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Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.
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. 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. 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

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known today. 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. 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

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3 S. EMMELE, 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 EMMELE, 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 Shenoute had given instructions in “the ninth canon” to distrust visions, unless one sees the saints and the sign of the cross; cited by EMMELE, 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
BL
Ágyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin.

Clarendon Press b 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\(^1\).

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., \(\text{пр<ш>мв.}\)
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 σινοθιος ΧΑΡΙΤΟΝ “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: ὁμοιόμοιος [ΚΑΛΩΝ] ὁ ἈΡΣΙΟΥ ἌΓΙΟΥ ΧΑΡΙΤΟΝ ΧΑΡΙΤΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΟΥ “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 codices 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

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5 See EMMEL, Corpus (cit. n. 3), pp. 112–114.
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, since I had written them on tablets when we came to these places, we copied them to these papyri during all those stressful days before Lent, and the great troubles and all the many tearful grieves which befell me 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 130° 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 column (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. Incipit: ΜΗΝ ΜΑΤΩΤΗ ΠΗΓΗΣ ΑΙΤΗΤΟΥ ΠΗΓΗΣ ΜΗΝ ΑΔΗ ΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΜΟΙΟΙ ΕΙΩΤΗΝ ΜΗΧΩΤΟ ΕΓΧΩΛ. 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 130° folio 131. – Codex XL, pagination wanting but falling between 303 and 332. The lacuna after folio 131 is about two pages. The text is parallel to that seen in DF 1-2, and it goes beyond the end of DF 2 as shown in the following excerpt: ερήμηνετομονε ηγεσύναγων ιδιάδιος
νηςις αναγκαίς ηγεσίπωμε ερήμηνετομος είναι ηγεσίπωμε είναι [Не θα ον ηγεσιπομανθε ηγεσίπωμε].

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 131° 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 τομος Shenu 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, Œuvres (cit. n. 6), II, p. 533.2–9.

12 Ed. Amélineau, Œuvres (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 534.1–535.7.

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 ρηουμον εν πεπαλαινηκα ελληνικα το γνωστε ρυσ
gιατε ρυσ γιακειε πετχο ρηουμον πε πετρον ρυσ[c] υπερ ενημα
ειμιον επιρημιον εχων 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

ανεικονον εν ευκρόν ρηπετηρι πετχο ην ημεων ουν ημιων ην ιππαιε ι
ημιων δη 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 1307 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: ασω ερωκειμ-

14 Ed. Amelineau, Œuvres (cit. n. 6), II, pp. 505.1–509.2.
...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 uncertain] Ne^notfie NtecMNToy MneTatTet· aiia eyNanacTF Mnoya noya Nqe NTA-pwMe MnoyooTe NTF KaN eoyshpe SHM ne MNoyseepe SHM· MaitcTa OUNOG NpwMe MNOUNOG NcgtMe· 

“[..] his poke–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 130\(^{1}\) *folio 3.* – *Codex* BV 31–32. Excerpt: necnhy etemmTme ñbe etoy-cëte ñño nhm nh ay oyxyq nh on nh eteyuming nïeyguna nïrì ni etêyrama-poya nhd ñhetѹing ëëneacynymh nhôyemh nhm ëynnakyegrôte ñiuyq vah-toyrôte mïeynymh 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 little wine for one who needs it. Each of those who abide in these communities 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 largely 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 *itoyy* as an inflected modifier for emphasis (see interrogative examples in B. Layton, *A Coptic Grammar*, Wiesbaden 2000, p. 131, § 154).
A SEQUENTIAL INVENTORY

1.23-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: i.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), viz., εν ημοις οητιμητωριν οητοκινητωριν οηκουμαιτικον οητωριν ημοιος ἄν αληθα ωτωριν ημοιον ητοι χρηξα ερωτοι.

Paris 131° folio 133. – Codex YX, pagination wanting. Parallel texts: recto: i.10 up-i1 up and BV 32: i.13-21; recto: ii.31 up-i1 up and BV 32: i.24-ii.20; verso: i.27 up-i2 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: οὐκ ἐπηρτερεί οὐκ ἐπηρτερεί ὑμαῖς ὁ πίνακας τῆς θεομηνου ἐγνώσεις εὐτυχῇ διὸ εὶς ὑμᾶς εὐτυχῇ εὐσκῆς ἐτερνομένοις διὸ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῆς ἐτερνομένης εὐσκῆς εὐτυχῆς μεταξύ ὑμῶν ἐπικάλουσεν αὐτοῖς αὐτῶν ἐτερνομένοις διὸ τῆς ἐπικάλουσεν αὐτῶν ἐτερνομένοις. 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 receive 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 131° 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-i1 up, there is a gap of less than a page. A lacuna thereafter is about six pages.

16 Ed. J. LEIPOLDT, Sinutbii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia, IV, CSCO 73, Paris 1913, pp. 102.20-103.1.
17 The conjunctive continues εὐσκῆς ἐπικάλουσεν ετερνομένοις.
FRAGMENT 8

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

FRAGMENT 9

BL 3581A, folio 69. – *Codex DF 47–48*, pagination restored. 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: ούτε ἵνα ἔχονται ἀριθμοῖς, τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς, τοῦ κυρίου, τοῦ κυρίου τῆς Μνήμης: θηριακοὶ οὐκ εὑρίσκουσιν ἐν τῷ ἔσοδῳ τοῦ ποιήματος ἐν τῷ ἔσοδῳ τῆς Μνήμης. Excerpt: τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ τιμίου τιμήθηκέν τε ἐκ τῷ ἔσοδῳ τῆς Μνήμης τῆς Μνήμης τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς ἔν συνετία τῇ ἔνσωμα τῇ ἔνσω τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς. Excerpt: 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.* The lacuna thereafter is eight pages.

FRAGMENT 10

P. Vindob. K 9344. – *Codex DF 59–60.* Excerpt: γενοῦσας εὐγένεια ἐπερεύεται· η γενοῦσας κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐφόσον ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τὸν θάνατον κατὰ τοῦ τιμίου τιμήθηκέν τε ἐκ τῷ ἔσοδῳ τῆς Μνήμης τῆς Μνήμης τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς.
As for people who with effort 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 ταί τε θείον 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. 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:

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; otherwise, we would know everything, and then we would give thought to the words we utter.

23 I.e., by pretence.
25 I.e., knowledge should preclude the need for close oversight.
FRAGMENT 12

BL 358oB, folio 43. — Codex BV 91–92. The lacuna thereafter is two pages.

FRAGMENT 13

P. Vindob. K 9762. — Codex BV 95–96. The lacuna thereafter is two pages. Excerpts: ἢπείρε σωματικοι γιαματα ηφαιστειαν ήτως εὐνάσει διό εὐνάσει ἡνίκα μνήσεις για της εὐνάσει διό εὐνάσει τὴς τῆς κοινῆς γενικής τοιούτου ἐνεργούσης. 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”;

Εἰκονιστεῖν κατὰ καδάκαν εὐχαριστήρια καὶ εἰκονιστεῖν ἐνθαρρυντικαὶ ἔναν ἑαυτῷ εἰσόδου εὐχαριστίας περιίσσει μνήματος διό εὐνάσει τὴς τῆς κοινῆς γενικής τοιούτου ἐνεργούσης. 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 358oB, folio 44. — Codex BV 99–100. 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–i.13: i.18 is parallel to that of FM 91: i.17–96: ii.ult.

Paris 130ª folio 5. – Codex BV 111–112. The text30 is parallel to that of DF 106: i.19–108: ii.23.

BN 129ª 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, Manuscrits 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 381A, folio 191 (bottom).—Codex XK, pagination wanting but possibly 133–134. The text is parallel in large part to that in Naples I. B. 2, folio 24 from codex BV. Excerpt: ἀναὶ ἤτερῳ ἀναμενεῖ οὖν ὁ ἡμῶν μὴ ἀναπαύεται ἐν ἀνδρὶ. Excerpt: ἀναὶ ἤτερῳ ἀναμενεῖ οὖν ὁ ἡμῶν μὴ ἀναπαύεται ἐν ἀνδρὶ. Verso: i.13–19 (with a few letters taken from codex BV) “And when Peter stopped (talking), Paul and Barnabas spoke, and after they fell silent, James responded”.

Paris 132 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.

Naples I. B. 7, folio 47.—Codex FM 109–110. The text is only partly preserved, with a gap on both recto and verso, FM 109: i.f. is parallel to some of the text in Naples I. B. 2, folio 25, verso, making a third witness to the passage. 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 132 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. 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.
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, 55; LEIPOLDT, Opera (cit. n. 16), IV, pp. 112.16–114.5, no. 73 De vita monachorum XX.”
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FRAGMENT 20

Naples I. B. 7, folio 36. – Codex DF 129–130. 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: μπροζσμένος εκείνῳ ἡμῶς τὸν φανεροὺς χειρετισμόν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν αὐτούς ἐπετεινόμενες ἐρών ἐντεθείται τι ἐπετεινασάν. Αὐτός όμως ἡμᾶς ἐπεπάγα τό ρήμα, ἃς τῶν ἡμῶν ἐπεπάγα τό τέλος ἡμῶν ἐπεπάγα τό τέλος τοῦ ἐπετεινασάν. Ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐπεμπάγα τό τέλος τοῦ ἐπετεινασάν. 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 130 5 107 (originally one leaf). – Codex DF 145–146. There is a lacuna thereafter of five pages. The piece in Leiden has been lost.

FRAGMENT 22

P. Vindob. K 9099. – Codex YZ 213–214. 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, Manuscrits coptes (cit. n. 32), pp. 301–2 (= Insinger no. 58, folio 2).
FRAGMENT 23

Paris 130² folio 123. — *Codex YZ* 221–222. 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. There is a *lacuna* thereafter of four pages.

FRAGMENT 25

P. Vindob. K 9210. — *Codex XK* 187–188. 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 130⁴ folio 106. — *Codex DF* 175–176. The text is parallel to XK 197: ii.9–199: ii.18.

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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.
BL 358tA, folio 70. – Codex DF 177–178. The text\(^{50}\) is parallel to XK 199: ii.22–202: i.1.

Naples I. B. 7, folios 37–42. – Codex DF 179–190\(^{51}\). 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 129\(^{12}\) folios 12 and i. – Codex FM 161–164. The text\(^{53}\) is parallel to that of DF 180: ii.11–185: ii.2.

Paris 130\(^{13}\) 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 131\(^{14}\) 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 358oB, 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. Cruickshank, 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. i), pp. 48–50, 56–57 (no. 8), plate 12.
Naples I. B. 7, folio 43. – Codex DF 193–194.\(^{56}\)

Paris 129\(^2\) 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: οὐκ ἔσονται ἑαυτοῖς οὐκ ἔσονται καὶ τῷ ἡμετερῷῳ ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἔσονται ἑαυτοῖς ἐν οἷς ἔσονται βλαστάνειν. “They are neither in fellowship with one another (?)”, nor are they like him who lives alone”.

Paris 130\(^3\) folios 22–27. – Codex FM 177: i.1–187: ii.25.\(^{59}\) Codex FM omits thereafter text appearing in codices 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 text\(^{60}\) is parallel to that of FM 177: ii.3–179: i.7.

Michigan 158, folio 16 a/b. – Codex YZ 279–280. The text\(^{61}\) is parallel to that of FM 179: ii.14–181: i.7.

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\(^{56}\) 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. 133.5–162.9, 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.
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Paris 130° folio 4. – *Codex BV* 65–66. The text is parallel to that of *FM* 184: ii.21–186: ii.5. See also the comment under Fragment 9, n. 21 above.

Paris 130° folio 151, *recto*. – *Codex XL* 384: i.1–i.18. The text, 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. 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, 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: i.24–30. Much of the content pertains to oversight and treatment of novices. Excerpt: фпшп в Μακρομε μηνου ν αφιμ ηκεφ αντι νταλου ΟΧ 237: ii.11–16 (line numbers uncertain) “Take into account your years and theirs, and the strength of your will and that of theirs”.

FRAGMENT 29


Paris 130° folios 151–152. – *Codex XL* 384: i.19–387: i.2, with a text consisting of four complete excerpts, 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.


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 text⁵ is preceded by τον αὐτόν “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: ἄλλοι δὲ ἔργα πάντα ἐργασίας ἐπάνω ἐκ τῆς ἐργασίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἑπωκειται κατά τὴν ὑποδοτικὴν κατά τὴν ἐργασίαν ἑπωκειται τοῦ θεοῦ 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,⁶ after which there is a lacuna of uncertain length in Canon 9. The text is headed by τον αὐτόν “By the same author”. Incipit: ἐπεί ηὗτοι ἐπάνω τῶν ἔργων κατά τὶς τὰς ἑργασίας τῆς ἑπωκειται τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ἑργασίων ἑπωκειται τοῦ θεοῦ 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.

⁵ Ed. LEIPOLDT, Opera (cit. n. 16), IV, p. 167.21–27, no. 77 De vita monachorum XXIV (codex B).
⁶ Ed. LEIPOLDT, Opera (cit. n. 16), III, CS CO 42, Paris 1908, pp. 16.11–18.11, no. 6 Ad senem quendam: de votis monasticis.
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FRAGMENT 32

Paris 130 papers fo. 134-135. Codex XL 390: i.9-393: i.32. This excerpt 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 άυτοῦ “By the same author”. XL 392: ii.21 bears the heading τάδε ὁμών “The Covenant/Oath”, the text of which occupies 392: ii.22-393: i.23.

FRAGMENT 33

Paris 130 papers folio 153. Codex XL 393: ii.1-29. This is an excerpt that may well conclude the work which began in XL 387: i.28. The text is headed by τοῦ άυτοῦ “By the same author”. Ending: ἀριστευει αἰενάλλοον ἡκ ἀριστευει ἡποτε ἐροκ γενετήματι τηρού μεν καθήτων ἡπεκίνα. 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 ευχέσσαντες γυνή δ罚款; εγχώριας μετεξέλεσαν τῆς ἑσόν κατάλημα καταργών ὡς ἴππος καταργών. Text: διέσκευον ἡπειράζειες τῆς τράπεζας εἴρημεν: διὸ προφοράς διὰ χάλκιος εὐκορίας κατάερεις κατὰ τρίτης δύναμις καταργών: διέσκευον. DF 241: i.13-29 “To be sure, joy has come to this person” 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 quendam: de votis monasticis.
72 Ed. LEIPOLDT, Opera (cit. n. 16), III, pp. 20.24-21.4, no. 6 Ad senem quendam: 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"; ἡ ὀγκωνία σας τῇ ἁπάντῃ γραφῇ μετὰ ἁμείρου εὐθὺς καὶ ὑπαγορεύσας ευλογίαν ἡτερομομφή ἐπεγερνὺς εὑροῦ ὑποτικὴ ἡπόνως ἡτεροτροφὴ τετῆθαι κακώς τῇ ἁπάντῃ κακοῦ ἱστον ἡσυχίᾳ μετατροφὴ εὐχῶν ἄρα "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 130' folio 95. – Codex DF 261–262, pagination restored.

CM 3740 (= C. G. 8007), folio a. – Codex DF 263–264. Excerpt: 

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. Ending: 

“Howbeit, it’s the crankiness from the pain of this mal-


75 Ed. CRUM, Monumenta (cit. n. 74), p. 4; excerpt: DF 265: ii.6–10.
ady which weighs upon him\(^{76}\) that makes him ask whether we should hide the book or any other thing that the vandals might not find it, after those of us who sin have opened the door of their houses completely to the devil with the result that he despoils, burns and destroys them, not by a little but brings down their very foundations”.

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.

FRAGMENT 36

CM 3740 (= C. G. 8007), folio b. – Codex DF 265: ii.14–266: ii.ult., pagination restored.\(^{77}\) The text is headed by είκονος “By Sinouthios” between lines (two before and two after) of dots and dashes. Incipit: είκοσι ετεράν φημες Πατεττικοτρίας. The text that has survived in the left 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.

Paris 130\(^{\dagger}\) folio 96. – Codex DF 267–268, pagination restored. There is a lacuna after DF 268 of eighteen pages. Excerpt: ημίπτρος οὐκ θυμήθη περὶ Πατεττικοτρίας. The text from Paris 130\(^{\dagger}\) folio 148 was quoted and translated by D. Young, “Additional Fragments of Shenute's Eighth Canon”, \textit{APF} 44 (1998), p. 49.

\(^{76}\) 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 (γινομαι διασωμα). Indeed, this illness has left me without strength, thanks to the severity of the pain”. The text from Paris 130\(^{\dagger}\) folio 148 was quoted and translated by D. Young, “Additional Fragments of Shenute’s Eighth Canon”, \textit{APF} 44 (1998), p. 49.

\(^{77}\) Ed. CRUM, \textit{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. More than half of the text is wanting in every column because of loss of the lower part of the leaf.

Paris 130’ folio 107. – *Codex DF* 289–290. There is a lacuna after DF 290 of uncertain length.

**FRAGMENT 38**

Paris 130’ 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:

- BL 3581A, folio 71. – *Codex DF* 287–288. More than half of the text is wanting in every column because of loss of the lower part of the leaf.
- Paris 130’ folio 107. – *Codex DF* 289–290. There is a lacuna after DF 290 of uncertain length.

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78 Ed. CRUM, *Catalogue* (cit. n. 18), pp. 83–84 (= BM 200); excerpt: DF 288: i.3–14.
ου· 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. There are short lacunae and dark stains within the fragment. The lacuna after DF 322 is about five pages. Excerpt: οὐκ εἰρηνεύει εἰς τοὺς μισθίας τῶν οἴκων καὶ εἰς τοὺς πολίτες ἑαυτοῦ. οὖν δὲ εἰρηνεύει εἰς τοὺς μισθίας τῶν οἴκων καὶ εἰς τοὺς πολίτες ἑαυτοῦ. 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. Ending: τοῦτον μισθίαν εἰς τὸν πόλισιν καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν οἰκῶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς πολίτες τὸν ἑαυτοῦ. 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 text is headed by εἰς τοῦτον “By Sinouthios”.

Paris 1301 folio 156. – Codex XL 394: i.27–395: ii.ult. Headed by τοῦ “By the same author”, the text is parallel to that of BV 278.ii.

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81 Published as Inssinger no. 79 without a translation by Pleety and Boeser, Manuscrits 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, Oeuvres (cit. n. 6), I, pp. xxvii (excerpt) and I.1–3.10.
83 Ed. Amélineau, Oeuvres (cit. n. 6), I, pp. 3.12–8.7; Leipoldt, Opera (cit. n. 16), III, pp. 37.25–41.6, no. 16 Magistratus quidam v monasterio seditur (codex A).
84 Ed. Leipoldt, Opera (cit. n. 16), III, pp. 37.25–39.8, no. 16 Magistratus quidam v monasterio seditur (codex B).
18–280: ii.14. Incipit: γραλί ἔντυπων ιτάμαλακεύε ἱναεὑρίσῃ ἱλατσὶ ὑνάητε ἱμαθινιν ἵμιναὑτε εὑρευε ἱπαυτοβ ἡπομνημε αἰτεῖε Χλ. 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 Tòbe”. Ending: σεράγαο εὐαγγέλιον ἱναδήν ἱμενούμενος τῷ θρόνῳ ΒΒ 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 ΒΒ 281: i.2–8.

FRAGMENT 42

Naples 1. B. 2, folio 23. — Codex ΒΒ 283–284. The lacuna after ΒΒ 284 is perhaps as much as fifteen pages. The text87 is headed by σινούτιος “By Sinouthios”. Incipit: τοιοδείκται ἱμαθις εὐκερτήμενος ἑυρομενε εὐκαταλαβε ἵμοι ΒΒ 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 ΒΒ 283 (see Fragment 42 above). Excerpt: καταλαβε γραλί ἱπαυτοβ ἱμναπομε χρονις ἱπατε εὑρευε διαχωμα διαχωμα· ἱμαθηθεὶς θρόον· ἱμαθὲν ἵμσα ἵμαθον εὐκερτῇ καταλαβε ΜΗΛΙΤΑ ΧΕΑΙΤΑΜΟΤΗ ΚΦ 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.
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

FRAGMENT 44

Clarendon Press b 4, folios 16–20. – Codex DF 358: i.7–366: ii.30. The text 89 is headed by ομαλος σινουθου “Likewise by Sinouthios”. Incipit: κομαμαδ μνουτε κομαμαδ χεικσωθη ειτωμερ μπετουσι ετρεπκεκουθους εροκ γικσικεπουθους γανε εισεμονε ημι 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: ημουναμε ημουγιαμεη ημουγιαμε ημες ετρεπκουθε ετοιμα ειρεη ημινουτε ανειο ημες ερεη ημινουτε εικασινε ειεη ημιου ημες εηλινητε σεχος ανω σετηθε ειον ΒV 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: ηετευ ημινοιοι ηεκμοα ταυτη ντουοι ηντοη ηεκμοα ηεκμοα εεκπειηνουμειη ηταντουοαις ηνον εισηνη ντουοι αον εσηη ντουοι αον εσηη εικασινε εεκπειηνουμειη ημευε ημευε 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 text follows σενούμενον επιστελει (sic) “Letters of Sinouthios”. Incipit: γενούτε πετεραί πτաρχόν ούκ ἀμπαράρος ἀμπαράρος διός ὁς ὁ λαός μή συμπαράρερ ὁ γάρ ὁ λαός συμπαράσσεται· “It is Shenute who writes to Tahom 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, Paris 1303 folio 2, and BL 3581A, folio 135. From codex DF there are Paris 129 verso folio 8, Paris 131 verso folio 45, CM 3740 (= C. G. 8007), folio ε, Naples I. B. 7, folio 44, 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”.
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: i.31–394: i.25 from Paris 130⁴ folios 155–156.

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