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## PORTIONS <br> OF A COPTIC DISCOURSE BY SHENUTE (VIENNA INCIPIT LIST NO. 44)

The parchment folio P. Vindob. K 9634 conserved at the Papyrussammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek ${ }^{1}$ has exceptional importance for the study of the Shenutean corpus because its two pages bear the latter part (about $62 \%$ ) of a list of numbered incipits for works by the archimandrite. ${ }^{2}$ Apparently the list pertained to discourses/homilies gathered in a series of eight volumes. In the extant part of the list, known today as the Vienna Incipit List, are preserved the opening words of 56 discourses, numbered consecutively from 36 to 91 . One of these works, which stands as number 44 in the list, is the focus of this article. From the evidence it emerges that its incipit comes from the fifth of the eight tomes and that it was most likely the fifth homily in this volume. ${ }^{3}$ The purpose of the present study is primarily to set forth a diplomatic edition and transla-

[^0]tion of the texts of eight parchment leaves, unpublished hitherto, that yield a substantial percentage of this discourse. ${ }^{4}$

The folios under consideration derive from two of four known copies of Shenute's fifth volume of homilies. A third copy, to which the siglum GF has been attached, ${ }^{5}$ has yielded about half of the discourse in two fragments, each with twelve consecutive pages (viz. 227-238 and 241-252), which are separated by a lacuna of only two pages. ${ }^{6}$ The later fragment of the two bears the conclusion of the homily. The content in two of our eight leaves is parallel to passages that have survived in the earlier of the two fragments from codex GF. The other six folios give us new material from the earlier part of the work not extant in GF, so that altogether we likely have between 70 and 85 per cent of the discourse, which in full would have occupied not less than forty pages and possibly as many as fifty pages in codex GF.

From codex GL, a tenth-century (?) copy of the fifth volume of Shenutean discourses, ${ }^{7}$ come six of the folios edited herein, viz. pages 177-186 and 189-190. The other two leaves edited below are pages $327-328$ and $341-342$ from an earlier copy, codex XJ, perhaps a product of the eighth century. ${ }^{8}$ Four of the fragments from codex GL were originally the two inner bifolia of one and the same quire and thus supply connected text. The next leaf of that quire, presently conserved fragmentarily in two pieces, continues the homily with several breaks, but one of the folios from codex XJ fills in some gaps and extends the text beyond where GL leaves off. A synopsis of all fragments of the discourse in question will show the relative position of each.

[^1]
## A SYNOPSIS OF THE FRAGMENTS ${ }^{9}$

Incipit $\quad$| P. Vindob. K 9634 recto, line 17 , wherein only the words $\bar{N} T O K$ |
| :--- |
|  |
|  |
| $\Pi X O € I C ~ " Y o u, ~ O ~ L o r d " ~ a r e ~ c e r t a i n ~(s e e ~ t h e ~ d i s c u s s i o n ~ b e l o w) . ~$ |

Lacuna I Its length is unknown. The seam at which the fourth and fifth works in Discourses Volume 5 meet probably lay in a gap in our documentation extending from page 178 in codex CZ, a fourth copy ${ }^{10}$ of Vol. 5, to GL ${ }_{177}$ (see the further discussion below), this gap being equal to about fourteen pages in codex GL.

GL $_{177} / \mathrm{I} 78$ British Library MS Or. 3581A, folio 74 (anterior half of a bifolium, the other half being Or. 358 IA , folio 75 ). ${ }^{11}$
GL 179/180 P. Vindob. K 9315 (anterior half of a bifolium, the other half being P. Vindob. K 9320), conserved at the Papyrussammlung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. ${ }^{12}$

GL $181 / 182$ P. Vindob. K 9320 (posterior half of a bifolium, the other half being P. Vindob. K 9315).

GL $183 / 184$ British Library MS Or. 358 ra A, folio 75 (posterior half of a bifolium, the other half being Or. 358 I A , folio 74). ${ }^{13}$
GL 185/886 MS copte $131^{6}$ folios 90 and ino, two pieces of one leaf conserved separately but bound in the same volume at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. ${ }^{14}$

[^2]$\mathrm{XJ}_{327 / 328}$ MS copte $130^{2}$ folio 25, conserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Lines $34-54$ of the verso carry the text beyond that of GL 185/186. The remainder has a text parallel to that from line 51 of GL 185 to the end of GL 186.

Lacuna 2 Equivalent to about one page and a half in codex GL.
GF 227-238 I.B. 3, folios 68-73, conserved at the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples. MS copte 1303 folio 83 (GL 189/190), again from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, is parallel to most of GF 227-229, and P. Vindob. K 928 ( $\mathrm{XJ} 34 \mathrm{I} / 342$ ) from the Papyrussamlung in Vienna is parallel to part of GF 236-238. The two folios from GL and XJ are edited below.

Lacuna 3 GF 239/240.
GF 241-252 I.B. 3, folios 74-80, conserved at the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples. P. Vindob. K 913 (XJ 355/356), a badly damaged leaf, ${ }^{15}$ is parallel to much of GF 249-251.
Four pages in yet another codex, ${ }^{16}$ which is not a copy of the fifth volume of discourses, have a text parallel to what appears in GL 177-179. A collation of half of these pages has shown a number of variant readings (see below).

## THE GIST OF THE HOMILY

The incipit of Discourse no. 44 has merely the vocative expression $\bar{N}$ TOK пxоєic "You, O Lord" followed by пвд, an article phrase, whose nucleus is the definite article (masculine singular) and of whose expansion we have only the first two letters (Bd). The word that begins with Bd is yet unidentified. Apart from this, which we are aware of only from the Vienna Incipit List, the early section of the discourse has been lost and thus is of no help in ascertaining the main concern of the homily.

[^3]In the text of the homily following the initial lacuna Shenute quotes passages from scripture pertaining to forgiveness. Having thus dwelled at some length on God's mercy in the forgiveness of sins, he goes on to stress the responsibility of Christians to shun wicked deeds and apply themselves to actions worthy of those whose guilt for past sins has been cancelled (see codex GL 177:24-45 below). It is these words which seem to capture the gist of his message in what has been preserved of the early part of the discourse, where he also asserts that all sinners who will not repent are rejected by Jesus, who had said he came to call sinners to repentance (see GL 180:61-181: 8 below). The same concern by the author appears again at the very end of the discourse, ${ }^{17}$ where he iterates that God "wants us to repent and do good deeds before the Lord comes and before we go to the Lord the poorer. Then, let us be diligent now to find a place of repose, and let the bitterness of our sins come forth from us, lest the utter bitterness of grief befall us in that place (to which we shall go)".

## THE PLACEMENT OF THE INCIPIT WITHIN VOLUME V

In regard to exactly where the beginning of the homily should be expected in one of the four copies of Discourses Vol. 5, there is admittedly an element of uncertainty beyond what has been said on this issue above. However, the problem does not appear insurmountable. While the incipit of no. 44 does not occur in any of the copies, there is no question about the beginnings of both no. 43 and no. 45 . Page 138 of codex $C Z^{18}$ gives us the opening lines of no. 43 , and the start of no. 45 is seen on page 253 of codex GF. ${ }^{19}$ Thus, these two occurrences bracket the position at which no. 44 commences.

The seam must fall of course within a lacuna, and therewith lies the uncertainty. Within the entire range from the opening section of the prior discourse to that of the next one, there are six lacunae, all but one of which

[^4]are brief. The contiguous textual content and the brevity (i.e. not more than two pages) of each of the last two lacunae, which were presented above in the synopsis, eliminate them from further deliberation. A similar argument can be raised with respect to consideration of the first three gaps in the range, viz. from CZ 148 to GF 165 (about two pages), ${ }^{20}$ from $\mathrm{CZ}_{158}$ to GF 177 (some four pages), ${ }^{21}$ and from GF 192 to CZ 177 (about two pages), ${ }^{22}$ especially the two shorter lacunae. This leaves one gap as almost certainly the location within which we should place the beginning of our homily, viz. the fairly lengthy lacuna extending from $\mathrm{CZ}_{178}$ to GL 177 , fourteen pages or so in codex GL as I have indicated in the synopsis. ${ }^{23}$

What should be added may have some bearing on the homily's opening words; namely, there are a few instances in the Vienna Incipit List which are demonstrably the beginnings of subdivisions within Shenutean works. ${ }^{24}$ Conceivably, incipit no. 44 marks such a subsection in the fourth work of Volume 5, but without evidence confirming this proposition it may be set aside.

## THE SIX LEAVES FROM CODEX GL: <br> A DESCRIPTION

As noted already, the British Library folios 74 and 75 in MS Or. 358rA were formerly a bifolium, with the hair side being the verso of no. 74 and the

[^5]recto of no. 75 . They constituted the third and sixth leaves in the twelfth quire of codex GL. They were separated in the codex by another bifolium, P. Vindob. K $9315+\mathrm{K} 9320$, the flesh side of which lay at the center of the quire. The seventh leaf in the quire is now in two parts, inventoried separately in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, viz. MS copte $131^{6}$ folios 90 and ino (GL 185/186), of which true recto is the flesh side. ${ }^{25}$ The recto of $M S$ copte $130^{3}$ folio 83 (GL 189/190) is also the flesh side, for this leaf was the first in the thirteenth quire. All of these folios were thus arranged in accordance with the Gregory Rule, whereby the flesh side of one page always meets the flesh of another. One may distinguish the hair side in these folios by color and areas of grain.

The British Library's folio 74 has frayed edges, stains, a horizontal crease across the center, and a very small hole in the outer margin. The recto is slightly rubbed. There are two modern repairs on the top edge and another a bit lower in the upper margin. Folio 75 is similar, having stains, the crease across the center, and the recto slightly rubbed. It has an original hole in the lower part of the written area. A modern repair has been made on the upper edge, and another on the outer edge.

The fore-edge of K 9315 has an original absence of vellum, about 6 cm in height and 3 cm in width. An original hole, which extends into the written area from the lower margin, has an ancient sewing repair. Now the leaf has frayed edges, a crease extending from the lower corner at the fore-edge to a point on the fold 7.8 cm from the top-edge, and small holes, some of which are on a curving stained line in the upper part. The recto has a large stained area also. K 9320, the posterior half of the bifolium, has somewhat frayed edges, small holes, and stains. A diagonal crease which runs from the lower corner at the fore-edge to the fold duplicates that in the companion piece. A small, original hole in the upper half of the written area has widened to 1.3 cm . Rubbing has diminished the ink of the flesh side slightly.

As for MS copte $130^{3}$ folio 83 , it preserves the pagination and bears the signature $\overline{\boldsymbol{T}}$ offset to the left in the recto's upper margin. It has stains and slightly frayed edges, as well as some attrition of ink by rubbing. There is a tear in the lower margin, a diagonal break in the mid-section of the written area, and a horizontal crease with diminution of ink that extends entirely

[^6]across the lower part of the written area. The loss of much parchment at the fore-edge in the upper corner resulted in a minor loss of writing at the end of the first line on the recto. In addition to an ancient repair in the outer margin, there are minor modern repairs.

Stephen Emmel, who reunited folios 90 and no of MS copte $131^{6}$, assigned to the leaf the page numbers, both wanting by loss of parchment, on the basis of textual continuity and skin pattern. ${ }^{26}$ No. 90, the lower part of the leaf in the shape of a right triangle, is maximally 19.4 cm in length and 12.8 cm in width. Its lower margin is 2.6 cm , and the inner is 4 cm . Preserved on this piece is the text of the lower part of the inner columns. No. ino, the upper part of the leaf, measures at most about 19 cm in length by 19.4 cm . About 2.2 cm of the inner margin remains, and less than 3 cm of the top margin. This piece has small holes, stains, and creases. At the foldedge the upper corner is missing, and the loss of parchment extends in the shape of a jagged wedge through one column of text. The outer margin and the top margin at the outer edge have also been lost. This loss has removed about half of the contiguous writing in the upper two-thirds and all of the text in the lower one-third of the outer columns.

The sizes of the better preserved folios are irregular. In maximum length the British Library's no. 74 and no. 75 are about 32 cm , while K 9320 and MS copte $130^{3}$ folio 83 are 33 cm and K 9315 is 34 cm . The maximum widths are about 27 cm (no. 74, K 9315 and K 9320) and 26 cm (no. 75 and MS copte $130^{3}$ folio 83 ). The written area is about 24 by 18 cm , in two columns of 28 to 3 I lines. The height of ten lines fluctuates between 7.4 and 8.5 cm . Between the left edges of the two columns is a distance of not more than 10.4 cm . The upper and inner margins are from 3.5 to 4 cm , and the lower are from 4.5 to 5.3 cm . The outer margins are 4.5 cm (no. 75), 5 cm (MS copte $130^{3}$ folio 83 ), 5.1 cm (no. 74), and 6.2 cm (K 9315 and K 9320).

GL 182, which is the verso of K 9320 , has in the lower margin the litur-
 The number $\overline{\mathrm{Id}}$ " Ir " associated with it stands in the outer margin at the commencement of the lection. The next direction appears without a num-

[^7]ber in GL 183: $€ \times \bar{M} \pi K \omega 2 \bar{T}$ "Concerning fire". The next in the sequence is centered in the lower margin of GL 190, which is the verso of MS copte $130^{3}$ folio 83 : $\overline{\mathrm{IB}} \in X \bar{M} \Pi н P \bar{\Pi}$ " 12 . Concerning wine". Other sequentially numbered liturgical directions occur in the extant material of this codex. ${ }^{28}$

The script of codex GL is upright, with narrow $\boldsymbol{\Theta}, \mathbf{O}$ and $\mathbf{C}$, short or tall $\mathbf{P}$ and $\mathbf{\varphi}$, short $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$ and square three-stroke $\mathbf{M}$. The tail of the letter $\boldsymbol{\omega}$ is often extended. At the end of a line elongation of $\boldsymbol{d}$ is seen occasionally; $\boldsymbol{\lambda}$ and $\sigma$ are extended but seldom. The text is in dark brown ink. Raised points serve for logical punctuation and are not uncommon beyond this function. Apostrophes are rare, and tremas are seldom seen. Superlineation - either strokes or points - does not appear often. Paragraphs are set off by letters in brown ink, either enlarged or slightly enlarged and standing in the margin, of which there is a total of 65 attested in our six folios.

## THE TWO FOLIOS FROM CODEX XJ: A DESCRIPTION

The leaves under consideration formed originally a bifolium, the outer sheet of codex XJ's fifteenth quire. The hair side is distinguishable by color and small patches of grain. The anterior half is bound as the twenty-fifth folio in the second volume of $M S$ copte 130 at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. It bears the pagination $\overline{\mathrm{TKZ}} / \overline{\mathrm{TKH}}$, and on the recto (= flesh side) it has traces of the signature $\overline{\boldsymbol{\epsilon} \epsilon}$. The posterior half of the bifolium, P. Vindob. K 928, has the pagination $\overline{\mathrm{TM} \mathrm{\lambda}} / \overline{\mathrm{TMB}}$ and on the verso (= flesh side) the partially destroyed signature $\overline{\mathrm{KB}} .{ }^{29}$ The verso also bears in the upper margin an inscription in dark gray ink: TM€I $\lambda N C I$ "we have enjoyed the truth".

The jump in the quire numbering from 15 to 22 probably reflects a desire to achieve harmony with the pagination, which on both halves of the bifolium is a hundred pages higher than one should expect. ${ }^{30}$ Consideration

[^8]of textual continuity with other copies indicates that the actual number of pages preceding K 928 is about 240 rather than 340 . With this reduction the number of the quire must then be lowered to 15 from 22 . This alteration brings the quire number into agreement with the traces visible on the anterior half of the bifolium.

The folio in Paris has minor holes, stains, and frayed edges with a few short tears. Both upper corners are wanting but without affecting the writing. A loss of parchment extending across the outer margin into the written area began along a diagonal crease running from the upper part of the fore-edge to the middle area of the fold-edge. Ink on the flesh side has suffered some attrition.

K 928 is a badly damaged fragment with frayed side and bottom edges, minor holes, and stains. It is slightly shrivelled. Loss of the upper portion of the inner margin extends into the written area. Running into the text from the fore-edge are three tears and from the fold-edge two. Much ink is wanting on the flesh side.

The sizes of the folios are irregular, with a maximum length of 30.8 cm and a maximum width of 26 cm for K 928. The other piece is smaller, and its edges appear to have been trimmed. The written area is about $22 \times 17$ cm , in two columns of 27 lines each. The distance between the left edges of the columns is about 10 cm . The height of ten lines ranges between 8 and 8.3 cm . For K 928 the upper margin is 3.6 cm , the inner is 3.5 cm , the outer is 5.5 cm , and the lower is 5.4 cm .

The leaves are ruled on the recto, with letters resting on the lines. The script in dark brown ink is upright, in the thick-and-thin style, with wide $\boldsymbol{\epsilon}$, $\mathbf{O}$, and $\mathbf{c}$, tall $\mathbf{P}$ and $\mathbf{\varphi}$, short $\mathbf{Y}$, and square three-stroke $\mathbf{M}$. The letter $\boldsymbol{Z}$ is enlarged in a top line. At the end of a line the letters $\alpha, \lambda$, and $M$ may be extended. In a bottom line the left tale of the letter $\mathbf{x}$ has been extended 13 mm below the line; elsewhere it runs into the line below. Also in a bottom line the tale of the letter $\omega$ is elongated. Raised points in high or middle position serve for logical punctuation. At the end of a paragraph a raised point occurs. Connective and single-letter superlineation, two-dot tremas,

[^9]commas，the circumflex（angular in form），and apostrophes（also angular） are present．Paragraphs are set off by enlarged letters which sometimes jut into the written area from the margin．There is no accompanying decora－ tion．

## THE TEXTS OF THE EIGHT FOLIOS

The textual content of the eight folios under consideration is presented here in the order it occurred in Discourses Volume 5．Indices of Greek words and personal names，some variant readings from Codex YQ，and a translation of all of the homily＇s extant text from the beginning of the first folio to the end of the eighth follow thereafter．

British Library MS Or． 358 IA folio 74 recto（Plate I）

ГРДФON ЄТЄPON дчШЧТ М̄МОч Є пєсРос $\cdot v$ dYん ON XEOYДIKגI
 Кдс ЄчЄКш ЄВО入 $\bar{N}$ NENNOBE • $\lambda Y \omega$ NЧTBBON ЄBOA 2 $\bar{N} X I N O O N C$ NIM ．
d Y $\omega$ ON XE†C2dI NHTN̄ N $\varrho H P E$
以HM XЄДYKん
NHTN ЄBÓ $\boldsymbol{\lambda}$ N̄N $€$ TN̄NOB€ • €TB€TT€ч PAN．vaYん ON
Xedчtnnooy $\bar{M}$ пЄЧ以НРЄ NK $\omega$ €BO入 2 2 NE ENOBE $\cdot$
dYん ON X€

$\overline{\text { POZ }}$<br>ЄBOX NNXINOONC<br>MNNKETIONHPŌ<br>THPOY • N̄TNEIPE<br>$\Delta \epsilon$ N2ЄN2BHYE<br>ЄYMाळd • $\bar{N} T \Delta \omega$<br>P€－NNQdXE N<br>TЄICMH－ЄTXW $\bar{M}$<br>MOC • XENAIdTOY<br>N̄NЄNTAYKW ЄBOX<br>NNEY $2 N O M I d \cdot M N$<br>NЄNTAY2んBC ЄBO $\lambda$<br>EXNNEYNOBE ${ }^{v}$<br>NДIATY M̄TPWME<br>ЄТЄМாХOЄIC Nd<br>ЄTTNOBE ЄPOЧ $\lambda N$ ．<br>$\bar{N}_{\text {T€P€2ЄNPんM€ }} \boldsymbol{\Delta \epsilon}$<br>ON 以dXe NMMAI<br>€YPd $\omega \in$ €XNZЄN<br>PCOME XЄ YMOOY

ЄBOX N̄N̄ $\mathrm{N} O M 1 \lambda$
M̈ா€K入дOC • גK
2 $\omega$ BC ЄBO $\boldsymbol{\lambda}$ €XN
NЄYNOB€ THPOY
Xenneixerд2 $\boldsymbol{\text { б }}$
N（1）dXE • MMNT
MNTPE MTIN
MTNOYTE • €TBE
TK $\omega$ €BO $\lambda$ N̄NЄN
NOBE $\cdot v$ TTCN
Tenoy te cazan

50 TOY 2NTCHЧE • ЄT BENEYMNTK KOYPTOC • $v \bar{N} T$ TI XOOC NAY XEENEN TdYK 2 NЄY2BHY€ MTIONHPON NCW OY • K CWBE $\cdot v \in \omega x \in N$
Tגүмооүтоү $\Delta \epsilon \cdot \epsilon T$ BENEYZBHYE• $\bar{M}$

British Library MS Or． 358 IA folio 74 verso（Plate II）
$\overline{\mathrm{POH}}$
MNTдCЄBHC • ЄI€
$\omega \omega \in$ ЄPWTN $\epsilon$
PIME ${ }^{v}$ ．€BOX XENE

2NMTHHY • X $\in C \in$
M€TANOEI 2IX．M
пK $2 \boldsymbol{\epsilon \omega \omega \epsilon}$
$2 \omega \omega N$ ЄPд $\omega \in \epsilon$
$x \omega O Y^{v}$
Netormok $\overline{2} \Delta \epsilon \bar{N}$
2HT ЄX．
MாHY€ XЄCЄMHN
ЄBO入 2Mा€ IMd T€
NOY－2NNEYdNO
MId • $\epsilon \omega \omega \in$ EPON
mOYג поҮd ЄPIMє
Nдч • dYし € ЄTP€OY
ФBHP PIME EXN
NЄЧ＠BHP • dYん
OYCON EXNNEC
CNHY．v aYん OYPM

P€ NKPO4 • $\lambda Y \bar{\omega}$ NdTCWTM • dY $\omega$ TEKK入HCId TH
PC̄ M̄TNOYTE $\bar{N}$
TNPIME EXN̄NEN
€PHY•KגTdT€N TO八н．v
Nттерекєоүд $\Delta \in$ он
€чXW MMOC ЄРОч
XЄNd $\omega \in T € ч O Y$
Cïd MNNEчXPH
Md • €чНाт ЄNЄX
Pd €тМтСд NBO $\lambda$
xOOC xєДICWTM

2ITN2d2 ЄYKג日H
r€I M M
BんK Є2OYN Єாд
2HT ENE2 N日E

CWTM €POOY M

N†ME EXNOY мо $\cdot \boldsymbol{\epsilon т є п а । ~ п \epsilon ~} \boldsymbol{\epsilon}$ т Р€ОҮпICTOC РIMє EXnOYaாICTOC． dүん OYДIKגIOC • $\epsilon$ XNOYPEYPNOBE． dYん OY€IШT ЄNд NOYY €XNZENQH

пєІмд．v
Ntaikooc nay $2 \omega$ $\omega \mathrm{T}$ ．NT€I2€ $\mathbf{x \epsilon}$
 NE NWdXE $\bar{M}$ пхоєIC єтоүх． MMOOY ZMMd NIM dYん 2NNEчєK

## P．Vindob．K 9315 recto（Plate III）



25

ЄТСоч．$v$
TגI 2ん $\omega$ T€ TЄK 2Є TЄNOY－2d日H ГגP Mाт TOYЄтєI


「גP dN N̄CdZEN （）dX€ €XOOY • d $\lambda \lambda \lambda$ ЄITd（repair）MO MMW TN X€（repair）2ЄNNOర NЄ MMN（repair）TNAHT $\cdot \bar{M}$

## P．Vindob．K 9315 verso（Plate IV）

## $\overline{P \pi}$

TINOYTE MN̄NEY
XdPICMA • dYん €I
OYん $\omega$ €TPENME
TdNOEI THPN•E
XNNENNOBE ${ }^{v}$

NдЄIM［є］XЄாPんM€
€TӨBBIHY NOYO
ЄI $\omega$ NIM ${ }^{v}$ पМОTN
Nめ $\omega T$ EPOЧ NTE
CB山 ${ }^{v}$ N̄өє MாK 22
єT2ITんIBE • $\lambda Y \omega$
ЄTTHT ЄTMOTN
ETCOч ${ }^{v}$
dү⿳亠二口欠 СМОК $\overline{2} 2 \omega \omega ч$
MTP

NTЄCBW • ЄBOX dN
xє€чхосє • $\boldsymbol{\epsilon \Pi \lambda о ~}$
ГOC NNЄГРДфH 50
d入入d $x \in \Pi$ II $\Pi<\epsilon \Pi>O C €$
NNЄT† Є2OYN Є
2PdЧ 2NTEYMNT
dTCWTM${ }^{v}$
Mh oүnitetxoce
PC ENTOOY MN
NCÏвт • v d ${ }^{2} \lambda \lambda$ пмоY

ตdNTEч2ddTE dYん NCEMOY2 TH РОҮ ЄВОХ ММОч ．
Md入ICTג пKд2
єтгїгІвє ${ }^{v}$ дүш
xєTdIT€ $\Theta €{ }^{v}$ €T€Nд
ஹЄNЄTЄPЄாЄY
2HT O NEE NOYCW
$\omega \in \cdot \epsilon С К Н$ €ாఱо
KдТдөє €ТСН2•Єт
B€TЄYMNTגTCW
TM • v
Oynzenbotanh
ఱOOT ENANOYOY
EOYOMOY NNA2PN NPWME ${ }^{v}$ N2OYO $\Delta \epsilon$ NNA 2PNN2HKE
2€NKOOYє $\Delta \in$ €Y2OOY €MдTє • €OYOMOY X€ZЄNATPION NE dYん ЄNd $\omega \in \Pi \epsilon Y \Theta O$
NTEIZE ON • NE NPEC
PNOBE ЄTMETג
NOEI ${ }^{v}$ ENANOYOY
EMdTE NNA2PN
MMNTNAHT • $\bar{M}$
пNOYTE ${ }^{v}$ dYん $\epsilon Y$


| d入入入 †2THK NTOK |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| xєOY пє＠dYddч | 60 | dYん OY2入Oб Na＠ |

## P．Vindob．K 9320 verso（Plate VI）

## $\overline{\text { PTB }}$

MMïne пenta4 ЄІ ЄвOג N2HT4． 2MाTPEYAd4 $\bar{N}$
 NTOЧ XENTAY $\bar{P}$ OY NAY－H XEN
TגYK $\omega$ T€ גY $\omega$
dYZ $\omega$ N $\epsilon \times \omega 4$ ． ض $\ N T \epsilon$（hole）$\pi \epsilon ч$
Nє 2 2ddT（hole）$\epsilon \cdot 2 \mathrm{M}$ птРЄҮРZ
Пєсоүо－MH ппшN2
aN TE NNPWME н мєүоүомч $\overline{\text { м }} \boldsymbol{\text { м }}$ єтоүоүд $\omega \overline{\mathrm{c}} \cdot 20$
 TMP2 $\omega$ в $\in$ РОч мєчєІ єпхшК 2OTAN $\Delta \epsilon \in Y \omega \lambda N$ $\Delta$ дMдZє ММОч ตдчоҮ $\omega$ N2 $\operatorname{\epsilon BO\lambda }$ NOYOєIK єчхнк ЄBO入．${ }^{\text {d }}$ d入入 $\dagger$ 2THK NTOK $\boldsymbol{X} \epsilon$ OY TधNTAYAd4 Na4．${ }^{v}$ H XENTAY NOX4 ON Є2PAI OY $\Delta \epsilon O Y \cdot \omega$ ©NTOYNO TY．${ }^{v}$ H X $\in$ N̄TaY $2 \omega M \in X \omega \varphi \bar{N} \lambda \omega$

N2E $\omega$ 2NTE4
 POY • NAч 2MाKK $\omega$ $2 T^{v}$
Oy $\boldsymbol{\sigma} \boldsymbol{\epsilon}$ tenoy $\pi \epsilon т$ Na $\omega \omega \phi \in \lambda \epsilon 1$ 2NOYX $\omega$ K EXN $2 \omega_{B} \cdot v$ пK $22 \epsilon Y$
TMP2
МЄЧ† МпЄчК $2 P$ пOC • OYAE ON NKE $\omega H N \in T P \omega T \cdot \epsilon$
2 2PIIN2HT4̄ MEY
$\dagger$ ппєүКдрпос 2NOYXWK ${ }^{v}$
2омдILC ON пшє
MNTLONE MN
пTாЄNITE MN
TZOMNT MNN̄
KOOY€ THPOY $\epsilon$ $\omega \lambda Y \omega \omega \pi \epsilon \epsilon$
MHH̄ $\omega \in$ N€I $\triangle O C$
mmine mine－
MЄYPTEYXPId EXNZїce ${ }^{v}$
† 2 THK $x \in \in \omega$（ $\overline{\bar{p}}$
OY NaY • HXEEY
$\omega \omega \omega$ ммооҮ
2NOY ${ }^{v}$ a $Y \omega \quad x \in 2 \in N$

British Library MS Or．358IA folio 75 recto（Plate VII）
d $\omega$ MMINE N $\epsilon \bar{N}$
СОТВЄч $€$ TOYPZ
EPOOY NZHTOY．$v$
ЄTION пKん2T €Y
అגNTMЧIT€ч
POOY＠MЄчXЄPO
OYロ€ МЄчРОҮОЄIN
оү $\boldsymbol{\text { о }}$ м мєч†гммє

2ЄNO€IK ЄBO入 $N$
2HT4 H $2 \in \mathrm{Na} 4$ ．
П2dT $\Delta \epsilon$ ON－гOMal
WC Mntinoyb ce

$\omega$ МNXOOC $\Delta \boldsymbol{\epsilon} \mathbf{x \epsilon}$
MEQdK NaIXI
NOठ • NCOTBEч €PO
oY dN $\cdot{ }^{v} 2 \omega$ €POOY
XєСєпIс€ ммооҮ
2 $\omega 0$ Ү гмпк $\omega$
2T．${ }^{v}$ єтєாд। $\boldsymbol{\epsilon}$

OC PXPId • dN MME
TdNOId－NO€ €TCH2

MOЧ $2 N M \bar{\Pi}$ I（hole）
рдсмос nөє $\epsilon$（hole）
ตдYாIC€ Mா2dT
Hrap eqnapzth

PTा
$30 \quad \epsilon X \bar{N} O Y^{v}$ OY $2 \omega \omega \varphi$ $\pi \epsilon \pi є ч$ оов ${ }^{v}$

MT€ $\mathbf{I X O O C} \boldsymbol{\Delta \boldsymbol { \epsilon }} \mathbf{x \epsilon}$ NYPXPID $2 N \cdot N \bar{P}$ 2WB－MT€ $\quad \Delta I K ג I$ OC Гдр $\omega \omega \Pi \epsilon$ ЄNЄ々 EXNP2 $\omega$ B $v$
 2N2NAdYNIM•N Tג\＃XOGIC CONT̄̄ N2HTOY • d入入d $€ K$以גNKAdY NOYNOO NXPONOC ${ }^{v}$ H $\omega$（bBOA MNOYON－NдЄI €BO入 n2нтоү M̈тєК KIM $\in P O O Y$ ．$v$
Ntєize on nzoyo TMNTNOYTE• $\bar{M}$ пNOYTє пாג TOKPaTUP • 2NPW
 OYOL WגчOYON 2С єво入 N2Hт $\overline{4}$ ZITNZЄN2BHY€ NдГдөON • $\epsilon$ ҮT $\omega$ BC M̄MOЧ ZITN өотє мпхоєIC є TP2 d $\gamma \omega$ ON $€ Ү \dagger C B \omega$

British Library MS Or． 358 I A folio 75 verso（Plate VIII）
$\overline{\text { PTI }}$
Nd4 $\overline{\text { E BOX }}$ 2ITM плогос • v
 P2んB ЄNЄTOYג2€ NdY NTЄாCんMd
M€YCMIN€－OY $\boldsymbol{\Delta \epsilon}$
M€YP̄ANAY • $\omega$ d
2PdI €ӨBCW • Nd
NTOЧ N2€ пCWM
H TPWME THP4
NdCMINE－H पNd
PANдч MTTENTAY
TdMIOG • EXNP2WB
ЄРOч ．v dүん €
Xedxnzice nat
Kd2 PWdY NAK dN．
Nג ${ }^{(1)}$ N2€ NTOK


MOC X€ XXNZIC€
OYגТбOM пЄ ЄРД
Naч ${ }^{v}$
Ornzenmine $\bar{N}$
以HN $\omega 00 \pi$ EY
C $\lambda € \sigma \lambda \omega \sigma \cdot$ ЄNdNOY
NЄYKגPTOOC גN
H €YO N NTKגPTOOC
Talte ee zwoyn
NЄTTT€I日€ NNET
PNOBE 2NNEYMd

Xe．V OYNZENKE
Mine 2004．n
＠HN＠OOTT • EPE пЄҮКдРтоС • ТС THY • $\lambda N \cdot \epsilon B O \lambda € \Pi$ THPC • OY $\boldsymbol{\Delta} \in \mathbf{O N}$ ENЧPZOYO WHIT ELOYN dN．v
Talte e€ nzeneiote
NCEQ ${ }^{2}$ dT • dN NP пЄץா€TNANOYч
ЄY $\omega$ B $\omega$ ， $\boldsymbol{\triangle}$ MMO
OY ЄNЄY
NЄYNOBE MNNEY
XHP • 2MMNT
以 $\boldsymbol{\omega}$ पTE NIM NCE
†CBCL NAY dN
d Yん ON • OYNZEN
MINE ON NQHN

NCOYPE • ENANOY
NЄYKגPTIOC dN
TגITE 日Є NNPD ME NPEYK T T入d入ЄI NPGчTW2
（hole）NPGЧMIWE
（hole）NNd $\omega$ T＜M＞ME
ЄYTAKO M̄T2HT
NZЄNMHH＠€
$M S$ copte $13 I^{6}$ folios $90+110$ recto (Plate IX)


[^10]

[^11]| 25 | 2ЄNXOE - dYW |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | 2ЄNCOBT - 2€NKO |
|  |  |
|  | бМбОМ ЄPOOY.v |
|  |  |

MS copte $130^{2}$ folio 25 recto (Plate XI)

|  |  |  | $\overline{T K Z}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I |  |  | EYOHN/EWAPE |
|  | ¢мдte ${ }^{v} \cdot v^{\text {tai }}$ |  | midч |
|  | t€ $\boldsymbol{\theta} \boldsymbol{\epsilon}$ N̄N€T | 30 | ON ЄTM̄M ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ |
|  |  |  |  |
| 5 |  |  | $N \overline{4} \omega 0 ¢ \omega \bar{¢} \epsilon \mathrm{P}[\epsilon]$ |
|  |  |  |  |
|  | MN̄TגY M̄M ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ |  | 2HTOY ${ }^{v}$. ${ }^{\text {a a }}$, |
|  | $\overline{\text { Nөот }}$ м $\overline{\text { ¢ }} \boldsymbol{\prime}$ | 35 | N¢̄MICE ON $\bar{N}$ |
|  | $\overline{\mathrm{XC}}{ }^{v} \cdot v$ |  | 2HTOY $\overline{\text { ¢ }}$ ¢ $\omega$ |
| ıо | Orñzenke |  |  |
|  | тв̄т $\boldsymbol{\Delta} \boldsymbol{\epsilon} 2 \omega \omega$ |  | Canzoyn ${ }^{\text {d }}$. |
|  |  |  | OYN̄zenkewe |
|  |  | 40 | $2 \omega \omega ¢$ м̄Мג |
|  | NєY@N̄чє; $\epsilon$ |  | ємєчбм̄бом |
| 15 | nanoyoy $\epsilon$ |  | єтдмıємд |
|  | оүомоү ${ }^{v}$. |  | Na¢ ${ }^{\text {N2 } 2 H T O Y . ~}$ |
|  | тגїтє ө€ €n |  | Tגїтє өє єтє |
|  | zЄN€IOTE | 45 | pemCdTanac |
|  |  |  | €IP $\in$ N̄N̄2HT |
| 20 | єүпגJıєүє |  |  |
|  |  |  | me ${ }^{v}{ }_{\text {dY }}{ }^{\text {N }}$ NT |
|  | $2 \bar{N}$ ¢отє м̄пхо |  | noyte nay |
|  |  | 50 | N̄вНв єчмоү |
|  | пр̄тмєєүє |  | тє €bod ${ }^{\text {N }} 2 \mathrm{H}$ |
| 25 | N̄N̄KO入גCIC. |  | TOY ${ }^{v} \cdot \lambda Y \omega \in ¢$ |

[^12]| OYñzenmine | XTOÓ MTTONH |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\overline{\mathrm{N}} \omega \in \omega 00 \pi$ | PON NIM $2 \bar{N}$ |

MS copte $130^{2}$ folio 25 verso（Plate XII）

$\overline{T K H}$

T€Y廿YXH ${ }^{v}$ ．
$\epsilon$ чоि $\Delta \epsilon 2 \omega \omega 4$
N̄ठ
$\bar{N} P \bar{M} N \overline{N O Y T E}{ }^{v}$ ．
［d］Y $\omega \in 42 H \omega \bar{N}$
［T］OOTOY $2 \bar{N}$
T€ YMN̄TX $\omega$
WPE • v 2OTAN
€ч＠$\alpha$ NQINE
N̄CגTגMIEMA
Nдч $\overline{\text { N̄ }} 2$ HTOY
МЄчбМ̄бОМ
EKIM ЄPOOY
2N̄TЄYdГдாH
ЄZOYN ЄTT€Y
РЄчСШТЄ $\overline{\mathbf{I C}}$
пдїєтழоOт
N̄MM ${ }^{v} v . v$
OYN̄OYपN̄T ON
€पРिZOYO Td
KO N̄2ЄN $\omega$
д $Y \omega \in ч \omega \omega \lambda$
MMOOY ЄBO入
N̄2€NK€€I

OYんర元 N̄2€N
HEI．V MN̄ZЄN

COBT ．$v_{\text {2ENKO }}$
OY€ $\boldsymbol{\Delta} \boldsymbol{€}$ €МЄч

POOY ${ }^{v . v}$
Tגїтє өє м̄тє
ताNd $\bar{N} T \Pi O P$
NЄId • dYん TTNO
B€ ТНРч Є € $¢$
TגKє२d2 €Mд
T€ $\overline{\mathrm{N}} \mathbf{P} \boldsymbol{\mathrm { M }} \mathrm{M} \overline{\mathrm{M}}$
MINE NIM ${ }^{v}$ ．
2ЄNKOOYE
$\Delta \epsilon \in Ү T O O B €$
2 $\bar{M} \Pi$ TBBBO $^{v}$ ．
dYん EYPZOYO
$\Delta I K$ dIOC $2 \bar{N} \Delta I$
K ${ }^{\text {dIOCYNH }}$
NIM • M̄ாథ̄ $\omega$
2WN Є2OYN
EPOOY 20入しC
dNaY $\Delta \in O N^{*} \epsilon$
NEİNOO N̄2d
THY €TM̄MdY
N̄ठOCM $\epsilon T$
хос€ €Mдтє ．
dүし €тÔ €

MS copte $130^{3}$ folio 83 recto（Plate XIII）

IT
Є2PdI 2MTாKג2 Єாд
 €Т2ाШ山ч • v
 ЄТХНК ЄВО $\boldsymbol{\lambda} \overline{\text { M }}$ пЄӨOOY NIM • 2IKג KId NIM－2IMN̄T dTCBC̄ NIM－2 $\omega$ C T€ ЄTPЄ2Д2 $\bar{N} P \omega$ ME TCגBO－ЄPNOBE ЄBO $\boldsymbol{\lambda}$ ММОЧ • $\lambda$ Ү $\omega$ NЄTO N̄ $\mathbf{N T C \omega T M}$ MNPEЧPTEЄOOY NIM ЄTPEYTNTW NOY EPOY • v
d Y $\omega$ OYN̄KEN̄THO ON $\omega 00 \pi$ Єч200Y €MдTє $\boldsymbol{\epsilon N \lambda \omega \epsilon}$ NEGNOYNE MN̄ $\overline{\mathrm{N}} \in в Р Н Ү € \in Т 2 I \omega$ Wч • ${ }^{v}$ EOYNZOINE MEN N̄NEYNOY NЄ • OYHHY Єா€ CHT • v ZENKOOYE

Єめんтє ЄK $\omega$ дN
П $\omega P \bar{K} \bar{N} N \in T M$
 N2PdI $\bar{P} \sigma \omega B \cdot N \overline{4}$
TBBO－NOITTK 22
$\overline{P \pi \theta}$
ЄTЄЧРНT N2HT4
 OBめOY • ENQPI NNOYNE MNNEY ЄBPHY€ ЄTMN̄TOY Є2PdI－$\omega$ dPENЄTN Tा€ ג $\omega$ dl $€ 20 \gamma €$ NЄTOҮHHY Єா€
 NЄTMTTECHT $\cdot \bar{N}$ NdI • d TTE MMOOY ．$v$
Tal 2山wч тє өє $\bar{N}$ NєTXג2M 2M̄ா€Y $2 \mathrm{HT} \cdot \epsilon Т \omega \omega \pi \cdot \epsilon$ POOY NNNOBE $\bar{M}$ пАIдBO入OC．v
Є $\omega \omega T \epsilon$ MEN ЄK以 ${ }^{\text {WNETTETIMA }}$ NNETEYNOYXE MMOOY ЄZOYN ЄPOK M̄T€KЧI M̄MdY
N＠OPTI • NNE4 MOKMEK ZIZOYN $\cdot$
N̄d $\omega$ N2€ NTCEND
d $\omega$ dI dN－NGIMTR
ӨOC NTAKT $\omega T$ € $\omega \in \in I \cdot$ N2HTOY ЄめんT€ MEN EK $\omega$ дNBOABE入 $\cdot \bar{N}$

## MS copte $130^{3}$ folio 83 verso（Plate XIV）

## $\overline{\text { P4 }}$

NET2I2OYN ЄBO入 N $2 H T \bar{K} \cdot N \in T 2 I$
 TENC€（UOOTI גN Nர̄T̄̄BO THPK
$\overline{\mathbf{H}}$ EKN2OY由N2 € BOA TWN • XEK MOCTЄ N̄N̄NOB€ ЄT2IBOX MMOK EKOTIT 2NNETM пЄKZOYN • dү̄̄ ЄK†NдdKє M̄MO OY $\cdot 2 \bar{N} \Theta Y \triangle O N H^{*}$ €T20入б T TגієT NAKTOC NAK • $\epsilon$ 20Yєcïue．v
Koyeundy enet
п $\omega \omega$ Є ЄВО $2 N$
NЄГРдфН ММє
NЄTாOめC 2M
пCOOYN MMATE
dN ．${ }^{v}$ d $\lambda \lambda \lambda 2 \bar{N} M$
MNTdTCWTM

$\omega$ МNTOYTAKO ${ }^{v}$ ．
dYん $\omega$ dNTETNO
B€ $\overline{\mathbf{P} X O € I C ~ € P O O Y ~}$
†2THK €NЄITBT

2入OO ЄT $2 \bar{N} N \omega H$
 dүん NГ†2THK €TЄYMNTBPPE • N̄Ө€ €ఱdY＠IB€ 2NTEI2YスHKIД ЄTM̄МдY • ЄTBPBP N̄ө€ NOYMOOY • $\epsilon$ Ү Cג2TE 2גРOч．$v$
OYd MEN ETPEч めんाध N̄OYPW ME NAIKAIOC $2 \bar{N}$ $\Delta I K ג I O C Y N H$ NIM
KєoYd $\boldsymbol{\Delta \epsilon}$ N̄OYPんMє N̄PEYXINOONC 2N2ЄN2BHYE NA AIKId • v dYん OYd NOYPWME €чOY ddB．${ }^{v} K \in O Y$ д $\boldsymbol{\Delta \epsilon}$ NOY PんME €чXd2M．
ZOINE • ÑNOEIK • 21 PЄЧPNOBE•2N̄2CLB

$$
\text { P. Vindob. K } 928 \text { recto (Plate XV) }
$$

## $\overline{T M A}$

$\hat{P} \lambda d d Y \bar{N} d \Gamma d$

|  |  |  | OON＊ENE2 ${ }^{v} \cdot \mathrm{~N} \overline{4}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 30 | TMMOYOYT |
|  | XWPICNEBOX |  | $\Delta \epsilon$ ON NOYdT |
| 5 | $\overline{\mathrm{N}} 2 \mathrm{HT} \bar{\varphi} v . v$ |  | NOBE ${ }^{-v . v}$ |
|  |  |  | 2омоішс пкке |
|  | dN ${ }^{v}$ ENEIOTE |  | IoY $\triangle$ dc ${ }^{\text {O O }}$ Od |
|  | THPOY MTT入d | 35 | $\Pi \epsilon$ Ndч $\Pi \epsilon^{v}$ ． |
|  | OC M̄TNOYTE |  |  |
| 10 | $x \in N$ дтHY€ ${ }^{v}$ ． |  |  |
|  | ṄıIOTE＊$\Delta \in 2 \omega$ |  | 入OC ENE $2^{v .}{ }^{v}{ }^{\text {N4 }}$ |
|  | OY ṄZЄ日NOC |  | TMTTAPdAIAOY |
|  | NIM ${ }^{\text {v．}}$ ，dYW NEY | 40 | ON M̄пxO€ïc ${ }^{v}$ ． |
|  | dPXHLOC 2ЄN |  | Kдїфдс $\Delta \in$ ON |
| 15 | dтє ${ }^{\text {Ndч }} \mathbf{N} \epsilon^{v}$ ． |  | OYZOYE dTE |
|  | Kalrap＊Kaïn or |  | Nגप dN $\pi \epsilon^{v}$ ． |
|  |  |  | dYん 2גMOI，$\in$ |
|  | Td¢POYMO€I | 45 | NЄM̄П¢̄POYH |
|  | 2€ dN＊X€чTdYÔ |  | HB €NE $2^{v} \cdot{ }^{v}{ }_{N \overline{4}}$ |
| 20 | MTTPdN M̄TNOY |  | TMXIDOXNE |
|  | T€ ${ }^{v} \cdot{ }^{v} \bar{H} X \in \lambda 4$ Td |  | ON EMOYOYT |
|  | $\lambda \epsilon$＊OYOYCId Nd， |  | $\bar{M} \Pi x O \in I C{ }^{v . v}$ |
|  | E2PdÏ $2 \bar{N} N \in \Psi$ | 50 | ЄTI $\Delta \in$ N̄K€TPO |
|  | 2NddY＊€TCO |  | ФНTHC $\bar{N} N O Y X$ |
| 25 |  |  | dYん NATOOCTO |
|  |  |  | $\lambda O C N \bar{N} Y{ }^{v}$ ． |
|  |  |  | MN̄ 2 NTIXPEI |

## P．Vindob．K 928 verso（Plate XVI）

$\overline{T M B}$

CTOC NIM $2 \in N$
dTE＊Nдч N $\epsilon^{* v}$ ．
dYん 2dMOÏ ЄN€
МппоүпрОфн
TЄYє＊$\in$ NE $^{v}$ ．
Н ЄN€M̄TOY

Oyñoyzeon
Єめ $\boldsymbol{\epsilon} \mathbf{Y O O O C}$ €ТВННт $\overline{4} \underset{\in}{ } \in$ пЄTMOYOYT MMOЧ C€NAKג 2d2 ÑNOBE NdY

|  | $x \in o \gamma \omega \lambda x \epsilon^{v}$ ． N̄C€TMTT入ANд＊ | 35 | ЄBOX $\cdot v_{\bar{M}} \Pi$ ä̈ <br> $\alpha N \sigma \epsilon \pi \epsilon{ }^{\bullet} \cdot v_{d \lambda}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ON $\overline{\text { N}} 2$ ¢NMHH |  |  |
| Io | $\omega \epsilon^{\bullet} \bar{M} \psi \gamma_{X H}{ }^{\text {－}}$ v． |  | namOYOYT |
|  | Xeñixeraz＊ |  | $\bar{M} \Pi \epsilon \overline{\Pi N \lambda}$ € |
|  | $\sigma \epsilon \cdot v . v$ ยind $2 \hat{\omega} \epsilon$ |  | TTOOPNEId 2 2Paï |
|  | Naï．vebod xe | 40 | $\overline{\text { N}} 2 \mathrm{HT} \overline{4} \cdot v_{\text {dY }}{ }^{\text {a }}$ |
|  |  |  | חXINOONC $\overline{\mathrm{c}}^{v}$ ． |
| 15 | єтм̄моч ${ }^{v}$ ．$v$ |  |  |
|  | a $Y \omega$ Na $\omega \in N \in \varphi$ |  |  |
|  | Tdm $\Delta \in$ ON ${ }^{v^{v}}{ }_{\text {d }}$ |  | NHPON €T† |
|  | $\lambda d$ ¢YOYOw $\overline{4}$ | 45 | оүвєпоүд |
|  | THPOY N̄Nd2PN̄ |  | поүर̄ MMON ${ }^{\text {d }}$ ． |
| 20 | NЄT€OYN̄TAY |  | OY MONON XE |
|  |  |  | cenakaneq |
|  | плdC dN M̄мגT $\epsilon$ |  | nobe thpoy |
|  | d入入d $2 \bar{M} \Pi \Pi ¢$ | 50 | naч ¢bot ${ }^{\text {v }}{ }_{\text {d }}$ |
|  | 2HT THP¢̄ $\epsilon$ Y |  | 入d पndXí On $\bar{N}$ |
| 25 | мостє N̄N̄no |  | OYTd€IÔ．${ }^{\text {M }}$ M |
|  |  |  |  |
|  | $\lambda о 0^{*}$ v．v |  |  |

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| ä $\gamma$ рıо⿱ | GL I80：50；186：i．12－13（＝XJ 327：29） |
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ŋ̀лєкі́a $\quad$ 2үлнкıд GL 190：40
Ovoía XJ 34i：22
каӨ $\eta \gamma \epsilon і$ î $\theta a \iota$ Кдөнгє। GL 178：45－46
каí see $\gamma$ á above
какі́а GL 189：6－7

какойрүоs MNTKגKOYPROC GL 177：51－52
$\kappa а \lambda \hat{\omega} s \quad$ GL 177：56
карто́s GL I82：40－41，44；184：26，34，52；185：15，28；גTKגPாOC 184：27
катá GL 178：35；180：40
катададєîv PЄчКдтג入д入єI GL 184：54－55
катךүорєî PЄЧКаТнГОРЄ। XJ 327：5－6
кєранєи́s GLi8ı：9
ко́גабıs GL 186：i．9（＝XJ 327：25）
daós GL i77：21；XJ 341：8－9
入óros GL 179：45；180：19－20；184：2
$\mu a ́ \lambda_{\iota} \sigma \tau \alpha \quad$ GL 180：34；Md ${ }^{\text {人IC }}$［Tג］185：33
$\mu$ Ǵv $\quad$ GL $178: 54 ; 18 \mathrm{r}: 10 ; 183: 37$ ；189：22，48，59；190：44
$\mu \epsilon \tau \alpha v o \epsilon \hat{v} \quad$ GL 178：6；180：3－4，53－54；181：3
$\mu \epsilon \tau$ ávola GL i81：7－8；183：23－24
$\mu \dot{\eta}$
بóvov
ö $\lambda \omega \mathrm{s} \quad$ 20л $\omega$ C XJ 328：48；［2］0 $\lambda \omega \mathrm{C}$ 341：1

ő $\tau \alpha$
${ }_{0}^{\circ} \tau \epsilon$
oủ $\delta$ ¢́
ov̉ $\mu$ óvov $\quad$ GL 181：35－36；XJ 342：47
oủøía GL 178 8：39－40
$\pi a ́ \theta o s \quad$ GL i89：56－57
$\pi \alpha \iota \epsilon \dot{́} \epsilon \nu \quad$ GL 186：i．5－6（＝XJ 327：20）
таутокра́т $\omega \rho$ GL 183：48－49

$\pi \epsilon i \theta \epsilon \iota \nu \quad$ GL 184：29
$\pi \epsilon \iota \rho a \sigma \mu o ́ s$
тьбтós
$\pi \lambda a v \hat{\alpha} v$
$\pi \nu \epsilon \hat{v} \mu a$
тоขๆрóv

пाРасмос GL 183：26－27
GL 178：24
XJ 342：8
TNd GL $186: i i .28$（＝XJ 328：34）；XJ 342：38
GL 177：32，55；186：ii．2－3（＝XJ 327：53－54）；
XJ 342：43－44

| торveía | XJ 328:34-35; 342:39 |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\pi \rho о ф \eta \tau \epsilon \cup ์ \epsilon!\nu$ | XJ 342:4-5 |
| $\pi \rho \circ ф \eta \tau^{\prime} \eta$ ¢ | XJ 341:50-51 |
| ба兀аvâs | XJ 327:45 |
| $\sigma \kappa \in \hat{v}$ оs | CKєoc GL 181:12-13 |
| ataupós | cfoc GL 177:3 |
| $\sigma \hat{\omega} \mu a$ | GL i84:5,9; [CWMd (?)] 185:48 |
| то́тоя | GL 179:41,42 |
| форєiv | GL 181:36 |
| $\chi$ да́рıбиа | GL 180:2 |
|  | [ X ¢IPO][PaфON GL 177:1 |
| $\chi$ хєía | XPId GL I81:25; PXPId 182:54; 183:23,33 |
| $\chi \rho \bar{\eta} \mu \boldsymbol{\alpha}$ | GL 178:40-41 |
| $\chi \rho \eta \sigma \iota \mu \in \dot{\epsilon} \epsilon \stackrel{\nu}{ }$ | XPYCıM€Yє GL 181:20 |
| $\chi$ хо́vos | GL 181:54; 183:42 |
| $\chi \chi^{\omega} \rho$ а | GL $178: 41-4{ }^{2}$ |
| $\chi \omega$ ¢ ${ }^{\prime}$ | GL 185:14; XJ 341:4 |
| $\psi v \chi \eta$ | GL 186:ii. 4 ( $=$ XJ 328:I); XJ 342:10 |
| $\stackrel{\omega}{\omega} \sigma \tau \epsilon$ | 20Стє GL 185:30; 189:8-9 |
| $\dot{\omega} \phi \epsilon \lambda \epsilon i v$ | GL 182:36; [ $\omega$ ]ф¢ $\dagger$ ¢ 1 185:31-32 |

## AN INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES

| $\overline{\mathrm{C}}$ | Jesus GL 179:46; 180:60; 184:18; 186:ii.14 (=XJ 328:16); |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | XJ 342:21,54 |
| Ior Ide $^{\text {c }}$ | Fudas XJ 341:34 |
| Kaïn | Cain XJ 34I:16 |
| Kä̈фдC | Caiaphas XJ 341:41 |
| $\overline{\mathrm{XC}}$ | Christ XJ 327:9 |

## VARIANTS TO GL $178-79$ IN CODEX YQ $8 \mathrm{I}-82^{36}$

 NTגчM€PITN $\bar{N} 2 H T \bar{C}$ "and according to the love with which Christ loved
 NגЧ $\overline{\text { NTTIZ }}$; $178: 56$, пNOYTЄ instead of пXO€IC; 179:2, a paragraph begins; 179:9, $\boldsymbol{\Pi} \epsilon$ is omitted; 179:14, 2Pal is omitted; 179:15, бРOб; 179:17-18, ОҮтє; 179:20, пЄТ $\overline{4}-;$ 179:25, $\overline{\text { NTCOч; 179:28, ГגP is omitted; 179:32, }}$ OYOO入€; 179:32-33, $2 \bar{M} \Pi \bar{M} T O N$ MN̄ПT after топос; 179:42, - $\mathbf{K} \epsilon-$ is omitted; 179:45, a paragraph begins; 179:50, the text ends with $\boldsymbol{\pi} \boldsymbol{\epsilon}$, followed by decorative separators (two lines), then a two-line inscription тоץ גүтоY €X $\bar{N}$ dחd??[???], then more decorative separators (two lines), and finally cenoreioy גoroy preceding the beginning of another work.

## A TRANSLATION OF PORTIONS OF THE DISCOURSE ${ }^{37}$

[ ... "Blotting out the written] (GL 177) bond that stood against us, he nailed it to the cross" ${ }^{38}$ And also ${ }^{39}$ : "The Lord is just to forgive our sins and purify us of all unrighteousness". And also ${ }^{40}$ : "I write to you, children, because your sins have been forgiven on account of his name". And also ${ }^{41}$ : "He sent his son as an expiation for our sins". And also"2: "You forgave the transgressions of your people and covered all their sins".

Then, with that much said and no more ${ }^{43}$ about God's mercy in regard to the remission of our sins, our responsibility now is to shun ${ }^{44}$ wicked

[^13]acts ${ }^{45}$ and all other evil things and do deeds worthy of the gift ${ }^{46}$ inherent in the words of the declaration which says, ${ }^{47}$ "Blessed are they whose transgressions have been forgiven and whose sins have been covered; blessed is the person to whom the Lord shall not impute sin".

Furthermore, when some folk spoke to me, rejoicing over others that they had been put to the sword for their evil-doings, what I said to them was, "It would be well that you laugh had they forsaken their evil deeds. But if it was indeed for their ungodly acts they were put to death, (GL 178) then you ought to weep, for in regard to those who are rejoiced over in heaven that they have repented on earth, ${ }^{48}$ it behooves us to rejoice over them too. And as for those who are grieved for in heaven because they remain yet in their transgressions here, we ought each to weep for such ${ }^{49}$; yea, a friend should weep for his friends, a brother for his brothers, and a villager for a stranger; that is, a believer should weep for an unbeliever, a righteous person for a sinner, and a good father for deceitful and disobedient children. And all God's church, we should weep ${ }^{50}$ for one another as we have been bidden" ${ }^{51}$
direct object with a zero article phrase, on which see B. LAYton, Coptic Grammar With Cbrestomathy and Glossary, Sabidic Dialect, Wiesbaden 2000, p. 138 .
${ }^{44}$ Regarding the syntagm see LAYton, Grammar (cit. n. 43), p. 225. It entails an action predicated by zero infinitive $(\mathbf{C} 2 \omega=)$ which is spoken of as an entity. A negated example is seen in $M S$ copte $130^{3}$ folio 3, verso ( $=$ codex BV 32), lines $23-25$, an unpublished leaf from Shenute's Canon 9 conserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France: $\pi \omega T \bar{N}$ aN $\pi \epsilon$ पाpooym zanetnaze nay "Worrying about what we need is not yours" (i.e. not what you should be doing). See also Acts 1:7. Other examples: H. J. Polotsky, Grundlagen des Koptischen Satzbaus, Erste Hälfte, Georgia 1987, p. 35.
${ }^{45}$ Cf. 2 Tim 2:19c.
${ }^{46}$ Cf. Rom 5:15-17.
${ }^{47}$ Rom 4:7-8, a quotation of Psa 31:1-2a.
${ }^{48}$ See $L k$ I5:10.
${ }^{49}$ Cf. 2 Cor 12:21.
${ }^{50}$ This is a good example of repetition of the verbal lexeme with the conjunctive. Here the conjunctive is preceded by dY $\omega$, on which see A. Shisha-Halevy, Coptic Grammatical Categories, Rome 1986, § 7.1.2.2, in particular n. 2I, and for other examples of the conjunctive in "adverbal adjunctal status" with the causative infinitive as the verbal nucleus see $\$$ 7.2.5.2 (r) (a).
${ }^{51}$ Lit. "in accordance with the commandment", likely an allusion to $\mathrm{Pa} \omega \in \operatorname{mN̄} \in \in T P a \omega \in$. pIM€ MN̄nєTPIM€ Rom i2:15 "Rejoice with those who rejoice; weep with those who weep". Other similar Shenutean instances of Кдтдтєntoih appear in Leipoldt, Opera, IV (cit.

And also when another person, who told of himself that his wealth and his money had been considerable while he was associated with the territories beyond these parts, said, "I have listened to numerous discourses by many as they were teaching, but no discourse has ever engaged my mind ${ }^{52}$ like those I have heard here", what I for my part said to him was as follows: "The discourses of the Lord which are delivered everywhere and in all his churches are indeed sources of life, ${ }^{53}$ (GL 179) but I know why God's discourses have moved you deeply ${ }^{54}$ today, and through a riddle I shall tell you".
"Imagine, if you will, ${ }^{55}$ a high rise of ground over which water can scarcely come up but which someone was willing to irrigate and sow with good seed to avoid leaving it and all the land around it fallow. What is he to do? He digs and removes ${ }^{56}$ the excess earth, and (then) it becomes easy ${ }^{57}$ to water it. ${ }^{58}$ This is what it's like now for you too. Indeed, the teachings of the scriptures would not have pleased you before people plotted against you to do to you what you detested when you were well off with the assurance of a comfortable life ${ }^{59}$ and pride bestowed by wealth. But when you were seized and taken from your place to other, alien regions, humility lodged in you. Moreover, the sayings of Jesus became delightful to you when you were ready to listen". He had indeed been banished.

Think not, then, it was with other designs that I have said these things. Indeed, it's not for words to say that I have been seeking, but what I am telling you is that God's acts of compassion and gracious gifts are great,

[^14](GL i80) and what I wish is for us all to repent of our sins and also that we may understand it is easy for the person who is ever humble to receive instruction, just like the ground above the lowland that is leveled and easy to irrigate (receives water).

On the other hand, it is difficult for an arrogant person to receive instruction, not because he is above the message of the scriptures but because this is the loss ${ }^{60}$ of those who oppose it by their disobedience, Pray tell, is there actually nothing higher than mountains and hills? On the contrary, rain is higher than they are, and it showers down on them until it runs off and they are entirely saturated, including the ground above the lowland - and because, similarly, numerous are they whose hearts are like a field situated on the sand, as it's written, ${ }^{61}$ on account of their disobedience.

There are plants that are good to be eaten by people, especially poor folk, but (there are) others which are very bad to eat because they are wild and quite harmful. ${ }^{62}$ Of this sort too are sinners ${ }^{63}$ who repent, and are (then) by God's acts of mercy very good and accepted of him who became poor for us, ${ }^{64}$ (namely,) Jesus. And rejected (GL 18r) are all who shall not repent, for they are unworthy of him who said, ${ }^{65}$ "It is to call sinners to repentance that I have come".

As long as ${ }^{66}$ the potter's clay is kept in its place, there is no vessel in any part thereof, ${ }^{67}$ but when he works it, the clay takes on many diverse forms.

[^15]And flax too, pray tell, is it not a weak substance? So, is it of use for anything before it is attended to? Yet if it is worked, it yields many essential needs that are wonderful to behold. But $y o u$ should consider what is done to it and with what sort of tools it is worked until it becomes useful, not only (as clothes) to be worn in many forms in the houses of kings and all (other) people, but the greatest ship afloat also transports them by means of the wind that billows its sails. ${ }^{68}$

And still too, (consider) that seed from which oil is produced. Pray tell, is its bitterness not great? So, has it value for people to eat it or to anoint themselves with it? And if you set it aside for a long period, pray tell, will anything at all come from it before it is worked? But you should consider and see what sort of a good and delightful product (GL 182) came from it when it was made into something. Remember indeed what was done to it and that when it was being worked, what they did was continue to press it until the oil flowed.
(Take) wheat. Pray tell, is it not the sustenance ${ }^{69}$ of humans? And do they not eat it as they wish? As with (other things), if it is not worked, it does not come to the (desired) result. But when it is brought to submission, it appears as a perfect loaf. But you should consider what is done to it, between what it is pitched until it is ground, how it is beaten until it is pulverized, and what the fire does to it.

So now, what can be of benefit fully without toil? The land when it is not worked does not yield its crop, nor too do the trees that grow thereon produce fruit at their best. Likewise too, wood, stone, iron, bronze, and all the other things that take on numerous forms of all sorts, what they lack is not produced without toil. Consider what is done to them, with what they are cut, and (GL 183) what kinds are the tools with which they are worked.

Yet too (consider) fire. If it is not tended, it neither burns, nor gives off light nor emits heat, nor too are loaves baked ${ }^{70}$ by it and meat (cooked).

[^16]And silver and gold are worked likewise too. But suppose we say, "Perhaps these don't take a large tool; it is enough for them to be refined by fire". What I mean is, perhaps the righteous person does not need repentance, as it is written, ${ }^{71}$ but is refined by temptations as silver is refined. So, of what indeed will he repent? What actually is his sin? Now I did not say he need do nothing, for a righteous person has never become so without expending effort.

Fire is in all objects in which the Lord has created it. But if you leave them for a long period or thenceforth, nothing will come from them when you have not moved them. Quite comparable too, the divinity of God Almighty is in every person, and he that wishes manifests it in himself by good deeds, when he is goaded by fear of the Lord, which produces life, and also when he is instructed (GL 184) by the Logos.

If, when folk do not labor for what they need for the body, including their clothing, they are neither established nor pleased, how then shall the body or the whole person be established or please him who created him without expending effort to that end? And if without toil earthly things benefit you not, in light of the text, ${ }^{72}$ "Without toil it is impossible to please him", how shall you be of benefit to Jesus?

There are kinds of trees that are smooth, while their fruits are not good or the trees are barren. Thus too are they who persuade with their words those who sin. But there are other kinds of trees whose fruit is not at all rejected, yet neither is it especially acceptable. In like manner some parents do not fall short in doing good, but neglecting their children in their sins and revellings in all sorts of iniquities, they do not instruct them.

And again, there are also kinds of trees that are rough, full of thorns, their fruit no good. Comparable are slanderers, meddlers, quarrelsome folk, impudent people, destroying the hearts of many, (GL 185) ${ }^{73}$ [and] their good too [...]. And [there are] trees [...] like [...] and the fig and those similar to them, and all the others that are rough and without thorns, although their fruit is very good. Thus is he that rebukes those who censure and mu-

[^17]tilate the word of truth, ${ }^{74}$ when there is no one with anything to say against them.

And there are also kinds of trees without thorns growing on them, whose fruit is very choice and soft, so that [water be]nefits [them], especial[ly the rolot[s], which (varieties) are (?) the date [palm], the apple [tree] and the grapevine a[nd] those similar to them. Thus are patient folk, gentle people, prudent ones w[ho] are taught of [Go]d ${ }^{75}$ when [they] lack [ . . . al] those who [bid demons (?)] to come forth [from a sick]ness of the [body(?)].

There are [kinds of ffish that [have no scales (?)] (XJ 327) and are prone to bite. ${ }^{76}$ Thus are they who bite with their tongue, accusers, because they have no fear of Christ. But there are other fish that bite and have many scales, yet are good to eat. Likewise are parents who teach and instruct their children in the fear of the Lord and by bringing to mind the (eternal) torments.

There are kinds of wood that are soft, into which that wild bee always burrows and networks ${ }^{77}$ with its nests within ${ }^{78}$ and always breeds therein and sounds forth from inside them. But there are other woods in which it cannot create a home for itself. Likewise, it's hearts of the weak and godless that Satan makes dens for himself, calling out from them and effecting every sort of evil in (XJ 328) their souls. But it's before the godly that he is weak and by their strength distressed. When he seeks to create a home for himself in them, he cannot sway them from their love for their redeemer, Jesus, who is with them.

There is also a termite that utterly destroys lumber and ruins it in other forms and breaks houses, walls and fences, but against other things it cannot prevail. So is the spirit of illicit sexual conduct, yea, of all sin, it having destroyed very many folk of every sort. But others, sealed by purity and exceedingly righteous by every sort of righteous deed, it cannot enter them at all.

[^18]Now, envision too those great tempests that are very high and are $[\ldots]]^{79}$
[ . . ] (GF 227) and the blessing, they mislead our minds.
There are other weeds whose noxious seeds are very numerous, so that much ground becomes contaminated when, because of so many seeds on it, they fall to earth and become like what befalls many ${ }^{80}$ (seeds) of those that are released (?) (GL 189) onto the ground. So is the person who is filled with every sort of evil, wickedness and stupidity, so that many folk teach him to sin, along with the disobedient and every (other) evildoer that one may compare to him.

And there is also another very noxious weed that has many roots and seeds on it, with some of its roots extending far down while others are near the surface. If you pull up those (roots) which are lower, the ones that are above weaken, and the soil in which the weed is growing is pure. But if people neglect to remove the former roots and their seeds, those above increase more than those that extend down and the ones below these become as numerous as those above them.

Likewise, actually, are the defiled of heart who accept the sins instigated by the devil. If you criticize what he casts into you but have not beforehand taken away his cogitations within (you), how shall the passions by which you are accustomed to be led not increase? If you dig (GL 190) out of yourself what is within (you), what is without will be like what does not exist, and you shall become wholly pure. So, where will you show that you hate the sins outside you, while you are burdened with what is inside you and are in travail for them in the sweet pleasure which shall turn into great bitterness for you?

Do you wish to envision those who turn away from the true scriptures, they who are diverted not only from knowledge but by acts of disobedience to their precepts, with the result that they perish and sin has dominion over them? Consider those fish that turn in the water until they are caught and perish, and (then) they stink.

[^19]Do you wish to envision ${ }^{81}$ the sweetness that is in small children? And would you consider their new condition as they change in that youthful state which boils like water with a fire under it? One (changes) to become a righteous person by every sort of righteous deed, but another (becomes) a reprobate by wicked deeds, and one (becomes) a person that is pure, another a person who is defiled. Some (become) sexual perverts and sinners in everything, (GF 230) but others (become) useful and effectors of every sort of good.

You should consider the new wine that is altogether sweet at the outset, and envision it too at the time it changes to many kinds, one which becomes a very good wine and another an exceedingly choice wine, and another a wine that is firmly rejected. Some (are wines) whose good flavor is lost, (and they) exemplify ${ }^{82}$ those who turn quickly from purity to impurity. But others (are wines) that are poured out and because of an excess of putrid gas even break the jars containing them, (and they) exemplify also the manner whereby God shall destroy their souls in hell and their bodies, as well.

There is a wine good not only from the outset and henceforth, but when it ages it is greatly enhanced. Of this sort too is a person who is good from his youth to his old age, and also by (GF 231) persistence in his good deeds he greatly pleases the one who empowers him all his days, Christ Jesus, who keeps him from altering as well as unchanging in his love for the Lord.

Actually, the wine of which it is said that it diffuses an exquisite aroma, being outstanding, having no taste like those of which it is said, "People rejected them", ${ }^{83}$ (a wine) whose imbibers rejoice greatly, it bespeaks ${ }^{84}$ a person first-rate, good, receptive, wise, honest, compassionate, without hypocrisy, triflingness, deceit and unrestraint, but kind ${ }^{85}$ and known for righteous

[^20]deeds and knowledge of God, (thus) making every one glad who loves the Lord and his Christ Jesus.

Likewise too, this very (wine) of which it is said that it is robust and excellent, having no taste in it (GF 232) like that of which it is said, "It's hard", which does not please those who test good wine, (this wine exemplifies) a person strong, long-suffering, grateful, ascetic, living tranquilly and devoid of the deeds of those concerning whom it may be said, "Moneyloving" and "Love of empty conceit", and other things of this sort, so that it may be said of such a person, "He's the hidden Jew, and it's the circumcision of the heart". ${ }^{86}$ And again, this (wine) which remains easy and sweet with no blemish, (it exemplifies) the person persisting in good works, gentle, serious, innocent, with neither arrogance nor envy, but who is perfect in all purity and altogether sweet in his deeds before God and all God's people.

Now, as for all the other (wines) which are among neither the bad lot nor what is not all right so that those who drink them often spit them out because of their taste - but similarly (GF 233) too, remembering the toil expended on them or the price paid ${ }^{87}$ for them, people are unwilling to pour them out - these wines are the people who sometimes tell the truth, but sometimes they lie too. Sometimes they obey, but sometimes they disobey. On some days they stay pure, and yet on other days what they do is defile themselves. At times what they do is focus on (averting) their sins, and yet at times what they do is revert to them. On some occasions what they do is weep that they committed them; on other occasions what they do is rejoice and laugh while they are doing them. For months or years it is good they do; during (other) years what they do is engage in every sort of ungodly act, so that there is no compassion for them in heaven.

Again still, the angels and all the saints desire to find a place of rest, and it is not their wish to be alienated from the good things which are their lot. ${ }^{88}$

[^21]Indeed, they remember (GF 234) the suffering of Jesus and his blood which he gave for every one. ${ }^{89}$
(Consider) also this (wine) that people mix with honey and all the other mixtures with which they make it, so that the one who shall taste it deems enviable what is theirs because it was made well - (it exemplifies) the wise and the faithful who chose celibacy that they might be pure for God and be praised in heaven that truly without pollution they have become perfect so that this very (wine), which is sweet by virtue of the mixed elements that refresh those who drink it, exemplifies ${ }^{90}$ the good childhood that gives satisfaction to the parents who teach their children to submit to the Lord in everything.

If you strike a serpent on the head, especially if in your anger you kill it, its entire body becomes powerless and you fear it (GF 235) no longer. What I mean is, if you keep yourself from defilement, O you who advise purity, in you sin shall be powerless. It's then neither a single instance of pollution that exists nor a single instance of purity. Now, (consider) too what this demon has is not a single head, lest you say, "It's disobedience alone". Indeed, just as this demon comes to have many heads before those who have Jesus, similarly too before those who have Jesus he becomes as though on him there is not one (head) at all. Indeed, the head of every person is Christ.

To be sure indeed, was it not with heads and horns on them that the kings of the nations arose from the sea, as the prophet Daniel said of them ${ }^{91}$ ? Yet, the semblance of that beast is the enemy of all the saints. (GF 236) Has he not been active in them, he whom Daniel saw rising from the sea with four heads and ten horns? It's he of whom it is said, 92 "The Lord shattered his heads on the ground".

Now, it's not these (heads) alone that are with him, but what I said was - actually my words ${ }^{93}$ are written (XJ 24I [?], in place of 341) indeed - the

[^22]people who are heads for him, apart from those out of him, ${ }^{94}$ are many. Pray tell, are not all the fathers of God's people called "Heads"? Now, the fathers of every nation too and their leaders are heads for him. Indeed, for him even Cain is a head. Did he not do something extraordinary by uttering God's name and offering him a sacrifice from his despised and rejected things? If only he had never done anything good and still not killed an innocent man. Likewise, Judas also is a head for him, and I wish he had never been an apostle and still not betrayed the Lord. Now, Caiaphas too is more importantly a head for him, and how good it would have been had he never been a priest and still not conspired to kill the Lord. Yet too, the false prophets and the false apostles and all antichrists (XJ 242 [?], in place of 342 ) are heads for him, and I wish they had never prophesied nor spoken a word and still not led numerous souls astray.

It's to be brief ${ }^{95}$ then that I shall stop at these (words), for the heads which the beast has are numerous, and his horns are many too. Howbeit, it's when those who have Jesus hate the sins instigated by the devil, not only with the tongue ${ }^{96}$ but with their whole heart, that all his heads and horns are destroyed before them.

There is a beast regarding which people say that he who slays it, many sins shall be forgiven him. It's not this person then (of which I speak), but in truth he that shall slay the spirit engendering within him illicit sex, injustice, lying, and all other wicked deeds which oppose each of us. Not only shall all his sins be forgiven, but he shall also receive honor and life eternal through Jesus. ${ }^{97}$

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Edited by Carl Wessely, Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inbalts I, Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde IX, Leipzig 1909, pp. 167-68.
    ${ }^{2}$ The list is discussed at length by Stephen L. Emmel, Shenoute's Literary Corpus, Ph. D. dissertation, Yale University, New Haven 1993, pp. 308-22.
    ${ }^{3}$ Emmel, Corpus (cit. n. 2), 9 Io.

[^1]:    ${ }^{4}$ My translation covers all of the extant text from the beginning of our first folio to the end of the eighth, including other material previously published. I have not had the opportunity to collate the additional pages of text, which are in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples.
    ${ }^{5}$ The codex is described by Emmel, Corpus (cit. n. 2), 350-54.
    ${ }^{6}$ Edited by É. Amélineau, Oeuvres de Schenoudi: Texte copte et traduction française, Vol. i. Paris 1907, pp. 244.8-262.II. Treated earlier with excerpts only as part of no. 189 in G. Zoega, Catalogus Codicum Copticorum Manu Scriptorum थii in Museo Borgiano Velitris Adservantur, Rome 1810, reprinted New York and Hildesheim 1973, pp. 433-37, and discussed in part by A. Van Lantschoot, "A propos du Physiologus" [in:] M. Malinine (ed.), Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum, Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute II, Boston 1950, p. 360.
    ${ }^{7}$ See Emmel, Corpus (cit. n. 2), 342-50.
    ${ }^{8}$ Emmel, Corpus (cit. n. 2), 354-6i.

[^2]:    ${ }^{9}$ Adapted from an earlier synopsis by EmMEL, Corpus (cit. n. 2), pp. II48-50 (Table iI2). He gave also a brief discussion of the contents on pp. 927-29.
    ${ }^{10}$ Described by Emmel, Corpus (cit. n. 2), pp. 36i-65.
    ${ }^{11}$ A brief description of these two leaves, which are bound in a volume at the British Library in London with the call number Or. 3581A, and four excerpts appeared as no. 202 in W. E. Crum, Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum, London 1905, pp. 85-86.
    ${ }^{12}$ For permission to publish this folio and its companion, K 9320 , and the related leaf from codex XJ, viz. K 928, I am indebted to Prof. Hermann Harrauer, the distinguished Direktor of the Papyrussammlung, who generously facilitated my study of the folios in Vienna (May 1992 and April 1994) and also provided photographs.
    ${ }^{13}$ Dr. Victor Nersessian, Curator of Oriental Christian Manuscripts in the British Library, kindly granted me permission to publish an edition of this pair of folios. I examined the vellum leaves in London in June 1994.
    ${ }^{14}$ I wish to thank Monique COHEN, Directeur, Département des manuscrits, Division orientale, for authorizing publication of the four fragments edited herein from the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. The photographs were made by the Service

[^3]:    Photographique at the Bibliothèque Nationale, after my research in Paris in November 1990.
    ${ }^{15}$ Edited by D. W. Young, Coptic Manuscripts From the White Monastery: Works of Shenute, MPER XXII, Vienna 1993, pp. 29-31 + Plate 4, with a description, translation and notes.
    ${ }^{16}$ Codex YQ 79-82 (two folios), on which see Emmel, Corpus (cit. n. 2), 543-46. The former leaf, which I have not seen, has the call number I.B. ir, fol. 83 at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples. The latter fragment, which I have collated from a microfilm (see below), is conserved as MS copte $130^{5}$ fol. 82 at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

[^4]:    ${ }^{17}$ Codex GF i52, ed. Amélineau, Oeuvres, I (cit. n. 6), pp. 262.7-II.
    18 The verso of MS copte $131^{4}$ fol. 90 at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, unpublished. A convenient profile of works $4^{-6}$ in Discourses Vol. 5 by codexes and their page numbers is available in EMMEL, Corpus (cit. n. 2), pp. II47-52 (Tables in2 and II3).
    ${ }^{19}$ The recto of I.B. 3, fol. 80 in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples, ed. Amélineau, Oeuvres, I (cit. n. 6), pp. 262-63.

[^5]:    ${ }^{20} \mathrm{CZ}$ I48 is the verso of British Library MS Or. 358 IA, fol. i26, ed. A. Shisha-Halevy, "Unpublished Shenoutiana in the British Library", Enchoria 5 (1975), pp. 92-93, and "Commentary on unpublished Shenoutiana in the British Library", Enchoria 6 (1976), p. 6r. GF 165 is the recto of I.B. 3, fol. 64 in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples, ed. Amélineau, Oeuvres, I (cit. n. 6), 238.
    ${ }^{21} \mathrm{CZ}_{15} 8$ is the verso of British Library MS Or. 358iA, fol. I27, ed. Shisha-Halevy, "Unpublished Shenoutiana" (cit. n. 20), p. 95. GF 177 is the recto of MS copte $130^{2}$ fol. 67 at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, unpublished. Probably C. G. 9267 at the Coptic Museum in Cairo, a leaf from codex XJ with pagination wanting (ed. H. Munier, Manuscrits coptes, Cairo 1916, pp. 108-10), supplies part of the text lost in the lacuna. On the basis of a reference in a typikon, Emmel, Corpus (cit. n. 2), pp. 359, 745 ( $\mathrm{T}_{7} \mathrm{frg}$. a), and 910, put it there.
    ${ }^{22} \mathrm{GF}_{192}$ is the verso of $M S$ copte $130^{2}$ fol. 74, and $\mathrm{CZ}_{177}$ is the recto of $M S$ copte 78 , fol. 50. Conserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, both are unpublished.
    ${ }^{23}$ The reference to "Incipit 44 " by T. OrLandi, "Coptic Literature" in B. A. Pearson do J. E. Goehring (eds.), The Roots of Egyptian Christianity, Studies in Antiquity and Christianity, Philadelphia 1986, p. 67, should be altered to read "Incipit 43".
    ${ }^{24}$ See Emmel, Corpus (cit. n. 2), 314, nn. 249 and 250.

[^6]:    ${ }^{25}$ Folio ino was conserved as though true verso were the recto.

[^7]:    ${ }^{26}$ Corpus (cit. n. 2), 349, where he also restored in the opening line of this leaf the threeletter word which yields textual continuity with the preceding page.
    ${ }^{27}$ Compare $2 \overline{\mathrm{M}} \boldsymbol{\pi} \mathbf{C H Y} \overline{\mathrm{M}} \Pi$ T $\omega \sigma$ in codex DF iI $4: 6$ (Shenute's Canon 9), ed. J. Leipoldt, Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia, IV, CSCO 73, Paris 1913, p. 93.3.

[^8]:     lio 6 (codex GL 54), conserved in the John Rylands Library in Manchester, first brought to my attention by Stephen Emmel in a letter of 2 October 1992. Yet another case, which occurs in GL 334 accompanied by the number 19, is presented in Emmel, Corpus (cit. n. 2), p. 345.
    ${ }^{29}$ The B is cursive in both occurrences on the page. The signature should not be read $\overline{\boldsymbol{\epsilon}}$, as in Emmel, Corpus (cit. n. 2), pp. 658-60 (Table 37).

    30 The error comes about easily by replacing one number in the hundreds with another,

[^9]:    such as $\mathbf{P}$ " 100 " with C " 200 " or C with $\mathbf{T}$ " 300 ", and then continuing the error thereafter. See the discussion by Emmel, Corpus (cit. n. 2), pp. 358-59. For the presentation of a similar error in codex XS, a copy of Shenute's Canon 5, see D. Young, "Shenute's Fifth Canon in Three Folios at the National Library in Vienna", 77 P 31 (2001), pp. 192-94.

[^10]:     the Cambridge University Library MS Or. 1699 A, folio 5, verso 20-23, ed. Young, Coptic Manuscripts (cit. n. 15), p. 86.
    ${ }^{32}$ The remainder of the column, which is wanting, may be restored from MS copte $13 \mathrm{O}^{2}$ folio 25 , recto $\mathrm{i}-12$.

[^11]:    ${ }^{33}$ Restorations to lines $1-7,10-20,30-32$, and 33-38 were made on the basis of the readings in MS copte $130^{2}$ folio 25 (edited below), recto $13-22,26-40,51-54$, and verso $1-7$, respectively.
    ${ }^{34}$ The remainder of the column, which is wanting, may be restored from MS copte $13 \mathrm{O}^{2}$ folio 25 , recto $40-50$.

[^12]:    ${ }^{35}$ The text continues in $M S$ copte $130^{2}$ folio 25, verso 34-54.

[^13]:    ${ }^{36}$ MS copte $130^{5}$ folio 82 , conserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
    ${ }^{37}$ The translation which follows is that of the three bifolia and the other two folios described heretofore, to which has been added a rendering of contiguous but uncollated texts from codex GF.
    ${ }^{38}$ An abbreviated quotation from Col 2:I4. My rendering assumes that the preceding
    

    39 I fob $\mathrm{I}: 9$.
    $4_{10}$ fob 2:12.
    $4_{1}$ I foh 4: 10.
    ${ }^{42}$ Psa 84:2.
    ${ }^{43}$ Lit. "lest I say many words as a testimony", where there is a predicative expansion of a

[^14]:    n. 27), p. 127.25 (Canon 3), 159.16 (Canon 9; expanded with €TKH NaN €2Pal), 161.25 (Canon 9; expanded with $€$ TCH 2 N $\lambda N$ ), and $175 \cdot 4^{-5}$ (a Discourse; expanded with MTT€ YarreגION).
    ${ }^{52}$ Lit. "entered my heart".
    ${ }^{53}$ Or "living entities"; cf. $\mathfrak{F o b}$ 6:68.
    ${ }^{54}$ Lit. "went into you".
    55 The usual translation is "There is/was".
    ${ }^{56}$ The use of two coordinated synonymous verbs meaning "dig" is an effort aimed toward precision of expression. Dynamic reinforcement of this sort is a favorite rhetorical device of Shenute. For other examples of a shift of verb lexeme (all linked by H) see Shisha-Halevy, "Commentary on unpublished Shenoutiana" (cit. n. 20), 39.
    57 This part of the homily in K 9315 employs repetitious contrast of the antonyms mOTN "easy" (recto 24,48 ; verso 13 ) and MOK $\overline{2}$ "difficult" (recto 10; verso 15 ).
    58 The use of the Perfect tense repeatedly in the illustration is for vivid effect.
    ${ }^{59}$ Lit. "ease".

[^15]:    ${ }^{60}$ My rendering takes into consideration the possibility of haplography, i.e. contraction
     ${ }_{131}{ }^{6}$ folio ino true recto 17).
    ${ }^{61}$ A reference to a phrase in Hosea 10:4, quoted by Shenute also in Leipoldt, Opera (cit. n. 27), III, CSCO 42, Paris 1908, p. 160.16, cited by W. E. Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, Oxford 1939, p. 549b.
    ${ }^{62}$ Lit. "their badness is much". Cf. Fer 24:2, which speaks of figs so bad they could not be eaten.
    ${ }^{63}$ As for $\bar{N} T € I z €$ on n $€$ np€ 4 PNOBe, cf. LAYtON, Grammar (cit. n. 43), p. 230, for further instances in which an expression of similarity functions as the predicate in a nominal sentence.
    ${ }^{64}$ See 2 Cor 8:9.
    ${ }^{65}$ Adapted from Matt 9:13b.
    ${ }^{66}$ Taking отє as the Greek loan zOT€ was suggested to me by Steven Emmel in a letter of 16 April 2003.

[^16]:    ${ }^{67}$ The syntagm occurs again in Discourses Book 5; see verso 14-17 of a folio without pagination from codex XJ published as no. 9267 by MUNIER, Manuscrits (cit. n. 21), pp. 108-10.
    ${ }^{68}$ Lit. "blows behind it". Shipping is introduced because goods made of flax were exported.
    ${ }^{69}$ Lit. "life".
    ${ }^{70}$ In this paragraph the verbal lexeme $\Pi$ IC€ conveys a range of meanings which I have translated as "cook", "bake" or "refine".

[^17]:    ${ }^{71}$ The suggestion is implied in Matt 9:13b.
    ${ }^{72}$ Lit. "when the text says", quoting Heb mi:6a but substituting zIC $€$ "toil" for пICTIC "faith".
    ${ }^{73}$ Emmel, Corpus (cit. n. 2), p. 349, recovered the page number on the basis of textual continuity and made the restorations in lines I-2.

[^18]:    ${ }^{74}$ See e.g. Eph I:13.
    ${ }^{75} \mathrm{Or}$ "parents", if one should restore €Іотє.
    ${ }^{76}$ Lit. "bite very much".
    ${ }^{77}$ Again there is the use of two coordinated synonymous verbs; cf. n. 56 .
    ${ }^{78}$ Compare the restoration in CRUM, Dictionary (cit. n. 6r), p. 6r2a.

[^19]:    ${ }^{79}$ Codex XJ breaks off. There is a lacuna of about two pages before the text resumes, first in codex GF and soon thereafter in codex GL.
    ${ }^{80}$ Tentatively I suggest emending $\Pi €$ TגZON N2d2, the text in Amélineau's edition (cit. n. 6), to T€ TTגZO N̄2d2.

[^20]:    ${ }^{81}$ Here OY$\omega \omega$ €NdY is an alternative to OY€ $\omega N A Y$ in the preceding paragraph. On the one hand, a verb of incomplete predication is completed by a preposition + bare infinitive. On the other, NaY is treated like any common noun and suffixed to the verb. See LAYTON, Grammar (cit. n. 43), pp. 132, 149-50.
    $8^{82}$ Lit. "for the manifestation of".
    ${ }^{83}$ Lit. "they put/left/rejected". The meaning is uncertain.
    ${ }^{84}$ Lit. "it's".
    ${ }^{85}$ Lit. "people-loving".

[^21]:    ${ }^{86}$ Adapted from Rom 2:29a.
    ${ }^{87}$ I emend NTAYdAC, the text in Amélineau's edition (cit. n. 6), to $\bar{N} T \lambda Y T d A C$. If the text as printed is indeed faithful here to the manuscript in Naples, uncollated by me, perhaps the corruption entered through attraction to NTAYddч in the parallel phrase that precedes its own.
    ${ }^{88}$ Lit. "which they are in".

[^22]:    ${ }^{89}$ Here there is a comparison with the toil (= suffering) exerted in the production of wine and with the price paid for purchased wine, matters of which the author has spoken above.
    ${ }^{90}$ Lit. "it's".
    ${ }^{91}$ Dan 7:2-27.
    92 A blend of Dan 2:34 and 7:6.
    ${ }^{93}$ Lit. "they".

[^23]:     N2HT4 there is again the use of two coordinated synonymous terms; cf. n. 56. The same pair is seen in P. Bruce 228, cited by Crum, Dictionary (cit. n. 61), p. 216a.
    ${ }^{95}$ Lit. "lest I say many (words)".
    ${ }^{96}$ I.e. by verbal assertion.
    97 The discourse continues in AméLineau's edition (cit. n. 6).

