23），67．8．
    ${ }^{74}$ Lit．＂if they have＂．

