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Dwight W. Young

A SEQUENTIAL INVENTORY OF MANUSCRIPTS OF SHENUTE'S *NINTH CANON*

THERE IS SOLID EVIDENCE from Shenute's own writings that in June 431 he was among the Egyptian delegates whom archbishop Cyril brought with him to the Council of Ephesus.¹ The invitation to join the cause against Nestorius issued from no little merit. By then well advanced in age, having lived more than fourscore years, Shenute had distinguished himself as both a monastic leader and an able preacher. The illustrious archimandrite surely deemed the opportunity to accompany his beloved archbishop as a high point in his career and an exciting prospect. Nevertheless, he had qualms about leaving the flock under his care and felt concern for their spiritual well-being during his absence. It was apparently these thoughts that motivated him, not long before his departure for Alexandria and Ephesus, to bring together on papyri numerous injunctions of his regarding monastic behavior and conduct. This body of material, apparently not well organized overall, formed the core of what came to be known as the ninth and final volume of Shenutean Canons. To the

¹ See in particular the dating in a homily which originated in "this year after we came from Ephesus", known from more than one copy, including P. Vindob. K 9296, *recto*: i.15-17, ed. D. YOUNG, "Coptic Manuscripts from the White Monastery: Works of Shenute", *MPER* XXII, Vienna 1993, pp. 122, 124, 133 (no. 20), plate 46.

core there was eventually added a number of Shenute's expository and hortatory epistles to members of the monasteries under his supervision, creating a book of perhaps some 400 to 500 pages in the earlier manuscripts. What has survived from this tome is yet to be published in a modern critical edition.

As a provisional framework for preparing a critical edition of Canon 9, I have divided the textual material, which is drawn from 138 parchment leaves surviving from approximately 1500 original folios, into (i) headings, (ii) the ancient introduction, (iii) consecutive Fragments to which I have assigned the numbers 1 through 45, and (iv) a much smaller number of unplaced manuscripts. In the sequential inventory I use the term "Fragment" to signify a part of the Canon that either is the beginning of a work or discourse, as in Fragments 1, 31, 36, 41, 42, 44 and 45, or follows a significant *lacuna*, which is sometimes of decidedly uncertain length but usually of two pages or more. Because of the fragmentary condition of the codices from which the manuscripts are derived, some placements in my presentation must be regarded as tentative. Further study will no doubt illuminate here and there a problematic aspect of the Canon's format and content.

While the number of works originally in Canon 9 remains unknown, it should be observed that some series of Fragments are almost certainly from a single work. For example, the considerable amount of textual material in Fragments 26–28 is very likely from one and the same work. Likewise, the comparatively short passages in Fragments 31–33 are probably what has survived from a specific discourse. Only two works, Fragments 41 and 44, have been preserved in their entirety.

Considerable progress toward a reconstruction of what remains of the Canon's contents has been made since my previous article on the subject appeared in print.² As I had stated, the manuscripts pertaining to the Canon come from two types of sources. On the one hand, we have codex XL, a *florilegium*, which preserves excerpts from all nine Shenutean Canons, including from the *Ninth Canon* important textual material that originally amounted to about seventy pages, of which considerably less is

² D. YOUNG, "Two Leaves from a Copy of Shenute's Ninth Canon", WZKM 88 (1998), pp. 281–301.

known today.³ This codex is known for reliability and careful execution of copying. Its pertinent folios, fifteen in number, provide us partly with parallels to texts known from copies of the Canon and partly with valuable excerpts not otherwise attested.

There is, on the other hand, a rather large and significant body of material from seven mutilated copies of the Canon. These are identified today by the sigla BV, DF, FM, XK, YX, YZ and ZA, and each has been described at some length in Emmel's seminal work.⁴ The last four named are earlier and probably more reliable copies from the seventh or eighth centuries, but they are represented but little in the inventory. From codex XK there are sixteen leaves, from YX eight, from YZ six, and from ZA only two. Of the three later copies codex DF is not only fairly well-documented by forty-four leaves, but it appears to agree with the earlier codices in the arrangement of material and therefore may be viewed as a guide or control. *Codex* FM, on the other hand, seems to be the least reliable copy, especially in regard to spellings as seen in the extant fifteen folios, and it is known to omit a section attested in DF and XL, as a comparison of the passages from codex FM in Fragment 28 and Fragment 29 will show.

As for codex BV, several of its thirty-two leaves pose serious problems. In the first place, the earliest parallel in BV to codex DF is not seen until Fragment 16, where the text of DF 106:i.19–108:ii.ult. corresponds to that of BV 111–113:i.1–5. The pagination might be taken to indicate the two copies are in tandem, but such an assessment is not supported by other passages. Texts on pages 48 and 65–68 in BV match what appears in DF on pages 187–188. This has led in my inventory to the creation of double entries for material from codex BV (compare Fragments 8–9 with Fragments 26 and 28). More striking is a parallel between the two codices that appears in Fragment 35. There, on the *recto* (the flesh side) of a fragmentary leaf from BV with pagination lost, we find the text from the final

³ S. EMMEL, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*, 2 vols., CSCO 599–600, Louvain 2004, 111–125. The lowest page number known for Canon 9 texts in codex XL is 332, and the highest is 396.

⁴ See EMMEL, *Corpus* (cit. n. 3), pp. 216–234 and Table 98 (pp. 778–792). There is in addition an external witness to the Canon. In the Arabic version of the author's *Life* it is told that Shenute had given instructions in "the ninth canon" to distrust visions, unless one sees the saints and the sign of the cross; cited by EMMEL, *Corpus* (cit. n. 3), p. 115.

paragraph of a Shenutean work, whereas on the *verso* are lines from a discourse that is different from the one introduced from codex DF as Fragment 36.

The manuscripts on which the inventory is based are conserved in libraries and museums of Austria, Egypt, England, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and the United States of America. To refer to the frequently cited collections and their relevant folios I use the following abbreviations.

Berlin	Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin.
BL	British Library, London, followed by a bound volume's call number, either 3580B or 3581A, whose folio numbers differ from those in the published catalogue; in footnotes I refer to the latter's numbering of manuscripts with the prefix BM (= British Museum), e.g., BL 3580B, folio 42 is BM 169 in the catalogue.
Clarendon Press <i>b</i> 4	A bound volume's call number at Bodleian Library, Oxford University.
CM	Coptic Museum, Cairo, Egypt, followed by either an inventory number or a catalogue number preceded by C. G. (= Catalogue Général).
CUL 1699	Cambridge University Library and call number 1699.
IF Copte	Coptic manuscripts in the library of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, Egypt.
Leiden	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Michigan 158	University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor and call number 158.
Naples I. B.	Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Italy and a shelf list (Section I, Shelf B), which is followed by a box number.
P. Vindob. K	Papyrussammlung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (K = Koptische, followed by the number of the folio).
Paris	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, which is followed by a call number and a raised volume number, e.g., Paris 130 ⁴ .

Within the inventory excerpts from texts are shown with superlineation as it occurs with consonants in the manuscripts, which admittedly are inconsistent in this regard. In a few cases omitted letters have been restored between angle brackets, e.g., πρ<ω>με.

HEADINGS

Two headings for Shenute's *Ninth Canon* have come to us. One is seen on the opening page in a copy of the Canon, viz., codex DF. The other appears toward the end of the volume of excerpts from all nine Canons, viz., codex XL.⁵

Clarendon Press *b* 4, folio 21, *recto*. – Codex DF, page 1. The upper margin is inscribed with $\epsilon\iota\sigma\upsilon\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma \chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma \bar{\theta}$ “Sinouthios, an offering, 9”,⁶ including an indication perhaps that this copy of the ninth volume of Canons was a special presentation to God for deposit and use in the monastic library.

Paris 130⁴ folio 132 + 132⁴ folio 303 (originally one leaf), *verso*: ii.1–7 from below. – Codex XL, pagination wanting but falling between 303 and 332. At the end of an excerpt from the *Eighth Canon* there are three lines of dots and dashes, followed by an introduction in Greek to Canon 9. Of the faint and broken inscription I present the first four lines, partly restored: $\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\omega\varsigma [\kappa\alpha\tau\omega\upsilon\tau\eta] \bar{\theta} \alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon \alpha[\beta\beta\alpha \epsilon\iota\sigma\upsilon\theta\epsilon(1\omicron\upsilon)] \pi\rho\omicron\phi\eta\tau[1\omicron\upsilon] \kappa\alpha\iota \alpha\rho\chi\iota[\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota(1\omicron\upsilon)]$ “Likewise [Canon] 9 of the holy A[pa Sinouthios], prophet and archi[mandrite]”. The formal introduction to the Canon and the first excerpt from it appears on the next page in codex XL.

ANCIENT INTRODUCTION

Both of the codexes cited above for Headings present one and the same introduction to the *Ninth Canon*, for indeed Shenute himself is the author of what amounts to a preface to the Canon.

Clarendon Press *b* 4, folio 21. – Codex DF 1: i.1–14. The introduction is enclosed in an ornate box, drawn in dark brown ink and enhanced with red, gold and green colors. The text is written in a single column.⁷ It and the sides of the box fill the area from the inner margin to the outer margin of the leaf. Translation: “Since these discourses and precepts are on

⁵ See EMMEL, *Corpus* (cit. n. 3), pp. 112–114.

⁶ Ed. É. AMÉLINEAU, *Oeuvres de Shenoudi: Texte copte et traduction française*, II, Paris 1907–1914, p. 533.1.

⁷ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Oeuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, p. 533.2–9.

my mind and I have been concerned to give them permanency before I go on a journey,⁸ since I had written them on tablets when we came to these places,⁹ we copied them to these papyri during all those stressful days before Lent, and the great troubles and all the many tearful griefs which befell me¹⁰ at the hands of pagans and perpetrators of violence and the one who incites them against us, Satan, were unable to keep us from doing everything we wished”.

Paris 130⁴ folio 131, *recto*: i.1–13. – *Codex XL*, pagination wanting but falling between 303 and 332. As in codex DF, the text is written in one column¹¹ (but without an ornate box), followed by two lines of dots and dashes.

FRAGMENT 1

Clarendon Press *b* 4, folio 21. – *Codex DF* 1: i.15–2: ii.ult.¹² Incipit: ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ ΜΑΥΔΑΔ; ΠΕΤΜΕ ΝΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΜΜΕ: ΔΔΝ ΝΑΖΙΟC ΕΜΟΟΨΕ ΖΝΟΥΜΕ ΜΠΕΚΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ. DF 1: i.15–22 “(You, O) God, who alone are true, who love deeds in accord with truth, make us worthy to conduct ourselves truthfully before you”.

Paris 130⁴ folio 131. – *Codex XL*, pagination wanting but falling between 303 and 332. The *lacuna* after folio 131 is about two pages. The text¹³ is parallel to that seen in DF 1–2, and it goes beyond the end of DF 2 as shown in the following excerpt: ΕΡΩΔΑΠΕΤΜΟΟΝΕ ΝΖΕΝCYNΔΓΩΓΗ ΝΧΔΟC ΝΤΕΙC ΔΝΑΓΚΑΖΕ ΝΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΡΖΕΝΒΗΥΕ ΜΠΒΟΛ ΜΠΩΙ ΜΜΕ CΕΝΑΡΝΟΒΕ ΠΑΝΤΩC ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΝΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕΨΩΜΕ ΕΙΝΕ ΔΝ ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΖΜΠΖΟ ΝCΕΕ[Ι]ΝΕ ΔΝ ΟΝ ΝΝΕΥ[ΕΡΗΥ ΖΝ]ΤΜΝΤ [10.7 lines wanting] XL p.?, *verso*: ii.11–24 “If they who shepherd

⁸ This is perhaps a reference to his trip to the Council at Ephesus in 431. However, in an unplaced leaf from codex DF the abbot says, “We did not see all those who had come to Ephesus with complaints against them” (Paris 131⁷ folio 45, *verso*: i.8–11). This points to at least one work being added to Canon 9 after his return from the great Council.

⁹ With the lexeme τὸπος Shenute refers to sites dedicated to the use of members of the monastic communities at the edge of the Nile Valley about ten kilometers west of the modern town of Sohag, two for males being situated not far apart in the low desert and one for females lying in a village. In other words, the Greek loan signifies here a place of man’s worship of God, thought of spiritually.

¹⁰ Lit., “this miserable man”.

¹¹ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Oeuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, p. 533.2–9.

¹² Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Cœuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 534.1–535.7.

¹³ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Cœuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 534.1–535.9.

congregations of Jesus' people force persons to do things beyond the prescribed amount, they will surely sin, because just as people are not like one another in the face, they are also not like {one another in . . .}ness".

FRAGMENT 2

Paris 130³ folio 1. – *Codex* BV 5–6. The *lacuna* after BV 6 is about eight pages. Excerpt: ΠΕΤΧΟ ΘΝΟΥΤΣΟ ΠΕ ΠΕΩΔΦΡΠΕΦΖΩΒ ΨΑΠΝΔΥ ΝΤΟΥΩ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΖΩC ΘΜΖΔΛ ΝΧΔΙΒΕΚΕ ΠΕΤΧΟ ΘΝΟΥCΜΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΕΤΡΖΩΒ ΖΩ[С] ΨΗΡΕ ΕΜΝΝΔΥ ΕΜΝΕΟΟΥ ΕΜΝΩ[1]ΠΕ ΕΧΩΦ BV 6: ii.19–28 “He who sows sparingly is the one who does his work only until quitting time like a hireling. He who sows bountifully is the one who toils as a son, without notice, praise and shame (put) upon him”.

FRAGMENT 3

P. Vindob. K 9345. – *Codex* DF 15–16. Excerpt: ΔΛΛΑ ΟΥΝΤΑΥ ΤΜΕ ΜΜΔΥ ΧΕ-ΕΝCΜΙΝΕ ΝΝΔΙ ΡΩ ΕΤΒΕΡΤΜΕ ΧΕΝΝΕΟΥΔ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕΕΦΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΕΝΝΟC ΝΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΦΧΙCΘΛ Η ΕΦΡΚΡΟΥ ΘΜΠΕΤΦΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕΚΕΟΥΔ ΟΥΩΜ ΝΦCΩ ΝΧΙΟΥΕ Η ΝΦΡΑΝΔΩ ΝΝΟΥΧ DF 15: i.1–13 “But they have the truth, because it's indeed for adhering to the truth that we establish them, lest one think of himself that it's when he lies or deceives in what he is doing, and another eats and drinks secretly or swears falsely, that he does great deeds”.

Paris 130² folios 26–27. – *Codex* XK 19–22, pagination restored.¹⁴ The text of DF 15: i.28–16: ii.ult. is parallel to XK 19: i.1–21: i.6. The *lacuna* after XK 22 is less than a page.

FRAGMENT 4

BN 129¹² folio 10. – *Codex* DF 19–20. At the end of one column on both *recto* and *verso* there is a *lacuna* of about eight lines, viz., DF 19: i.24–31 and 20: ii.24–31. A *lacuna* of two pages follows DF 20. Excerpt: ΔΥΩ ΕΩΧΕΜ-

¹⁴ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 505.1–509.2.

ἡλδδγ ἡρωμε χενῆγοεωπεεῖμτον δαν' μαρε πογδ πογδ ἡτοογῆ· ῥπεφογωω δγω
 ρενογ νε νετρεχρωχ ἡρητῆ· ρερρωμε ἡτοογ δαν νε· DF 19: ii.4–13 “And if no
 one wishes to take his rest, let each then do as he wishes. And what are
 those of us who are worn out? Are they *too* not human?”¹⁵

FRAGMENT 5

CUL 1699 E, *recto*. – *Codex* XL 342: i.4–16. Being the final portion of an
 excerpt in a volume of excerpts, this passage has an uncertain position in
 the Canon between Fragments 1 and 6. Other excerpts in this folio figure
 in Fragment 6 below. Text: [lines 1–3 wanting] cecm[7 or 8 letters uncer-
 tain] νεγποδλε ἡσεσμῆτογ ἡπετατε· δλλδ εγναπαετῆ ἡπογδ πογδ ἡεε ἡτα-
 πρωμε ἡπογοοτε ἡτῆ καν εογωρε ωημ πε ἡῶγωερε ωημ· μαλιστα ογνοδ
 ἡρωμε ἡῶγνοδ ἡεγμε· “[...] his *pocle*–vegetables (?) are [...], and they are
 set aside for him who asks, but it should be cooked for each just as the
 green grocer has brought it, even if the person is a boy novice or a girl
 novice, let alone an adult man or woman”. The *lacuna* thereafter is of
 uncertain length.

FRAGMENT 6

Paris 130³ folio 3. – *Codex* BV 31–32. Excerpt: νεσνη ετρηπῆμε ἡεε ετογс-
 οβτε ἡρηο nim δγ ογωλογ δαν ον πε ετρεγωιηε ἡεδογκογῆ ἡρηῆ ἡπετῆχρια·
 πογδ πογδ ἡνετογρη ρῆνεიცναδωγῆ ἡογοειω nim εγνακαNEYρoITE ριωογ ωαν-
 τογρITE ἡῆνεγρηω· BV 31: i.18–29 “Just as the sisters in the village prepare
 everything for themselves, it is also no disgrace for them to ask for a lit-
 tle wine for one who needs it. Each of those who abide in these commu-
 nities continually should wear their clothing and tunics until they are
 worn out”.

CUL 1699 E. – *Codex* XL 342: i 18–343: ii 23, with gaps affecting large-
 ly the lower part of the four columns. The internal *lacunae* are 342:

¹⁵ More than one interpretation of this nominal sentence is possible. I have taken it as
 on the whole interrogative and ἡτοογ as an inflected modifier for emphasis (see interroga-
 tive examples in B. LAYTON, *A Coptic Grammar*, Wiesbaden 2000, p. 121, § 154).

i.23–ii.1, 342: ii.19–ult., 343: i.19–ii.4, 343: ii.24–ult. Parallel texts: XL 342: i.18–23 and BV 31: i.18–21; XL 342: ii.1–18 and BV 31: ii.1–14; XL 343: i.1–18 and BV 31: ii.27–32: i.13; XL 343: ii.4–23 and BV 32: ii.2–12. Also, after the text of BV 32: ii.8, codex XL 343: ii.12–19 has additional text not present here in codex BV but which appears in another context in codex DF 183 (see Fragment 26 below),¹⁶ viz., ΕΝΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΧΕΕΝΤΩΡΠ̄ ΝΖΕΝΖΒΗΥΕ ΝCΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ ΕΝΤΩΡΠ̄ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΔΝ' ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥΤΩΡΠ̄ ΜΜΟΝ ΝΤΟQ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ'.

Paris 131⁵ folio 133. – *Codex YX*, pagination wanting. Parallel texts: *recto*: i. 10 up–1 up and BV 32: i.13–21; *recto*: ii.31 up–1 up and BV 32: i.24–ii.20; *verso*: i.27 up–23 up and BV 32: ii.27–31. The last twenty-two lines of the *verso*'s column one have additional text. Also, following a gap of more than twenty lines, letters are preserved at the beginning of the last twelve lines in column two of the *verso*. The *lacuna* after this folio is about six pages.

FRAGMENT 7

Berlin P. 1611, folio 5. – *Codex BV* 39–40. Excerpt: ΟΥΜΝΤΡΕQ†ΝΟΥΘC ΜΠΩΔ-ΧΕ ΜΠΕΤΧΟCΕ ΜΝΤΕQΜΕ ΠΕ †ΖΕΝΖΝΔΔΥ ΕΥΘΟΧB ΔΥΩ ΕΥΩΔΑΤ ΔΥΩ ΕΥΤCΤΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΝΧΙ ΔΕ ΖΩΩQ ΝΤΕΥΤΙΜΗ ΕCСОΠ ΔΥΩ ΕCΜΕΖ' ΟΥΔΑΓΘΟΝ ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΝΧΠΙΟΝ ΜΔΥΔΑΝ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΤΡΕΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΧΠΙΟΝ ΔΥΩ ΝCΕCΟΥΝ' BV 39: ii.11–23 “Selling inferior, lacking and rejected things is an incitement to wrath of the word of the Most High and his truth, but if it happens that we receive¹⁷ their price, it being a top and full price, it's better that we reprove ourselves than for others to reprove and despise us”.

Paris 131⁶ folio 87. – *Codex YX*, pagination wanting. This small fragment preserves on each side only the lower part of one of the two original columns. Writing appears in not more than sixteen or seventeen lines, some of which are incomplete. The text in column one of the *recto* is parallel to that in BV 40: i.3–16. Between the text of BV 40: ii.ult. and the fragmentary text in YX p.?, *verso*: ii.17 up–1 up, there is a gap of less than a page. A *lacuna* thereafter is about six pages.

¹⁶ Ed. J. LEIPOLDT, *Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia*, IV, CSCO 73, Paris 1913, pp. 102.20–103.1.

¹⁷ The conjunctive continues ΕCΩΔΝΩΩΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΝ†.

FRAGMENT 8

BL 3580B, folio 42. – *Codex* BV 47–48.¹⁸ The *lacuna* thereafter is about two pages. A large part of the text found in BV 48 appears much later in codex DF.¹⁹

FRAGMENT 9

BL 3581A, folio 69. – *Codex* DF 47–48, pagination restored.²⁰ There are *lacunae* of five to nine lines at the bottom of all columns and loss of many additional letters also in 47: ii and 48: i. Excerpt: οὐτε ἡνενετοϋ<η> ϑαϑθυ ἧ νὰϥ εβoλ ϑῆνεϣτο· οὐδορϑ̅ ραρ πε ἡνετναῖπαῖ· πετοϣναϣιτ̅ εροοϣ· εϣνατδ-
αϣ νὰϥ ϑῆνετϣοοπ ϑῆτδιακονῖα· δϣω εϣναϣινε ἡϣωοϣ εβoλ ϑιτῆπῖωτ ἡνειτο-
ποϣ· δϣω εβoλ ϑιτῆτμαδϣ ἡτϣναρϣη ετῆπῖτμε· DF 47: i.1–17 “Nor should those who dwell (?) with them give them from their portions. Indeed, it’s a snare for those who will do this. That which they are to receive should be given to them from what is in the ministry, and they should ask for them from the father of these places and from the mother of the community (of nuns) in town”.

Paris 130⁵ folio 41. – *Codex* DF 49–50.²¹ The *lacuna* thereafter is eight pages.²²

FRAGMENT 10

P. Vindob. K 9344. – *Codex* DF 59–60. Excerpt: ϑενρωμε εϣεῖνε ἡπϣϣε· ἡ τλϣπῆ εϣοϣν εροοϣ ἡϣναϣ ϣαϣπωωνε κατὰ καιροϣ· κατὰ ϣοοϣ κατὰ νὰϣ δϣω

¹⁸ Ed. W. CRUM, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1905, pp. 57–58 (= BM 169) with excerpts only, and LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 79.22–81.17, no. 64 *De vita monachorum* XI.

¹⁹ See DF 187–188, ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, p. 106: 7–13 (= p. 81: 7–12), p. 106: 14–19 (= p. 81: 1–6), and pp. 106: 20–107: 1 (= p. 81: 13–17); see Fragment 26 below.

²⁰ Ed. CRUM, *Catalogue* (cit. n. 18), pp. 83–84 (= BM 200); excerpts: DF 47: i.1–23 and 48: ii.1–6).

²¹ Ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 85.1–86.15, no. 66 *De vita monachorum* XIII.

²² Because of the pagination one might expect the material from BV 65–68 to follow this gap. However, this text is parallel to that of a much later part of codex DF, and accordingly it has been placed therewith (see Fragment 28 below).

ΜΕΓΕΨΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ· DF 60: ii.2–10 “As for people who with effort²³ engender in themselves mourning and grief, they change from season to season, from day to day, from time to time, and they cannot remain therein”. The text continues with ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ to link with that of YX 53 (see below).

Paris 130⁵ folio 69. – *Codex* DF 63–64. DF 63: i.15–30 and 64: ii.15–30 are almost completely wanting.

IF Copte folios 175–180. – *Codex* YX 53–64, pagination restored in part.²⁴ The text of YX 53: i.1–56: i.25 is parallel to that of DF 60: ii.11–64: ii.16, thereby eliminating the *lacunae* posed by the missing DF 61–62 and gaps within DF 63–64, after which codex YX fills much of the *lacuna* following DF 64. However, extensive damage has been suffered by YX 61–64. Only at the end of lines in YX 61: i and 62: ii are letters preserved. Most of the text is wanting in YX 63: i and 64: ii. The text of YX 63: ii.1–21 and 64: i.1–21 is extant, but few letters remain thereafter in both columns. The *lacuna* after YX 64 is about five pages.

FRAGMENT 11

P. Vindob. K 9343. – *Codex* DF 77–78. There is a *lacuna* of uncertain length thereafter. Excerpts: ΕΥΨΑΝΘΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΦΤ ΝΤΕΡΘΟΙΤΕ ΕΧΩΓ ΜΠΒΛ ΝΜΜΑ ΕΤ ΤΗΨ· ΕΙΤΕ ΓΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΤΩΘ ΝΖΗΤΩ· ΕΙΤΕ ΓΜΜΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΟΥΕΡΘΩΘ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΓΝΤCΥΝΔΓΩΓΗ ΤΗΡC· ΕΥΝΔΧΙΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕΝΤΩΨ· DF 77: i.12–25 “If a person is found attiring himself outside the prescribed places, either in the bakery or in any place where work is being done and throughout the community, he should be reproached according to our rules”; ΕΨΧΕΕΥΝΔΜΟΟΝΕ ΜΜΟΝ ΝΘΕ ΝΖΕΝΤΕΝΟΟΥΕ ΕΥΜΟΟΝΕ ΓΑΡ· ΕΝΕΜΜΟΝ ΝΕΝΝΑCΟΥΝΘΩΘ ΝΙΜ· ΔΥΩ ΝΕΝΝΑ-ΤΖΤΗΝ ΕΝΨΔΧΕ ΕΤΝΧΩ ΜΜΟΟΥ· DF 78: ii.14–23 “Since we should be herded like cattle, what they indeed do is herd (us). Otherwise, we would know everything,²⁵ and then we would give thought to the words we utter”.

²³ I.e., by pretence.

²⁴ Ed. É. AMÉLINEAU, “Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne”, *MMAF* 4, Paris 1888–1895, pp. 277–287, 480. The edition has many errors.

²⁵ I.e., knowledge should preclude the need for close oversight.

FRAGMENT 12

BL 3580B, folio 43. – *Codex BV* 91–92.²⁶ The *lacuna* thereafter is two pages.

FRAGMENT 13

P. Vindob. K 9762. – *Codex BV* 95–96. The *lacuna* thereafter is two pages. Excerpts: $\eta\tau\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon$ $\text{ON NE NETP}\zeta\omega\beta$ $\zeta\eta\mu\mu\alpha$ $\text{NOY}\omega\psi\bar{\mu}$ η $\eta\tau\omega\theta$ $\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\epsilon\iota$ $\delta\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\beta\omega\kappa$ $\zeta\eta\mu\pi\zeta\iota\mu$ $\mu\mu\alpha$ $\mu\mu\sigma\sigma\omega\epsilon$ $\gamma\alpha\rho$ $\text{NE } \delta\gamma\omega$ $\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\beta\omega\kappa$ $\delta\eta$ $\zeta\eta\mu\alpha\zeta\theta\gamma$ $\eta\eta\chi\theta$ $\mu\pi\eta\iota$ $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$ $\zeta\epsilon\eta\theta\beta$ $\eta\gamma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\eta\alpha\delta\delta\gamma$ $\mu\eta\eta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\rho\eta\gamma$. *BV* 95: i.2–12 “Thus too are they who work in the building for kneading and baking. They should come and go in the street, for streets are the places for walking. And they should not go behind the walls of the house except for tasks they should do with one another”; $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\pi\sigma\iota\text{NOY}\omega\mu$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\varsigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\text{ON}$ $\epsilon\psi\chi\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ $\eta\alpha\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\text{P}\eta\eta\sigma\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\eta\zeta\eta\tau\zeta$ $\epsilon\sigma\gamma\omega\mu$ $\eta\zeta\theta\sigma\gamma$ $\varsigma\eta\delta\gamma$ $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ $\delta\zeta\theta\text{ON}$ $\epsilon\eta\chi\iota\theta\sigma\lambda$ $\chi\epsilon\sigma\gamma\varsigma\text{ON}$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ $\mu\mu\sigma\zeta$ $\delta\zeta\theta\text{ON}$ $\tau\eta\eta\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma\epsilon$ $\delta\eta$ $\eta\varsigma\text{ON}$ $\varsigma\eta\delta\gamma$. *BV* 95: i.26–ii.6 “Regarding eating on Sundays, if we will cook to provide ourselves enough to eat for two days, then why do we lie that it’s once we are cooking? Why should we not cook twice?”

FRAGMENT 14

BL 3580B, folio 44. – *Codex BV* 99–100.²⁷ The *lacuna* thereafter is perhaps two pages.

FRAGMENT 15

CM inv. 2634/149. – *Codex DF* 97–98. Both pages have extensive *lacunae*. The lower half of *recto*: i and *verso*: ii is wanting. *Recto*: ii.1–3 and *verso*: i.1–3

²⁶ Ed. CRUM, *Catalogue* (cit. n. 18), p. 57–58 (= BM 169), excerpts only; LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 81.18–83.8, no. 65 *De vita monachorum XII*.

²⁷ Ed. CRUM, *Catalogue* (cit. n. 18), pp. 57–58 (= BM 169), excerpts only; LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 83.9–84.28, no. 65 *De vita monachorum XII*.

have been lost, and much of the writing in the other lines of both columns is also missing. The *lacuna* following this folio is less than four pages.

FRAGMENT 16

Naples I. B. 7, folios 45–46. – *Codex* FM 91–92 and 93–94 (the latter is inscribed as 95–96).²⁸

Naples I. B. 7, folios 33–35. – *Codex* DF 103–108.²⁹ The text of DF 103: i.1–107: i.18 is parallel to that of FM 91: i.17–96: ii.ult.

Paris 130³ folio 5. – *Codex* BV 111–112. The text³⁰ is parallel to that of DF 106: i.19–108: ii.23.

BN 129¹² folio 3. – *Codex* BV 113–114.³¹ The text of BV 113: i.1–5 is parallel to that of DF 108: ii.24–ult. The *lacuna* after BV 114 is less than 3 pages.

FRAGMENT 17

Leiden 103, 1 + IF Copte folio 240 (originally one leaf). – *Codex* DF 113–114.³² The length of the *lacuna* thereafter is about three pages.

FRAGMENT 18

Naples I. B. 2, folios 24–25. – *Codex* BV, pagination wanting.³³

²⁸ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 198.1–202.2 and a photograph of p. 96 (sic) on plate XI; LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 86.16–90.20, no. 67 *De vita monachorum* XIV (codex B).

²⁹ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 197.1–204.2; LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 86.22–92.8, no. 67 *De vita monachorum* XIV (codex A).

³⁰ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 200.11–204.1; LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 90.1–92.6, no. 67 *De vita monachorum* XIV (codex C).

³¹ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 347.1–350.9.

³² Ed. (the Leiden fragment only) W. PLEYTE & P. BOESER, *Manuscripts coptes du musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, Leiden 1897, pp. 298–301 (Insinger no. 58, folio 1) and LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 92.9–93.19, no. 68 *De vita monachorum* XV.

³³ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 11.3–14.14, 321.

BL 3581A, folio 191 (bottom). – *Codex* XK, pagination wanting but possibly 133–134. The text³⁴ is parallel in large part to that in Naples I. B. 2, folio 24 from *codex* BV.³⁵ Excerpt: ἀγα ἡ[τ]ερεφθω ἀφωδξε ἡδιπαγλως μν-
βαρνα[β]αc· ἀγα μῆνca[τ]ρεγκαρωου ἀφογωδῃ ἡδιακωβοc· Verso: i.13–19
(with a few letters taken from *codex* BV) “And when Peter stopped (talk-
ing), Paul and Barnabas spoke, and after they fell silent, James responded”.

Paris 132² folio 77. – *Codex* XK, a badly damaged leaf with pagination wanting but possibly 137–138. *Recto*: i and *verso*: ii have only the lower two-thirds of the text remaining but with letters missing in some lines. Not more than the upper two-thirds remain in *recto*: ii and *verso*: i. The text of *recto*: i.20 up–ii.21 is parallel to most of that seen in Naples I. B. 2, folio 25, *verso*.³⁶

Naples I. B. 7, folio 47. – *Codex* FM 109–110. The text is only partly preserved, with a gap on both *recto* and *verso*.³⁷ FM 109: i.1f. is parallel to some of the text in Naples I. B. 2, folio 25, *verso*, making a third witness to the passage.³⁸ Following the end of the leaf from *codex* BV there is a break before the text is resumed in FM 109 and the folio from *codex* XK, Paris 132² folio 77, *verso*: i.1–22. The first part of FM 110 is parallel to what remains of the second column of the latter. After the text breaks off in FM 110 there is a *lacuna* of about two pages.

FRAGMENT 19

Naples I. B. 7, folio 48. – *Codex* FM 113–114.³⁹ The *lacuna* thereafter is about two pages.

³⁴ Ed. CRUM, *Catalogue* (cit. n. 18), pp. 411–12 (BM 992; excerpts: *recto*: i.1–ii.30; *verso*: i.2–12).

³⁵ See AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), I, pp. 11.8–12.15.

³⁶ See AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), I, p. 14.5–13.

³⁷ Ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 111.12–112.15, no. 72 *De vita monachorum* XIX.

³⁸ Cf. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, p. 111.12–17 with AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), I, p. 14.7–10.

³⁹ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 225.3–227.10, 551; LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 112.16–114.5, no. 73 *De vita monachorum* XX”.

FRAGMENT 20

Naples I. B. 7, folio 36. – *Codex* DF 129–130.⁴⁰

Paris 130² folios 103–104. – *Codex* XK 147–150. There is a *lacuna* after XK 150 of twelve pages. The text of XK 147: i.1–148: i.29 is parallel to that of DF 129: ii.12–130: ii.ult. Excerpt: ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟⲩⲓⲱⲃ ⲉⲭⲙⲡⲉⲗⲁⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲫⲁⲛⲉⲣⲱⲛ ⲭⲉⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣⲟⲩⲓⲱⲃ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲱⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩⲱ ⲱⲁⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲡⲉⲧⲥⲟⲃⲕ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲱⲁⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲕⲛⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲱ ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲛⲛⲧⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲓⲱ ⲛⲛⲁⲭⲛⲟⲩⲧⲛ ⲁⲛⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲥⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲁⲛⲱ XK 148: i.29–ii.16 “Do nothing without (the permission of) the Senior Monk. I now say plainly that as for those who will do a single deed which I have not bid them (to do), including that to which there is nothing more trivial and including that of which you may think it is not worth asking about before you do it, for my part I will not ask you nor will you write (to me)”.

FRAGMENT 21

Leiden 103, 2 + Paris 130⁵ 107 (originally one leaf). – *Codex* DF 145–146. There is a *lacuna* thereafter of five pages. The piece in Leiden has been lost.⁴¹

FRAGMENT 22

P. Vindob. K 9099. – *Codex* YZ 213–214.⁴² There is a *lacuna* thereafter of six pages.

⁴⁰ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 204.4–206.4 and a photograph of DF 129 on plate X; LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 93.20–95.5, no. 69 *De vita monachorum* XVI.

⁴¹ Ed. (both pieces) LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 95: 6–96: 18, no. 70 *De vita monachorum* XVII, and (the Leiden fragment only) PLEYTE and BOESER, *Manuscripts coptes* (cit. n. 32), pp. 301–2 (= Insinger no. 58, folio 2).

⁴² Ed. YOUNG, “Two Leaves” (cit. n. 2), pp. 285–93 + two photographs. See also D. YOUNG, “The Relation of the Folio K 9099 in the Austrian National Library to Other Fragments”, *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies* II, Rome 1993, pp. 531–34.

FRAGMENT 23

Paris 130² folio 123. – *Codex YZ* 221–222.⁴³ Some five or six lines are wanting at the end of each column. There is a *lacuna* thereafter of about two pages.

FRAGMENT 24

P. Vindob. K 9040. – *Codex XK* 181–182.⁴⁴ There is a *lacuna* thereafter of four pages.

FRAGMENT 25

P. Vindob. K 9210. – *Codex XK* 187–188.⁴⁵ The final eight lines of XK 187: ii and 188: i are almost completely missing. There is a *lacuna* of four pages following this folio.

FRAGMENT 26

Paris 130² folios 28–31. – *Codex XK* 193–200.⁴⁶

Paris 130² folio 122. – *Codex XK* 201–202.⁴⁷

Clarendon Press *b* 4, folio 61.⁴⁸ – *Codex YZ* 239–240. The text of YZ 239: ii.17–240: ii.ult. is parallel to that of XK 193: i.1–193: ii.26.

Paris 130⁴ folio 106. – *Codex DF* 175–176. The text⁴⁹ is parallel to XK 197: ii.9–199: ii.18.

⁴³ Ed. YOUNG, “Two Leaves” (cit. n. 2), pp. 293–301 + two photographs.

⁴⁴ Ed. YOUNG, “Coptic Manuscripts” (cit. n. 1), pp. 23–25 (no. 1), plate 1.

⁴⁵ Ed. C. WESSELY, “Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts I”, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde* 9, Leipzig 1909, p. 154, no. 44.

⁴⁶ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 509.11–517.6.

⁴⁷ Ed. E. LUCCHESI, “Deux feuillets coptes inédits de Shenouté”, *Muséon* 91 (1978), pp. 171–78.

⁴⁸ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 509.3–510.10.

⁴⁹ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 514.1–516.4; LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 96.19–97.29, no. 71 *De vita monachorum* XVIII (codex A).

BL 3581A, folio 70. – *Codex DF* 177–178. The text⁵⁰ is parallel to XK 199: ii.22–202: i.1.

Naples I. B. 7, folios 37–42. – *Codex DF* 179–190⁵¹. The text of DF 179: i.1–ii.21 is parallel to that of XK 202: i.2–202: ii.ult.

Clarendon Press *b* 4, folio 62. – *Codex YZ* 249–250. The text,⁵² with short breaks, is parallel to that of XK 200: ii.11–202: i.18.

Paris 129¹² folios 12 and 1. – *Codex FM* 161–164. The text⁵³ is parallel to that of DF 180: ii.11–185: ii.2.

Paris 130⁴ folio 160, *verso*. – *Codex XL* 365: ii.5–ult. The text,⁵⁴ the beginning of an excerpt, is parallel to that of DF 176: ii.28–177: i.28.

Paris 131⁸ folio 134. – *Codex XL* 366–367, pagination restored. Preserved fragmentarily are parts of XL 366: ii and 367: i and nothing more. A continuation of the excerpt begun in XL 365: ii.5–ult., the text is parallel to portions of that seen in DF 177: i.29–179: ii.15.

P. Vindob. K 9598. – *Codex XL* 368–369. The leaf has the final lines of one excerpt and the first part of another. The text of XL 368: i.1–17 is parallel to that of DF 179: ii.16–180: i.3. The text of XL 368: i.18–369: ii.ult. is parallel to that of DF 180: ii.17–182: ii.18.

BL 3580B, folio 42 *verso*. – *Codex BV* 48: i.29–ii.ult. The text is parallel, but in a different order, to that of DF 187: ii.1–188: i.20. The same manuscript appears as Fragment 8 above.

Michigan 158, folio 18 c/d. – *Codex ZA* 223–224.⁵⁵ The text of ZA 223: i.1–224: i.2 is parallel to that of DF 190: i.3–ii.ult. There is a *lacuna* after ZA 224 of less than two pages.

⁵⁰ Ed. CRUM, *Catalogue* (cit. n. 18), pp. 83–84 (= BM 200), excerpts only; LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 98.1–99.12, no. 71 *De vita monachorum* XVIII (codex A).

⁵¹ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 206.5–219.6; LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 99.12–108.23, no. 71 *De vita monachorum* XVIII (codex A).

⁵² Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 517.2–518.10.

⁵³ Ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 100.13–104.22, no. 71 *De vita monachorum* XVIII (codex C) and AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 210.8–213.9 (folio 1 only).

⁵⁴ Ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 97.29–98.10, no. 71 *De vita monachorum* XVIII (codex B).

⁵⁵ Ed. YOUNG, “Coptic Manuscripts” (cit. n. 1), pp. 48–50, 56–57 (no. 8), plate 12.

FRAGMENT 27

Naples I. B. 7, folio 43. – *Codex* DF 193–194.⁵⁶

Paris 129¹² folio 2. – *Codex* FM 173–174.⁵⁷ A *lacuna* thereafter is less than a page. The text of FM 173: i.1–ii.18 is parallel to that of DF 193: ii.30–194: ii.ult.

FRAGMENT 28

Michigan 158, folio 16 c/d. – *Codex* YZ 273–274, pagination restored.⁵⁸ Short internal *lacunae* exist in 273: ii.13–16 and 274: i.11–17. There are only a few letters of the text wanting between the end of YZ 274 and the first words of FM 177. A join with restoration yields the following excerpt: οὐδε ἄλλος [Δ]Ν ἄλλοιων[1Δ μῆνεγερῆς (?)] οὐδε ἄλλος ἀν ἄλλοι μῆνεγερῆς μαγδα-
 Δα “They are neither in fellow[ship with one another (?)], nor are they like him who lives alone”.

Paris 130³ folios 22–27. – *Codex* FM 177: i.1–187: ii.25.⁵⁹ *Codex* FM omits thereafter text appearing in codexes BV, DF and XK; see P. Vindob. K 9223, Strasbourg 25 and the Bodleian Library’s leaf, Copt. d. 242(P), which are listed below. For the text presented by FM 187:ii.26–192: ii.ult., see Fragment 29 below.

Michigan 158, folio 18 a/b. – *Codex* ZA 233–234. The text⁶⁰ is parallel to that of FM 177: ii.3–179: i.7.

Michigan 158, folio 16 a/b. – *Codex* YZ 279–280. The text⁶¹ is parallel to that of FM 179: ii.14–181: i.7.

⁵⁶ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 219.7–221.11, 551; LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 108.24–110.10, no. 71 *De vita monachorum* XVIII (codex A).

⁵⁷ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 220.6–223.2; LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 109.15–111.11, no. 71 *De vita monachorum* XVIII (codex C).

⁵⁸ Ed. YOUNG, “Coptic Manuscripts” (cit. n. 1), pp. 52–54, 57 (no. 9), plate 14.

⁵⁹ Ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 153.5–162.9, no. 77 “De vita monachorum XXIV” (codex C).

⁶⁰ Ed. YOUNG, “Coptic Manuscripts” (cit. n. 1), pp. 50–52, 57–58 (no. 8), plate 13.

⁶¹ Ed. YOUNG, “Coptic Manuscripts” (cit. n. 1), pp. 54–56, 58–59 (no. 9), plate 15.

Paris 130³ folio 4. – *Codex* BV 65–66. The text⁶² is parallel to that of FM 184: ii.21–186: ii.5. See also the comment under Fragment 9, n. 21 above.

Paris 130⁴ folio 151, *recto*. – *Codex* XL 384: i.1–18. The text,⁶³ the last part of an excerpt, is parallel to that of FM 185: ii.21–186: i.4.

P. Vindob. K 9223. – *Codex* BV 67–68.⁶⁴ The text of BV 67: i.1–68: i.17 is parallel to that of FM 186: ii.6–187: ii.25.

Strasbourg 25. – *Codex* DF, two fragments of a folio,⁶⁵ pagination wanting but probably circa 211–212. Lacunae: *recto*: i.1–ult.; ii.1–3; *verso*: ii.1–ult. *Recto*: ii.4–17 is parallel to part of the text following BV 68: i.17.

Copt. d. 242(P). – *Codex* XK 237–238, pagination restored as if this folio in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University is the first leaf in quire sixteen (yet uncertain). There is a *lacuna* after XK 238 of uncertain length. The text of 237: i.1–2 is parallel to that of Strasbourg 25, *verso*: i.29–30. The text of 237: i.1–8 is parallel to that of BV 68: ii.24–30. Much of the content pertains to oversight and treatment of novices.⁶⁶ Excerpt: ϣηϣωπ ἡ-
νεκρομπε μῆνοϣοϣ δϣω τῶσιν ἡπεκρητ ἡῃταπωοϣ XK 237: ii.11–16 (line num-
bers uncertain) “Take into account your years and theirs, and the strength
of your will and that of theirs”.

FRAGMENT 29

Paris 130³ folios 27–29. – *Codex* FM 187: ii.26–192: ii.ult.⁶⁷

Paris 130⁴ folios 151–152. – *Codex* XL 384: i.19–387: i.2, with a text consisting of four complete excerpts,⁶⁸ viz., 384: i.19–385: i.20, 385: i.22–ii.3,

⁶² Ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 159.4–161.7, no. 77 *De vita monachorum* XXIV (codex A).

⁶³ Ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, p. 160.11–18, no. 77 *De vita monachorum* XXIV (codex B).

⁶⁴ Ed. YOUNG, “Coptic Manuscripts” (cit. n. 1), pp. 59–62, 64–65 (no. 10), plate 16.

⁶⁵ Ed. YOUNG, “Coptic Manuscripts” (cit. n. 1), pp. 62–65 (no. 11), plate 17.

⁶⁶ Words in a similar vein appear in DF 187, ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 105.27–106.6.

⁶⁷ Ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 162.10–167.1, no. 77 *De vita monachorum* XXIV (codex C).

⁶⁸ Ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 162.10–163.10, 164.16–20, 165.18–166.1, 166.26–167.19, no. 77 *De vita monachorum* XXIV (codex B).

385: ii.5–386: i.1, and 386: i.2–387: i.2. All are parallel to passages in codex FM, with the last excerpt extending the text of FM 192. The *lacuna* after XL 387: i.2 is of uncertain length.

FRAGMENT 30

Paris 130⁴ folio 152. – *Codex* XL 387: i.4–26. The text⁶⁹ is preceded by τοῦ αὐτοῦ “By the same author”. It is a complete excerpt.

P. Vindob. K 934. – *Codex* DF 221–222. A *lacuna* thereafter is of uncertain length. The text of DF 221: i.1–16 is parallel to that of XL 387: i.11–26. Excerpt: ἀὖω οὐμνῖτ<α>θῆτ τε· ἐρῳἀνπῳωσ ῥοος ῥεεῖνἀμοονε ἡνεσοοῦ ῥῆ νεῖνἀδῦ ἡῖῥῳβ ἡπογοεῖ· ἡ ἡτοῦ ἡτεπογοεῖ καῖτηῖ εἰρεῖῖπεῖῖῥῳβ ῥῆνεῖνἀδῦ μμοονε ἡπῳωσ· DF 222: i.15–25 “And it’s a foolish thing if the shepherd says, ‘I should tend the sheep with the tools for doing the work of the peasant’, or if the peasant is confident that he may do his work with the shepherd’s tools for tending (a flock)”.

FRAGMENT 31

Paris 130⁴ folios 152–154. – *Codex* XL 387: i.28–390: i.7. This is an excerpt,⁷⁰ after which there is a *lacuna* of uncertain length in Canon 9. The text is headed by τοῦ αὐτοῦ “By the same author”. Incipit: ἐπειδὴ ἀπεῖτῳ θε βωκ ἐχῖμπεκῖτ πῖῥλο ῥεεῳῥεε τε τὰῖ καὰτ τὰτρενεσνῆῖ ῥοῦἀνἀῳ νὰῖ εἰτε ῥο-οῦτ· εἰτε ῥῖμε εἰτῖῖῥἀδῦ ἡπεθοοῦ· XL 387: i.28–ii.6 “Then since this matter weighs upon your heart, O Senior Monk, that if this is the way, let me have the brethren, whether man or woman, vow these (words) not to do any wicked deed”.

Fragments 31–33 appear to be from one and the same work. While their position in Canon 9 is a bit uncertain, the subject matter seems incompatible with that of Fragment 34.

⁶⁹ Ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, p. 167.21–27, no. 77 *De vita monachorum* XXIV (codex B).

⁷⁰ Ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), III, CSCO 42, Paris 1908, pp. 16.11–18.11, no. 6 *Ad senem quendam: de votis monasticis*.

FRAGMENT 32

Paris 130⁴ folios 154–155. – *Codex* XL 390: i.9–393: i.32. This excerpt⁷¹ may be part of the work begun in Fragment 31. After it there is a *lacuna* of uncertain length in Canon 9. The text is headed by τοῦ αὐτοῦ “By the same author”. XL 392: ii.21 bears the heading ΤΑΙΔΘΗΚΗ “The Covenant/Oath”, the text of which occupies 392: ii.22–393: i.23.

FRAGMENT 33

Paris 130⁴ folio 155. – *Codex* XL 393: ii.1–29. This is an excerpt⁷² that may well conclude the work which began in XL 387: i.28. The text is headed by τοῦ αὐτοῦ “By the same author”. Ending: ἀρπήμεεγε ἡνενταῖχοογ νὰκ ἡπεῖρεπογῳδὰξε ἡογῳτ εροκ θῆνετῡμδγ τηρογ· δγῳ κνὰ†ῡτον ἡπεκῡῡνὰ· XL 393: ii.21–29 “Remember what I have said to you, not having hidden from you a single word of all these things, and you will find rest for your spirit”. The *lacuna* thereafter is of uncertain length.

FRAGMENT 34

P. Vindob. K 9750. – *Codex* DF 241–242. There is a *lacuna* of eighteen pages after DF 242. Excerpts εῳχεδογρδῳε ῳῳπε ἡπαῖ ἡογκογῡ· χεογῡθδδ ἡμελος θῡπςῳμαδ τῡβο εβολ θῡπλῳαμε ἡπειῳωνε· θιτῡπαῳδαῖ ἡπροογῳ ἡπε-τῡπαθρε εροογ· γλγπει δε οἡ ἡθρογ χεδνκεμελος ετπρεῖδῳογ· η ετογδδβ κμομ· η δγλῳαμε θῡπεινε ἡπειῳωνε· DF 241: i.13–29 “To be sure, joy has come to this person⁷³ a little because many parts in the body are free of the filth of this illness through the great care of him who heals them. But he also grieves greatly because the other members that were bright and

⁷¹ Ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), III, pp. 18.13–20.22, no. 6 *Ad senem quandam: de votis monasticis*.

⁷² Ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), III, pp. 20.24–21.4, no. 6 *Ad senem quandam: de votis monasticis*.

⁷³ I. e., Shenute. He speaks metaphorically regarding the decline of spirituality within the monastic community.

clean have become dark and filthy in the semblance of this malady”; **Η ΟΥΔΑΝΟΜΙΑ ΨΗΜ ΤΕ ΝΤΑΖΟΪΝΕ ΖΡΔΙ ΝΖΗΤΝ ΔΔΣ· ΕΤΡΕΥΠΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΤΣΥΝΔΓΩΓΗ· ΕΥΔΡΝΑ ΝΤΕΥΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ· ΕΤΒΕΟΥΤΩΨ ΕΥΤΖΟΤΟΡ ΕΡΟΝ ΝΖΗΤῚ ΕΤΜῚΡΝΟΒΕ· ΤΕΤῚΝΔΥ ΧΕ· ΟΥΝΟΘ ΤΕ ΤΚΔΚΙΑ ΜΠΟΥΧΟΟΣ ΧΕῚΝΔΒΩΚ ΖΜΠΕΪΜΔ· ΧΕΣΕΤΖΟΤΟΡ ΕΡΟΝ ΕῚΡΝΟΒΕ·** DF 242: ii.6-21 “Is it a trivial iniquity that some of us have done, to flee from the community denying their steadfastness because of a rule by which we are being constrained not to sin? You see that this wickedness is great when they did not say, ‘We should go hence because we are being constrained to sin’”.

FRAGMENT 35

Paris 130⁴ folio 95. – *Codex* DF 261–262, pagination restored.

CM 3740 (= C. G. 8007), folio *a*. – *Codex* DF 263–264.⁷⁴ Excerpt: **ΝΕΤῚΝΖΗΤΗΥ Η ΕΤΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕΕΙΣΟΥΗΡ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΧΙΝΤΑΝΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕCННΥ ΕΤ· ΖΜΠῚΤΜΕ· ΕΤΒΕΜΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ· ΕΝΤΑΥΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΔΔΥ ΟΝ ΖΡΔΙ ΝΖΗΤῚ ΜῚΝῚCΔΝΕΙΖΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΜΑΡΟΥΕΙΜΕ ΧΕῚΨΔΧΕ ΕΤCΗΖ ΜΠΕΙΧΩΩΜΕ CΗΖ ΝΔΝ ΧΙΝῚΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΤῚΜΔΥ· ΝΤΕΤῚ· CΟΟΥΝ ΔΝ ΘΕ· ΧΕΔΟΥΗΡ ῚΨῚΜΜΟ ΕΡΩΤῚ Η ΧΕΔΤΕΤῚΝΝΕCΟΥΗΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΙΝῚΜΠΕΟΥCΟ>ΕΙΨ ΕΤῚΜΔΥ·** DF 262: ii.21–263: i.13 “Those who reflect and remember how many years have passed since we excommunicated the sisters (cloistered) in the village for the wicked deeds they had dared to do among us too after all these commands, let them understand that the words written in this book were written for us starting from these years. You know not then how many have been alienated from you and how many you have excommunicated since that time”.

CM 3740 (= C. G. 8007), folio *b*. – *Codex* DF 265: i.1–ii.10, pagination restored.⁷⁵ Ending: **ΔΛΛΔ ΠΩΩΝῚ ΜΠΕΤΚΔC ΜΠΕΙΨΩΩΝΕ ΕΤΖΟΡΨ ΕΖΡΔΙ ΕΧΩC ΠΕΝΤΑCΤΡΕCΟΥC ΧΕΕΝΕΝΝΔΖΩΠ ΜΠΧΩΩΜΕ ΕΤῚΤΡΕΠΒΑΡΒΑΡΟC ΘῚΤῚ· Η ΝΤΟCΚΕΖ· ΝΔΔΥ· ΕΔΝΕΤῚΡΝΟΒΕ ΖΡΔΙ ΝΖΗΤῚ ΟΥΩΝ ΜΠΡΟ ΤΗΡῚ ΜΠΕΥῚ ΜΠΔΙΔΒΟΛΟC· ΕΤΡΕCΨΟ· ΛΟΥ· ΔΥΩ ΝῚΡΟΚΖΟΥ ΝῚΨῚΨΩΡΟΥ· ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΨΗΜ ΔΝ ΔΛΛΔ ΝCΕΙΝΕ ΕΖΡΔΙ ΝΝΕΥCῚΝΤΕ·** DF 265: i.21–ii.10 “Howbeit, it’s the crankiness from the pain of this mal-

⁷⁴ Ed. W. CRUM, *Coptic Monuments*, Cairo 1902, pp. 3–4; excerpts: DF 263: i.1–8; 264: ii.28–30.

⁷⁵ Ed. CRUM, *Monuments* (cit. n. 74), p. 4; excerpt: DF 265: ii.6–10.

Berlin P. 10515, *recto*. – *Codex BV*, the flesh side of a fragmentary leaf with pagination wanting. The text that has survived in the left column is parallel to that in DF 264: ii.3–24. The short passage that remains in the right column is parallel to that in DF 265: i.18–29. The end of the discourse is missing. It is noteworthy that the remnants of textual material on the *verso* are not from the work which begins in Fragment 36 below.

CM 3740 (= C. G. 8007), folio *b*. – *Codex* DF 265: ii.14–266: ii.ult., pagination restored.⁷⁷ The text is headed by $\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu\omicron\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ “By Sinouthios” between lines (two before and two after) of dots and dashes. Incipit: $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\mu\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon\ \omega\eta\mu\ \eta\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}\ \eta\delta\bar{\alpha}\ \gamma\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\tau\ \eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\mu\eta\tau\omega\delta\alpha\eta\zeta\eta\gamma\ \eta\varsigma\eta\eta\gamma\cdot\ \gamma\mu\pi\tau\bar{\rho}\chi\bar{\rho}\iota\alpha\ \eta\mu\omicron\gamma\cdot\ \tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta\ \gamma\alpha\theta\eta\ \mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}\cdot\ \chi\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \eta\alpha\gamma\mu\eta\eta\bar{\kappa}\alpha\tau\bar{\rho}\alpha\kappa\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\omicron\chi\cdot$ DF 265: ii.15–26 “So concerning the little building you constructed for me in the increase of your brotherly compassion when I needed it, I was aware before you built it what you would do to it after I left it”.

Paris 130⁴ folio 96. – *Codex* DF 267–268, pagination restored. There is a *lacuna* after DF 268 of eighteen pages. Excerpt: $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{c}}\overline{\text{o}}$ ջաՏԽԻԿՆ՝ ԵՎ-
 $\overline{\text{f}}\overline{\text{w}}\overline{\text{a}}\overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{q}}$ ջՆՆԵԳՋՕՕԻ՝ ՕԿԼԱԾԿ թԵ թՐԻՇԵ ՆՏԱԵԿՆՃԱԾԻ ԿԾԱՆԵԿՆՈԿՈՒ՝ ՆՆԱԾՐՄԹՐԻՇԵ
 $\overline{\text{n}}\overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{a}}\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\text{x}}\overline{\text{o}}\overline{\text{e}}\overline{\text{i}}\overline{\text{c}}$ ԿՐՈՒՅ ԵՒԵՆԵՈՅԽՃԻ՝ ՃԿՎ ՆԵՏՆԱՄՕՅ ԾՐՃԻ ջՆՆԵՅՆՈՅԵ ԿՆԱԾԱԿՕՕԻ՝
 DF 267: i.5–17 “For your part do not refrain from destroying the building
 during my lifetime. The labor/suffering you exerted until you finished

⁷⁶ The author refers to himself. He wrote in a similar vein at the beginning of the *Eighth Canon*, when he said, “I am distressed, I am in torment within, and my heart is in turmoil, for I have indeed become irritable (ἡγορώσαντ ἀιδώντ). Indeed, this illness has left me without strength, thanks to the severity of the pain”. The text from Paris 130⁴ folio 148 was quoted and translated by D. YOUNG, “Additional Fragments of Shenute’s Eighth Canon”, *APF* 44 (1998), p. 49.

⁷⁷ Ed. CRUM, *Monuments* (cit. n. 74), p. 4; excerpts: DF 265: ii.15–17; 266: ii.27–30.

building it compared to the suffering the Lord received for our salvation is a trifle. And as for those who will die in their sins, he will destroy them”.

FRAGMENT 37

BL 3581A, folio 71. – *Codex* DF 287–288.⁷⁸ More than half of the text is wanting in every column because of loss of the lower part of the leaf.

Paris 130⁴ folio 107. – *Codex* DF 289–290.⁷⁹ There is a *lacuna* after DF 290 of uncertain length.

FRAGMENT 38

Paris 130³ folios 7, 6, 8–12. – *Codex* BV 255–268, pagination restored in part. A *lacuna* of possibly less than a page follows BV 268. Excerpts: ΕΥΤΩΝ ΝΕCΘΟΥ ΕΜΝΤΟΥΩC ΜΜΑΥ· ΕΙCΝΕCΕΟ ΝΖΡΕ ΝΝΕΘΗΡΙΟΝ· ΕΥΤΩΝ ΝΨΘΟC ΕΜΝΕCΘΟΥ ΕΙCΝΕCΕΟ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΧΗΡΑ· BV 258: i.4–9 “Where are sheep when they have no shepherd? They would be food for beasts. Where are shepherds without sheep? They would be like a widow”; ΕΚΨΑΝΟΥΩΨ ΜΜΝΠΕΤΚ· ΩΧΥ ΕΤΡΕΚΤΟΥΧΟΙ ΕΝΕΓΕΛΘΟΥΕ ΕΤΨΩΡ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ Η ΕΤΨΩΠ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΖΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΝΖΕΝCΝΗΥ ΝΝΟΥΧ· ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΑΥΔΑΚ· ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕΟΥΝΚΑΚΙΑ ΖΜΠΖΗΤ ΝΖΕΝΩΗΡΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΥΕΙΩΤ ΕΓΖΜΠΕΓΤΟΠ ΧΙΝΕΥCΟΒΚ ΨΑΝΕΖΟΥΥ ΝΝΕΥCΚΙΜ· BV 258: ii.17–259: i.2 “If you (O God) wish, there is none except you who precludes you from saving me from Satan’s snares, which he spreads and hides in the souls of false brethren. Who would think there is wickedness in the hearts of children toward a father, they being on his lap since they were small unto the days of his grey hairs”?⁸⁰ ΟΥΖΟΥΕΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΨ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΠΕ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΨΤΑΙΟ ΝΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ ΖΜΠΨΔΧΕ ΔΥΩ ΕΨΤΠ ΕΝΕΥΘΙΧ ΜΝΝΕΥΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΖΩC ΕΨ· ΝΑΛΟΧΖΟΥ ΖΜΠΕΨΔC· ΕΡΕΖΕΝΠΕΘΟΥ ΖΜΠΕΨΖΗΤ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΕΨΔΡΝΑ ΜΜΟ·

⁷⁸ Ed. CRUM, *Catalogue* (cit. n. 18), pp. 83–84 (= BM 200); excerpt: DF 288: ii.3–14.

⁷⁹ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 518: 11–520: 14.

⁸⁰ Cf. codex YA 547: ii.17–21: ΔΥΩ ΜΝΝΕΥΩΗΡΕ . . . ΝΝΕΖΟΥΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΕΥΩΝΩ “They stayed with their children . . . all the days of their life”, ed. D. YOUNG, “Five Leaves from a Copy of Shenute’s Third Canon”, *Muséon* 113 (2000), pp. 274–81, 287.

οὐ BV 266: i.13–23 “But a much more wicked person is he who honors people through speech and who kisses their hands and feet, as though he would lick them with his tongue, while in his heart there are evil thoughts toward them and he is denying them”.

FRAGMENT 39

Leiden 124. – *Codex* DF 321–322, pagination and quire signature 21 restored in small part.⁸¹ There are short *lacunae* and dark stains within the fragment. The *lacuna* after DF 322 is about five pages. Excerpt: $\bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon\ \rho\alpha\rho\ \epsilon\tau\tau\bar{\iota}\text{co}\ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\bar{\iota}\text{c}\ \epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\bar{\iota}\text{c}\ [\text{o}]\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\eta}\tau\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\text{co}\ \delta\bar{\eta}\ \text{DF 322: ii.28–30}$ “For just as I suffer loss on account of Jesus, on account of Jesus too I shall not suffer loss”.

FRAGMENT 40

Naples I. B. 2, folio 20. – *Codex* BV 277–278: ii.16.⁸² Ending: $\tau\text{co}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\tau\bar{\eta}\ \epsilon\tau\text{ρε}\tau\bar{\eta}\text{q}\bar{\iota}\pi\text{p}\text{oo}\gamma\bar{\omega}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\text{ep}\eta\gamma\ \gamma\bar{\eta}\gamma\bar{\omega}\bar{\beta}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}\ \epsilon\tau\text{p}\text{pe}\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\tau\text{o}\gamma\text{kb}\bar{o}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\gamma\eta\tau\ \text{o}\gamma\chi\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\omega}\lambda\eta\lambda\ \epsilon\chi\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}$ BV 278: ii.1–16 “I entreat you to take care of one another in every thing that is fitting that you may refresh my heart. Fare you well praying for me”.

FRAGMENT 41

Naples I. B. 2, folios 20–22. – *Codex* BV 278: ii.18–282: ii.28. The text⁸³ is headed by $\epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\text{o}\gamma\theta\bar{\iota}\text{o}\gamma$ “By Sinouthios”.

Paris 130⁴ folio 156. – *Codex* XL 394: i.27–395: ii.ult. Headed by $\tau\text{o}\gamma\ \delta\gamma\tau\text{o}\gamma$ “By the same author”, the text⁸⁴ is parallel to that of BV 278.ii.

⁸¹ Published as Insinger no. 79 without a translation by PLEYTE and BOESER, *Manuscripts coptes* (cit. n. 32), pp. 365–67. My collation of the parchment in Leiden on 30 August 2000 yielded many improvements in reading the text.

⁸² Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), I, pp. xliii (excerpt) and 1.1–3.10.

⁸³ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), I, pp. 3.12–8.7; LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), III, pp. 37.25–41.6, no. 16 *Magistratus quidam e monasterio pellitur* (codex A).

⁸⁴ Ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), III, pp. 37.25–39.8, no. 16 *Magistratus quidam e monasterio pellitur* (codex B).

18–280: ii.14. Incipit: θραϊ ᾠτευωη ἡτανπαίδευε ἡνεῖρωμε ἡατςβα ἡρητῶ ᾠπῆ ἡππουτε· εἰτοουε ἡπσουσις ἡπεβοτ ἡτωβε· XL 394: i.27–34 “On the night in which we taught these ignorant people in the house of God, at dawn on the ninth day of the month of Tōbe”. Ending: σεῖρογο εἰρογοῖ ἡἡμαγ ἡἡνεγρβηγε τηρογ· BV 282: ii.25–28 “They and all their deeds are utterly accursed with them”.

Paris 132³ folio 213, *recto*. – *Codex* XL 396, pagination restored.⁸⁵ The *verso* of this small piece is not inscribed. The very fragmentary text which remains is parallel to that of the published manuscript⁸⁶ with the text of BV 281: i.2–8.

FRAGMENT 42

Naples I. B. 2, folio 23. – *Codex* BV 283–284. The *lacuna* after BV 284 is perhaps as much as fifteen pages. The text⁸⁷ is headed by σινουθιογ “By Sinouthios”. Incipit: ἡμοκμεκ ἡμοι εἰςεηρομπε εἰτῆτρρωμε ὡἡαδε εἰω καταλαδγ ἡμοτ BV 283: i.2f. “I have been considering for years not to let people have anything to say in whatever way”.

FRAGMENT 43

Clarendon Press *b* 4, folios 15–16. – *Codex* DF 355–358: i.5. The text⁸⁸ is probably the final segment of the work which begins in BV 283 (see Fragment 42 above). Excerpt: νετνατολμα θραϊ ἡρητῆ ἡποουεω ἡἡ εῖρωβ ἡτειρε εκετογμα ενεγσωμα· ἡ ἡσετωου ροογ· ἡσεαδγ ἡἡα επεγραν ερεππουτε ἡαἡραπ εροογ μαλιστα χεαἰταμωτῆ· DF 355: i.5–17 “Those of us who will

⁸⁵ See EMMEL, *Corpus* (cit. n. 3), p. 120.

⁸⁶ LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), III, pp. 39.15–41.6.

⁸⁷ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), I, pp. 8.9–11.2; LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 172.6–173.20, no. 80 *De vita monachorum* XXVII.

⁸⁸ Ed. CRUM, *Catalogue* (cit. n. 18), p. 83, n. 2 (excerpt: DF 357: ii.3–22); P. VAN CAUWENBURGH, *Étude sur les moines d'Égypte depuis le concile de Chalcédoine (451) jusqu'à l'invasion arabe (640)*, Paris 1914, p. 138, n. 4, p. 140, n. 1–3 and p. 150, n. 1, excerpts only.

dare at any time to endeavor to erect a building for their (deceased) bodies and designate for themselves a day and make it a feast-day to their name, God shall pass judgment on them, the more so because I have forewarned you". Ending:⁸⁹ ΠΕΥCNOY ΕΞΡΔΙ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΠΕΥΚΡΙΜΔ· ΠΕΤΝΔΚΑΝΘΝΑΔΥ ΕΞΡΔΙ ΘῆΝΕΙCΥΝΑΓΩΓῆ ΜΠΕΙΚΑΔΔ· CΕΝΑΤΛΟΓΟC ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ DF 357:ii.27–358:i.5 "Their blood and their condemnation be on them. He who will impose things upon these communities that I have not imposed will give an account to God".

FRAGMENT 44

Clarendon Press *b* 4, folios 16–20. – *Codex* DF 358: i.7–366: ii.30. The text⁹⁰ is headed by ΟΜΔΙΟC CΙΝΟΥΘΙΟΥ "Likewise by Sinouthios". Incipit: ΚCΜΔΜΔΔΤ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΚCΜΔΜΔΔΤ ΧΕΔΚCΩΤῆ ΕΠΤΩΒῆ ΜΠΕΤΟΥΩΥ ΕΤΡΕΠΕΚCΩΟΥΖ ΕΡΟΚ ΖΙΧῆΠΕΙΤΟΥ· ΩΩΠΕ ΘῆCΜΙΝΕ ΝΙΜ· DF 358: i.9–17 "You are blessed, God, you are blessed for you have heard the prayer of him who desires that your gathering to yourself on this foothill be with every sort of confirmation".

Paris 130³ folios 13–15. – *Codex* BV 309–314. The text of BV 309: i.1–312: i.1 is parallel to that of DF 363: i.30–366:ii.30. Excerpt: ΝΑΝΟΥΝΔCΠΕ· ΝΑΝΟΥΝCΖΔΙ· ΝΑΝΟΥΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΡΕῆΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΘΒΒΙΗΥ ΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΠΕΟΟΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΔCΠΕ ΝΙΜ· CΖΔΙ ΝΙΜ· ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΡΕῆΡΩΜΕ ΝΧΔCΙΖΗΤ ΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΖΡΔΙ ΝῆΖΤῆ CΕΖΟΟΥ ΔΥΩ CΕΤCΤΗΥ ΕΒΟΧ· BV 313: ii.5–14 "Eloquent speeches are good. Writings are good. Every thing that humble folk do to God's glory is good. Every speech, every writing, every thing that arrogant people do among us, they are bad and they are rejected". Ending: ΠΕΤΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕΕΙΩΔΑΝΒΑΚ ΕΚΕΜΔ ΤῆΝΑΤΖΗΥ ΝῆΖΟΥΟ ΥΡΝΟΒΕ ΧΕΥΖῆΝΙCΥΝΑΓΩΓῆ ΝΤΑΥΤΟΥΔΑΧ ΔΑΝ ΕΖΗΤΥ ΠΟΥΔ ΠΟΥΔ ΝΗΥ ΕΞΡΔΙ ΕΝΘΙΧ ΜΠΕΚΡΙΤΗC ΜΜΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΥΩ ΠΕΥΧC· BV 314: ii.22–31 "He who says, 'If I go elsewhere, I will increase my virtue', sins, for he is in the community to which no snare is given. Each will come into the hands of the true judge, God and his Christ".

⁸⁹ These words follow the text quoted by VAN CAUWENBURGH, *Étude* (cit. n. 88), p. 138, n. 4.

⁹⁰ Ed. CRUM, *Catalogue* (cit. n. 18), p. 91, n. 1; excerpt: DF 360: i.8–18.

FRAGMENT 45

Paris 130³ folio 16. – *Codex* BV 315–316. The *lacuna* after BV 316 is of unknown length. The text⁹¹ follows $\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota$ (sic) “Letters of Sinouthios”. Incipit: $\omega\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\gamma\alpha\iota \bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\gamma\omega\mu \bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon \bar{\eta}\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma \delta\gamma\omega \bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon \delta\alpha\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\omega\tau \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\delta\gamma\cdot \omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon \delta\alpha\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\omicron\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\alpha\delta\rho\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\omega\bar{\eta}\cdot$ BV 315: i.2–9 “It is Shenute who writes to Tachom as one alien to another and not as a father to a mother, nor as a brother approaching a sister”.

UNPLACED LEAVES

In addition to the folios listed above for the *Ninth Canon*, there are several unplaced leaves or portions of folios yet to be situated within the volume. Some are mentioned here. To be considered from *codex* BV are the *verso* of Berlin P. 10515 (see Fragment 35 for the *recto*), CM C. G. 9269,⁹² Paris 130³ folio 2,⁹³ and BL 3581A, folio 135.⁹⁴ From *codex* DF there are Paris 129¹² folio 8,⁹⁵ Paris 131⁷ folio 45,⁹⁶ CM 3740 (= C. G. 8007), folio c,⁹⁷ Naples I. B. 7, folio 44,⁹⁸ and P. Vindob. K 9346, which has a lengthy discussion regarding the making of an item of apparel (?). In Cairo at the French Institute folio 155, of which much of the upper third in *recto*: ii and *verso*: i has been lost, is from *codex* XK, and in Paris at the Louvre the manuscript E. 9991, having only 12–14 lines left in each column, is also from this copy. Pursuing the unplaced material from *codex* XL is a demanding task too, partly with respect to four incomplete excerpts in

⁹¹ Ed. LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), III, pp. 21.6–22.24, no. 7 “Ad Tachom matrem”.

⁹² Ed. H. MUNIER, *Manuscripts coptes*, Cairo 1916, pp. 113–114.

⁹³ The text has thoughts in regard to Gideon’s war with the Midianites in *Judges* 6–7, followed by precepts on fasting.

⁹⁴ Ed. (in part) LEIPOLDT, *Opera* (cit. n. 16), IV, p. viii, *sub* no. 65.

⁹⁵ The text is related to fasting.

⁹⁶ The text has precepts on working away from the community, in particular employing oxen at an oil press or a water gate and using a horse or a donkey for transport.

⁹⁷ Ed. CRUM, *Monuments* (cit. n. 74), p. 4 (summary of part only).

⁹⁸ Ed. AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres* (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 223.3–225.2. References to illness in this leaf suggest it might belong with Fragments 35–36 above.

XL 332–333 (= Paris 130⁴ folio 150, the first excerpt of which may belong between Fragments 1 and 2) and XL 364: i.1–365: ii.4 from Paris 130⁴ folio 160. To these one should add the short excerpt in XL 393: ii.31–394: i.25 from Paris 130⁴ folios 155–156.

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