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## *The works of Besa, from a MS in the British Museum (Or.8810): edited with translation and commentary*

Kuhn, K. H.

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K.H. Kuhn. Abstract of Ph.D. thesis.

The Works of Besa, from a MS in the British Museum (Or.8810); edited with translation and commentary.

The portion of the Sahidic MS, BM Or.8810, containing Besa's writings is part of a parchment codex probably dating from the 8th century. The edition of it, together with a translation, forms the main part of the thesis. The MS contains epistles by Besa admonishing and exhorting his monks and nuns. Fragments of other writings by Besa are extant, most of which are unpublished. A study of them, and of BM Or.8810, has yielded material for an appraisal of the life and work of Besa and has thrown light on an important section of Coptic monasticism of the 5th century.

Besa was a monk under Shenoute who appointed him to be his successor as abbot of the White Monastery (about 451 A.D.). Throughout his life, Besa continued to be strongly influenced by Shenoute's example, and by the Bible, and by his respect for monastic tradition. His essentially mild and peace-loving character was moulded by his high sense of duty towards God and his charges, enabling him to carry out his task of governing the monastery.

From BM Or.8810 it can be seen how prominent a place



Biblical quotations and allusions occupy in Besa's writings. An investigation of their text provides material for the study of the Sahidic Bible. Besa's use of the Bible is always subordinated to the subject-matter of his epistles.

Besa's writings, though not theological treatises, give some idea of his religious beliefs. His preoccupation with ethical teaching causes him to emphasise God's Judgment and lays him open to the charge of having neglected the importance of Christ's redemptive work.

Of monastic life in Besa's day, his writings tell something of the ideal of fellowship, the vow, the renunciation of property, separation from the world, organisation, discipline, moral standards, work, the monks' charitable ministrations to laymen, religious exercises, and worship.

K.H. Kuhn. Ph.D. thesis. June 1952.

The Works of Besa,  
from a MS in the British Museum (Or.8810);  
edited with translation and commentary.

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# Abbreviations.

(This list does not include abbreviations which are self-explanatory.)

- Amélineau, Schenoudi.- E.Amélineau, Oeuvres de Schenoudi, Paris, 1907-1914.
- Budge, Mart.- E.A.Wallis Budge, Coptic Martyrdoms etc. in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, London, 1914.
- Budge, Ps.- E.A.Wallis Budge, The Earliest Known Coptic Psalter, London, 1898.
- C41.- J.Leipoldt, Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Coptici, Series Secunda, Tomus II, Paris, 1906.
- C42.- Tomus IV, Paris, 1908.
- C73.- Tomus V, Paris, 1913.
- Cauwenbergh, Étude.- P.van Cauwenbergh, Étude sur les moines d'Égypte depuis le Concile de Chalcédoine (451) jusqu'à l'invasion arabe (640), Paris, 1914.
- Ciasca.- A.Ciasca, Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta copto-sahidica Musei Borgiani...., Rome, 1885-1904.
- Crum, BM.- W.E.Crum, Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum, London, 1905.
- Crum, Dict.- W.E.Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, Oxford, 1939.
- Crum, Mon.- W.E.Crum, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Coptic Monuments, Cairo, 1902.
- Crum, Ryl.- W.E.Crum, Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library Manchester, Manchester, 1909.
- Heuser, Personennamen.- G.Heuser, Die Personennamen der Kopten, Leipzig, 1929.
- Heussi, Ursprung.- K.Heussi, Der Ursprung des Mönchtums, Tübingen, 1936.
- Holl, Enthusiasmus.- K.Holl, Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum, Leipzig, 1898.
- Horner, Sah.- (G.Horner) The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, Oxford, 1911-1924.
- Hyvernât, Check List.- H.Hyvernât, A Check List of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1919.

- JEA.- The Journal of Egyptian Archeology, London.  
 JTS.- The Journal of Theological Studies, London.  
 Kittel, TWNT.- G.Kittel, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum  
 Neuen Testament, Stuttgart, 1933 ff.  
 Ladeuze, Étude.- P.Ladeuze, Étude sur le cénobitisme  
 Pakhômien pendant le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle et la  
 première moitié du Ve, Louvain, 1889.  
 Lantschoot, Recueil.- A.van Lantschoot, Recueil des colo-  
 phons des manuscrits chrétiens  
 d'Égypte, Louvain, 1929.  
 Leipoldt, Schenute.- J.Leipoldt, Schenute von Atripe,  
 Leipzig, 1903.  
 Migne, PG.- J.-P.Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus,  
 Series Graeca, Paris, 1857 ff.  
 MMAF.- Mémoires...de la mission archéologique française au  
 Caire, Paris.  
 Mor.- H.Hyvernat, Bibliothecae Pierpont Morgan codices  
 coptici photographice expressi....., Rome, 1922.  
 Mun.- H.Munier, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égypt-  
 iennes du Musée du Caire, Manuscrits Coptes,  
 Cairo, 1916.  
 Mus.- Le Muséon, Louvain.  
 Pleyte-Boeser.- W.Pleyte and P.A.A.Boeser, Manuscrits  
 coptes du Musée d'antiquités des Pays-  
 Bas à Leide, Leide, 1897.  
 Plumley.- J.M.Plumley, An Introductory Coptic Grammar  
 (Sahidic Dialect), London, 1948.  
 PSBA.- Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology,  
 London.  
 Spiegelberg.- W.Spiegelberg, Koptisches Handwörterbuch,  
 Heidelberg, 1921.  
 Stegemann, Pal.- V.Stegemann, Koptische Paläographie,  
 Heidelberg, 1936.  
 Steindorff.- G.Steindorff, Koptische Grammatik, Berlin,  
 1930.  
 Stern.- L.Stern, Koptische Grammatik, Leipzig, 1880.  
 ThLZ.- Theologische Literaturzeitung, Leipzig.  
 Thompson, Acts.- H.Thompson, The Coptic Version of the  
 Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline  
 Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect,  
 Cambridge, 1932.  
 Wessely, Studien.- C.Wessely, Studien zur Paläographie  
 und Papyruskunde, Leipzig, 1901 ff.  
 Worrell, Prov.- W.H.Worrell, The Proverbs of Solomon in  
 Sahidic Coptic, Chicago, 1931.

- Worrell, Texts.- W.H.Worrell, Coptic Texts in the University of Michigan Collection..., Ann Arbor, 1942.
- Zoega, Catal.- G.Zoega, Catalogus codicum copticorum manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur, Rome, 1810.
- LXX.- H.B.Swete, The Old Testament in Greek, Cambridge, 1887 ff.

Note.

In all references to the O.T. I have throughout followed the numeration in LXX.

Description of BM Or.8810.

The MS is now in the possession of the British Museum, having formerly been part of the collection of Robert Curzon, Baron de la Zouche, when it was known as Curzon 109. In his "Catalogue of materials for writing, early writings on tablets and stones, rolled and other MSS, and oriental MS books in the library of the Hon. R. Curzon at Parham in the County of Sussex", (London, 1849), it is described on p.28 as follows: "Quarto, ninety leaves, containing part of the works of the Abbot Besa, who founded the monastery of Amba Bischoi on the Natron Lakes; he died in the early part of the fifth century, to which period the date of the MS may be referred; it is written in a bold hand in double columns". From within the cover of the present binding of the MS we may add Curzon's note that he acquired it in 1838. Curzon's description is not, however, altogether accurate. It seems almost certain that the MS originated in the scriptorium of the White Monastery of which Besa was abbot (cf. Cauwenbergh, *Étude*, p.5; PSBA 28, p.54; Crum, BM, p.xii). Moreover the MS is actually in three distinct parts:

1) fols.1-6 contain a fragment of Exodus in Sahidic (Ex.16.6-19.11). It is edited and described by Seymour de

Ricci in PSBA 28, p.54ff.

2) fols.7-14 contain a Shenoute fragment which is edited as follows: In C73, p.14-21, under No.49 De malis operibus sive de gladio prophetico. It is described as "F = codex Curzonianus 109, pars prior, pag.  $\overline{\tau\omicron\eta}$  -  $\overline{\tau\pi\theta}$ ."

In C42, p.216-218, under No.46 De ecclesiarum sanctitate. It is described as "A = codex Curzonianus 109, pars prior, pag.  $\overline{\tau\pi\theta}$  -  $\overline{\tau\upsilon\beta}$ ."

In C42, p.67-69, under No.21 De Aethiopum invasionibus II. It is described as "B = codex Curzonianus 109, pars prior, pag.  $\overline{\tau\upsilon\beta}$  et  $\overline{\tau\upsilon\gamma}$ ."

3) fols.15-90 contain writings of Besa. Hereafter I shall be concerned with this last part of BM Or.8810 only.

The MS is now in modern binding. The writings of Besa comprise nine complete and one incomplete gatherings. The gatherings consist of eight folios each, which have been made up in the usual way. Four sheets of fine parchment have been laid down alternately flesh side and hair side first. Thus when they are folded two flesh sides or two hair sides face each other and the first page of each gathering is a flesh side. The Besa fragment begins on the first page of the twenty-fourth gathering. Each gathering is numbered on its first and last page and the following



table gives these numbers with the first page number of each gathering.

Gathering No.	Page No.	Folio No.
$\overline{K\Delta}$	$\overline{\tau\frac{1}{2}\epsilon}$	15r.
$\overline{K\epsilon}$	$\overline{\tau\pi\alpha}$	23r.
$\overline{K5}$	$\overline{\tau\eta\zeta}$	31r.
$\overline{K3}$	$\overline{\tau\iota\Gamma}$	39r.
$\overline{KH}$	$\overline{\gamma K\Theta}$	47r.
$\overline{K\Theta}$	$\overline{\gamma\mu\epsilon}$	55r.
$\overline{\lambda}$	$\overline{\gamma\frac{1}{2}\alpha}$	63r.
$\overline{\lambda\alpha}$	$\overline{\gamma\omicron\zeta}$	71r.
$\overline{\lambda\beta}$	$\overline{\gamma\eta\Gamma}$	79r.

The last gathering which would have borne the number  $\overline{\lambda\Gamma}$  is incomplete. Folios 1, 4, 5, and 8 are missing.

The MS is in an excellent state of preservation. Only a few pages are slightly torn and in some places the ink is faded. The last page is discoloured. Each leaf measures approximately 30cm x 24cm. The text is written in two columns each measuring about 22cm high by 7-8cm wide. The space between the two columns measures between 1.5cm and 2.5cm. The MS is ruled throughout. The ruling was done on the flesh side of each leaf in such a way as to dent the parchment thereby leaving a raised ridge on the hair side

which was sufficient to guide the scribe. Four vertical lines are ruled on each page to act as guide lines for the breadth of the columns. Nevertheless the lines of writing are by no means regular in length. The horizontal ruling allows normally for 29 lines. There are only 28 lines on the following pages: 45v, 46r, 58r, 87r, 87v, 88r, 88v, 89r, 89v, 90r, and 90v. On 46v, col.II, there is an extra line at the bottom (30 lines) written in smaller letters and now badly faded.

The MS is written in ink which now appears as dark brown. The scribe sometimes uses enlarged initials at the beginning of paragraphs. There are a number of paragraph-marks in the form of scroll ornaments of varying design. It is difficult to tell what their original colours were but red, black and various shades of brown can still be distinguished. Sometimes paragraphs are indicated by a line protruding into the lefthand margin immediately above the new paragraph. The significance of the rough cross (X) which occurs occasionally in the margins is unknown to me. It seems impossible to determine whether these crosses were made by the original scribe or added later. The only more elaborate ornament is on 47r where the down-stroke of a † is lengthened to form a branch on which a

small bird perches. I endeavour to reproduce the ornaments in my copy of the MS.

The MS has page numbers in the usual way. There are, however, so many inaccuracies that it will be best to list the pagination in detail:

$\tau\bar{2}\epsilon - \tau\bar{1}\epsilon$  ;  $\tau\bar{1}\zeta$  (for  $\tau\bar{1}\varsigma$  ) ;  $\tau\bar{1}\zeta - \tau\bar{1}\theta$  ;  $\tau\bar{1}\mu - \tau\bar{1}\mu\Delta$  (for  $\tau\bar{1}\mu - \tau\bar{1}\mu\Delta$  ) ;  $\tau\bar{1}\mu\epsilon$  ;  $\tau\bar{1}\mu\epsilon$  (for  $\tau\bar{1}\mu\varsigma$  ) ;  $\tau\bar{1}\mu\zeta - \tau\bar{1}\mu\theta$  ;  $\tau\bar{1}\nu\alpha$  (for  $\tau\bar{1}\nu$  ) ;  $\tau\bar{1}\nu\alpha - \tau\bar{1}\pi\alpha$  ;  $\tau\bar{1}\pi\alpha$  (for  $\tau\bar{1}\pi\theta$  ) ;  $\tau\bar{1}\pi\theta$  (for  $\tau\bar{1}\pi\Gamma$  ) ;  $\tau\bar{1}\pi\Delta - \phi\bar{3}$  ;  $[\phi\bar{H}]$  ; 1 fol. missing ;  $\phi\bar{1}\alpha - \phi\bar{1}\Delta$  ; 2 fols. missing ;  $\phi\bar{1}\theta - \phi\bar{K}\beta$ .

In addition I have throughout followed the modern numbering of the folios as it now appears on the MS, i.e. fols.15r-90v numbered consecutively, disregarding the missing folios.

It may be of interest to attempt a reconstruction of the original codex of which BM Or.8810 (15r-90v) formed part. Other leaves of the same codex are extant (cf. p.19ff). The extant portions add up to  $14\frac{1}{2}$  gatherings out of an original codex of 33 gatherings, that is to say, less than half the codex has survived. On the following chart the position of the extant leaves in the codex is shown.

Gathering No.	Folio No.								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1	////								
2									
3									
4			x	x	x	x			Zoega CCIV.
5	x								Zoega CCIV.
6									
7									
8				x	x				Zoega CCIV.
9	x	x	x			x	x	x	K.965.
10									
11									
12									
13								x	} Zoega CCIV.
14	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
15	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
16	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
17									
18									
19									
20									
21									
22									
23									
24	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	} BM Or.8810.
25	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
26	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
27	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
28	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
29	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
30	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
31	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
32	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
33		x	x			x	x	///	

Blank pages now lost are marked thus: ///

The two folios of Ryl.63 cannot be placed as the pagination is lost.

Script and Date.

The MS is written in a late square uncial hand. The characters are bold and heavy. The script is by the same hand throughout and has a fairly regular appearance. In Zoega, Catal., a fragment (No.CCIV) which is of the same MS as BM Or.8810 is assigned to class IV, No.XVI in the classification of scripts.

Another script is represented in the headings of which there are six examples in our MS. They are written in small rounded uncials with the exception of the last on 90v, which is written in the same script as the body of the MS. In this last case, sub-scripture would be a more fitting nomenclature than heading for it is clear that this marks the end of the work. In four other cases it is not certain whether a heading or a sub-scripture is intended, viz. on 19r, 22r, 31v, and 39r. On 77r, however, the context leaves no doubt that a heading is intended. The following list gives these phrases in detail:

19r. ἀπὸ ΒΗCα

22r. τοῦ αὐτοῦ

31v. τοῦ αὐτοῦ

39r. τοῦ αὐτοῦ

77r. ΒΗCα ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC ΕΤΒΕΝΕΝΤΑΥΑΡΝΑ ΝΤΕΥΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ  
ΕΔΥΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΝ

90v. αηα ΒΗCα

The script of the pagination is also of the rounded uncial type and is similar to that of the headings. In my copy I try to reproduce the small ornamental lines accompanying the pagination.

Punctuation and other signs are freely used. The supra-linear stroke is used in the normal way though there are inconsistencies. Another sign employed is a circumflex accent over certain letters which seems to indicate the end of words and served perhaps as a reading aid. It seems to occur for the most part over vowels, e.g.  $\hat{\alpha}$  ,  $\hat{\eta}$  ,  $\hat{\omicron}$  ,  $\hat{\omega}$  . The end of words is also indicated by a little hook at the top of the last letter of the word, thus e.g.  $\lambda'$  ,  $\pi'$  ,  $\tau'$  ,  $\varsigma'$  . The Greek particle  $\text{H}$  is always written with a thick dot over it, thus  $\dot{\text{H}}$  . The  $\text{I}$  with two dots over it may also be noticed in such forms as  $\pi\alpha\ddot{\iota}$  ,  $\pi\epsilon\ddot{\iota}$  ,  $\omicron\gamma\omicron\ddot{\iota}$  ,  $\varsigma\phi\alpha\ddot{\iota}$  ,  $\chi\omicron\ddot{\iota}\varsigma$  . The following punctuation marks may be distinguished: two dots (  $:$  ) are sometimes used at the end of a paragraph; a single dot has the value sometimes of a full-stop and sometimes of a comma. It is placed at various levels of the line, e.g.  $-\epsilon'$  ,  $-\epsilon\cdot$  ,  $-\epsilon..$  . Finally a comma-like sign must be mentioned. Its function is not always clear. It is possible that it sometimes marks the end of a word and

sometimes serves as a comma. It too occupies varying positions being sometimes in the middle of the line and sometimes at the bottom.

In order to complete a word or syllable at the end of a line the scribe uses various devices. The last letters are written one on top of the other, thus  $\pi\eta^{\circ}-\tau\epsilon$  ,  $\epsilon\beta\lambda$  ,  $\text{co}\phi\tilde{\text{c}}$  ,  $\text{zi}\alpha\kappa\tilde{\alpha}$  . At the end of a line the final  $\text{N}$  is indicated by a stroke, e.g.  $\epsilon\rho\bar{\text{o}}$  . All these signs I have endeavoured to reproduce in my copy. There are, however, variations occasionally in the size of the letters which I have not copied. It should be noticed that even when the scribe is obviously pressed for space, he never compresses the letters or in any way sacrifices their squareness.

The usual abbreviations for nomina sacra are used, e.g.  $\bar{\text{ic}}$  ,  $\bar{\text{xc}}$  ,  $\bar{\text{ihl}}$  ,  $\bar{\text{thlm}}$  ,  $\bar{\text{cfoc}}$  .

The difficulties of dating a Coptic MS are well-known. The number of dated MSS which would make comparison possible is small. Nor can Greek palaeography be used as a safe guide, "weil die Kopten die Entwicklung der griechischen Schrift zur Minuskel nicht mitgemacht und nur die Unziale, ausgehend von der frühen Form, die sie übernommen, in eigener und sehr konservativer Weise ausgebildet

haben." (J.M.Heer, Neue griechisch-säidische Evangelienfragmente, in Oriens Christianus, N.S., Band 2, Heft 1, Leipzig). There are great differences of opinion as to the probable date of BM Or.8810. In Crum, Ryl., No.63, which is of the same MS as BM Or.8810, is assigned to the 10th-11th centuries in the list of approximate dates of the MSS (p.241). On the other hand G.Garitte in his article, A propos des lettres de S.Antoine l'Ermite, Mus.LII, p.22, note 42, speaks of the MS as "du VIe siecle environ". It would ill become one who is not an expert in palaeography to pronounce a verdict as to the date of the MS. The following observations may, however, be offered.

The script most nearly akin to BM Or.8810 which I have been able to find is that of the Evangeliarium Graeco-Sahidice in Mor., vol.11 (M615, No.50 in Hyvernats Check List). In Hyvernats Check List, the author, adopting the classification of scripts from Zoega, Catal., considers that this MS belongs to class IV. He gives the date as 7th-8th centuries. J.M.Heer in the above mentioned article edits some leaves of the same MS. He there includes a very valuable discussion of the palaeographical data but does not arrive at an absolute date. Crum, cited by Heer, p.20, note 3, favoured a date in the 11th century. Not only is



the main hand of BM Or.8810 very like that of M615, but also the headings of the two MSS are written in the same rounded uncial hand. It may be of interest to note that the latter script also occurs in the set of dated Morgan MSS (9th century). There the body of the MS is written in this hand. Since the accents are also very alike, the general impression given by a comparison of BM Or.8810 and M615 is one of great similarity. Of the slight differences in detail the following may be mentioned: the vertical strokes of such letters as N, Π, ρ, τ, have usually a square foot in BM Or.8810, while in M615 they are as a rule pointed. Thus -

**N Π ρ τ**

**N Π ρ τ**

Also the letters Δ and λ generally have curved tops in BM Or.8810 but are straight in M615. Thus -

**Δ λ**

**Δ λ**

These letters with curved tops are in common use in the rounded uncial script of the 9th century, cf. the dated Morgan MSS. From Stegemann, Pal., it would appear that letters of this type do not occur earlier. Is it possible that BM Or.8810 marks a late stage in the transition from square to rounded uncials? If so, a date in the second half of the 8th century may perhaps be tentatively suggested.

Analysis of Contents.

BM Or.8810 comprises part of a collection of Besa's epistles.

1) fols.15r-19r. The beginning is missing. Addressed to Mary, mother of John, and Talou, mother of Macarius, reproving them for sinfulness and discontent.

2) fols.19r-22r. Addressed to nuns who cause disturbances.

3) fols.22r-24v. Addressed to Mary, sister of Matai, reproving her for pride and disobedience.

4) fols.24v-31v. (Here I agree with Cauwenbergh, *Étude*, p.5, in thinking that a new epistle begins with the words: ΠΛΗΝ ἡμεῖς ἁμαρτωλοί . Crum, *Ryl.*, p.27, thinks, however, that a single epistle runs from 22r to 31v.) Addressed to members of a monastic community, reproving them for thefts and lies.

5) fols.31v-37r. Addressed to monks who steal from the sick.

6) fols.37r-39r. Addressed to nuns who are accused of sinfulness and theft.

7) fols.39r-44v. Addressed to monks who transgress the laws of God and the commandments of the fathers.

8) fols.44v-60v. Addressed to monks, containing exhortations.

9) fols.60v-66r. Addressed to Matthew who has renounced his monastic vows.

10) fols.66r-71r. Addressed to the nun Antinoe who is reproached for sins of the tongue.

11) fols.71r-77r. Addressed to the nun Herai exhorting her to remain constant.

12) fols.77r-78v. On monks who have renounced their constancy and left the monastery.

13) fols.78v-86v. The end is missing. (Crum, Ryl., p.28, appears to consider that 78v-90v all belong to one epistle. Cauwenbergh, Étude, p.5, thinks that this epistle extends to 88v.) Addressed to the nun Herai who broke the pledge of her constancy.

14) fols.87r-88v. Part of a letter containing protestations of the writer's innocence with regard to the treatment of one of his charges in the face of the accusations of evil men.

15) fols.89r-90v. Part of a letter. (Possibly it is part of No.14.) It contains more protestations of the writer's innocence and references to active hostility against him.

Other Besa Writings.

The compilation of a list of Besa's works is by no means an easy task. The fragments that have survived the ravages of time have been dispersed throughout the world and are now to be found in libraries and museums as far apart as Michigan, Vienna, and Cairo. Identification is made even more hazardous by the fact that many collections are far from adequately catalogued. Yet another obstacle to be overcome is the poor state of preservation of some of the fragments: they are torn, mutilated and discoloured. Sometimes only a single leaf or less remains and to assign it to any one author is highly precarious. Judgment based only on the writer's style is necessarily subjective. Even W.E.Crum, whose knowledge of Coptic literature is unrivalled, in his Dictionary seldom differentiates between the writings of Besa and those of Shenoute (cf. Crum, Dict., p.viii).

In spite of all these difficulties, the time is ripe for an attempt to draw up a new list of the works of Besa since the accounts of Ladeuze, *Étude*, p.154, of Leipoldt, *Schenute*, p.17, and of Cauwenbergh, *Étude*, p.3ff, are neither comprehensive nor detailed. Besides the help which I have had from these and other books, I owe a special

debt of gratitude to the Rev. Canon A. van Lantschoot for much valuable information. Nevertheless the list cannot claim to be complete. I shall not describe the MSS discussed below, as I have only seen photostats or edited texts, not the originals.

Besa's Life of Shenoute can be dealt with briefly. Its Bohairic version has been edited both by E. Amélineau in MMAF, IV, p.1-91, and by J. Leipoldt in C41. The original Sahidic is lost except for a few fragments. Arabic and Syriac versions are also extant. The material is fully discussed in Leipoldt, Shenute, p.12ff, and also in C41, p.1ff. Two additional Sahidic fragments which have been brought to my notice may be mentioned, both now kept in the Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.

K.9471. One folio, pagination  $\overline{\Lambda\epsilon}$  ,  $[\overline{\Lambda 5}]$  . It contains part of a story about Apa Paul of  $\Pi\alpha\gamma\eta\tau$  who receives money from a man who is subsequently made a monk by Shenoute. There follows a story, which is incomplete, containing apparently the Sahidic version of the story edited in C41, p.14f (beginning with para 14).

K.9803. One folio, pagination  $\overline{\sigma\alpha}$  ,  $\overline{\sigma\beta}$  . It contains a story of healings in a city. Shenoute's name is mentioned. Honours are lavished on someone, probably Shenoute. The MS

is badly torn and faded. In view of the many panegyrics upon Shenoute (cf. C41, p.1, and Leipoldt, Shenute, p.18f), it is difficult to say whether the two Vienna fragments go back to Besa or not. The parallel with the Bohairic "Life" makes the case stronger for K.9471.

It will now be convenient to consider the set of fragments which must have originally belonged to the same MS as BM Or.8810.

BM Or.8810. For a description and analysis see above p.4ff. For text parallels see under Zoega CCV, Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, fols.109-110, Munier 9292.

Zoega CCIV. MSS so numbered are catalogued in Zoega, Catal. This MS is now kept in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples. Pagination  $\overline{\mu\theta}$  -  $\overline{\nu\varsigma}$ ,  $\overline{\xi\alpha}$  -  $\overline{\xi\beta}$ ,  $\overline{\rho\epsilon}$  -  $\overline{\rho\eta}$ ,  $\overline{\varsigma\Gamma}$  -  $\overline{\varsigma\delta}$ .

Fragment  $\overline{\mu\theta}$  -  $\overline{\nu\varsigma}$ . Addressed to members of a monastic community exhorting them to lead a good life in prayer, fasting and virginity and to beware of the devil. Sayings of "our father" (probably Shenoute) to this effect are recalled. Neither the beginning nor the end of the letter are extant.

Fragment  $\overline{\xi\alpha}$  -  $\overline{\xi\beta}$ . To members of a monastic community reminding them of what they have been taught and calling them to repentance. Neither the beginning nor the end of

the letter are extant.

Fragment  $\overline{\rho\tau\epsilon}$  -  $\overline{\rho\tau\eta}$ . For a parallel text see Zoega CCV,  $\overline{\tau\zeta\beta}$ , col.I, line 9 -  $\overline{\tau\zeta\varsigma}$ , col.I, line 11. To monks. The end of one letter demanding repentance. On  $\overline{\rho\tau\varsigma}$  a new letter begins. They are exhorted to remember the Lord. Sinfulness will not profit on the Day of Judgment. The letter is incomplete.

Fragment  $\overline{c\tau}$  -  $\overline{c\eta\beta}$ . For a parallel text to  $\overline{c\iota\zeta}$ , col.II, line 20 -  $\overline{c\iota\theta}$ , col.II, line 18, see Zoega CCVI,  $\overline{\gamma\zeta\theta}$  -  $\overline{\gamma\omicron}$ . Beginning missing, addressed to an erring monk who is upbraided for the theft of the loaves for the Eucharist and for absenting himself for the night along with a younger monk. Exhortations to all to avoid evil ways and warnings and threats to the disobedient follow. On  $\overline{c\kappa\beta}$  a new complete letter begins introduced by a prayer-like heading expressing trust in God in time of trouble. To the brethren. They are reminded of "our father's" exhortations and reproved for theft, intercourse with people outside the monastery and vanity. There follow regulations concerning work and concerning the sick in the infirmary. On  $\overline{c\mu\Delta}$  a complete letter to the nun Aphthonia begins. She is reproached for having disgraced her convent and broken many rules. On  $\overline{c\eta}$  an incomplete letter begins addressed to the

nun Antinoe (cf. BM Or.8810, 66r). Besa is here explicitly mentioned as the writer. He reminds her of the vow of poverty and emphasises its importance.

Ryl.63. This MS is kept in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. For a description see Crum, Ryl. Part of two folios, pagination lost. To a nun reproving her for lawlessness and vice.

K.965. MSS so numbered are now kept in the Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. K.965 is edited in Wessely, Studien, XVIII, p.135ff under its old number K.u.K. Fidei-Commiss.-Bibliothek 17.548. 309/6. Pagination  $\overline{\rho\kappa\epsilon} - \overline{\rho\lambda}$ ,  $\overline{\rho\lambda\epsilon} - \overline{\rho\lambda\zeta}$ ,  $\overline{\rho\kappa\eta}$  for  $\overline{\rho\lambda\eta}$ ,  $[\overline{\rho\lambda\theta}]$ ,  $\overline{\rho\eta}$  for  $\overline{\rho\alpha}$ . The six folios are all part of the quire  $\overline{\Theta}$ . Part of a letter containing exhortations to the brethren to do good and eschew evil. Sins of the tongue and acts of violence are reproved with the support of a saying of "our father".

The rest of the MSS which appear to contain genuine Besa writings may be grouped according to the places where they are now kept.

The following four MSS are now in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples.

Zoega CCV. Pagination  $\overline{\tau\eta\theta} - \overline{\tau\theta}$ ,  $\overline{\chi\upsilon\theta} - \overline{\psi\beta}$ . A parallel text to  $\overline{\tau\zeta\beta}$ , col.I, line 9 -  $\overline{\tau\zeta\delta}$ , col.I, line 11 may be



found in Zoega CCIV,  $\overline{\rho\epsilon} - \overline{\rho\eta}$ . Also  $\overline{\chi\upsilon\theta} - \overline{\psi\beta}$  is paralleled in BM Or.8810, 50v, col.II, line 23 - 52v, col.II, line 17.

Fragment  $\overline{\tau\eta\theta} - \overline{\tau\omicron}$ . Subject-matter additional to that discussed under Zoega CCIV,  $\overline{\rho\epsilon} - \overline{\rho\eta}$  comprises moral counsel and warnings against sin but the beginning of the letter is not supplied. At the end of the next letter further exhortations are added and promises of eternal bliss awaiting the virtuous. The end of the letter is missing.

Fragment  $\overline{\chi\upsilon\theta} - \overline{\psi\beta}$ . Exhortations to monks.

Zoega CCVI. Pagination  $\overline{\gamma\frac{3}{2}\theta} - \overline{\gamma\omicron}$ ,  $\overline{\phi\overline{\eta}\Gamma} - \overline{\phi\frac{3}{2}\beta}$ ,  $\overline{\phi\frac{3}{2}\epsilon} - \overline{\phi\omicron 5}$ ,  $[\overline{\phi\overline{\eta}\alpha}] - \overline{\phi\upsilon\Delta}$ .

Fragment  $\overline{\gamma\frac{3}{2}\theta} - \overline{\gamma\omicron}$  is paralleled in Zoega CCIV,  $\overline{\varsigma\overline{\eta}}$ , col.II, line 20 -  $\overline{\varsigma\theta}$ , col.II, line 18, q.v.

Fragment  $\overline{\phi\overline{\eta}\Gamma} - \overline{\phi\frac{3}{2}\beta}$ . End of a section referring to suffering caused by a famine. A prayer to God to spare the monastic communities follows. On  $\overline{\phi\overline{\eta}\Gamma}$  a new section begins with a heading containing a doxology. There follows an account of famine and disease in the 9th year, the 6th year after Shenoute's death, on the 12th day of the 7th month. The monks cared for the afflicted who took refuge with them. The end is missing.

Fragment  $\overline{\phi\frac{3}{2}\epsilon} - \overline{\phi\omicron 5}$ . To the brethren. Both the beginning and the end are lost. Repentance is urged and respect for

the superiors. Warnings against thefts, lies, defilements and vanities.

Fragment [ $\overline{\Phi\Gamma\Delta}$ ]- $\overline{\Phi\Upsilon\Delta}$ . To nuns. Beginning missing. Exhortations and warnings. A personal visit is threatened. In the meantime the bearers of the letter are empowered to make further investigations. On  $\overline{\Phi\Upsilon\Theta}$  a new section begins with a heading expressing trust in God. Reference to the sinfulness of and grief caused by the false brethren. Exhortations follow. The end is missing.

Zoega CCVII. One folio without pagination. It commences with the following heading, "Catechesis of our holy father Apa Besa the archimandrite which he gave on the commemoration day of our lord the holy father, the prophet Apa Shenoute on the 7th of the month Epiphi in the peace of God. Amen". The blessing of God is invoked on those assembled. Shenoute's honour in life and death is extolled. The end is lost.

Zoega CCXXXVI. Two folios, pagination  $\overline{\rho\Gamma}$  -  $\overline{\rho\Delta}$ , the pagination of the second folio is lost. A parallel text to that of  $\overline{\rho\Gamma}$  -  $\overline{\rho\Delta}$  is found in BM175,  $\overline{CK5}$ , col.I, line 8 -  $\overline{CK3}$ , col.II, line 24. The text of the second folio is paralleled in BM175,  $\overline{C\Lambda\Theta}$ , col.I, line 3 -  $\overline{C\Lambda\Gamma}$ , col.II, line 19. For the edition and an analysis of the subject-

matter see under BM175 below.

The following two MSS are now in the British Museum, London.

BM175. The numbers are those given in Crum, BM. See there for a description of the MS. Pagination  $\overline{C\kappa\alpha} - \overline{C\lambda\Delta}$ . For text parallels with Zoega CCXXXVI see above. Also, BM176 is parallel with BM175,  $\overline{C\kappa\eta}$ , col.II, line 17 -  $\overline{C\kappa\theta}$ , col.II, line 31. The text is edited in Amélineau, Schenoudi, vol.II, p.268ff. The text begins with the words, "O foolish virgins" which is almost certainly not the beginning of the epistle. It seems to be addressed to nuns. They are reproved and told that they alone are responsible for their sins. In this connection the writer pleads his innocence and that of the fathers already dead. The writer refers to the first and second fathers, both dead, whose identification is difficult. Cauwenbergh, Étude, p.147, identifies them with Pgoi, the founder of the White Monastery, and Shenoute. Pshoi is next mentioned. Again to suggest an identification seems precarious. Leopoldt, Schenute, p.37, and Amélineau, Schenoudi, see in him the founder and abbot of the Red Monastery of the same name. There follows a reference to Shenoute and Papnoute. From a further reference to them on  $\overline{C\lambda\alpha}$  it seems probable

that they were entrusted with the task of supervising the nuns. Amélineau's identification of the former with the famous abbot is impossible if Besa be accepted as author. The writer goes on to say that for their sins the nuns can blame no one but themselves. Judgment will fall upon them alone. Because of their unworthiness, the Spirit cannot live in them. They are the abode of unclean spirits and demons. The writer states that he intended to write before, viz. three years before "our father's" death, but Satan prevented him. At the Last Judgment the writer will be judged by his fathers, his predecessors, and will himself judge his charges. On  $\overline{c\lambda\beta}$  a new letter also to nuns begins. The responsibility of the mother superior and her deputy is stressed as is also that of each nun. Troubles should be reported to the writer who will settle them either through the superiors or through envoys. The nuns are upbraided for being secretive. The end is missing. Following Leipoldt, Crum and van Cauwenbergh, I have assigned this text to Besa. It should be noted, however, that Amélineau edits it as Shenoute's and Zoega, Catal. also considers the parallel text (No.CCXXXVI) to be by Shenoute.

BM176. Part of a leaf, pagination lost. The text is

paralleled in BM175, q.v.

The following MS is now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leyden.

Insinger 57. MSS so numbered are catalogued in Pleyte-Boeser. The text of this MS is edited in the above catalogue. Pagination  $\overline{\tau\upsilon\alpha}$  -  $\overline{\tau\upsilon\beta}$ . A parallel text to  $\overline{\tau\upsilon\alpha}$ , col.I, line 1 -  $\overline{\tau\upsilon\beta}$ , col.II, line 5 is to be found in K.9224, [ $\overline{\rho\lambda\gamma}$ ], col.I, line 24 -  $\overline{\rho\lambda\delta}$ , col.II, last line (27). Addressed apparently to monks. They are exhorted not to lie nor to slander their fellows. They are reminded of the curse pronounced by "our father" on those who do so. The section on  $\overline{\tau\upsilon\beta}$  which is not paralleled in K.9224 contains warnings of judgment and of the desert of the sinner. Both the beginning and the end are lost.

The next MS is now in the University of Michigan General Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Michigan 158/22 (550/22). Pagination  $\overline{\rho\upsilon\zeta}$  -  $\overline{\rho\upsilon\eta}$ . To nuns. The writer threatens that it may become necessary for him to visit them in anger. It is not his task to visit them except in grave matters, but rather to teach them by means of letters. He accuses himself of weakness in his dealings with his nuns which displeased God while "our father" lived who has not been long dead. But God will

give him strength instead of weakness when the time requires it. Both the beginning and the end of the letter are lost.

The following MSS are kept in the Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

K.9224. One folio, edited in Wessely, Studien, IX, p.155. The recto has no pagination, the verso is paged  $\overline{\rho\lambda\Delta}$ .  $[\overline{\rho\lambda\Gamma}]$ , col.I, line 24 -  $\overline{\rho\lambda\Delta}$ , col.II, last line (27) is paralleled in Insinger 57,  $\overline{\tau\upsilon\alpha}$ , col.I, line 1 -  $\overline{\tau\upsilon\beta}$ , col.II, line 5. For an analysis of subject-matter see under Insinger 57 above. K.9224 has in addition a number of quotations from Proverbs before the parallel text starts. The beginning and end are lost.

K.9323. Pagination  $\overline{\tau\upsilon\alpha}$  -  $\overline{\tau\upsilon\beta}$ . I have published the text in Mus.LXIV, p.261ff. Only the top half of the leaf is preserved.  $\overline{\tau\upsilon\alpha}$ , col.II, line 1 to the end of the fragment is parallel to Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, 127r, col.I, line 3 - 127v, col.II, line 4. As the Vienna fragment is very badly mutilated the subject-matter will be dealt with under Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, fol.127. All of interest that can be read in the first column of  $\overline{\tau\upsilon\alpha}$ , which has no parallel, is a reference to "the godloving presbyter archimandrite."

The following MSS are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Paris 130<sup>1</sup>, fols.8-21. Pagination  $\overline{\tau\kappa}[3]$  -  $\overline{\tau\lambda\eta}$ , the pagination of 14r-16v is lacking. 17r-19v are very badly mutilated and also without pagination. Then follow  $\overline{\gamma\lambda\epsilon}$  -  $\overline{\gamma\lambda\varsigma}$ ,  $\overline{\gamma\lambda\theta}$  -  $\overline{\gamma\mu}$ . Fols.8-16 seem to be consecutive. It is impossible to ascertain the original positions of fols. 17-19. A new fragment begins with fol.20, then one folio is missing and fol.21 follows.

Fols.8-16. To members of a monastic community. Exhortations and threats of punishment in the monastery and warnings of the Day of Judgment supported by a reference to "our father's" words. Rules about fasting and work. No gifts from people outside the monastery may be accepted, nor may the neighbouring town or village be visited without permission from the superior.

Fols.17-19. More rules concerning the strict separation of those within the monastery from those without. Reproaches and exhortations.

Fols.20-21. Exhortations to obedience and promises of rewards for the good.

Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, fol.42. Pagination lost. It is the first folio of a quire ( $\overline{\eta}$  ?). To members of a monastic community. It contains threats of punishment for jealousy, fighting, hatred etc. Possibly there is a reference to one sinner in

particular. Exhortations and denunciations with a reminder of "our father" and "our fathers". Neither the beginning nor the end are extant.

Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, fols.109-110. The two folios are badly mutilated and the pagination is lost. The text is paralleled in BM Or.8810, 43r, col.II, line 11 - 45r, col.I, line 15. For subject-matter see Analysis of Contents of BM Or.8810, p.15.

Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, fol.127. Pagination lost, last folio of quire  $\overline{\text{KB}}$ . I have published the text in Mus.LXIV, p.261ff. The text of 127r, col.I, line 3 - 127v, col.II, line 4 is paralleled in K.9323,  $\overline{\text{TA}}$ , col.II, line 1 to the end of the fragment. End of a letter with references to the preaching of the word of God. A new letter begins on 127r with the heading, "A letter of our godloving father Apa Besa to the people living in the villages ( $\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ ) when they began to fight one another, urging them not to war with each other". Besa writes to the presbyters, deacons, administrators ( $\pi\rho\omicron\nu\nu\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ ), headmen ( $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ ) and all the people. He disapproves of their quarrel over a "piece of wood" as unworthy of Christians. The end of the letter is missing.

The next MS is now in Cairo.



Munier 9292. MSS so numbered are catalogued in Mun. One folio, pagination lost. The text is edited in the above catalogue. It is parallel with BM Or.8810, 84v, col.I, line 6 - 85v, col.I, line 5. For subject-matter see Analysis of Contents of BM Or.8810, p.16.

The MSS so far listed may be ascribed with some measure of certainty to Besa. It will now be necessary to turn to a number of MSS the authorship of which is rather more doubtful though they have been connected with the name of Besa by various scholars at one time or another.

The following MS is kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Clarendon Press b.4, fragment 22. Pagination  $\overline{\text{TNE}} - \overline{\text{TNH}}$ . To monks. The writer inveighs against the following funerary customs, the building of tombs (not as Cauwenbergh, Étude, p.150, says, "une hutte de paille". He misread  $\text{NETN}\alpha$   $\text{TO}\lambda\mu\alpha$   $\text{2}\rho\alpha\iota$   $\bar{\text{N}}\text{2HTN}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\text{OYOEI}\omega$   $\text{NIM}$   $\text{EP2WB}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\text{TEI2E}$   $\text{EKETOY}\mu\alpha$   $\text{ENEYCW}\mu\alpha$  as  $\text{NETN}\alpha\text{TO..2}$   $\text{2}\rho\alpha\iota$   $\text{N2HTN}$   $\text{NOYOEI}\omega$   $\text{NIM}$   $\text{EP2WB}$   $\text{NTO2}$   $\text{EKET}$   $\text{OY}\mu\alpha$  — ), and the appointing of a day of commemoration for themselves. Moreover they must not use force against pagans and idolaters in order to bring them into the monasteries. It is true that the prophets used force but this, though

good in its time, is superseded by our Lord's teaching. Some monastic rules are referred to, viz. not to buy or to sell without permission, not to use the ferry without payment, not to go out making the necessity of the sick an excuse. All these things the writer commanded apart from that which was laid down by "our holy fathers" previously. Only he is entitled to make rules in the communities. The beginning of the letter is not extant. The scribe clearly assigns the text to Shenoute for he writes ΟΥΔΙΟC CΙΝΟΥΘΙΟΥ as the heading of the next section (ΤΝΗ) for which Shenoute's authorship is not doubted. Leipoldt, Schenute, p.41, followed by Cauwenbergh, Étude, p.4, attributes Clarendon Press b.4, fragment 22 to Besa chiefly on account of the information contained in the following reference, "After this long time since our first holy father died and our second holy father died too and after the sixty years after my insignificant self entered this way of life and donned the habit"(ΤΝΞ). Leipoldt identifies the two fathers as Pgol and Shenoute respectively. The precariousness of such an identification has already been pointed out above (cf. p.24). Moreover Crum's note in his review of Mun., under No.9270, in JEA IV, p.69 may be mentioned. Munier 9270 also contains a reference to

two fathers already dead but Crum confidently attributes it to Shenoute. Another argument adduced by Leipoldt in favour of Besa as author is that the use of force against pagans is deprecated, while it is known that Shenoute himself used force. But this may well prove to be of doubtful value. Besa's loyalty to Shenoute was such (cf. p.47f) that it seems unlikely that he would have explicitly forbidden the following of his predecessor's example and precept, although he might have let it lapse. For these reasons, not to mention the style which does not seem in any way characteristic of Besa, I am disinclined to accept Besa authorship for this MS.

Munier 9255. Three folios without pagination. It is edited in Mun. To a nun. The beginning is missing. Exhortations to be submissive. Work is an essential duty in order that food may be earned. She is upbraided for iniquity and boasting and encouraged to be virtuous. It closes with a colophon which led Munier to attribute the text to St. Antony. But, as Lantschoot, Recueil, p.148, states, an Antony is the donor. Crum in JEA IV, p.68 also describes Antony as the donor and gives Shenoute or Besa as author. The Rev. Canon A. van Lantschoot (in a letter to me) does not however consider Besa to be the author. Both subject-matter and style seem to give little indication of

the author's identity.

Munier 9262, fol.3. No pagination. It is edited in Mun. To village-headmen, upbraiding the villagers for quarrelling and fighting and exhorting them to keep the peace. Munier attributes the whole MS (4 fols.) to Shenoute. But Crum in JEA IV, p.69 attributes fol.3 to Besa on the grounds that, "its opening words are from the initial words of his 'Epistle unto the people that dwell in the villages (ἑπὶ τοῖς κλοῦν), at the time when they began to contend together, (wherein) he admonisheth them not to fight with one another'(Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, 128)". Crum clearly refers to Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, fol.127 (cf. p.29). A comparison between the Paris leaf and the edited text of Munier 9262 shows that only very few words are actually identical and the similarity of subject-matter does not seem to warrant the acceptance of Besa as the author.

K.923. One folio, pagination  $C_{\frac{1}{2}}^{\overline{3}} - C_{\frac{1}{2}}^{\overline{H}}$ , the latter being marked as the last page of the quire  $\overline{IH}$ . To a nun accused of favouritism. Both favourer and favoured shall be made miserable at the Judgment. The favouritism referred to seems to be over food. It results in unhappiness for the slighted and arises from fleshly desire and lack of true love. Or else it results in vain joy for the favourite. Repentance is urged. Crum suggested that this fragment

might possibly originate with Besa (cf. Crum, Dict., p.496b). In spite of the smallness of the fragment both subject-matter (cf. perhaps BM Or.8810, 56v) and style certainly suggest that it might well be by Besa.

K.9027-9029 and K.9100. These are all fragments of the same MS. According to the pagination their order should be as follows: K.9100, K.9028, K.9029, K.9027, viz.  $\overline{CK\Theta} - \overline{C\lambda}, \overline{C[\omega]3} - \overline{CN\beta}$ . Probably to monks. The writer says that they are blessed who, though sinners first, repent and reform at the end while woes are pronounced on those who lapse from virtue and remain unrepentant. Many who wear the monk's habit though thinking they live are dead. They think that their abode is "heavenly Jerusalem" but it is really Amente. This even applies to those at the altar and those connected with the body and the blood of the Lord (probably those celebrating the Eucharist). The writer inveighs against man-hating which he addresses in the vocative. He extols virginity but says that it cannot be perfect without love for God and man. Repentance is commended and rewards are promised for the good. The sinners are warned of God's wrath. Professor W.Till kindly drew my attention to notes which he had collected made by former users (especially W.E.Crum and L.Th.Lefort) of the Vienna MSS. K.9100, K.9028, K.9029 and K.9027 were marked

as possibly by Besa. Though the subject-matter does not preclude his authorship, the style, I think, is very different from that usually employed by Besa. It is highly rhetorical and antithetical. Moreover the rhetorical device of personifying a vice, viz. man-hating on  $\overline{\text{C}\mu\text{H}} - \overline{\text{C}\mu\theta}$ , does not occur elsewhere in Besa's writings as far as I know.

K.9099. Pagination  $\overline{\text{C}\Gamma\text{E}} - \overline{\text{C}\Gamma\Delta}$ . Probably to a monk or monks. Both the beginning and end are missing. The writer demands full obedience. He wishes to be informed of everything that is done. The stewards ( $\text{NETOIKONOMEI}$ ) are to ask permission for all they do and those who are to be in authority have still to be tested. In the past nothing was ever done without the writer's knowledge and consent. He received weekly reports and no selling or buying was done without authorisation. My attention was drawn to this fragment by the Rev. Canon A. van Lantschoot who suggested that it might merit examination in connection with Besa's writings. The subject-matter is such as might well have been dealt with by Besa. But the language is insufficiently characteristic to enable one to affirm that Besa is the author.

Zoega CCXXXVIII. Two folios. Pagination lost. Part of a letter to a nun. She has betrayed her trust, causing

others to fall, and deceived the writer with sweet words. The writer assures her that he does not hate her and exhorts her to cease from hypocrisy and to report honestly to him. He is hated by God because he forbore with her. He states that it is wrong to pamper men whom Jesus entrusted to those in charge. Such a course will lead to grief and disturbance in the community. Epistles written previously by someone else are referred to together with former messages from the writer. The nun is upbraided for having conversed alone with the elder who holds a position of trust at the gate of the convent. Such an indiscretion was expressly forbidden in the epistles referred to above and by the writer himself. Amélineau assigns this fragment to Shenoute (cf. the edition in Amélineau, Schenoudi, vol.II, p.324ff). Zoega leaves the question of authorship open. There are, I think, several indications that it may have been written by Besa. The references to epistles, apparently carrying great authority, by someone other than the writer may perhaps refer to rules contained in epistles of Shenoute. (For a similar rule of Shenoute on monastic seclusion see Leipoldt, Schenute, p.145f. The Coptic text referred to may be found in C73, p.107, line 22ff.) The writer's self-accusation of having forborne with a sinner

is similarly expressed in Michigan 158/22 (cf. p.26), and his concern for severity in enforcing discipline is also in line with Besa's attitude. Moreover the style and the general trend of subject-matter support the attributing of the fragment to Besa. There is of course no conclusive evidence for the author's identity but it remains, I think, possible that it originated with Besa.

Insinger 89. Pagination  $\phi\overline{\text{N}}\Theta - \phi\overline{\text{Z}}_2$ . The fragment is edited in Pleyte-Boeser. It contains the end of one epistle and part of another. Only a few lines remain of the first letter asking who will weep for him on whom these infirmities were brought. The letter closes with the exclamation  $\alpha 2 \alpha 2$ , a rare interjection which also occurs in BM213, see below. The next letter (headed  $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\eta$ ) is addressed to a nun and obviously written by an abbot or monastic superior. The following summary of the subject-matter is based on the reconstruction of the text in O.von Lemm, Koptische Miscellen, I-C, Leipzig, 1914, (Misc.XXVI). O.von Lemm ends his discussion with the words, "Sollte nicht vielleicht in diesen spärlichen Überresten ein Brief des Shenute oder eines seiner Nachfolger stecken?" The nun is called blind and full of fleshly passions. She had apparently asked to be transferred from



"mother" Maria to the house of Theodora. The prudence of her request is questioned. This fragment was brought to my notice by the Rev. Canon A. van Lantschoot who thought it worth including in a study of Besa's works. Crum, Dict., p.536b, refers to the fragment as Sh(?) i.e. possibly by Shenoute or Besa. The mutilated state of the fragment makes it difficult to place. It may be noted that the name Theodora does not occur in Besa's writings elsewhere. The fragment bears no distinctive characteristics which would indicate Besa as author.

Cairo 8008. MSS so numbered are catalogued in Crum, Mon. Pagination  $\overline{\Gamma}$  -  $\overline{\Lambda}$ . The text is edited in C42, p.195ff. To a monastic congregation. It contains warnings of God's wrath towards sinners at considerable length. Punishments for the wicked and rewards for the good are foretold. There is a reference to "our first father who died commanding us not to sin". Crum, Mon., p.4, attributes the text to Shenoute or Besa. Leipoldt edits it as Shenoute's. I have little doubt that the text is not by Besa. Though its subject-matter is in line with much that he has written, the style is far more vivid and rhetorical than is Besa's wont. Another alien feature is the long and detailed exegesis of one Biblical quotation, viz. Jer.6.11. If, as seems likely, Shenoute was the author, the "first

father" is probably Pgol. In addition to this it may be noticed that Mun. says that No.9265 is of the same MS as Cairo 8008. Munier 9265 he attributes to Shenoute. Both may well have originally formed part of one work.

Zoega CCXXXII. Pagination C $\overline{\text{C}}$  $\overline{\text{C}}$  -  $\overline{\text{C}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{C}}$  -  $\overline{\text{C}}$  $\Delta$ ,  $\overline{\text{C}}$  -  $\overline{\text{C}}$ 5 ,  $\overline{\text{C}}$  $\Delta$  -  $\overline{\text{C}}$ H . It is edited in C73, p.114ff. Various monastic rules. Zoega, Catal., ascribes this text to Besa and is followed by Ladeuze, Étude, p.154. Leipoldt, Shenute, p.6, on the other hand attributes it to Shenoute (cf. also his edition in C73). I have no doubt that this text is not by Besa. The character of its contents is legalistic and the writer seems to be trying to draw up a detailed set of laws. This is in contrast to the compositions of Besa which usually deal with a specific situation. In a later section of the text the writer employs highly rhetorical language and his involved exegesis of Biblical passages is unlike Besa's customary style. The reference to a sojourn in the desert at the beginning of the fragment would also seem to suggest that Shenoute and not Besa is the author (cf. Leipoldt, Shenute, p.36f).

Finally a group of fragments must be examined which are all of the same MS: BM213, Ryl.71, Insinger 68, Cairo 8009. The Rev. Canon A.van Lantschoot thinks it pos-

sible that Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, fol.42 (cf. p.28f) also belongs to the same MS. As far as can be seen from a study of photo-stats of these fragments it seems extremely probable that this is the case. Needless to say, fragments of one MS are not necessarily by the same author. The authorship of each fragment must therefore be considered separately.

BM213. Pagination  $\overline{\alpha 3} - \overline{\lambda H}$  (for  $\overline{\alpha H}$ ). Part of the last folio of quire  $\overline{\Gamma}$ . On prayer, quoting Mt.6.5-(6). The validity of this dominical saying is stressed because he who pronounced it is creator and judge. On  $\overline{\lambda H}$  there is the heading  $\kappa \alpha \nu \omega \nu \iota \omega \alpha \nu \nu \eta \nu$  in the top margin of the page. There follows teaching on fasting (Mt.6.17-18). The writer regrets (note the interjection  $\omega 2 \omega 2 \alpha 2 \alpha 2$ , cf. p.37) that man did not know his (God's) glory. Servants who receive from their masters' substance owe obedience. The beginning and end are lost. Authorship: Crum, BM, says that the fragment is perhaps by Shenoute. In Crum, Dict., p.536b, he quotes it as "Sh(Besa?)". The heading on  $\overline{\lambda H}$  does not seem to support Besa authorship. The text itself is too short and too fragmentary for conclusions to be drawn.

Ryl.71. Pagination  $[\overline{\alpha \Delta}] - [\overline{\alpha \beta}]$ ,  $\overline{\alpha \Gamma} - \overline{\alpha \Delta}$ . To members of a monastic community. On the blessings for the good and the punishments for the sinners. There are references to say-

ings of "our holy father". One of these has been shown to be by Shenoute, while another is probably by a John (cf. Crum, Ryl. under No.71). The beginning and end are lost. Authorship: According to Crum, Ryl. the fragment is by a successor or disciple of Shenoute, possibly by John. The subject-matter could lead one to think that Besa is the author except that, in denouncing the sinners, the writer puts them into the same category as the heretics and all who divide the Catholic Church. Elsewhere the conceptions both of heretical factions within the Church and of her Catholicity do not, as far as I know, come within Besa's orbit.

Insinger 68. One folio without pagination. It is edited in Pleyte-Boeser. Apparently to a monastic community. The fragment opens with a list of virtues by which the gate of righteousness is opened so that Christ's reward may be received. Warnings of judgment for sinners follow. Christ will judge. The fragment closes with a phrase which seems to imply that "my holy father" will be associated with the giving of judgment. Authorship: My attention was drawn to a marginal note in Crum's copy of Pleyte-Boeser where he says that this fragment may perhaps be by Besa. Certainly the subject-matter and style suggest that Besa might well be the author.

Cairo 8009. (now Coptic Museum No.3742). One leaf without pagination. The folio begins with a difficult heading:

[I]WANNON Q (which I read and which is perhaps more likely than that in Crum, Mon. under No.8009,  $\overset{2}{H}$  )KE TOY  
 ΘΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΚΙΝΟΥΘΙΟΥ Β

It is discussed in Crum, BM, under No.213. Perhaps the following tentative translation may be suggested, "Of John, both (the man) of God and also (the man) of our holy father Apa Shenoute, 2". The fragment contains part of a discourse on the coming of Christ and exhortations to the brethren to cleave to the flock of the true shepherd Jesus.

Authorship: If the above translation of the heading be correct the fragment is by a certain John (cf. above under BM213 and Ryl.71) connected in some way with Shenoute. But Crum's suggestion must be noticed that perhaps both BM213 and Cairo 8009 are "parts of a commentary on St.John" (cf. Crum, BM, under No.213). Explicit references to the Fourth Gospel, however, only occur in the Cairo fragment. Though it seemed necessary to examine this fragment as it forms part of the same MS as those preceding, I have little doubt that the text is not by Besa. Not only the difficult heading but also the subject-matter, which is more technically theological than is customary with Besa, militates against the acceptance of Besa as author.

Besa the Man.

To write a biography of Besa is unfortunately impossible. No Life of Besa, even if such a thing was ever written by one of his monks, has come down to us. The little that can be said has to be culled from his own writings which do, to some extent, portray the man, and from the few references to him which have survived in Coptic literature.

The name Besa seems to be connected with the Egyptian god Bes, the ending -α being an abbreviation of the Greek ending -αC (cf. Heuser, Personennamen, p.44). The relationship between the name and ancient Egyptian mythology must not lead us to infer that Besa's parentage or background were non-Christian. In fact nothing can be deduced from it. Christians in Egypt had no scruples over adopting names associated with the names of pagan divinities because the ancient mythologies had to a large extent lost their power and attraction (cf. Leipoldt, Schenute, p.28ff).

Very few chronological data of Besa's life are known. Both the date of his birth and that of his death are unknown. From a fragment of a leaf now in the British Museum (BM359) it would appear that an Apa Besa had an interview with the emperor Zeno who came to the throne in 474 A.D. (cf. Crum, BM, under No.359). Dr. P.Kahle kindly informed

me that a fragment of the same leaf is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Copt. g-3-18). But even when pieced together nothing new of interest emerges. If Crum's reading and identification of the two names be correct, it can be concluded that Besa, Shenoute's successor, lived until after 474 A.D.

From a date given by Besa himself and contained in Zoega CCVI,  $\phi\overline{\text{N}}\Delta$ , the date of Shenoute's death, and consequently that of Besa's succession as abbot of the White Monastery, can be calculated. The reference is to a famine in the 9th year, the 6th year after Shenoute's death, on the 12th day of the 7th month. The 9th year is reckoned from one of the indiction years. These were the years of the tax assessment which was carried out every 15 years from the time of Diocletian (297 A.D.). According to Leipoldt's detailed discussion (cf. Leipoldt, Shenute, p.44ff), the year of Shenoute's death is 451 A.D. by which time Besa, no doubt, had become abbot of the White Monastery. The date of the famine (457 A.D.) provides a more certain terminus a quo for Besa's death than that based on Crum's conjecture discussed above.

For those who, like Leipoldt and van Cauwenbergh, accept Besa as the author of Clarendon Press b.4, frag-

ment 22 there is another date to be considered. On  $\overline{\text{TN}}^3$  it is made clear that the writer has been a monk for at least 60 years (but cf. p.31f). The additional fact that Besa was probably succeeded by Zenobios, a secretary of Shenoute's (cf. JTS, V, p.132), does not enable either the length of Besa's life or his tenure of office to be defined any more closely.

What other external facts of significance are recorded concerning Besa's life? On 89r-89v Besa seems to refer to a plot against his life. He asks his readers to pray for him, "that we", he says, "may recover from the infirmity". Cauwenbergh, *Étude*, p.151, note 4, comments, "La maladie de Bésa.....est peut-être la conséquence d'une tentative criminelle". I feel, however, that the reference is not to a physical illness but rather to human frailty in the sight of God, an interpretation which seems to be supported by Besa's quotation of Jer.18.23 in the same context. Apart from this, no other notable incident in Besa's life is known.

That Besa spent some considerable time as a monk under Shenoute seems clear from a reference in his *Life of Shenoute* (cf. C41, p.7). Moreover a reference in BML75,  $\overline{\text{CK}}^3$  suggests that Besa, already in Shenoute's life-time, had



attained to a position of trust and responsibility. He tells his readers that he had intended to write previously, that is to say three years before the death of "our father". It is clear from the context that the proposed letter was to have contained exhortations and pastoral advice.

The panegyric on Macarius of Tkou (MMAF, IV, p.110) states that Shenoute in his old age nominated Besa to be at the head of the brethren in his stead.

Like his predecessor Shenoute, Besa too had the title archimandrite. This is attested by the heading of the catechesis contained in Zoega CCVII and also by a panegyric on Besa in Paris 131<sup>7</sup>, fol.37. And like him Besa also had a secretary (cf. BML75,  $\overline{CK5}$  ) who helped to lighten the heavy burden of his work. The Paris fragment is also interesting in that it throws light on the esteem in which Besa's memory was held after his death. Unfortunately it is impossible to date the composition of this panegyric. It would appear probable that this Paris leaf is only a 9th century copy of it. At the beginning of the fragment there is a section in praise of the Virgin Mary. The writer declares that his tongue cannot adequately praise the holy Virgin, "rather", he continues, "I will

turn the rudder of my humble tongue elsewhere for the memory of Apa Besa, the archimandrite, has come into my heart....". The eulogy extolling Besa's righteousness occupies the remainder of the leaf. An indirect testimony to Besa's reputation in monastic circles of later ages is the preservation of his writings and their continued copying.

In order to appreciate Besa's character and work more fully, it is necessary to examine the various influences which were at work in his life. Again the main source of information is Besa's own writings. There, no doubt, the Bible is the element most readily discernible. In fact the Bible holds so prominent a place in the writings of Besa that his use of it has been made the subject of a special study (cf. p.83ff). But his writings also reveal a high regard for monastic and ecclesiastical tradition. Most pronounced, of course, is Besa's dependence on his master and predecessor Shenoute. His great regard for Shenoute is expressed at length in his Life of Shenoute which, in spite of its conventional form, gives a clear picture of Besa's admiration for his master. His grief on the latter's death is described in the Life (cf. C41, p.74 and 76). Besa's style of writing makes it impossible to say whether he is conscious not only of the loss of a great teacher and abbot but also of a personal friend.

Among his other writings, part of a sermon preached on the commemoration day of Shenoute is preserved (Zoega CCVII). Again Besa extols Shenoute's honour in life and death in conventional phraseology. In his writings to his monks and nuns his frequent references to "our father", which in the majority of cases almost certainly refer to Shenoute, bear testimony that Besa not only revered the memory of his predecessor but also remembered his advice and precepts and acted upon them (cf. e.g. 38v, 47r, and Paris 130 , fols.11r-11v).

There is no doubt that the Bible and Shenoute were the most active influences on Besa. Otherwise there is little that can be deduced from his writings. On 49v he quotes Athanasius and, though the quotations are possibly wrongly attributed to the patriarch of Alexandria (cf. 49v, note 5), the fact that he mentions his name shows that he not only knew of him but also respected him. His regard for Antony is proved by a set of quotations from his works (cf. 68r and 71r ff). Besa's respect for tradition is revealed also in his frequent references to the commandments of "our fathers" (cf. e.g. 39v, 40v, 77r) and their customs. Though it is of course not possible to identify the "fathers" with certainty, it may be suggested that, when the reference is not to superiors within the monastery at

the time, Besa wishes to remind his readers of his predecessors Pgol and Shenoute, and perhaps also of other prominent monastic personalities like Pachomius and Antony. One quotation on 42v is attributed to the "wise men". It is difficult to say whether or not they too represent the group which is otherwise called the "fathers".

A break with tradition is implied in the deprecation of the use of force in the dealings of monks with pagans referred to in Clarendon Press b.4, fragment 22. But as I have reasons for doubting the Besa authorship of this MS (cf. p.31f), this point may be disregarded.

The Coptic dialect used by the monks of the White Monastery from the time of Pgol was Sahidic (cf. Leipoldt, Schenute, p.39 and 95). Besa's works also are written in Sahidic. The Bohairic Life of Shenoute is only a translation of the Sahidic original which, except for a few fragments (cf. p.18), has been lost. I have drawn attention to the few non-Sahidic forms which occur in BM Or.8810 in the Notes to the translation. The Greek loan-words which occur in his writings were, no doubt, an integral part of the Coptic language of his day. It may be interesting to note that of the 316 Greek words used in BM Or.8810 all but 45 occur in the Sahidic N.T. A comparison with the

Greek Bible shows that of the 316 only 9 occur neither in the LXX nor the Greek N.T. They are: ἀγραφός, ἀμελεία, ἀμελής, ἀποτακτικός, ἀποφάσις, ἐγγραφός, κοινόβιος, μονακτήριον, μονάχος. Of these the last 3 are technical monastic terms as is also perhaps ἀποτακτικός. Legal terminology would seem to account for ἀγραφός and ἐγγραφός.

The question must now be asked whether Besa had any knowledge of the Greek language. Unfortunately there is no evidence to make it possible to give a definite answer. Attention may however be drawn to a play on words on 44v. The passage runs, "If I say 'Joyful Greetings', now where indeed is the joy?" (Εἰς ἡμᾶς οὖν δε χαίρει. τενού ρῶ εἰτων ἡραγε). This play on words hinges on the writer's knowledge not only that χαίρει is a formula of greeting but also that the Greek χαίρω means "rejoice". In this context it may be significant that the Sahidic N.T. uses χαίρει and χαίρετε as formulae of greeting only and does not use the cognate noun χαρά. The same is true of Shenoute's works edited by Leipoldt (cf. the Index Graecorum Verborum in C41 and C73). These facts may suggest that Besa knew some Greek, but they are in themselves very far from conclusive.

It may be convenient here to note another play on words. In Zoega CCIV,  $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{A}}\Delta$ , Besa writes to Aphthonia. There he says, "You are indeed called by your name Aphthonia, but you bear malice against yourself" (CE-MOITE MEN EPÔ  $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{N}}$   $\Delta\epsilon$   $\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{A}}$ .  $\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{I}}$   $\Delta\epsilon$  EPÔ  $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$  ).

Besa's style is difficult to characterise. It is largely conditioned by the subject-matter. In his writings other than the Life of Shenoute he is concerned for the most part with moral precepts and exhortations of a general nature. There his style is often formal, stilted, and diffuse. Sometimes Biblical quotations are strung together with very little intervening text from Besa's own hand. On the other hand, when he is concerned with a specific problem in which he seems to have a more keenly personal interest, then his pen comes to life and his style becomes vivid and persuasive. An example may be found in Besa's letter to Matthew (60v ff) where there seems to be a clear manifestation of a personal writer-recipient relationship. In the Life of Shenoute Besa's style is controlled by the fact that he conforms to the formal pattern of this literary genre.

Various attempts have been made in the past to sum up

Besa's character. Cauwenbergh, *Étude*, p.139, writes, "La personnalité de Bésa diffère notablement de celle de Shenoudi. Alors que celui-ci agissait souvent avec violence, Bésa se distingue par sa modestie et sa douceur. Les écrits de Bésa trahissent un homme érudit dans les Écritures, qu'il cite abondamment, et un supérieur énergique mais conciliant". This estimate of Besa's character, in spite of some valuable observations, would appear to me to do less than justice to the abbot's personality. Considerably more provocative though much less just, I think, is W.H.Worrell's account of Besa's character. In 'A Short Account of the Copts' (Ann Arbor, 1945), p.26, he writes, "Besa was a timid, apologetic creature, as was indeed inevitable, considering the overbearing character of the master (i.e. Shenoute). His writings are pale and characterless. He quotes the Bible and his master, in the worship of whose memory his effort is exhausted." Even if it is taken into account that Professor Worrell wrote avowedly from a "secular and human" standpoint (cf. his Preface, p.vii), which perhaps militates against a sympathetic appraisal of Besa, his summing up must nevertheless be questioned.

The main source of material for a character sketch of

Besa is, of course, the abbot's own writings. A few general considerations may however be offered which most clearly seem to be at variance with the picture of the man painted by Professor Worrell. Though it is impossible to give the exact number of the monks and nuns in the White Monastery in Shenoute's time, Leipoldt accepts the estimate of the Arabic version of the Life of Shenoute of more than 2200 monks and 1800 nuns (cf. Leipoldt, Shenute, p.93f). If it be assumed that these figures had not changed substantially under Besa's rule, his task was a formidable one. There is no reason to believe that he did not discharge his duties satisfactorily. Difficulties there were, but it would seem that Besa was well capable of dealing with them. It should also be remembered that Shenoute himself nominated his successor (cf. p.46). Even if it should seem likely that, because of the forcefulness of his character, Shenoute attracted an inner circle of weaklings and acquiescent men, yet is it probable that he would endanger his life's work by appointing some one who had not the positive qualities necessary to continue his work? Surely there is an a priori likelihood of Besa's having had at least the potentialities of a spiritual leader who was, at the same time, capable of governing his charges wisely.

There are, however, passages in Besa's writings which



lend colour to the charge of weakness against him. In his Life of Shenoute (C41, p.19) he records Shenoute's verdict on him that he is not a sinner (for Shenoute's conception of sin, cf. Leipoldt, Shenute, p.79), but fainthearted (ΟΥΚΟΥΔΙ ΝΕΗΤ ). But the context may suggest Shenoute's expectation of some spiritual growth and progress in his disciple.

In Michigan 158/22, Besa accuses himself of weakness in his former dealings with the nuns to whom he writes. This weakness displeased God while "our father" lived and is again a source of dissatisfaction to him now.

In Zoega CCXXXVIII, if I am right in attributing it to Besa, he again accuses himself of former weakness because he forbore with a sinful nun. But it is important to note that Besa, both in Michigan 158/22 and in Zoega CCXXXVIII, consciously sets out to rectify this error and to fulfil his duty in dealing more severely with the sinners. His acute awareness of his responsibility to God for his charges (cf. also BM175, <ΚΤ ) is the driving force working in him. He knows that it would be wrong and sinful in him to endanger the moral progress of his monks and nuns by his inclination to be weak when severity is required. So convinced is he that in administering them he

is administering a trust given to him by God that he can expect God to strengthen him in his task, so that his weakness becomes strength. It would therefore appear that his character with its essential conciliatoriness and desire for peace is transformed by the stringent requirements of his duties.

If Besa's consciousness of duty towards God and thence to his charges is looked upon as the key to the understanding of his character, its otherwise unintelligibly diverse manifestations fall readily into place. The man Besa does indeed come to life and becomes wholly credible in all his varied attitudes and actions. In pursuit of his duty he reproves his charges in harsh terms (e.g. 19v, 22v, 35r), he reminds them of their duty by means of persuasion (e.g. 64r), he threatens to visit the refractory in anger (e.g. 20v, 37v), and he decrees punishment for them (e.g. 23r). But after an impassioned denunciation he can assure them of his love (e.g. 54v), and many times he expresses his grief for the sinners and erring members of his monastic communities (e.g. 17r, 52v, BML75  $\overline{CK5}$  ). Besa's endeavours to be just and reasonable are revealed in his desire to provide opportunity for complaints to be heard (e.g. 53r, 61v) and for the examination of evidence

(e.g. 24v). He is no respecter of persons as can be seen from his letter of rebuke to the nun Aphthonia, the daughter of the comes Alexandros (Zoega CCIV,  $\overline{\text{C}}\mu\Delta$  ff). Even his consciousness of authority is, I think, derived from his high conception of his duty. He does not hesitate to appropriate some words of St. Paul to the Corinthians thus clothing himself, as it were, with apostolic authority (e.g. 17v, 18r). Yet there is no reason to doubt his essential humility which he realised to be one of the Christian virtues. Often, of course, its expression is no more than a conventional formula as in some of the addresses of his letters (e.g. 60v, 71r), but on other occasions the expressions of his humility ring true, as when he identifies himself with sinners (e.g. 21r, 22r, 24r; for other expressions of humility cf. e.g. 60r, 60v, 90v).

As the above examples have shown, Besa's devotion to duty causes him to display a wide range of human emotions. His is no frigid and grudging attitude towards responsibility. It is clear that there was considerable warmth of feeling behind the writing of such a letter as that to Matthew, to choose only one example (60v ff). The lovable simplicity of his character is revealed when he almost re-

fuses to believe that one of his trusted monks could so cruelly betray his confidence. "For we in fact chose you as an earnest man, and sent you", writes Besa. "If your mind was not at rest about your going, why did you not tell us that we might know and not send you?" (64v).

It is perhaps inevitable that the figure of Shenoute should dwarf that of his successor. Nevertheless this fact ought not to blind us to the many positive qualities of Besa. His advice to the elders under him (55v f) might well have been the motto for his own life's work: and that advice can be summed up in the verses which he himself uses (I Pet.5.2-3), "Tend the flock of God which is among you, exercising the oversight, not of constraint, but willingly, according unto God; nor yet for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as lording it over the charge allotted to you, but making yourselves examples to the flock."

The Text of the Biblical Quotations in BM Or.8810.

The writings of Besa abound in Biblical quotations and allusions. It is pertinent to ask whether they are of any value for the study of the text of the Sahidic Bible and its history. Though the evidence of patristic material is necessarily subordinate to that of MSS containing Bible texts, nevertheless quotations from the Fathers have a part to play in textual criticism. But there are many difficulties which must not be disregarded. Besa was writing during the 5th century but, as has been seen, the MS with which we are here concerned was written at least three centuries later (cf. p.12ff). In the intervening period Besa's writings were, no doubt, copied many times and the copyists were themselves monks, well versed in the Scriptures. Thus the danger here, as always, is that the scribe may assimilate the Biblical sayings of his exemplar to the text of his own day with which he is familiar. But even if it could be assumed that BM Or.8810 faithfully reproduces what Besa actually wrote, the question would still arise as to whether Besa's quotations can be used as trustworthy evidence for the Bible of his day. Indeed it cannot be said with any certainty that there was a standard text of the Sahidic Bible at so early a date. And in any case

it seems improbable that Besa always quoted from a written source; often no doubt he relied on his memory. An evaluation of the material is far from easy since it is complicated by the very great extent to which Besa is dependent on the Bible. Often his language is reminiscent of Biblical idioms. Two examples may be given: on 15v Besa alludes to Mk.9.50, "Have salt in yourselves", in the words "the ignorant who have no salt"; on 43v there is an allusion to Lk.21.34, "lest.....that day come upon you suddenly like a snare", while Besa's words are, "before the day of our end comes upon us suddenly like a snare". Such verbal reminiscences are, of course, valueless from the textual point of view.

Turning now to those occasions on which Besa clearly intended to quote from Scripture, the fact that he may have relied on his memory must be taken into account. How far this reliance went cannot be assessed but some hints can be gleaned from those Biblical passages which Besa uses more than once. Sometimes the passages so repeated are in complete verbal agreement (e.g. I Thes.5.7 on 30v and 38r), on other occasions, however, there are divergences as for instance in II Cor.12.20 on 17v and 20v. A further example is Prov.28.24 quoted on 36r and 51v. On

the latter Besa's quotation agrees with the known Sahidic text, "He who uses violence against his father and his mother...."; on 36r he has changed the verb to "despise". Such divergences do little to enhance Besa's reputation as a reliable textual witness.

In a great many cases Besa, when using Biblical sayings, adapts them to the situation which confronts him. Sometimes this involves no more than a change of person, e.g. in Ps.51.7 (80r). But in Ps.51.8-9, which Besa also uses on 80r, there are further examples of the ways in which he alters the Biblical text. The changes involved can best be seen by setting the two texts side by side:-

The Biblical text (from  
Budge, Ps.)  
Ps.51.8-9 (Budge, Ps.51.6-7)

CENANAY N̄BI N̄DIKAIOC N̄CEP̄ZOTE  
N̄CECWB̄E EZPAĪ EXW̄Y N̄CEXOOC ΔE  
EIC OYCW̄ME EM̄T̄YKA ΠINOYTE  
NAY N̄BOHΘOC.  
αλλα αγγελπιζε EX̄U  
παυαί N̄TECM̄NT̄PM̄DO.  
AYW̄ αψ̄ωδου EZPAĪ EX̄U  
ΠEYΠETW̄OYEIT̄.

Besa's reference to  
Ps.51.8-9 on 80r.

CENANAY EP̄O N̄BI N̄DIKAIOC ET̄P̄ZOTE  
ZH̄T̄Y ἈΠĒX̄C. N̄CEXOOC ΔE  
EIC OYCW̄ME EM̄T̄CKA ΠINOYTE  
NAC N̄BOHΘOC.  
αλλα αγγελπιζε EX̄U  
παυαί N̄TECM̄NT̄ΔACIZH̄T̄.  
M̄NTECM̄NT̄PEYKAETHC EP̄OC M̄AYAC.

The above example shows how difficult it is in many in-

stances to extract any reliable textual evidence from Besa's Biblical references. In the majority of such cases it would seem wisest to disregard the passage as evidence for the text of the Sahidic Bible. On occasions, however, such passages in spite of Besa's alterations exhibit one or more points of interest which are worth noting. One example may be given. On 48r Besa uses I Pet.4.3, considerably altered. The point of interest is that whereas the text in Horner, Sah. has  $\bar{N}C\omega\omega\eta$  as one member in the list of vices, the corresponding member in BM Or.8810 is  $\bar{N}C\omega$ . The Greek text has  $\pi\acute{o}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  and Besa's text which agrees with it would seem to have preserved an interesting reading.

In spite of these and other difficulties and in spite of the inevitable subjectivity of selection, nevertheless an examination of the Biblical material in BM Or.8810 is of value because of the paucity of evidence for the Sahidic Bible and the many gaps which can often only be filled from patristic quotations.

Of the O.T. material contained in BM Or.8810, I have made a special study of the Book of Proverbs, both because it is the book most used by Besa and also because there is a critical edition of the whole of Proverbs available. In



the following survey I have taken as standard the text edited in Worrell, Prov., and set out the variants thus: Worrell's text] BM Or.8810 and supporting authorities when of interest.

Symbols used: W - Worrell's text. Otherwise I have used the symbols employed in Worrell, Prov. I have disregarded allusions and adaptations, unless they contain points of interest. Verse numbers do not necessarily imply complete verses in BM Or.8810.

1.7 [ΛΗΝΟΥ]ΤΕ]ΛΗΔΟΕΙC

1.24-27 (84r) adapted but note:

v.25 ΩΟΧΝΕ]ΩΑΧΕ  
But 26v, where the passage is adapted again, has ΩΟΧΝΕ

v.27 <sup>sic</sup>ΕΡΑΝ]ΕΡΩΑΝ 225

2.13-16 (41r) ΝCΩΟΟΥ]ΝCΩΟΥ 225

ΝΖΕΝΖΙΟΥΕ]ΝΝΕΖΙΟΥΕ

Thus also on 84r where the passage is adapted.

v.14 ΝΕΤΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ]ΕΤΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ  
Thus also on 84r where the passage is adapted.

v.15 ΕΡΕΝΕΥΜΑ]<sup>sic</sup>ΕΡΕΥΜΑ

2.16-20 v.18 ΔΥΩ ΕΡΕΝΕΥΜΑ]ΔΥΩ ΠΕΥΜΑ

v.19 ΡΟΥΤΕ]ΝΡΟΥΠΕ 225 Leyd.

v.20 ΕΝΕΝΤΑΥΜΟΥΕ]<sup>sic</sup>ΕΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΜΟΥΕ  
<sup>sic</sup>ΔΙΟC]ΔΙΚΔΙΟC 225 Leyd.

3.34 (bis) Nat]t

qNat]qt

It is impossible to be certain which passage the writer had in mind, viz. Prov.3.34, I Pet.5.5, Jam.4.6.

4.19 W

4.25 (68v) adapted but note:

<sup>sic</sup> OY2E]BOY2E BMC951

Thus also on 50v and 87r where the verse is again adapted.

EWUN̄TUE]ENUN̄TUE

Thus also on 87r where the verse is again adapted.

5.12 (bis) W

5.13 NΓΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΔΕ ἈΠΙCΩΤῪ]ΕΤΒΕΟΥ ἈΠΙCΩΤῪ  
ΕΠΕΤCΑΒΟ]ἈΠΕΤΤCΑΒΟ

6.23 ΡΕCΡΟYΟῖN]ΡΕCΡΟYΟΕΙΝ  
ΤῪΤΟΛΗ]ΤΕΝΤΟΛΗ

10.19 W

11.8 W

12.18 N̄NETKWN̄C 2N̄ OYCHYE]N̄2ENCHYE EYKWN̄C BMC951

12.24 ΔΕ]om.

13.1 ΕΙΩΤ]ῖΩΤ

ΕΡΕΟΥΩΗΡΕ]ΕΡΕΠΩΗΡΕ

13.13 adapted but note:

ῤ2OTE]2APE2

- 14.1 perhaps adapted but note:  
 Ἰαβη]ογαβη  
 ζενηῖ]ογηῖ
- 14.3 βερωυ]βερωβ
- 14.14 w
- 16.17 (bis) δε] om.
- 16.27 w
- 16.28 αγο φαυπωρ̄χ]αγω φαυπωρ̄χ  
 Since Worrell has not commented, is the w  
 reading perhaps a printing error?  
 Ἰζενωβηρ]Ἰζενωβεερ ῶνζενρ̄ωνηῖ
- 17.13 (ter) <sup>sic</sup> νακι]νακιμ
- 17.20 δε νατωμ̄ντ]νατωμ̄τ
- 17.27 w
- 18.1 w
- 18.6 πεθοογ]πετ2οογ  
 επικαλι]επικαλει
- 18.7 <sup>sic</sup> ογωω̄υ]ογογωω̄υ  
 παω]παω̄υ
- 18.21 ῶπιδας]ῶ<sup>sic</sup>πιδας  
 νεταμα2τε]πεταμα2τε  
 ναογωμ]νασει
- 19.4 δε ἸἸωαδε]δε Ἰτου Ἰζενωαδε
- 19.23 w

- 19.24 ΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΕΥΚΩ]ΠΩΗΡΕ ΕΤΚΩ  
 ΥΝΑΖΑΡΕΖ]ΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΕΡΑΙ
- 20.10 ΕΙΩΤ]ΙΩΤ  
 ΝΚΕΚΕ ΔΕ]ΝΚΕΚΕ
- 21.23 (53r) ΠΕΤΖΑΡΕΖ]ΠΕΤΖΑΡΕΖ ΓΑΡ  
 ΡΩΥ]ΕΡΩΥ Z24  
 Thus also on 66r.  
 ΤΕΥΨΥΧΗ]ΕΤΕΥΨΥΧΗ Z24  
 Thus also on 66r.
- 21.24 ΕΡΝΤΥ]ΡΝΤΥ (ΡΑΝΤΥ Z24)
- 23.12 (42v) adapted but note:  
 CΒΤΕ]ΡΙΚΕ  
 But on 21v, 50v, and 68v, where the verse  
 is again adapted, BM Or.8810 reads CΟΒΤΕ
- 24.8-10 (46r) ΤΩΛΥΤ]ΤΩΛΥΤ  
 Thus also on 34v.  
<sup>sic</sup> ΕΤΝΑΤCΒΩ]ΕΝΑΤCΒΩ Z24  
 Thus also on 34v.
- v.9 ΠΑΘΗΤ] ΝΑCΕΒΗC  
 On 34v the clause ΠΑΘΗΤ .....ΖΕΝΝΟΒΕ  
 is omitted.  
<sup>sic</sup> ΕΡΩΜΕ]ΕΥΡΩΜΕ Z24
- 24.22 ΕΠΕΘΟΟΥ]ΕΠΠΕΘΟΟΥ Z24  
 ΥΝΑΛΥΠΙ]ΥΝΑΤΑΚΟ Z24
- 24.42 ΖΒΗΥΕ]ΖΒΗΟΥΕ  
 ΕΤΕΚΖΙΗ]ΕΤΕΖΙΗ Z24

28.24 (36r)	ΠΕΤΔΙ...ΝΘΟΝC]ΠΕΤCΩΩ	
(51v)	W	
29.8	W	
29.11	W	
29.24-25	ΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ]ΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΜΑΥΔΔΥ	
v.25	ΝCΕ <sup>SIC</sup> ΝCΕΔΙΩΠΕ]ΝCΕΔΙΩΠΕ	Z24 Tur.
	ΝΝΡΩΜΕ]ΝΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ	Z24

Disregarding orthographical differences, the remainder of the above variants may be analysed thus:

1) Cases in which obvious errors in the W text are corrected in BM Or.8810, generally supported by other MSS referred to in the textual apparatus in Worrell, Prov. 1.27, 2.13, 2.20, 4.25 (ter), 16.28, 17.13 (ter), 18.7, 21.23 (2 errors, bis), 24.8 (bis), 24.9 (bis), 29.25.

2) Obvious errors in BM Or.8810. 2.15, 2.20, 18.21.

3) Changes, additions, and omissions of the article. 2.13 (bis), 2.14 (bis), 2.19, 4.25 (bis), 13.1, 14.1 (2 changes), 18.21, 19.4, 19.24, 24.22, 29.25.

4) Changes, additions, and omissions of conjunctions, prepositions, or pronouns of emphasis, ( ΓΑΡ , ΔΕ , Ε -, ΜΑΥΔΔΥ , ΝΤΟΥ ). 12.24, 16.17 (bis), 17.20, 19.4, 20.10, 21.23, 21.24, 29.24.

5) Changes of verbal forms (tenses etc.). 2.18, 3.34 (bis).

6) A number of variants of a more far-reaching character remain which it will be necessary to discuss individually. They are, of course, of varying textual value.

1.7. The Biblical reference on 42v occurs both in Ps.110.10 and Prov.1.7. In the former the LXX agreeing with BM Or. 8810 has κυρίου while Budge, Ps. reads Ἀπνόντε ; in the latter the LXX reads Θεοῦ , LXX mg.  $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$  .

1.25. The verses 1.24-27 are twice adapted by Besa. One point of interest emerges. On 26v there is the correct reading  $\omega\omicron\lambda\acute{\nu}\epsilon$  for the LXX βουλή , while on 84r  $\omega\alpha\lambda\epsilon$  occurs instead. If the copyist wrote from dictation, is it possible that this variant arose from mishearing?

5.13. Two different ways of continuing the construction begun in 5.12 account for this variant. The W text repeats the LXX ἐρεῖς , while BM Or.8810 repeats the LXX πῶς In the second variant of this verse little change of meaning is involved. Neither the W text nor that of BM Or.8810 follow the LXX closely.

12.18. The BM Or.8810 reading is supported by one Sah. MS and also by the LXX text; the W reading on the other hand is supported by a Greek reading (cf. LXX mg.).

13.13. The BM Or.8810 reading disagrees with the W text and the LXX. It should be noted, however, that the same verb occurs in this verse in another Besa fragment, viz. Zoega CCIV, C<sup>3</sup> .

16.28. The BM Or.8810 addition  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}$  is not otherwise attested. Possibly it is an elaboration of Besa's.

18.21. The BM Or.8810 reading (  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}$  ) may be due to a harking back to 18.20 q.v.

19.24. May the BM Or.8810 reading (  $\bar{\gamma}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$  ) perhaps have arisen from dictation having been misheard? It may be noted that the LXX text differs considerably here.

23.12. This verse is adapted by Besa four times, but only once does he change the verb (on 42v).

24.9. On 34v BM Or.8810 omits 24.9a, while on 46r the subject and number of 24.9a are changed.

24.22. Here BM Or.8810 uses another verb. The relevant clause is not in the LXX.

24.42. BM Or.8810 uses the definite article instead of the personal pronoun.

28.24. On 51v BM Or.8810 agreeing with W reads  $\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\chi}\bar{\iota}$  ...  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}$  , apparently translating ἀποβάλλεται (LXX mg.). On 36r the verb is changed to  $\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}$  apparently in agreement with the LXX reading ἀποβάλλεται

For the difficulties connected with Prov.15.23, cf. 53r, note 2.

Next the Psalm quotations in BM Or.8810 may be considered. A comparison with the text edited in Budge, Ps. reveals little of interest. In the following instances the two texts agree (the bracketed numbers refer to Budge's edition): 18.9 (18.8), 30.5 (30.4), 33.8 (33.7), 48.11 (48.10) bis, 54.24 (54.23) for which cf. 53v, note 7, 56.5 (56.4), 62.11 (62.10) on 41v, 82.3-4 (82.2-3), 88.11 (88.10), 108.1 (108.1), 108.3 (108.3), 108.5 (108.5), 118.9 (118.9), 118.21 (118.21), 118.105 (118.105), 118.118 (118.118), 118.155 (118.155).

In the following passages there are only insignificant spelling variants between the text in Budge, Ps. and the quotations in BM Or.8810: 18.8 (18.7), 32.6 (32.6), 82.2 (82.1).

The remaining variants, though of no particular interest, may be listed:

31.9 (31.9)	ΝΙΜΑC]ΝΙΜΕC
	Λ̄ΝΤΟΥ]Λ̄ΝΤΑΥ ... Λ̄ΜΑΥ
62.11 (62.10)36v	ΝΒΑΩΟΡ]Ν̄ΝΒΑΩΟΡ
108.2 (108.2)	Λ̄Ν̄ΡΕῩΡ̄ΝΟΒΕ]Λ̄ΠΡΕῩΡ̄ΝΟΒΕ
108.4 (108.4)	Ν̄CΕΜΕΡΙΤ̄]Ν̄CΕΜΕΡΙΤ
	ΔΙΔΒΑΛΕ]ΔΙΔΒΑΛΛΕ



In the Psalm quotation on 28v it is impossible to decide with any certainty whether it refers to 48.13 (48.12) or 48.21 (48.20). A collation with both verses is therefore given:

48.13 (48.12) ΟΥΤΑΕΙΟ]ΟΥΤΑΙΟ  
 ΑΥΝΟΔΥ ΜΥΝ-]ΑΥΤΝΤΩΝΥ Ε-  
 48.21 (48.20) ΠΡΩΜΕ]ΟΥΡΩΜΕ  
 ΟΥΤΑΕΙΟ]ΟΥΤΑΙΟ

The few quotations from the Book of Ecclesiastes I have collated with the text edited in Worrell, Texts.

6.4 adapted to 2 pers. fem. sg.  
 ΕΥΝΑΒΩΚ]ΑΡΒΩΚ  
 ΖΝΟΥΚΑΚΕ]ΖΝΟΥΠΕΤΩΟΥΕΙΤ  
 as also in Budge, Mart., p.81 and 84.  
 The LXX agrees with the Worrell reading.

ΑΥΩ ΕΡΕ-]ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕ-

ΖΥΠΚΑΖ]ΖΥΠΚΑΚΕ  
 as also in Budge, Mart., p.84 and in  
 agreement with the LXX.

8.5 as in Worrell, Texts.

12.8 ΠΕΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΗΣ]ΠΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΗΣ  
 ΠΕΤΩΟΥΕΙΤ ΠΕ]ΠΕΤΩΟΥΕΙΤ ΠΕΤΝΖΗΤΟΥ

12.14 ΠΤΑΜΙΟ]ΠΣΩΝΤ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΤΑΖΟΥ]CΕΝΑΤΑΖΟΥ

Very little can be done with the remaining O.T. quotations. The texts that can be used as standards of com-

parison are often incomplete, and such fragments as have been published are scattered throughout numerous books, catalogues, and periodicals. From the material that is accessible to me, I have selected only those passages which seem to be of special interest. The text which I have used for purposes of comparison is Ciasca.

Hos.7.13 (41r) ΟΥΟΙ]ΟΥΟΕΙ

ΑΥΠΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ]ΑΥΡΑΚΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ

(82r) adapted to 2 pers. fem. sg., but note:

ΑΥΠΩΤ]<sup>SIC</sup>ΑΡΑΚΤΕ

Mic.7.1-2

ΟΥΟΙ]ΟΥΟΕΙ

v.2 ΠΡΕΥΡ̄ΝΟΒΕ]ΠΡΕΥΡ̄ΖΟΤΕ  
LXX ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ, LXX mg. ΕΥΛΑΒΗΣ

ΕΝΥΨΟΟΠ ΔΝ]ΝΥΨΟΟΠ ΔΝ

Is.17.9-10

In 17.9 BM Or.8810 agrees with Ciasca in reading ΤΕΝΑΨΩΠΕ against the LXX reading ἔσονται and the Coptic CΕΝΑΨΩΠΕ in G.Maspero's edition in MMAF, VI.

v.10 ΠΟΥΝΟΥΤΕ]ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
as in MMAF, VI.

ΑΥΠΟΥΡ̄ΠΜΕΕΥΕ]ΑΥΠΕΡ̄ΠΜΕΕΥΕ

ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΝΟΥΣΠΕΡΜΑ]ΑΥΩ ΟΥΣΠΕΡΜΑ  
as in MMAF, VI.

In the following instances I have been unable to compare the quotations with any other Sah. text. Points of interest have been mentioned in the Notes to the translation.

Amos 6.12 see 49r, note 3, cf. also 80r.

Jer.2.12 see 28r, note 3.

Jer.3.10 see 80v, note 1.

Jer.17.6 see 90r, note 1.

Turning now to the N.T. a special study has been made of the quotations from the Pauline Epistles (including the Pastorals and Hebrews). The reasons for such a course are that there is in Thompson, Acts, a complete and homogeneous text for comparison. Moreover the problem of harmonising readings, which is so acute in the Gospels, does not arise here. Also of value for this study is J.L.Koole, Studien zum koptischen Bibeltext, Berlin, 1936.

It may be advisable to repeat that allusions and adaptations unless they contain points of interest are disregarded in the following. Verse numbers do not necessarily imply complete verses in BM Or.8810. The variants are set out thus: Thompson's text] BM Or.8810 and supporting authorities when of interest.

Symbols: T - Thompson's text; H - Horner, Sah.;

M - the Pierpont Morgan MS (used from the collation in Thompson, Acts); N - E.Nestle, Novum Testamentum Graece, Stuttgart, 1949.

Rom.

1.21-22 (45r) v.22 ἀΝΖΕΝCαΒΕ]ἀΝΟΝ ΖΕΝCαΒΕ M  
so also on 38v where it is  
otherwise adapted.

1.28-32 ΝΟΥΤΕ]ΝΟΤΕ

v.29 ΝΖΗΤ]ΖΙΖΗΤ

v.31 ΟΥΑΖΙΗΤ]ΟΥΑΖΙΖΗΤ M

v.32 ᾠΠΜΟΥ]ᾠΠΟΥ  
CΥΝΕΥΔΟΚΙ]CΥΝΕΥΔΟΚΕΙ

2.5-6 bis (32v) T

(70r) ΜΕΤΑΝΟΪ]ΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΙ

v.6 ΖΒΗΥΕ]ΖΒΗΟΥΕ

9.28 T

13.12 bis (43v) T

(21r) ΘΕ] om.

14.20 ΚΑΤΑΛΥ]ΚΑΤΑΛΥΕ

16.17-18 ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ]ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ

ΔΕ] om.

v.18 ᾠΠΙΕΝΧΟΕΙC]ᾠΠΧΟΕΙC

16.19 T

16.20 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ]ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΝΔΟΥΩΩῦ]ΕΦΕΟΥΩΩῦ

I Cor.

3.17 ᾠΠῚΡΠΕ]ᾠΠΕΡΠΕ

(I Cor.)

6.8 ΝΕΤΔΙ]ΕΤΔΙ M

15.33 T

16.13-14 T

II Cor.

8.15 ΚΑΤΑΘΕ]ΝΘΕ

10.18 ἈΠΕΤΝΔCYNZICTΑ]ΠΕΤΝΔCYNZICTΑ

ΔΟΕΙC]ΔΟΐC

11.19-20 ΔΘΚΤ<sup>sic</sup>]ΔΘΗΤ

ΝΤΕΤΝ̄]ΕΝΤΕΤΝ̄-

v.20 ἈΠΕΤΚΚΤΟ]ἈΠΕΤΚΤΟ M

11.21 T

12.10 ἈΝΖΕΝΛΩΔ̄2]2ΝΖΕΝΛΩΔ̄2 H  
(ΖΕΝΖΕΝΛΩΔ̄2 M)

12.20 bis (17v,20v) ΤΔΕΙ]ΝΤΔΕΙ

ΤΔΖΕ]ΝΤΔΖΕ

(20v) ΕΡΟΐ]ΕΡΟΐ ΖΩ

13.2 T

Gal.

1.6-7 ΝΤΕΕΙ2Ε]ΝΤΕΐ2Ε

5.13 T

6.2 allusion but note:

ἈΠΝΟΥΤΕ]ἈΠΕΧ̄C H N

6.7 T

Eph.

1.21

T

5.6

T

5.19

ᾠπνευματικόν] ᾠπνικόν

6.4

T

Phil.

2.12-16 v.12 (ter) T

v.13 (bis) ενεργί] ενεργει

ἡζητῶ] ἡζητῆστῶ H N

v.14 (31r,48v) T

v.15 (bis) δεκάς] δεκάς

εtetνευωπε] εtetνωωπε

v.16 επεσοογ] εμπεσοογ

3.2

νευσοορ] νιογσοορ

Col.

3.8-10

δε] σε

τιντρεχιογδ] om.

v.9

ᾠπρωμε ἡδς] ᾠπρῦἡδς

3.20

κατασμοτ] εἴςμοτ

χοεic] χοic

I Thes.

2.15

ἡσεαρεσκε] ενσεαρεσκε

(I Thes.)

5.4-10

NETETĒN-]N̄NETETĒN-

v.5

ΟΥΔΕ]ΟΥΤΕ

v.7 (b1s)

T

v.10

ΔΕΚΑΔC]ΔΕΚΩC

5.11

N̄TETĒNKWT]ETETĒNKWT

5.12-13

T

5.21-22

T

5.23

TETĒNΨYXH]TETĒΨYXH

ΠΑΡΟΥCΙΑ]ΠΑΡΟΥCΙΑ

II Thes.

1.11

N̄YΔEKTHTĒN]EYNΔEKTHTĒN

Z̄NOYΩY]N̄OYΩY H

3.5

T

3.6

ΔΕ] om.

NECNHY] om.

ENTATETĒNΔITC]ENTAYΔITC  
(N̄TATETĒN- H; NTAY- M)

3.11

ΓΑΡ] om.

ZOİNE]ZOEINE

N̄CEP̄-]ENCEP̄-

I Tim.

5.15

ZOİNE]ZOEINE

Tit.	
2.14	δεκαδς]δεκαδς
3.3	T
Heb.	
3.1	T
3.14	T
10.23-27 v.25	zoïne]zoïne n̄teeizē]n̄teïze
v.26	λῆθης]λῆθης
v.27	εἰς]εἰς H κωστ]κωστ N
10.31-36	δε] om. H M N
v.32	δε] om.
v.33	νεγωβε]εγωβε M θλιψς]θλιψς κε]κετ
v.35	παρρης]παρρης
v.36	χρς]χρς δεκαδς]δεκαδς
11.13-16 v.13a	allusion
v.13b	αν (bis)]ανον (bis)
v.14	n̄teeizē]n̄teïze
v.15	n̄neyr-]eneyr- H
11.35	T



(Heb.)

11.37

.AYOYACTOY AY2IWNE EPOOY]AY2IWNE EPOOY  
 AYOYACTOY

13.17

NETOICEO H

$$N\epsilon\tau\bar{u}\psi\chi H]N\epsilon\tau\bar{n}\psi\chi H$$

An attempt may now be made to classify those readings of BM Or.8810 which differ from Thompson's text. Spelling variants and obvious scribal errors are not included.

1) Readings agreeing with M only among Sah. MSS.

Rom.1.22, I Cor.6.8, II Thes.3.6, Heb.10.33.

The first two readings are of little interest. In Rom.1.22 BM Or.8810 and M have the absolute form of the personal pronoun while T has the construct. In I Cor.6.8 no difference of meaning is involved. In II Thes.3.6 the T reading is supported by the N text, while the readings of BM Or.8810 and M find support in some Greek MSS, cf. N apparatus. In Heb.10.33 BM Or.8810 and M have a different tense from that in T.

2) Readings agreeing with M and H.

II Cor.12.10, Heb.10.31.

The first reading is of interest in that it is supported by a Greek reading (cf. N apparatus). Note, however, the peculiar spelling in M (cf. Thompson, Acts, p.xxix, note 1). In Heb.10.31 BM Or.8810, M, and H, in omitting

ΔΕ , agree with N.

3) Readings agreeing with H.

Gal.6.2, Phil.2.13 (bis), II Thes.1.11, Heb.10.27,  
Heb.11.15, Heb.13.17.

Only the first two readings are of interest. In Gal.6.2  
BM Or.8810 and H agree with the majority of Sah. MSS and  
also N (cf. Thompson, Acts, p.197). In Phil.2.13 BM Or.  
8810 represents the standard Sah. and Greek text against  
a minority reading of T and M (cf. Thompson, Acts, p.210).  
The remaining four readings hardly alter the meaning. In  
Heb.11.15 the T text has a rare spelling of the imperfect  
form (cf. Stern, para 373).

4) Readings peculiar to BM Or.8810.

Rom.1.29, Rom.13.12 (21r), Rom.16.17, Rom.16.18, Rom.16.20  
(bis), II Cor.8.15, II Cor.10.18, II Cor.12.20 (20v),  
Phil.2.15 (bis), Phil.2.16, Phil.3.2, Col.3.8 (bis),  
Col.3.20, I Thes.5.4, I Thes.5.5, I Thes.5.11, II Thes.1.11  
II Thes.3.6 (bis), II Thes.3.11, Heb.10.27, Heb.10.32,  
Heb.10.33, Heb.11.13b (bis), Heb.11.37.

These readings may be sub-divided thus:

a) BM Or.8810 omits, adds, or changes conjunctions or pro-  
nouns of emphasis ( γάρ , ΔΕ , ἵνα , οὕτως , οὕτως , οὕτως , οὕτως ) -  
Rom.13.12 (21r) due to context, Rom.16.17, Rom.16.20,

II Cor.12.20, Col.3.8, I Thes.5.5 perhaps a spelling variant, II Thes.3.6, II Thes.3.11, Heb.10.32 cf. H apparatus.

b) changes a preposition - II Cor.8.15, Phil.2.16, Col.3.20.

c) changes article form - Phil.3.2 but possibly a change of article into demonstrative pronoun.

d) changes form of same word - Heb.10.33 perhaps a spelling variant.

e) has personal pronoun in absolute instead of construct - Heb.11.13 (bis).

f) changes tense - Rom.16.20, Phil.2.15, I Thes.5.4, I Thes.5.11, II Thes.1.11.

g) omits noun - Col.3.8, II Thes.3.6.

h) Other variants: Rom.1.29 "and" for "of". Rom.16.18 "the Lord" for "our Lord". II Cor.10.18 the first member of the negative particle is omitted. Heb.10.27 BM Or.8810 agrees with the Greek against all other Sah. MSS. Heb.11.37 a change of order of words which is supported by the order in N, where however there is an extra word.

The remainder of the N.T. quotations may be dealt with more summarily. In the quotations from the Synoptic Gospels, the close interrelationship of the first three Gospels and the consequent tendency to conflate parallel

passages when quoting renders any textual investigation most precarious. Sometimes it is even impossible to say from which Gospel Besa intended to quote, e.g. 50v where the quotation may come either from Lk.3.9 or from the parallel in Mt.3.10. As examples of quotations in which two parallel Gospel texts are conflated, the following may suffice: Mt.13.6 and Lk.8.6 on 74v; Mt.18.6 and Lk.17.2 on 18v, 61r, and 81v.

Some remaining N.T. readings of interest in BM Or.8810 may now be listed:

- |             |  |  |
|-------------|--|--|
| Acts 7.51   | ΕΤΕΤΝ†   | this reading agrees with Thompson, Acts, against all other Sah. MSS which read ΤΕΤΝ† |
| Acts 20.26  | ΔΝΟΚ   | added by BM Or.8810 against all other Sah. authorities, but cf. H apparatus.         |
| Jam.2.15-16 | Horner, Sah. ΓΑΡ]  | om. cf. H apparatus.   |
|             | - ΕΥΚΗ]ΚΗ  |  |
|             | - ΕΤΕ2ΡΕ]ΝΤΕ2ΡΕ  | cf. H apparatus.   |
| v.16        | - ΔΕ]  | om. cf. H apparatus.   |
|             | - ΝΔΥ.ΟΥ]ΝΔΥ ΝΤΕΠCΩΜΔ.ΟΥ                                       | cf. H apparatus.   |
| I Pet.4.3   | Though only an allusion note:<br>Horner, Sah. ΜΝΝΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ] om. |  |
|             | - ΜΝΝCΩΩΥ]ΜΝΝCΩ  | cf. p.61.  |
| I Pet.4.7   | - ΔΕ]  | om.  |

I Pet.5.1      Horner, Sah. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲕⲟⲓⲛⲱⲛⲟⲥ]ⲁⲩⲱ ⲑⲱⲥ ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ  
cf. 56r, note 1.

Such are the textual peculiarities of the Biblical quotations in BM Or.8810. From them it is clear that sometimes this MS has preserved a reading otherwise lost in the Sahidic tradition. Sometimes too it bears further witness to a text that has otherwise little support. In a field such as this even the smallest points can be of value when so great a proportion of the material has been irrevocably lost. This enquiry, then, has not of course produced any spectacular results but it is hoped that it has provided some additional material for the study of the text of the Sahidic Bible.

Besa's Use of the Bible.

As we have seen there is a great number of references to Biblical passages in BM Or.8810. If we consider the practical character of the writings contained in the MS, this may seem strange. It shows clearly how important a place the Bible occupied in Besa's thought and therefore the question, how did Besa use the Bible, is of considerable interest. Examples will be drawn from BM Or.8810 only, but a study of the other Besa material has shown that the position and use of the Bible is uniform throughout. Many of the fragments are composed almost entirely of Scriptural quotations and allusions and many of those found in BM Or.8810 recur more than once. That the "Life of Shenoute" is the only exception is natural in view of its different subject-matter.

In this discussion all types of Biblical references will be included, allusions as well as quotations. The proportion in which the various books of the Bible are used may reveal some of Besa's special tendencies, though Besa's choice, no doubt, is to a large extent dependent on the subject-matter of his writings. A glance at the Index of Biblical Passages (p.i ff.) gives some idea. In the O.T. the Book of Proverbs has pride of place. Its ethical

teaching serves well to support Besa's own. Perhaps it would be too fanciful to attribute Besa's preference for Proverbs to the ancient Egyptian love for wisdom literature, especially as the other Biblical and Apocryphal wisdom literature is used but little by Besa. The many references to the Psalms are not surprising if one considers that that book was used as a prayer book and occupied a prominent position in the daily devotions of the monks. Besa's use of the prophetic books of the O.T., more especially Isaiah and Jeremiah, and the paucity of references to the historical books is readily explained by their respective subject-matter.

In the N.T. it may be noticed that of the Synoptic Gospels Matthew and Luke are drawn upon more than Mark. The Fourth Gospel, Acts and all the longer N.T. Epistles are also used; only one of the N.T. books not used occasions comment, viz. Revelation (though there may be a possible verbal reminiscence to Rev.7.17 on 32r and 43v). This may of course be due to the nature of the writings of Besa. He may have felt that the highly imaginative language of Revelation could do little to further his severely practical aims in spite of the fact that he has occasion to speak of the rewards and judgments which await his

readers on the Last Day. It may be noted however that Revelation was not always highly regarded in the East, and its place in the canon seems only to have been established finally at the time of Athanasius (cf. his Festal Letter xxxix in 367 A.D.). On the other hand there is evidence not only for the use of the N.T. Apocalypse, but also of apocryphal apocalypses in Egypt and of a strong eschatological interest which in some way seems to have been linked with the monastic Weltanschauung (cf. S. Morenz, *Die Geschichte von Joseph dem Zimmermann*, Berlin, 1951, p.114f).

Besa's familiarity with the Bible, though surprising to the 20th century reader, was by no means exceptional among the monks of his day. Portions of Scripture were learnt by heart and recited by the monks as they went about their daily tasks. This, together with the fact that Bible reading played an important part in the daily offices, goes far to explain Besa's intimate knowledge of the Bible.

In a number of instances Besa falls into Bible language and phraseology without in any way indicating their origin. In these cases it is often difficult to decide whether Besa was just using the idiom which came most naturally to



him or whether he was intending to bring to bear the added weight of Scriptural authority. If the latter be true one must assume that he expected his readers to notice that Scripture was being used. One example of this occurs on 21v. Besa is speaking of the seriousness of sin and says, "For everyone who does good is of God but he who does evil is of the devil" (cf. I Jn.3.8). On 34v Besa, grieving over the punishments which the wicked will incur, expresses his sorrow in St.Paul's words (II Cor.2.4). On 68v he exhorts Antinoe in words from three verses in Proverbs (23.12, 22.19, 4.25). Further examples of this use of the Bible are, among others: Ps.31.9 (16r), Lk.21.34 (43v), Rom.1.21 (44v), Acts 20.26 (62r), II Cor.11.26 (90v).

Besa, when dealing with any particular subject, refers on occasion to more than one Biblical passage. The question therefore comes to mind, had he at his disposal any sets of texts already collected bearing on a specific subject? This seems to be a possibility although it is perhaps more likely that he juxtaposed the passages as he needed them or had stored them in his memory from previous catechetical instruction. Some of these passages seem to be linked by key-words which may almost lead one to sup-

pose that he had access to some form of concordance. That such works may have existed seems likely. There are several fragments indicating their existence at a later date (cf. e.g. Crum, Ryl., No.61, and Crum, BM, No.977). Some examples of passages so linked may now be given: Prov.28.24, 19.23, 20.10, each of which contains the word "father", are all given on 36r and convey a warning against despising the fathers. (Note that these three verses also occur together in Zoega CCVI,  $\phi\overline{\alpha}\lambda$  .) On 51v the same subject and the same key-word run through a different set of quotations viz. Prov.28.24, Ex.21.16 etc., Deut.27.16. A set of exhortations opens the letter on 39r and 39v and Besa strings together a series of quotations on the theme of light and darkness, the key-word being "light". Thus: Jn.12.35, 11.9-10, Job 29.3, Is.59.10 (although this verse does not contain the key-word "light", its inclusion is, I think, justified as the word occurs in the preceding verse Is.59.9), Prov.6.23, Ps.118.105, Is.26.9, Ps.18.8-9 (only 18.9 contains the key-word). In support of the law Besa refers to two passages, Prov.28.4 and Is.8.20 (40v), linked by the key-word "law". Other examples may be found on 66r and 66v, Prov.21.23 and 12.18 the key-word being "tongue", cf. also 53r and 53v; on 67r and 67v, Prov.14.3

and 16.17 the key-word being "mouth"; also on 67r and 67v where the key-word "foolish" seems to connect the following passages, Prov.14.1, 14.3 and 29.11, 18.7; and on 88r and 88v, Ps.82.2-3 and 108.1-9 the key-word "be not silent" occurring in the first word of each group.

As has been seen Besa's use of the Bible is strictly subordinate to his didactic purpose. The Bible is, as it were, the supporting element in his writings. His arguments are clothed in its language and added authority is drawn from it. In its words he speaks to his monks and nuns of their sinfulness, he exhorts them to lead a better life, he threatens them and warns them of the judgment to come and he promises rewards to those who are faithful and obedient. Even the more specific monastic ideals, such as poverty, fasting and the mortification of the body, are so supported. Of special interest are perhaps two passages in which Besa threatens to visit his readers in person. In so doing he uses the words of St. Paul, apparently in order to strengthen his own authority. On 17v and 18r II Cor. 12.20 and II Cor.2.3 are quoted, and again on 20v and 21r II Cor.12.20 and II Cor.13.2. It may be noted that II Cor. 12.20 is similarly used in Zoega CCVI,  $\phi\pi\eta$  .

The object and aim of Besa's use of the Bible is now

clear and there remains to discuss his method. How does he use the Bible? In a number of cases he quotes Biblical passages which may be described as maxims. They contain general truths. Their context is of no significance. They can easily be incorporated into Besa's writings and are understood without interpretation. Some examples may be given: on 22r he quotes, "The foolish and the ignorant shall perish together" (Ps.48.11), and, "A wise son obeys his father but a disobedient son is in perdition" (Prov. 13.1). On 47r one finds the quotation, "A perverse man spreads strife and kindles the flame of deceit with evils and divides friends and kinsmen" (Prov.16.28), and on 90v one reads, "He who shall recompense evil for good evil will not stir from his house" (Prov.17.13).

Other Biblical passages are detached from their original context and applied to the situation which confronts Besa. Their application seems to be straightforward and their use natural and legitimate. Again a few examples must suffice: on 19r Besa quotes, "The teeth of the sons of men are weapons and arrows and their tongue is a sharp sword" (Ps.56.5). The psalmist after having expressed his confidence in God states in these terms his distrust in men. Besa uses the passage to give a reason for

avoiding sins of the tongue. On 42r and 42v the words of Jer.23.24 are quoted, "Shall anyone hide himself in a secret place and I not see him? Do I not fill the heaven and the earth, says the Lord". In its original context this saying is part of a denunciation of the priests and prophets of the people of God while it is in Besa's writing used to underline exhortations addressed to his monks. On 47v we find St.Paul's warnings to the Christians in Thes-salonica applied to the monks of Besa, "We command you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to withdraw yourselves from every brother who walks disorderly and not according to the teaching which they received from us". "We hear concerning some that they walk among you disorderly, they do no work but are busybodies" (II Thes.3.6 and 3.11). On 55v and 56r, in impressing upon the elders of the monastic community their duties towards the monks entrusted to them, Besa uses passages from various books of the N.T. to emphasise the point (I Pet.5.1-3, II Cor.12.15, Lk.12.48 and Jam.2.15-16). On 58v Besa holds out the promise of victory over Satan to his readers in the words of St.Paul addressed to the Christians at Rome, "And the God of peace will crush Satan quickly under your feet" (Rom.16.20). Some further examples may be found on 20r and 20v (Prov.

5.12-13); on 21v (I Pet.4.18); on 45v and 46r (Rom.1.28-32); on 54v (Ps.30.5, Mic.7.8); and on 62v and 63r (Heb. 10.23-27 and 10.31-36). Sometimes Besa even uses a Biblical verse explicitly addressed to some person or nation and applies it to the recipient of his letter, e.g. Is.47.1-3 and 47.5 on 78v and 79r a reproach addressed to the daughter of Babylon is transferred to Heraï.

It may be worth while to draw attention to the fact that Besa in spite of his respect for Scripture is by no means its slave. He does not hesitate to omit from his quotations verses which either are not applicable to the situation with which he deals or which might be unintelligible to his readers. It would be wrong, I think, to seek in these omissions any deeper theological meaning. For examples it may be convenient to take two passages already discussed above. On 47v Besa quotes II Thes.3.6 and 3.11, omitting 3.7-10 in which St.Paul refers to his own manner of life. On 62v and 63r there are found the Biblical passages Heb.10.23-27 and 10.31-36 and the omitted verses 10.28-30 with their comparison between the fate of a man who rejects the law of Moses and the fate of him who rejects Christ, might be both difficult to understand and hardly applicable.

But Besa is also capable of a more original use of the Bible. In some cases he applies it to his purposes and in so doing interprets it in an unwarrantable way. Even where the modern reader brought up on the historical method would find himself in disagreement with Besa, much can be gleaned that is of interest in Besa's thought. He often finds it necessary to exhort his monks to be obedient to their superiors, their fathers. He supports his plea by a number of Biblical passages which exalt obedience to one's parents, one's fathers. On 36r he thus refers to Prov.28.24, 19.23 and 20.10; on 51v to Prov.28.24, Ex.21.16 etc. and Deut.27.16; on 57v to Col.3.20, while on 57r in stressing the obligations of the superiors to their charges he quotes Eph.6.4, the fathers superior again taking the place of the natural fathers.

On 41v Besa finds support for the monastic food laws in the words of St.Paul, "Because of food do not destroy the work of God" (Rom.14.20). In its original context, however, St.Paul argues that food laws - there referring to clean and unclean food - are obsolete except for the man with conscientious scruples. Because of him the stronger brother is advised to observe these dietary laws so as not to give offence. The application to the monastic

context is wholly artificial and, what is more, almost certainly not Pauline in tendency.

On 48r Besa, while admonishing his monks, alludes to I Pet.4.3. There the author of the epistle writes, "For the time past may suffice to have wrought the desire of the Gentiles....". "The time past" according to Besa is the time spent in the world outside the monastery, while the author of the epistle refers to the time prior to the conversion of his readers. Though it is possible that some of the monks only became Christians on entering the monastery there must have been many who were Christians before in the world. Not only therefore is Besa's application far-fetched but it also assumes two different standards of behaviour for Christians inside and outside the monastery, a contrast which, even if a reality, is alien to N.T. thought.

Besa often had occasion to upbraid his monks and nuns for sins of the tongue. Strangely enough he twice uses (on 24r and 52v) to support his exhortations an O.T. passage, Deut.24.8, which gives warning about leprosy and enjoins the observance of the Mosaic law concerning leprosy in the case of an outbreak. He interprets leprosy as evil-speaking. On another occasion (29r) Besa, while reproving



some of his monks, quotes Acts 7.51, "You always resist the Holy Spirit like your fathers". This verse, taken from Stephen's speech, he expounds by saying that the fathers are the devil and his demons, while Stephen of course referred to the people of Israel of old, who persecuted the prophets and rebelled against their God. Possibly, however, Besa's comment is occasioned by Jn.8.44, "You are of your father the devil...".

An even more arbitrary piece of exegesis may be found on 29v. There Besa quotes Jer.12.13, "Sow wheat and reap thorns. Their lots shall not profit them". And he comments "which means their prayers and their fastings and their religious exercises shall not profit them because of their lawlessnesses...".

A rather enigmatic N.T. allusion may be found on 60v. Besa writes to a monk, Matthew by name, who has evidently given up the monastic way of life. The abbot naturally reproaches him and goes on to say, "You loved this present age and went to Thessalonica, which is foolishness...". In II Tim.4.10 it is written, "Demas forsook me, having loved this present age and went to Thessalonica". It is clear that Matthew gave up his monastic calling and Demas apparently his missionary work. Demas departed to Thessalonica, but did Matthew really go to this far off city in

Macedonia from his monastery in Upper Egypt? Or are we to understand that Besa only used N.T. phraseology because Matthew's action reminded him of what Demas did? The words, "which is foolishness" perhaps suggest the latter alternative. Perhaps the argument in favour of the metaphorical use may be further strengthened by recourse to a modern parallel. In J.G.Lockhart, Cosmo Gordon Lang, London, 1949, p.90f, there is printed a newspaper report of a speech by Archbishop Lang on Housing in which he refers to his work in the slums in Leeds. At one time he and his fellow-workers lived in an old public-house. The cutting gives the Archbishop's words thus: 'To this old "pub" came with me Marks and Simpson and Charles Tyler, whom later, when he married, we called "Demas", as he had forsaken us, having loved this present world, and his new house we called Thessalonica.' But mention must be made of the interpretation in Cauwenbergh, Étude, p.150, "Quand un moine a quitté le monastère pour aller retrouver sa famille à Thessalonique, il (Besa) lui écrit pour l'engager à revenir".

On a number of occasions Besa employs Biblical passages to illustrate and emphasise a point with which he has to deal in his correspondence with his monks and nuns. And

here it will be necessary in each case to ask whether the interpretation implied in his use can be considered legitimate or not. Some of the more interesting examples merit discussion. On 24r Besa alludes to the story of Miriam's rebellion against Moses (Num.12.1ff). God, in order to punish her, made her a victim of leprosy. As a result of Moses' intercession, God promised to heal her on the condition that she be separated from the people outside the camp for seven days (cf. the Mosaic law on leprosy, especially Lev.13.46). Besa's object in referring to this story is to persuade a nun to accept her rightful punishment and to repent of her sinfulness. His application seems arbitrary. The divine punishment which cannot be refused is foretold for those who reject monastic disciplinary action. The element of Moses' intercession is altogether absent from the situation implied in Besa's letter and it would appear that the O.T. story is only used to convey a threat to a rebellious nun.

On 26r and 26v Besa refers to the story of the Unrighteous Judge (Lk.18.2ff). In the Gospel this parable is told "to the end that they ought always to pray and not to faint" (Lk.18.1). The moral is that if even a wicked man can be prevailed upon to do his duty by the persistency of other men, how much more will the persistent

prayer of men be efficacious with God. Besa, on the other hand, uses the parable in a complaint that the frequent admonitions and reproaches addressed to his monastic community have not had the results which they ought to have had. Needless to say, Besa's application is far removed from the original purpose of the Gospel parable.

On 35r Besa, in an attempt to impress on his monks the seriousness of theft from their sick brethren, compares them to murderers and to "those who gave the Lord in his thirst vinegar to drink" (cf. Mt.27.48 and Gospel parallels). This incident is recounted in all four Gospels and the evangelists or at least their commentators seem to disagree among themselves as to whether the offering of vinegar was an act of kindness or of mockery. Besa certainly thinks of it as a wicked sin. The application seems at first glance arbitrary yet it becomes more feasible as we think both of the helplessness of our Lord on the cross and the helplessness of the sick, and of our Lord's words, "Inasmuch as you did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, you did it unto me" (Mt.25.40, cf. Mt. 25.31-45).

On 52v Besa compares his rebellious monks to Korah and his "notable" men (Num.16.2ff) to make them realise the

enormity of their sin. But in the same context he quotes the saying of Moses (Ex.32.32) which he spoke to the people of Israel when they made the golden calf for themselves. There Moses intercedes with God on behalf of the rebellious people. The combination of these two passages shows clearly that Besa had no scruples in disregarding the actual historical situation as portrayed in the Bible.

On 59r, while exhorting his monks to keep the Lenten fast, each according to his strength, Besa reminds them of the example of Jesus (Mt.4.2 and Lk.4.2), of Moses (Ex.34.28) and of Elijah (III Kg.19.8), a typological interpretation which may be theologically permissible.

On 65r Besa warns a monk not to go astray but rather to examine himself diligently. He illustrates his advice with the parable of the Lost Coin (Lk.15.8-9). The point of comparison according to him is between the diligent search of the woman and the diligent self-examination of the monk. Lk.15.10 however states clearly the original moral of the Gospel parable, "there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repents".

On 74r, in exhorting the nun Heraï to constancy, Besa reminds her of Lot's wife (Lk.17.32) and proceeds to recall the story in Genesis (cf. especially Gen.19.26). He sees significance in the fact that Lot's wife became a

pillar of salt and not a pillar of stone which is surely not implied in the Bible story. He goes on to say that salt is seasoned and thus the example cannot be ignored and should be a warning to others.

On 75r Besa refers to the parable of the Building of the Tower (Lk.14.28-30), which in its original setting teaches that the decision to follow Christ should not be undertaken lightly. Besa uses it to exhort the nun Herai not to turn away from her monastic calling but to be constant. In so doing he interprets the figure of the tower by explaining that Jesus did not wish men to build a tower but to direct their way and their hearts towards heaven. In the original context no such interpretation is called for; there, examples from daily life illustrate a religious truth.

On 77v Besa uses Acts 4.32 as a proof-text for monastic poverty. The N.T. passage states that the early Christians had all things in common yet it is clear that it is not legitimate to apply it as a proof-text for the monastic way of life. The life of the early Christians was conditioned by the hope of the almost immediate return of our Lord in glory. When the realisation of this hope was delayed Christian life underwent a change, Christians adapting themselves to life in the world though they were

not of the world. In this connection Besa's reference to the story of Ananias and Sapphira should be mentioned (Acts 5.1ff on 85v). A nun wishing to leave her convent asked to have her property returned to her. Besa makes it clear that she has no right to her belongings any longer and threatens her with the fate of Ananias and Sapphira who kept for themselves part of that which they had vowed to God. Ananias and Sapphira are used as types and Besa similarly uses the figure of Judas as the type of all wickedness. On 79v the nun Herai is called the daughter of Judas the traitor (cf. Lk.6.16), on 82v her fate is compared to the fate of Judas as recounted in Acts 1.18, and on 89v rebellious monks who plotted against Besa are likened to Judas who betrayed the Lord (Lk.22.5).

Sometimes Besa borrows a Biblical image and interprets it anew. On 16r he alludes to the foolish virgins who had no oil in their vessels (Mt.25.1ff) which he interprets as the absence of understanding and the fear of God. In the original parable their foolishness is clearly their lack of preparedness for the coming of the Lord, the bridegroom. Besa also alludes to the passage on 37v and, though he does not interpret it there, he clearly uses it again in the same way. On 23v and 86v Besa reminds his hearers of

the grace of God who brought them out of the iron furnace. In the O.T. (Deut.4.20, III Kg.8.51, Jer.11.4) the iron furnace is Egypt and the metaphor is to remind the people of Israel of their deliverance out of Egypt. Besa applies it to the deliverance of the Christians who, having left the world, have found refuge in the monasteries. This is not the only place where Besa equates Egypt with the sinful world outside the monastery (cf. 15r). Such an identification is not peculiar to Besa however (cf. H.Dörries, *Die Bibel im ältesten Mönchtum*, in *ThLZ*, 72, p.221).

It must not be thought that this survey by any means exhausts the Biblical material in BM Or.8810. The examples discussed above must not be taken as being in true numerical proportion to the various ways in which Besa uses the Bible. They were selected mainly for their special interest. But the manysidedness of Besa's use of the Bible is evident. It almost defies classification and in the last resort can only be fathomed by a patient reading of the text itself. Although on some occasions one cannot but disagree with his ad hoc interpretations, there is no doubt that without his Biblical background Besa would have been unable to fulfil his task of administering and shepherding his flock of monks and nuns. It was not of course



upon the Bible only that he relied (cf. p.47ff) but his deep and intimate knowledge of it gave it the chief place in his mental equipment.

Besa's Christianity.

It is unfortunate that so little material has been preserved from which to reconstruct a picture of Besa's Christianity. It may be useful to recall what was said concerning the influences which were at work in the shaping of his character, some of which, no doubt, helped him greatly to form his religious beliefs. The Bible and his teacher and predecessor Shenoute are of the greatest importance both for his life and his religion. What can be known of his Christianity has to be gleaned from his writings which of course are not treatises containing systematic theological expositions. For the most part they are letters dealing with specific situations within the White Monastery which required Besa's intervention. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that any statements of Besa's theological beliefs are merely incidental, often designed to underline his exhortations and rulings. Under these circumstances it is unwise to draw together the theological material so amassed without careful evaluation of each piece of evidence. It is, for instance, difficult to decide whether omissions or repetitions of important Christian doctrines in his writings are due entirely to the nature of these writings or whether they can be accounted for, wholly or in part, by Besa's own pre-

dilections. In this connection it is interesting to note that in his writings there is no reference to the theological controversies of his time. Of the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.), which must have taken place soon after he became abbot, there is no echo, nor yet of the controversies which followed it. Of course this may be due to the fact that much which he wrote has perished. But it is equally possible that it was not mentioned because it did not endanger the unity of his monks and nuns and that, perhaps because of their lack of doctrinal knowledge, such topics provoked no discussion and thus no guidance was required. Finally it should be noted that Besa almost exclusively addresses a monastic audience which sometimes means that beliefs, though otherwise generally shared among Christians, take on a particular emphasis and colour.

Besa's "Life of Shenoute" may be considered first since it is in a class apart from his other writings. Its outstanding feature is its wealth of miracle stories. Perhaps this can be explained partly as the normal trappings of this particular literary genre and partly as popular superstitions current at the period. It could therefore be argued that the "Life of Shenoute" is designed solely to enhance Shenoute's reputation. On the other hand it is

possible that the records of the miracles express the belief that special charismata, that is to say miraculous powers, necessarily go together with an ascetic way of life (cf. in this connection the remarks on the Vita Antonii in Heussi, Ursprung, p.100, and in Holl, Enthusiasmus, p.148ff). There is little doubt that Besa looked upon his predecessor as a prophet and a man of God, but it is impossible to say with any certainty whether he would have claimed that the charismata operative in Shenoute were, perhaps to a lesser degree, shared by himself and all those following the monastic way of life. It will be seen below that there are some more indications in the other writings of Besa which suggest that he believed that the monastic life was blessed with a definite charismatic quality.

The other Besa writings must now be considered. The attempted reconstruction of his religious beliefs may begin with a consideration of the doctrine of creation: God is the creator of the world and the whole creation is subject to him (69v). Man was created in the image of God, and from this it is inferred that to despise man is to despise God (67v). From Jam.3.11-12 Besa, disregarding the context, concludes that only man among all creatures rebels

against God while the rest abide in their original state (69v). This conclusion would seem to be at variance with the Fall story (cf. Gen.3.17-18) especially as interpreted by St.Paul (cf. Rom.8.19-20), from which it is clear that human sin had a cosmic effect. Besa, of course, is primarily interested in bringing home to his monks and nuns the seriousness and perverseness of their sins. His is a pastoral interest. At the same time his explicit statement, "All creatures which God created do not change the likeness wherein he created them", suggests that he is unaware of the wider implications of human sin. Even when talking about the devil, he always relates the evil one's activities to human creation only.

Satanology and demonology form a substantial part of Besa's religion. He speaks of the devil and the demons in the same breath so that it is unnecessary to consider them separately. According to Besa, the devil corrupts the world in his sins (e.g. 38r, 45r) and it is by his agency that men become sinners. The devil envies the members of the monastic community (e.g. 54r) and hardens their hearts (67v) and he moreover destroys their good purpose in which they advance towards God (e.g. 73v). Herai's lapse from constancy is described as giving place to the devil, "who is a hater of good, always envying those who desire their

salvation" (71r). Not only does Besa say that sins are the devil's works but he also accuses erring nuns of giving "opportunity to Satan to come in and pollute the holy convents of God" (37r). In his comments on Scriptural passages Besa often mentions the devil and the demons when originally no such meaning was intended. Thus on 36r he quotes Ps.88.11, "You humbled the proud like a thing slain", and comments, "which means the devil and all those who do his works". On 36v he quotes Ps.62.11, "They shall be portions for foxes", and comments, "which are the demons...". Many more examples of this kind could be given. It may be noted also that, in the Antony quotations which Besa selects, much is said about the activities of the demons (68r and 72v ff). Thus it is clear that the work of the devil and the demons occupies a prominent place in Besa's writings. It must not however be supposed that this is an indication of a superstitious outlook. It is largely based on N.T. teaching. But the environment of Besa's religious belief was no doubt conducive to his interest in the subject.

Besa's writings clearly show that he had to devote much of his time and energy to the combating of sinfulness in his monks and nuns. His moral exhortations touch on a

variety of human failings which he was aiming to uproot among his monastic communities. Nobody could have taken a more serious view of sin than Besa and nobody could have striven harder to inculcate this same attitude in his charges. He underlines his exhortations to avoid sin by speaking of the pain and sorrow which sin causes in heaven. Not only God and his Christ are grieved but also the "fathers" who have already gone to heaven (19r). This same idea is expressed in a quotation from Antony where it is said that sins not only affect the sinner but are also "painful to the angels and to all the saints in Christ Jesus" (71v). As has already been seen, sin is thought of as the means whereby the power of Satan is enlarged and his dominion extended (37r). Though Besa in many of his writings seems to be dealing with very serious lapses from virtue as for instance theft, physical violence, and lying, nevertheless it must not be thought that his conception of sin moves only on the surface. He is just as anxious to put an end to the more insidious sins of disobedience, pride, and boastfulness to mention only a few. In his pastoral admonitions he often emphasises the necessity for continual endeavour in the good life and the need for watchfulness in the good fight (e.g. 70v).

Self-examination is recommended as a help in the fight against sin (e.g. 65r), and no doubt self-examination presupposes an awakened conscience already instructed in Christian ethics. In this connection attention may be drawn to the following passage, "For thus said those of understanding when they saw that we were not examining ourselves or judging (ΔΙΑΚΡΙΝΕ) whether Christ was in us, 'Many', they said, 'are troubled in the community, for their lack of judgment (ἈΝΤΑΔΙΑΚΡΙΝΕ) is killing them'" (43v). Again self-examination is commended or its absence deplored and the readers are contrasted with "those of understanding". ΔΙΑΚΡΙΣΙΣ, it may be noted, is a term of some importance in the history of early monasticism. In the Vita Antonii the term is used of the distinguishing between good and bad spirits, a use perhaps derived from I Cor.12.10, while in the Apophthegmata patrum it refers to the charisma of discernment which is essential for those who lead an ascetic life (cf. Heussi, Ursprung, p.232, and Holl, Enthusiasmus, p.150f). The similarity of terminology thus shown between anchoritic and later coenobitic literature may perhaps suggest a similarity of religious values at this point.

Besa's serious estimate of the sins of his monks and



nuns is heightened by his emphasis upon the sinfulness of the world outside the monastery. Alluding to I Pet.4.3, he reminds his readers of their former sins, while in the world (48r). Only by God's grace can a man be brought into the monastery from the sinful world (e.g. 23v, 86v). So convinced is Besa that the monastic calling is an effective antidote to sin, that he sometimes uses phraseology about entry into the monastery which would seem more appropriate to baptism (e.g. 49r, 74r). If, as seems most probable, entry into a monastery did not, in the majority of cases, coincide with conversion to Christianity, Besa's language would seem to imply a depreciation of Christianity outside the monastery. The monastery according to Besa is the place where men can repent of their wickedness and where they should take care to avoid a repetition of their sin (e.g. 19v). Various ways are advocated by Besa by which his charges can avoid sin of which the following predominate: the obeying of the commandments both of God (e.g. 40v) and of the superiors (e.g. 19v); fearing God and his Christ (e.g. 17v, 19v); remembering the Lord and trusting in him (e.g. Zoega CCIV, p15 ). A matter of greater significance emerges when Besa discusses the relationship between mortification of the body and good works. On 37r he quotes Jn.12.24, "Unless the grain of

wheat falls upon the earth and dies it remains alone, but if it die it bears much fruit", and comments, "Thus also unless a man mortifies his body, he shall be without avail in his works, but if he mortify himself he shall bear much fruit in good works", to which he appends I Pet.4.1-2. Needless to say Besa's application of Jn.12.24 is unwarrantable, but it is interesting to note that what he is, in effect, saying is that the monastic disciplining of the body must inevitably result in good works.

Bearing in mind the pastoral character of almost all Besa's writings, it does not seem strange that he emphasises the freedom of man's choice between good and evil. But this is not to say that he disregards the working of the grace of God, though it is impossible to conclude whether or not he had arrived at a synthesis in his understanding of man's free will and God's grace. On the whole one gains the impression that Besa's references to the working of God's grace in man's spiritual progress are somewhat formalistic and largely due to his familiarity with Biblical phraseology. It must remain doubtful whether he had succeeded in assimilating its contents and integrating it in his theological thought. A few examples will illustrate the difficulty. The N.T. position with

regard to this problem is exemplified by Phil.2.12-13, where moral exhortation is rightly related to the operation of God's grace. The inherent tension of this relationship is maintained. Besa quotes Phil.2.12-13 (31r and 48v), "Work out your salvation in fear and trembling. For it is God who works in you the will and the fulfilment of the will". One cannot be sure whether Phil.2.13 is a vital truth for Besa or whether it is quoted because it is the link between Phil.2.12 and Phil.2.14 both of which contain exhortations relevant to Besa's pastoral instruction. In both cases (31r and 48v) he goes on to quote Phil.2.14-15.

On occasions Besa ends his letters with an expression of confidence that the Lord will provide the means whereby evil may be eschewed and good works performed (31v, Zoega CCIV,  $\overline{CKA} - \overline{CKB}$ ). These examples may, of course, be nothing more than pious formulae with which the writer concludes his letters. But nevertheless there remain passages which show that Besa was aware that human effort alone is not enough. In Zoega CCVI,  $\overline{\Phi NE}$ , he, when recording the works of charity performed by his monks during a famine, says that they performed their ministry "not by our strength, but by the grace of God our Saviour, who gave himself a ransom for everyone" (for the last clause, cf. I Tim.2.6).

It may also be noted that Besa, in his quotations from Antony, quotes the hermit as saying that God gives power and strengthening grace to those that seek him and advance to him (71v-72r).

The importance which Besa attaches to good works cannot be over-emphasised. They have an effect not only on the doer but also on his teachers and those responsible for him. Besa is aware of St. Paul's exhortation to the Philippians that they should persist "in the word of life for a glorying unto me on the day of Christ" (Phil. 2.16). On 31r he actually quotes this verse and, without referring to St. Paul, applies it to himself. This idea played a not inconsiderable part in Besa's thought. The "fathers" also pride themselves on their charges if their commandments are obeyed (e.g. 31v) and the monks' moral efforts give satisfaction to the "fathers" already in heaven (e.g. 19r). As for the doer of good works, Besa's conception of their vital importance to him may be summarised in his own words, (65r) "It is the good that each one will have done that he will find beside him at that time" (i.e. Day of Judgment).

Another way in which Besa underlines the importance of the good life can be found on 53v-54r where he likens the good monk to an angel and the evil monk to a devil. Per-

haps this passage should be considered in connection with the fact that in Shenoute's day his monks were commonly called "angels" and the monastery "Heavenly Jerusalem" (cf. Leipoldt, Shenute, p.161). The latter term is also used in Besa's writings, though the passage is somewhat difficult (cf. 79v, note 1). The terminology here discussed may, however, not only illustrate Besa's high regard for good works but may also imply a special spiritual claim for those who follow the monastic way of life.

In BML75, Besa speaks of another circumstance attendant upon the leading of a blameless life in the monastery. The relevant passage may be summarised (BML75,  $\overline{CK\Delta}$  -  $\overline{CK5}$ ): the readers are told that the Spirit of Christ cannot live in them because of their unworthiness, and because they are the abodes of unclean spirits. The spirits of the righteous also are unable to dwell in them because demons are in them. They have scared away the Spirit of God and therefore the spirits of the apostles and prophets will not come to them. Demons triumph over them and mock them. Expounding Lk.10.5-6, Besa says that only with the sons of peace will the Holy Spirit abide. This passage presents a variety of problems. It is noteworthy that Besa makes the indwelling of the Spirit dependent on the worthiness of the recipient. This, of course, is in contrast to Pauline

theology where the indwelling of the Spirit is linked with conversion and is the starting-point for a life in Christ. Since Besa is writing to members of his monastic communities, it is impossible to say whether he intended his remarks to be applicable also to Christians outside the monastery. In other words, is in Besa's opinion the experience of the indwelling of the Spirit possible for monks and nuns only, or equally for all Christians? Does perhaps the reference to the spirits of the apostles and prophets imply a specific monastic claim to be their successors? To judge from Besa's remarks it would seem that the operation of the Spirit is confined to those whose strict observance of the monastic discipline makes them worthy recipients of it. If this interpretation be accepted, a transformation of the view on the operation of the Spirit may be observed. The Spirit's unfettered manifestations thought to be evident in the line of succession through the prophets, apostles, martyrs, anchorites, has now been directed into narrower channels circumscribed by monastic discipline (cf. Leipoldt, Schenute, p.53ff).

The concepts of reward and punishment occupy a prominent position in Besa's writings in encouraging the good and warning the evil among his monastic communities. Here

Besa is in close agreement with the N.T. where, as in his writings, the ideas of reward and punishment are linked with the judgment of God. Later ideas of "merit" and "satisfaction", which had their origin in the ideas of reward and punishment and which made man into a contractual partner of God - man by his good works having a definite claim upon God -, are absent from the writings of Besa. His fidelity to the Bible prevents him from questioning God's absolute sovereignty and man's utter dependence. Besa often tells the sinful that the things which they do will not profit them (e.g. 20r). He threatens them with punishment not only in the after-life but also here and now (e.g. 39r, 47r). Conversely he holds out the hope of reward for the good both here and in the life to come (e.g. 19r, 44r). On the whole, however, Besa's emphasis is chiefly laid on rewards and punishments after death (e.g. 59v, 82v). But there are many calamities which may befall the sinner while yet in the world. Zoega CCVI provides a good example. On  $\Phi\overline{N}5$  Besa acknowledges to God that the disastrous famine which is plaguing the land is the direct result of sin. It is because of sin that God has withheld the yearly inundation of the Nile ( $\Phi\overline{Z}$ ). Another punishment which the sinners may bring upon themselves

here and now is that they will be forsaken by the angels of God and those who teach them (36v).

Many times does Besa repeat that the wrath of God will finally be brought to bear upon the sinner on the Day of Judgment (e.g. 26v). He is aware that every man's life is lived under the judgment of God (e.g. 66v), and he quotes II Cor.5.10, "We know that it is at all times necessary for us all to stand at the judgment-seat of Christ and for each one to receive through his body according to the things he has done whether good or evil" (50r). Not only thus does he show his consciousness that all man's actions have a direct relationship to the Judgment and that each individual stands or falls irrevocably by it. His repeated references to the Judgment seem to make it the pivot of his religious thought. Besa, in harmony with the N.T., maintains that man's works do indeed count at the Judgment, yet the inscrutability of the mind of God is emphasised. There is no better summary of his position than that in his own words on 42r, "Therefore, brethren, it is good for us to acquire for ourselves the fear of the Lord and to depart from the things which God hates, that we may find grace on the day of our visitation, since we do not know how we shall meet God and our Lord Jesus. For it is a



very hard thing to meet God. He whom we shall meet is not a man like us, but he is Lord and God, knowing the things we do in the darkness."

Besa makes it clear that he realises the finality of God's judgment and the suddenness with which the Day of Judgment comes to pass (e.g. 43v, 70v). It is not remarkable that Besa has so little to say on the subject of the eternal bliss awaiting the righteous as, for the most part, he is concerned with warning sinners of the fearful consequences of their misdeeds. It is, however, surprising how restrained Besa is in his language describing the final Judgment and the ensuing punishment for sinners. His imagery is drawn from the Bible. The misery of the sinners' plight is dwelt upon (e.g. 26v, 43v, 50r), and the traditional picture of their fate in the fiery furnace is used (e.g. 29v, 34v). One other passage is worthy of note, viz. 27r, where Besa says that the Lord will "mock at your perdition and he will deride you when .... tribulation comes to you and you are in straits down in Amente in the time of your need."

The judge is God, and his Christ is sometimes associated with him in judging and punishing (e.g. 34v). But Besa seems to be aware of Biblical passages such as

Mt.19.28, Lk.22.30 and I Cor.6.2 from which it is clear that the apostles and all the saints will play their part at the Judgment. For in BML75, c $\overline{\Lambda}$ B, he states that the "fathers" will judge him and he in turn his charges.

It cannot be repeated too often that Besa's writings are not theological treatises but pastoral documents provoked by practical needs. Nevertheless the absence of any hints that Christ and his redemptive work occupied their rightful place in Besa's thought is remarkable. Even if one were to concede that Besa's Christianity included a developed Christology which had left no traces in his preserved writings, it is difficult to see how it could fit into the scheme of religious thought which has been traced above. Man faces God and God judges him, indeed is merciful to him, but the divine actions are unrelated to and unaffected by the atoning death and resurrection of Christ. The effects of Christ's work on God, on man, and on the world are apparently ignored. (For Shenoute's Christology, in many aspects similar, cf. Leipoldt, Shenute, p.81f.) This does not, of course, mean that Christ is not mentioned in Besa's writings, but the passages having any Christological significance where he is mentioned, for the most part merely repeat Bible phrases and do not seem to be

integrated in Besa's thought. The references to Christ's death, for instance, are taken from I Thes.5.9-10, Tit. 2.14 and I Tim.2.6 (31r, 70r-70v). Christ's conduct under suffering is adduced as an example in the words of I Pet. 2.21 (76r) and also in Besa's own words, "Let us indeed be worthy that they should despise us for the sake of God's name and for Christ, for because of his name we have suffered. They despised God and crucified him unto death.." (87v). In the latter passage it may be noted that Besa does not seem to distinguish between God the Father and God the Son, though this probably has no doctrinal significance.

In reading Besa's writings, one becomes conscious that he had an unshakable confidence in God. In the strength of his personal faith in God he was enabled to carry out his duty, however difficult. God the righteous judge will vindicate himself and those who have led the good life. In this faith Besa lives and it is his war-cry in the battle which he wages against sin.

Monastic Life in Besa's Day.

The White Monastery, of which Besa was abbot, is situated in the region of Akhmîm, near Sohâg. It is built on a hill beside the ancient village of Atripe (cf. K.Baedeker, Egypt and the Sudan, Leipzig, 1929, p.229). To this day there remain considerable portions of the original buildings including the church which was built by Shenoute. A modern impression of the place together with some illustrations has been recorded by A.L.Schmitz, Das Weisse und das Rote Kloster, in Die Antike (Berlin), III, p.326ff.

J.Leipoldt (Leipoldt, Shenute, p.95f), on the basis of a passage in the works of Shenoute, estimates that the land belonging to the White Monastery covered an area of at least 50 sq.km. (i.e. 19.32 sq. miles). Within these bounds there were, in addition to the main monastery, a number of daughter houses; some occupied by monks, some by nuns. As has been noted before, the number of monks and nuns under Shenoute's jurisdiction was considerable, more than 4000 in all (cf. p.53). The population probably was much the same in Besa's day.

Turning now to the evidence from Besa's own writings, it must be realised that it is impossible to draw a com-

plete picture of life in the White Monastery under Besa. Such incidental information as is available merely affords glimpses of it. Many of the gaps could, no doubt, be filled from Shenoute's writings if, as seems probable, practices changed little under the two abbots. I have not, however, adopted this course since much of the Shenoute material has been dealt with so fully in Leipoldt, Shenute. Only when it throws fresh light on some point in Besa's writings have I made use of it.

A great variety of people entered the White Monastery. Both men and women sought admission. Age was no barrier for both young and old joined the community. Even children seem to have been admitted as the context of the reference to the "little one" on 87r-87v shows. Most of the entrants probably came from the poverty-stricken peasantry, but there is evidence that people of higher rank also took the vow. A case in point is that of the nun Aphthonia who was the daughter of the comes Alexandros (Zoega CCIV, C $\overline{\mu}$  $\Delta$ ). As regards the family ties linking various members of the communities, the evidence is obscured by the fact that the terms father, mother, brother, sister, son, and daughter are used not only of natural but also of monastic relationships. It can, however, be stated with some confidence

that women who had borne children were admitted (e.g. 15v, 18r, 23r), as were also fathers (e.g. 61v-62r). From a reference on 65r it would appear that often several members of one family (e.g. father and sons) joined the community together.

Many and varied were the motives which caused people to enter the monastery. The economic factor certainly played its part. Abject poverty led men to seek a refuge behind the walls of the monastery. The background of the disastrous economic conditions in Egypt has been sketched by H.I.Bell, *The Byzantine Servile State in Egypt*, JEA, IV, p.86ff. But the religious motive must not be ignored. Men firmly believed that, by leaving the world, they were better able to live a life pleasing to God and thus to attain eternal bliss. The influence and high reputation of the great hermits such as Antony, and the great abbots typified by Pachomius and Shenoute, also spurred on lesser men to emulate them. Perhaps they hoped that by entering the monastery their lives would acquire a reflected glory from the famous fathers. The abiding influence of the great abbots seems to be hinted at on 26r where it is reported that the monks were known as "the people of Apa Shenoute".

From Besa's writings nothing can be learnt about the period before a monk took his vow. Of the vow, however, there is evidence. In Zoega CCIV,  $\overline{\text{N}}^5$ , part of it is quoted and a comparison with the vow introduced by Shenoute shows agreement in subject-matter though the individual promises are given in a different sequence from that in either of the formulae preserved in Shenoute's writings (C42, p.20; C73, p.40). A translation of the vow as quoted by Besa may be given, "We will not steal, we will not lie, we will not defile our body in any way, we will not bear false witness, we will not do anything deceitful secretly, and all the other words which come after these". The Shenoute vow runs thus (C42, p.20), "I vow before God in his holy place, the word which I have spoken with my mouth is my witness: I will not defile my body in any way, I will not steal, I will not bear false witness, I will not lie, I will not do anything deceitful secretly. If I transgress that which I have vowed, I shall see the kingdom of heaven yet will not enter it. God before whom I made the covenant will destroy my soul and my body in fiery Gehenna, because I transgressed the covenant which I made". The formula is called  $\Delta\iota\alpha\theta\eta\kappa\eta$  and there are at least two other passages in Besa's writings which may refer to it. In Paris 130', fol.19r - the leaf is mutilated - there is a reference to

a ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ which must be made by all members of the monastic community. On 86r there is a more doubtful example. Heraï is reproved for having rejected the ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ which she has made with God. This may refer to the vow which, as has been seen, was thought of as being made before God. On the other hand it is possible that the reference is to the covenant relationship between God and every Christian. Besa may also have had the vow in mind on several occasions even though the term ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ is not used. An example from 76v may be cited where the word used is ΕΡΗΤ (cf. also 82v). On 78v Heraï is spoken of as having broken "the pledge of her constancy" (ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΝΤΕΣΤΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ ).

Besides taking the vow, anyone wishing to enter the monastery had to renounce his property. This seems to have been a source of trouble in the communities for Besa's letters are often concerned with the rules relating to it. The rule of poverty has always played an important part in monasticism. Already in the days of the anchorites it was highly exalted. Besa, when discussing it, draws upon the traditional N.T. passages in support of it (e.g. Acts 4.32 on 77v; Mt.19.21 on Zoega CCIV, C<sup>NA</sup> ; Lk.12.33 on Zoega CCIV, C<sup>NB</sup> ). The rules governing the renunciation of property are dealt with at some length on 77r-78v. The



following points of interest emerge. Each monk had to divest himself of all his belongings either by written or unwritten agreement (ΕΙΤΕ ΕΓΓΡΑΦΟΣ ΕΙΤΕ ΑΓΓΡΑΦΟΣ , 78v). According to Leipoldt, Schenute, p.106f, Shenoute stipulated that the renunciation should be certified in writing. Possibly Besa relaxed Shenoute's rule, although the disagreement may only be the result of the paucity of evidence for Shenoute's demands on this point. The belongings were to be made over "to the fellowship of God and the service of the poor" (77v). In other words the beneficiary was the monastery which, in suitable cases, allocated part to charity. Again the divergency from the rules of Shenoute as given in Leipoldt, Schenute, p.107, may be noted. There it was not laid down how a man should dispose of his property. To whom he gave it was a matter for his personal decision.

Besa underlines that the rules mentioned by him are hallowed by tradition and are equally binding for everybody (77v). The renunciation of property is final. Members of the monastic communities, even if they wanted to leave, were unable to ask for anything back, nor had their relations at any time any claim (77v, 78r). The reason for this severity lies, according to Besa, in the fact that

the property was used for the benefit of the community and therefore sudden demands would upset the economic stability of the monastery (78r-78v). Besa emphasises the importance of these regulations by saying, "For the laws of the churches and the laws of the monasteries are accounted to be quite inflexible especially concerning the common life" (78r). The finality of the renunciation is also dwelt on in the letter to Heraï in the words, "the things you promised to God were from then on no longer yours but God's" (85r). It may be interesting to note that the same words are used in a letter to Antinoë (Zoega CCIV,  $\overline{CN}$ ). So serious a view does Besa take of those who demand the restoration of their property, that he likens them to those who rob the temple of the Lord (85v).

It seems clear that the abbots of the White Monastery incurred on occasions the charge of having mercenary motives in their recruitment of monks and nuns. Besa defends himself and his predecessors and says that no force has ever been used to make a man become a monk. Therefore a man was free to do as he pleased with his property until he decided voluntarily to seek admittance to a monastery. This seems to be the most satisfactory interpretation of the difficult passage on 77r (but cf. the Detached Note ad loc.). Besa seems to be defending himself against the

same accusation on 87r.

The monastic way of life necessarily involves separation from the world. The rules concerning this separation had to be enforced vigorously. Besa's writings show that they were not always kept unquestioningly. Even the accepting of gifts from one's parents without permission was not allowed, as the case of the nun Aphthonia shows who was prevented from so doing (Zoega CCIV,  $\overline{C\Lambda E}$ ). On Paris 130', fol.15r-15v Besa forbids the acceptance of all gifts from people outside the monastery without authorisation from the superiors. No excuse is considered sufficient to waive this rule, neither the plea that it is for charity, nor the importunity of the donor, nor yet that it is for the good of the donor's soul. In the same passage Besa specifies some of the gifts, viz. grain and wool and  $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\phi\omicron\rho\alpha$  (meaning perhaps food, or else a religious offering).

Some monks were also reproved for going outside the monastery without permission to meet and converse with renegade monks, some of whom were related to those who came out to meet them (Zoega CCIV,  $\overline{CK\Gamma}$ ). Unauthorised excursions to the neighbouring towns or villages are also condemned by Besa (Paris 130', fol.15v). A monk who is not only a thief but has also absented himself for the

night taking with him, and thus corrupting, a young monk, incurs the abbot's special displeasure.

Desertion from the monastery seems to have been no uncommon sin (64r). It may be noted that in the vow, as known to us, the monk does not promise explicitly to persevere in the monastic calling for the rest of his life. But there is little doubt that this was the norm. This is clear from the vigour with which Besa denounces those "who have denied their constancy" (e.g. 60v, 77r, 80r-80v). Yet the act of desertion is apparently not unforgivable in Besa's eyes, for on 64r he asks the monk Matthew, who had left his monastery, to return to it. The reasons for the many desertions cannot be ascertained. It seems likely that the monastic discipline sometimes proved too irksome and the attractions of the world too powerful a temptation. Sometimes family ties were stronger than the ties of allegiance to the monastery (23r, 65r). In this connection the difficult passage on 87v may be considered. It appears that a young inmate of the monastery entrusted to Besa was abducted by force by men from outside the monastery.

Though unauthorised contacts with the world were strongly discouraged, Besa realised that an important aspect of the monastic way of life was the influence which

it exercised on the world outside. His monks and nuns were expected to set a good example, and he does not doubt that the monasteries were a moral force which the world could not ignore. Only too often was Besa disappointed by the behaviour of the members of his communities. More than once he reproves them for having fallen short of the standard expected of them, and having therefore failed in their mission to the world (16v-17r, 26r, 49v).

But there were not only indirect contacts with the world of which Besa approved. In times of calamity he did not hesitate to open the gates of his monastery to sufferers from outside. A case in point is recorded in Zoega CCVI,  $\Phi\overline{\text{N}}\Gamma - \Phi\overline{\text{Z}}\text{B}$  where the monks succoured victims of a disastrous famine. J.Vandier, *La Famine dans l'Égypte Ancienne* (Cairo, 1936), gives evidence for the prevalence of famines throughout Egypt's history. The natural causes of these famines were failure or irregularity in the yearly inundations of the Nile. J.Vandier shows that a strong and effective government could avert disaster even in such cases. Great suffering only ensued when natural calamities were aggravated by the failure of the administration to take the necessary measures. In the instance with which Besa is concerned the Nile had failed to rise. Disease followed in the wake of the famine. More than 5000-6000

sufferers sought refuge in the monastery and were cared for by the monks. Food, baths and medical treatment were provided, and those who died (about 128) were duly buried. By thus encouraging the monks' ministrations in times of emergency, Besa is following the example of Shenoute (cf. Leipoldt, Schenute, p.171ff).

That Besa himself was not entirely cut off from the world outside is clear from the letter contained in Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, fol.127. He writes to the clergy, the secular administrators, and the people of certain villages to reprove them for quarrelling over a "piece of wood". The quarrel is unfitting for Christians. It is possible that trouble has arisen over a relic. Besa, it would appear, thought of himself as having pastoral responsibilities towards these people though they are not monks. It may be noted that his authoritative advice is given not only to laymen but also to the clergy (ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟC , ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC ).

Besa had supreme authority not only over the community in which he lived but also over the daughter houses, both monasteries and convents, which formed part of the White Monastery. The details of the organisation in the time of Besa cannot be learnt from his writings though something is known of those who shared with him the task of disciplining the monastic settlements. In the writings to

monks there are references to elders ( $\bar{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron$  e.g. 55v) and to fathers ( $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$  e.g. 35v) who are in positions of responsibility in the monasteries. Some of the monks seem to have been singled out for special tasks, for instance the monk Matthew was sent on an errand (64r). Paris 130', fol. 15v also seems to suggest that monks might be sent on errands in twos by their superiors. There is a little more evidence for the organisation of the convents. Both a mother superior and her deputy are mentioned in BM175,  $\bar{\epsilon}\lambda\beta$  ( $\mu\alpha\alpha\gamma \epsilon\alpha\tau\eta\tau\eta\gamma\tau\eta \bar{\mu}\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\gamma \bar{\mu}\eta\eta\epsilon\omega\epsilon$ ). If Zoega CCXXXVIII be rightly ascribed to Besa, there is also evidence for an elder ( $\bar{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron$ ) on duty at the gate of a convent. It is known that trusted monks could hold positions of some importance in convents (cf. Leipoldt, Schenute, p.139). Moreover Besa employed monks in authority as letter-bearers to the convents and at the same time empowered them to inquire into any difficulties which had arisen there. The nuns are exhorted to look upon them as the abbot's representatives and to confess their sins and troubles openly to them (e.g. 18r, 24v). The envoys have even the right to apportion punishments (e.g. 38v). Only if all these expedients fail to be of any avail, will Besa himself visit the malcontents in anger and punish them (e.g. 17v, 20v, Michigan 158/22, Zoega CCVI,  $\phi\pi\theta$ ).

It is necessary to consider in greater detail the duties devolving upon the superiors and the relationship between them and their charges. The most significant statement of the duties and responsibilities of the superiors is contained in 55v ff. Their tasks may be summed up in Besa's own words, "Care for their souls according to God and (do) not leave them lacking that which is needful for our way of life" (56r). It is thus indicated that the superiors were responsible for the physical well-being of their charges as well as for their spiritual needs (cf. also 51v). The monks and nuns are constantly being exhorted to obey their superiors (e.g. 17v, 19v, 57v), and again and again are they told that they must not take the initiative in anything but must ask for permission before acting (e.g. 41v). Clearly the abbot expected close co-operation between the superiors and their charges. "If there is anyone whose heart is grieved in anything", he writes, "who prevents him from sensibly and wisely telling it to your fathers?" (53r, cf. also 61v).

In spite of all these efforts to secure fellowship and unanimity of purpose in the monastery, discord and friction still arose. Besa has to tell the nun Aphthonia, who wished to go to another convent (Zoega CCIV,  $\overline{c\alpha\zeta}$ ),



that if she has any complaints she ought to make them to her mother superior (Zoega CCIV, C $\overline{15}$  ). In the case of Mary and Talou their complaints reach such a pitch that they refuse to obey and rebel against the monastic discipline (15v-16r, cf. also 22r). Insubordination may go so far that even the possibility of physical violence against authority is envisaged (18v, 35v).

What kind of disciplinary action was brought to bear on sinners in the community? It is noteworthy that corporal punishment, which plays so prominent a part in Shenoute's punitive system, is not mentioned in the writings of Besa. The extreme punishment of expulsion seems to have been a possibility, if this be the right interpretation of 19v. A difficult problem arises in connection with a reference on 23r. Mary, the sister of Matai is accused of having exclaimed, "I shall not go to the gate to receive punishment", and Besa goes on to say, "And did you not thus disobey our injunction? Was it not we that said, let them go to the gate and receive punishment?" Before discussing the possible interpretations of this passage it is necessary to define what is meant by "the gate". Each community had a gate-house in which the prospective members of the community spent some time before taking the

vow (cf. Leipoldt, *Schenute*, p.112). Therefore the person in charge at the gate had to be tried and trusted. His responsibility was great because his was the task of safeguarding the frontier between cloister and world. It is possible then that the above passage, without specifying the exact nature of the punishment, alludes to the fact that the person at the gate had authority to punish evil-doers. But it is equally possible that the punishment intended is demotion. Mary was to go back and join again the novices at the gate. This is a punishment known to have been meted out in the days of Shenoute (cf. Leipoldt, *Schenute*, p.141). The pride and insolence which has incurred Mary's punishment brings to mind Pachomian punishments for similar misdeeds. There the monk who is angry without cause and he who sets himself up as a judge may be punished with demotion. I quote the relevant passages from A.Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, Louvain, 1932: *Praecepta atque Iudicia* 2 (CLXI), p.64, *Iracundus et furiosus, si frequenter irascitur sine causa et propter rem inanam et uacuum, per sex uices commonebitur; in septima facient eum consurgere de ordine sessionis suae et inter ultimos collocabitur, docebuntque eum ut ab hac mentis perturbatione mundetur. Cumque tres testes dignos testimonio, qui pro*

eo polliceantur nequaquam simile quid esse facturum, adduxerit, recipiet sessionem suam. Alioquin, si permanserit in uitio, moretur inter ultimos, perduto priori loco.

9 (CLXVIII), p.67, Qui iudex est omnium peccatorum et peruersitate mentis uel negligentia reliquerit ueritatem, uiginti uiri sancti et timentes Deum siue decem, et usque ad quinque, de quibus omnes dent testimonium, sedebunt et iudicabunt eum et degradabunt eum in ultimum gradum donec corrigatur. A third though less convincing interpretation is that Besa is referring to a verdict of expulsion.

As has been seen, punishments were not always willingly accepted. In Paris 130<sup>1</sup>, fols.10v-11v, it is revealed that there was dissension over Besa's punitive system. Apparently the public punishment of certain evildoers was resented and it was thought best that they should be sent away secretly. Besa supports the public punishment by quoting I Tim.5.20, "Them that sin reprove in the sight of all that the rest also may be in fear", and by pointing out that the punishment is not man's but God's. He also reminds his readers of certain sayings of "our holy father" advocating drastic punishment and threatening divine judgment. The longer of these quotations can be traced to Shenoute. The passage (on 11v) occurs in the unpublished

MS of Shenoute's epistles, kept in the Institut français, Cairo, on  $\overline{\text{CQ}}\Delta$ . The director of the Institut français, M. Ch.Kuentz, has kindly sent me a copy of the relevant passage which shows that the divergences are few and of little significance. A translation of the passage may be given, "Is this not the place and the day when God shall destroy your souls and your bodies? And is it not the time when I shall not only let the laws scour your sides and a fire be kindled beneath you and your heads be cut off, but I shall also set up gallows in the streets of these communities and shall let you be hanged on them until you dry up and the birds eat your flesh (cf. Gen.40.19) which you have made members of deceit. And I shall slay you with my hands even as the priests of Baal (cf. III Kg.18.40) because you were not priests in his (God's) house fittingly but you rather destroyed it." Unfortunately it is impossible to know whether Shenoute intended such bloody punishments to be carried out literally, or whether Besa, by quoting it, shows that he would be prepared to adopt such measures. The Biblical language perhaps favours a non-literal interpretation. From the evidence on punishment in Besa it would seem much more probable that, though he claims the right to punish sinners publicly, he would not have

gone to such extremes.

It must not of course be supposed that coenobitism offered nothing more than a penal code to enable the individual to lead the good life. The ideal of fellowship and mutual advancement was alive in Besa's communities. In spite of the fact that Besa's writings were usually provoked by shortcomings and lapses, nevertheless traces of the ideal can be found in his writings. The community is thought of as nurturing her members and is spoken of as she "who nursed you, Jerusalem (Bar.4.8), that is to say the community" (38r, cf. also 62r). The idea of fellowship is exalted (e.g. 47r) and unity and harmony extolled (e.g. 53r). Favouritism therefore is deplored. Besa is greatly distressed at the thought that some in his communities may be friendless, neglected, and unhappy. He desires "the same equality (cf. II Cor.8.14) for all of them together" (56v, cf. also K.923). The deceit and mistrust which sin engenders destroy the freedom which should exist in the monasteries (e.g. 43r). Mutual edification is the goal even if Besa is forced to acknowledge, "we weakly act as a drag on one another instead of being an edification to each other....we have become mutually destructive with the devil's works" (52r, cf. also 67r). Besa is aware how

strong can be the influence, for good or for evil, of individuals one upon another in the close confines of a monastic community. The nun Herai is told that she has "become a stumbling to many" (81v) and one group of monks is reproved thus, "You are ensnared by one another, and you make a pit for one another" (54r). Besa envisages even the possibility that the minds of some can be corrupted against their teachers by their fellows (51r). Offensive talk and idle chatter seem to have been the most powerful means of undermining the fellowship (e.g. 46v, 47v, 66v, 76r). In the case of Matthew, the defection of a trusted monk did much harm by the bad example which it set (61r).

Besa seems to suggest that the innocent are affected by the sins of the evildoers amongst them. The sinners bring shame upon the guiltless (e.g. 25v, 34v). The wicked are repeatedly told that they cannot shift the blame for their misdeeds on to the community. Any faults that can be found within it are the responsibility of its evil members (e.g. 16r-16v). Those who disturb the community in any way also come in for a large share of Besa's censure (e.g. 15v, 19r, 48r). The trouble-makers sometimes go so far as to incite their brethren to rebellion. On

53v Besa refers to some monks who have disseminated notices urging rebellion.

Of the actual rules governing daily life in the monasteries, little can be learnt from Besa's writings. From Zoega CCIV,  $\overline{C\lambda\theta}$  -  $\overline{C\mu\delta}$ , some information can be obtained about discipline in the infirmary and the refectory. No one may visit the sick without permission and to be found in the infirmary at night is considered a great sin. Monks must not behave at meals there as though they were at a banquet or in a tavern. They should talk as little as possible, a rule which also applies to the refectory where a monk, wishing to make a request, is to knock on the table. To feign illness in order to gain admittance to the infirmary is strictly forbidden. This was no doubt a temptation as the food was better and the treatment more considerate for the sick (cf. Leipoldt, Schenute, p.120ff). But, however appetising the food, each monk must be satisfied with his share and must not ask for morsels intended for others.

As has been seen before, the moral failings of the monks and nuns occupy a substantial part of Besa's writings. This is inevitable since he was writing to set right abuses. It is therefore difficult to estimate fairly the

moral standard in the White Monastery in his day. The realistic attitude of Besa suggests that at least some members of his communities had shown that his monastic ideals could be approached. On the other hand it must be admitted that many of the failings mentioned by Besa seem almost incompatible with life in a religious community. Yet the world outside the monastery was impressed by the attainments of the "men of Apa Shenoute", though it must be added that the significance of this admiration cannot be gauged since so little is known about the moral standards of 5th century Egypt.

Often Besa's denunciations are of a general character and his letters contain numerous catalogues of sins. Examples of these can be found on 15r, 15v, 19v, 20r, 32r, and they include the following sins: abominations, wickedness, hatred, strife, quarrelling, contradicting, grumbling, disobedience, pride, envy, boastfulness, scorn, contempt, deceit, lying, theft, and pollutions. This last renders  $\chi\omega\tilde{\epsilon}\mu$  and is very frequently mentioned. The sin denoted thereby is not certain. It may be conjectured that it included impure thoughts and minor transgressions of the many rules which were designed to safeguard against the grosser sexual sins. In this category belong perhaps the following



acts of vanity which Besa proscribes: the embroidering ( $\omega\lambda\mu$ ) of garments (Zoega CCVI,  $\phi\overline{o}\beta$ ,  $\phi\overline{o}\varsigma$ , and Zoega CCIV,  $c\overline{\lambda}\alpha$ ), and the washing of face or feet for beautification (Zoega CCIV,  $c\overline{\lambda}\alpha$ ). The nun Aphthonia's gift of perfume to a young nun which caused so much scandal may also be mentioned here (Zoega CCIV,  $c\overline{\mu}\zeta$ ).

Theft is a vice that figures prominently in Besa's writings. Among the objects which the monks and nuns pilfered from one another there are included money, various types of clothing - cord, girdle, cloak, cowl - and also food intended either for the service of God or for their fellows (e.g. 27v, 35v, 37v). Some of the clothes which were stolen were disposed of by the monks to their relations who had at one time been with them in the monastery and later deserted (Zoega CCIV,  $c\overline{\kappa}\Gamma$ ). Besa naturally takes a very serious view of the theft of the loaves for the Eucharist ( $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\phi\omicron\rho\alpha$ , Zoega CCIV,  $c\overline{\epsilon}$ ). The thieves did not confine their activities within the monastery walls but even went into the neighbouring vineyards and took jars of wine and grapes (25v-26r). Perhaps the theft which moves him to the greatest indignation is that of some monks who have taken the necessities of the sick. They are likened to murderers because they have deprived the sick

of the things they need (33v-35r). Their transgression is made more odious by the fact that they boasted that their crime had not been found out (34r, cf. also 28r).

In K.965,  $\overline{\rho K \zeta}$  -  $\overline{\rho K H}$ , Besa has occasion to remind some monks of "our father's" curse on those who do physical violence and on those who use bad language. Another specific crime which Besa sets out to combat is illicit trafficking contrary to the monastic rules (e.g. 55v). On 41r-41v this same delict is coupled with that of eating and drinking wine covertly inside or outside the monastery. The monk who thus seeks to circumvent the strict dietary rules of the cloister earns special opprobrium.

A great part of the monk's day was spent in some form of manual labour. This was the case both in order that the monastery should be self-supporting and because of the tradition of its educative value for anchorites and coenobites. The monasteries did not, however, possess economic autarchy. Some of their products were traded for essential goods (cf. Leipoldt, Schenute, p.136). The monasteries became indeed important factors in the economic life of Egypt. They produced their wares comparatively cheaply and were thus in a position to capture the market (cf. Heussi, Ursprung, p.114f). The references to work in the

writings of Besa are few. In Zoega CCIV,  $\overline{C\lambda\varsigma}$  -  $\overline{C\lambda\eta}$ , he gives instructions to craftsmen to hand over their products to appointed men, who may perhaps be described as store-keepers. These men are responsible to God and the abbot. The craftsmen themselves have no rights over their products. From the list of craftsmen to whom this applies and from a catalogue of products, it is possible to gain some knowledge of the various activities pursued in the monastery. The craftsmen include carpenters, smiths, ?potters ( $\overline{\pi\alpha\tau\varsigma\epsilon\kappa\omega\tau}$  ), sack-weavers, linen-weavers, basket-makers, tailors, scribes, and bookbinders. The list of products includes shoes, girdles, straps, soles of sandals, ?pouches ( $\overline{\tau\eta\eta\beta\epsilon}$  ), pincers to extract thorns, nails, sickles, spades (or picks), ?agricultural implements ( $\overline{\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\rho\epsilon}$  , but cf. Crum, Dict., p.103b), pegs, points of ?agricultural implements. Another reference to work can be found in Paris 130<sup>1</sup>, fol.14r-14v. In spite of the fragmentary condition of the leaf, a certain amount of information can be extracted. According to "our father's" instruction, each monk is to use his own discretion about the amount of work he does. It is possible that this advice is given in connection with times of fasting. Moreover it is forbidden that any new task should be undertaken in contravention of

the superior's command. This applies primarily to the periods of fasting. Apparently it was customary in the past for articles so made to be burnt. This need no longer be done though work so performed is still considered "profitless".

When not at work, the monks and nuns spent much of their day in religious exercises. Nothing approaching a complete picture of their religious life can be reconstructed from Besa's writings. Moral teaching they certainly did receive (e.g. 25r, 33r), though it is not clear exactly what form it took. Probably both individual exhortation and formal instruction played some part. There is also evidence for more specifically religious teaching. On 21r, for instance, Besa says that the superiors "instruct us from the scriptures and the gospels of our Lord Jesus Christ" (cf. also 30r, 32v). The members of the community were also encouraged to exercise self-examination, so as to be aware of their true spiritual state and to judge whether Christ was in them (e.g. 43v-44r, 65r). Mortification of the body is also recommended (37r). A form of mortification about which some more evidence is available in the writings of Besa is the practice of fasting. On 59r-59v Besa encourages his charges to observe more carefully the Lenten fast. It has come to his notice that many monks do not differentiate

between Lent and the rest of the year but continue to partake of the daily evening meal, which, it may be added, was the only meal in the White Monastery (cf. Leipoldt, Schenute, p.118f). Besa does not prescribe any rigid rules but says that each should fast according to his strength. He wishes that his readers would exert themselves more because even some laymen fast two or four days or even a week, as do some of his own monks also. Another fasting period mentioned is the "two weeks" (ΠCABBATON CNAY ) which is referred to in Paris 130', fols.14r and 16r. This seems to have been a period some time in the Easter season. It may be noted that Shenoute also refers to ΠCABBATON CNAY (C73, p.156) without however throwing any further light on it (cf. perhaps also Leipoldt, Schenute, p.128). From the Paris leaves, which are unfortunately fragmentary, it appears that the normal activities of the monks were curtailed to enable them to fast. It was customary for a monk who had fasted two days on end during these "two weeks" to be excused the reading and recitation at evening prayer on the second day if he felt too weak to do it. Though not mentioned by Besa, it is known that morning and evening prayer was a daily feature of life in the White Monastery at which portions of Scripture were read and recited (cf. Leipoldt, Schenute, p.130).

Evidence for a special service held on the commemoration day of Shenoute is contained in Zoega CCVII, which is part of a sermon preached by Besa on this occasion.

An incidental reference to the celebration of the Eucharist on the Lord's day in the Life of Shenoute (C41, p.49) suggests that this service took place at least every Sunday. But there is a difficult passage in Paris 130<sup>1</sup>, fol.16r-16v in which Besa is arguing against the practice of calling the "two weeks" passover. He stresses that there is only one passover and says that according to the precepts of the saints the bread or the body of the Lord sealed in his blood is not to be received except at the Great Passover, presumably Easter. If I am right in supposing that this entails the receiving of communion once a year only, it raises great problems. There seems to have been a clear tradition in monastic circles for a celebration at least once a week. In the Pachomian monasteries there was a communion service both on Saturday and on Sunday (cf. S.Schiwietz, *Das morgenländische Mönchtum*, vol.I, Mainz, 1904, p.198), and even the anchorites developed the habit of regularly attending communion. (For a fuller discussion of the anchoritic practice cf. O.Chadwick, *John Cassian*, Cambridge, 1950, p.65ff.)

Throughout Besa is at pains to stress that religious practices are useless without an accompanying moral life. He tells his charges that "their prayers and their fastings and their religious exercises shall not profit them because of their lawlessnesses by which they have worked iniquity" (29v; cf. also Zoega CCIV,  $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{r}}$  ,  $\overline{\text{CK}}\overline{3}$  ; K.965,  $\overline{\text{p}}\overline{\lambda}\overline{\text{e}}$  ). Indeed the whole life of the monk - the daily contact with his fellows and superiors, his work, his fasts, his prayers, and his attendance at the communal services - is thought of as the bearing of the yoke of godliness. Worthily to bear this glorious burden in patience and obedience is truly to serve God.

Epilogue.

Besa's faith, ideals, and work have now been outlined. In summing up two tasks remain: to see how far Besa's monastic ideal succeeded in remaining true to the N.T. attitude to asceticism; and secondly to evaluate his achievements in their historical context.

It is true that the Bible was Besa's guide and it is therefore of interest to measure him by its standards. No ascetic rule of life is laid down in the N.T. but there are ascetic tendencies which are strictly subordinate to discipleship. Asceticism in the N.T. is conditioned by two theological concepts: Christ's personal call to the individual to follow him, and the vivid eschatological hope of Christ's Second Coming which will set the seal on his victory already wrought by his death and resurrection. The overcoming of the world, the flesh, and the devil, which is a reality in Christ now, will then be proclaimed and manifested for all to see. In early monasticism - and Besa is no exception to this - asceticism has become a rule of life, the acceptance of which finally ensures salvation. It is the way par excellence to heaven. If such a view be accepted, it is only too easy to lose sight of the N.T. position. Has this happened in the case of



Besa? Still bearing in mind that his writings cannot provide a complete answer to this as well as to many other questions, some suspicions are aroused. Christ, as has been seen, is denied his rightful place in Besa's theology. Moreover the acceptance of the monastic yoke does not appear to be the result of a personal call from Christ but is rather a mode of life, thought to be eo ipso more acceptable to God, and therefore recommended to all. The essential truth that not all men have the same vocation from Christ, seems to have been ignored. In fairness it must be added that Besa in his writings never had occasion to discuss the relationship between Christianity in the world and Christianity in the monastery, and that from scattered hints alone an impression is gained.

Though Besa has a fervent expectation and serious appreciation of the Last Judgment, yet his eschatology is devoid of the Christocentricity it ought to have. In the N.T. ascetic trends often seem to be dependent upon the hope of the almost immediate return of Christ in glory. The things of this world therefore lost their importance and were considered to be a hindrance to the preparation for this event. Though the immediacy of this expectation was not fulfilled, the hope is to this day an essential

part of Christianity. If eschatology becomes synonymous with judgment which recompenses every man according to his works, and sight is lost of the fact that Christ, at his Second Coming, will transform and put an end to all human activities and aspirations, even theological ones, only then can such movements as monasticism assume the importance which Besa seems to give to it.

The absence of a strong Christology also causes Besa's ethical teaching to be out of focus. He shows but little awareness that apart from Christ's redemptive work, the good life cannot be lived. He ignores the fact that the rule of Christ which has broken into this world enables sin to be combated effectively, though its final overthrow is yet to be. Thus Besa fails in his grasp of both realised and futurist eschatology. If this appraisal be accepted, great are the deficiencies in such a theology.

On the other hand Besa's positive contribution must not be belittled. The historical situation in which he found himself was such that it would be unreasonable to expect that he should express the Catholic faith in all its fullness. The Coptic Church has existed in isolation since the Council of Chalcedon when schism divided it from the rest of Christendom. And even before this it was influenced but

little by the main stream of Christian thought. The schism was not brought about only by theological differences but also by national and political antipathies. On the whole the Copts were uneducated in comparison with the Greeks and could not and would not appreciate their philosophical approach. Yet another difficulty was that indigenous Coptic Christianity was as yet young and had had hardly anything but translated literature before Shenoute. Moreover the Coptic Church had scarcely had time to consolidate its position. It was constantly threatened by pagans from without and heretics from within.

Besa was the successor of a man greater than himself. All the more must he be admired for having preserved intact the heritage into which he entered. His moral earnestness did much to strengthen the roots of monasticism and to ensure that it continued to grow as its founders would have wished. By continuing Shenoute's policy of teaching the monks and nuns to read and understand the Scriptures, Besa made his monastery an oasis of learning in the midst of the ignorance of the peasantry amongst whom it was situated. Moreover it appears that it was in Besa's time that the scriptorium of the White Monastery came into being.

The success of his pastoral work in the monastery was

no doubt largely due to his example. His humility and sincerity are patent in his writings. By stretching out helping hands in times of need to those outside the monastery walls, he continued the tradition of Shenoute and made his monastery a haven of rest for the afflicted. By his life and works, Besa earned the respect both of the members of his own communities and of all who came into contact with him. His saintliness must have done much to enhance the reputation of monasticism and the fact that his memory was revered and his writings perpetuated shows how great was the esteem in which he was held.

**Text and Translation.**

5

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ἈΠΡΙΜΕ ἈΝ  
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10

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ΛΗ ΕΝΤΑΥ20  
ΝΟΥ ΕΤΟΟΤἸ  
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15

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20

Ἰ2ΗΤ' ἈΠΕΜ  
ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ἈΠἸἸ  
ΤΕ ΧΕ ΔΝΜΟ  
ΟΥΕ 2ἸΟΥ

25

ΤCΔΝḠ ΔΥΩ  
ΚΑΤΑΤΑ2IC·  
ΔΝΚΑΤΑΦΡΟ  
ΝΕΙ, ΕΔΝΥΙΒΕ  
ἈΠΕΝCΜΟΤ'  
ΕΚΕCΜΟΤ·

ΔΥΩ ΔΝΤΑΚḠ  
ἸἸΤΕΝ2IἸ Ἀ  
ΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ  
ἈΠἸΝΟΥΤΕ·  
ΕΝΜΟΟΥΕ  
2ἸΟΥΚΔΚIΔ·  
ἈἸΝΟΥΜΟCΤΕ·  
ἈἸΝΟΥἸΤΩΝ  
ἈἸΝΟΥΔΙΟΥΕ  
ἈἸΝΟΥΒΟΛ·  
ἈἸΝΟΥΜἸΤ  
ΔΔCΙ2ΗΤ·

ἈἸΖΕΝΧΩ2Ἰ·  
ἈἸΖΕΝCΩΩΥ  
ΧΕΚΔC ΕΡΕ  
ΠΥΔΧΕ ΕΤCΗ2  
ΝΔḠΝΔΡΙΚΕ Ε  
ΡΟΝ ΧΕ ΤΠΟΡ  
ΝΕIΔ ΕΝΤΑCΔ  
ΔC 2ἸΚΗΜΕ  
ἈΠἸCΚΔΔC Ἰ  
CΩC· ΕΤΕἸ  
ΝΟΒΕ ΝΕ ΕΤἸ  
ΕΙΡΕ ἈΜΟΟΥ  
2ἸἸΤΚΟCΜΟC  
ΕΔΝἸ2ΟΥΟ  
ΧΟΚΟΥ ΟΝ Ε  
ΒΟΛ 2ἸἸΜΑ  
ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ Ἀ

...to the place of all suffering, the place of weeping and gnashing of teeth<sup>2</sup> because we forsook his<sup>3</sup> words and commandments, with which he charged us with weeping and groaning and great sufferings. But we, instead of having been to him an adornment there<sup>4</sup> and a satisfaction before God in having walked in propriety and good order, we were disdainful, having changed our likeness into another likeness, and we corrupted our way before God, walking in wickedness, hatred, strife, theft, untruth, pride, pollutions and abominations, that the word which is written may upbraid us, "She did not forsake the fornication which she committed in Egypt"<sup>5</sup>, which means the sins which we have done in the world we have the more perfected still in the holy places<sup>6</sup> of

<sup>1</sup>The beginning is missing.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Mt.8.12 etc.

<sup>3</sup>The reference seems to be to some earlier monastic authority, possibly Shenoute.

<sup>4</sup>Refers perhaps to heaven, or else to the monastery.

<sup>5</sup>Ez.23.8.

<sup>6</sup>I.e. the monasteries.



5 ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ· Ν̄  
ΝΕΪΨΑΧΕ ΔΝ  
ΕΝΕCΝΗΥ ΤΗ  
ΡΟΥ ΕΤΡ20  
ΤΕ ΖΗΤῤ ᾱ  
ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ· ΔΥΩ  
ΕΤ2ΑΡΕ2' Ε  
ΝΕΥΕΝΤΟΛΗ̄.  
10 ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΟῙ ΝΔ̄  
ΝΕΤΠΑΡΑΒΑ  
Ν̄ΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ̄.  
Ν̄ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ:  
ΕΤΒΕΠΑῙ †Δῶ  
15 ᾱΜΟC ΝΗΤ̄Ν  
ΝΤΩΤ̄Ν· ΜΑ  
ΡΙΑ ΤΜΑΔῩ Ν̄  
ΙΩ2ΔΑΝΝΗC  
Μ̄ΝΤΑΛΟῩ  
ΤΜΑΔῩ ᾱΜΑΚΑ  
20 ΡΙΟC, ΔΥΩ ΝΕΥ  
ΚΕΨΕΕΡΕ  
Ν̄CΟ6, ΔΥΩ  
ΝΔΤCΒῶ ΕΤΕ  
Μ̄Ν2ΜΟῩ ᾱ  
25 ΜΟΥ. ΔΕ Ε  
ΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΤΕ  
Τ̄ΝΔΚΔΕΠΙ  
CΤΗΜΗ ᾱΜΩ  
Τ̄Ν ΔΝ Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄Ν

2ΡΟΚ ᾱΜΩΤ̄Ν  
Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄ΝΛῶ Ν̄  
ΤΕΪ2Ε ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν  
ΤΩ2' ᾱΠΜᾶ Ε  
ΠΔΙΝΔΗ̄. ΕΤΕ  
Τ̄ΝΠΗΤ' Ε2ΡΔῙ  
ΕΔ̄Ν̄ΝCΟΒ̄Τ  
ΔΥΩ ΕΠΜᾶ ᾱ  
ΠΡῶ ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν  
ΔΙΨΚΑΚ' ΕΒΟΛ  
ΔΕ ΛΩΟΥ, ΛΩ  
ΟΥ, Ν̄Τ̄ΝΝΑ2ΜΟ  
ΟC ΔΝ 2̄ΝΤΕΪ̄  
2ΕΝΕΕΤΗ ΕΤ  
ΜΕ2' Ν̄ΔΙ Ν6Ο  
ΝC. Η ΔΕ ᾱΠΟΥ  
Ρ̄ΠΕΝ2ΔΠ'.  
ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΔΙ ᾱ  
ΜΩΤ̄Ν Ν6ΟΝC.  
ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΕΡΩ  
Τ̄Ν ΜΑΥΑΤΤΗΥ  
Τ̄Ν. ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν  
ΔΙ Ν̄ΤΜΕ ᾱ  
ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ Ν6Ο  
ΝC 2̄ΝΤΕΤ̄Ν  
Μ̄ΝΤΔCΙ2ΗΤ.  
Μ̄ΝΤΕΤ̄ΝΜ̄ΝΤ  
ΒΔΒΕΡΩΜΕ.  
ΔΥΩ ΤΕΤ̄ΝΜ̄ΝΤ



God. I was not speaking of all the sisters<sup>1</sup> who fear God and keep his commandments, but rather woe to us who transgress the commandments of our fathers. Therefore I say to you especially, Mary, mother of John, and Talou<sup>2</sup>, mother of Macarius, and also their foolish daughters and the ignorant who have no salt<sup>3</sup>; if you will not get you understanding and be still and cease from this fashion of needlessly disturbing the place, running up on to the walls and to the gate crying out, "Indeed, indeed<sup>4</sup> we shall not stay in this iniquitous convent", or, "Our case has not been judged"<sup>5</sup>. Who ill-treats you, except you yourselves? You do violence to the truth of God by your pride and your boastfulness and your

<sup>1</sup>The gender of CNY can only be determined by context. Here the names which follow suggest that "sisters" rather than "brethren" is the correct translation.

<sup>2</sup>Name meaning "the maiden". Heuser, Personennamen, p.30, classes it as unattested in pre-Coptic times but undoubtedly Egyptian, cf. also Crum, Dict., p.5, and Crum, Ryl., p.27.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Mk.9.50.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Crum, Dict., p.147b, for this rare word.

<sup>5</sup>Besa has left this sentence grammatically incomplete.

5 ΡΕΥΚΑΤΑΦΡΟ  
 ΝΕΙ· Μ̄ΝΤΕ  
 Τ̄Ν Μ̄ΝΤΡΕΥ  
 ΟΩΥ Ν̄ΝΕΤ̄Ν  
 ΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΠΔῙ  
 Δ̄Η Ε̄ΜΠΟῩΡ  
 ΛΑΔΥ Μ̄ΠΕΘΟ  
 ΟΥ ΝΗΤ̄Ν· Ν̄  
 ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΤΑ  
 10 ΛΟῩ ΡΑΝΔΩ  
 ΔΕ Μ̄ΠΕΠΕΝ  
 ΤΑΥC̄ΝΤΤΕῙ  
 ΖΕΝΕΕΘΗ †  
 ΝΑΖΜΟΟΣ ΔΝ·  
 15 ΝΑΤCΒΩ ΔΥΩ  
 ΝCΟΒ· ΕΤΕΜ̄Ν  
 ΝΕΖ' Ζ̄ΝΝΕΥ  
 ΑΓΓΙΟΝ· ΕΤΕ  
 ΓΑῙ ΓΤΕ ΔΕ Μ̄Ν  
 20 Μ̄ΝΤΡ̄Μ̄ΝΖΗΤ' Ν̄ΖΗΤ'  
 ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν· ΟΥΤΕ  
 CΟΟΥΝ· ΟΥΤΕ  
 ΖΟΤΕ Ν̄ΤΕΠ̄Ν̄  
 ΤΕ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΕ  
 25 Τ̄ΝΘ̄ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΙ  
 ΖΤ̄Ο Μ̄ΝΝΙΜΕC  
 ΠΟΡ̄Κ ΕΤΕ  
 Χ Μ̄ΝΤΑΥ Μ̄ΝΤ  
 CΑΒΕ Μ̄ΜΑΥ·

ΝΑῙ ΕΤCΚΙΡΤΑ  
 ΔΥΩ ΕΥ†ΤΒΗΡ  
 ΕΖΟΥΝ Ζ̄ΝΝΕΥ  
 ΕΡΗΥ· ΤΑῙ ΖΩΤ  
 ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν ΤΕ ΤΕ  
 Τ̄ΝΖΕ, ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν  
 †ΤΩΝ ΔΥΩ Ε  
 ΤΕΤ̄ΝΜΩΥΕ Ε  
 ΖΟΥΝ ΕΞΡ̄ΝΝΕ  
 Τ̄ΝΕΙΟΤΕ Ζ̄Ν  
 ΖΕΝΒΑΛ ΝΑΤ  
 ΩΠΤΕ Μ̄ΝΤΕ  
 Τ̄Ν Μ̄ΝΤΝΔΩΥΤ  
 Μ̄ΜΕ, Μ̄ΝΠΕ  
 Τ̄ΝΜΟCΤΕ· Ε  
 ΒΟΛ ΔΕ Ν̄ΤΕ  
 Τ̄ΝΔΗΚ' ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΔΝ Ζ̄ΝΤΑΓΑΠΗ  
 Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ·  
 ΟΥΤΕ Ν̄ΘΟΤΕ  
 Μ̄ΠΤΕΧC Μ̄ΠΤΕΜ  
 ΤΟ Ν̄ΝΕΤ̄ΝΒΑΛ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ·  
 Η ΕΩΔΕ ΕΡΕ  
 ΤCΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ  
 Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΜΕΖ' Ν̄ΔΙ ΝCΟ  
 ΝC Ν̄ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑ  
 ΤΕΤ̄ΝΔΟΟC

scorn and your baseless contempt for your fathers, though they have done you no evil. Even as Talou swore by him<sup>1</sup> who founded this convent, "I will not stay." Ignorant and foolish ones who have no oil in their vessels<sup>2</sup>, which means there is no understanding in you neither knowledge nor fear of<sup>3</sup> God, but you are like the horses and the mules which have no wisdom<sup>4</sup>, they leap and kick each other. So also do you, you quarrel and fight against your fathers with eyes unashamed and with your presumption and hatred, because you are not perfect in the love of God, and the fear of Christ is not before<sup>5</sup> your eyes<sup>6</sup>. If the community of God is full of iniquity as you have said

<sup>1</sup>Probably a reference to the founder of the White Monastery, Pgol, cf. Leipoldt, Schenute, p.37.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Mt.25.1ff.

<sup>3</sup>Note the irregular use of  $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ -, cf. Steindorff, para 167.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Ps.31.9.

<sup>5</sup>Note the word order in  $\bar{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\mu\tau\omicron \bar{\nu}\eta\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\beta\alpha\lambda \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ , which is attested only in this phrase "before my (his etc.) eyes", cf. Crum, Dict., p.193a.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Ps.13.3, Rom.3.18 and Ps.35.2.



5

ΖΗΤΕΤΑΙ  
ΠΡΟ ΕΤΜΕΣ  
ΝΥΟΡΥΡ ΖΙ  
ΣΚΑΝΔΑΛΟΝ.  
ΕΙΕ ΝΤΩΤΗ  
ΠΕΝΤΑΤΕΤΗ  
ΝΤΥ ΕΣΟΥΝ Ε  
ΜΑΥ. ΝΘΕ ΕΤ  
ΣΗΕ ΔΕ ΑΛΛΑ  
ΝΤΩΤΗ ΕΤ  
ΔΙ ΝΘΟΝΣ, ΔΥΩ  
ΕΤΥΩΒΕ. ΟΥ  
ΜΟΝΟΝ ΔΕ Ν  
ΝΕΤΗΝΝΗΥ.

10

15

ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΔΙΝΕ  
ΝΕΣ ΜΗΤΗΝΩ  
ΤΩ ΔΕ ΔΕΝΤΟ

20

ΑΛΛΑ ΝΝΕΤΗ  
ΚΕΕΙΟΤΕ ΟΝ.  
ΠΟΣ ΔΙΡΩΜΕ  
ΝΘΟΝΣ. ΑΛΛΑ  
ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΟΥ  
ΝΑΘΗΤ ΝΕΓ  
ΩΤΟΡΤΡ ΝΝ  
ΤΟΠΟΣ ΜΗΤΗ  
ΤΕ, ΖΡΑΪ ΖΜ  
ΠΜΩΕ. ΜΗ  
ΠΗΤΩΝ.  
ΜΗΠΜΟΣΤΕ.

25

ΜΗΤΚΑΤΑΛΑ  
ΛΙΑ ΜΗΝΚΕ  
ΠΕΘΟΥ ΤΗ  
ΡΟΥ. ΕΤΒΕ  
ΠΑΙ ΤΣΟΜΟΛΟ  
ΓΕΙ ΝΗΤΗ Μ  
ΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΜΗΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΜΗΠΕΥΧΣ ΔΕ  
ΕΩΩΠΕ ΕΤΕ  
ΤΗΤΥΣΑΖΩ  
ΤΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΙ  
ΖΒΗΥΕ ΝΤΕΙ  
ΜΗΝΕ. ΔΥΩ Ν  
ΤΕΤΗΝΒΩΚ Ε  
ΣΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΤΗ  
ΗΙ ΝΤΕΤΗΝΣΟΡΑ  
ΖΤ ΜΗΩΤΗ  
ΖΝΟΥΕΠΙΣΤΗ  
ΜΗ. ΤΝΑΤΡΕ  
ΠΕΤΗΝΖΗΤ  
ΜΚΑΖ. ΔΥΩ Τ  
ΝΑΤΡΕΥΕΙΡΕ  
ΝΗΤΗ ΚΑΤΑ  
ΠΕΤΕΝΤΕΤΗ  
ΟΥΑΥΩ ΔΝ.  
Η ΜΗΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΤΩΝ ΖΩΩΥ  
ΔΕ ΕΥΝΑΩΩ

Τ

Τ

Τ

with your pernicious and offensive mouth, then it is you who introduced it there; as it is written, "But it is you who do wrong and rob", and that not only to your sisters' but even your fathers also. For indeed we have never heard that convents treat men ill, but rather it is the foolish who trouble the convents of God with contention and strife and hatred and evil-speaking and all the other wickednesses. Therefore I promise you in the presence of God and his Christ: if you do not turn away from such things and go into your house and be quiet sensibly, I shall make your heart sorrowful and I shall cause there to be done to you that which you would not. Or how, forsooth, shall

'I Cor.6.8.





your words be listened to in the world outside, or those of the world know your doings inside your dwelling? Can it be that<sup>1</sup> such things are profitable to you? It is you who know. Shall you not therefore put away from you this ignorance and foolishness? How long are we to be in this state, yea<sup>2</sup> in these evils, not having purified ourselves so as to follow the Lord our God, the Christ? Truly I am grieved with you that you destroy your soul, which the whole world is not worth<sup>3</sup>, for the sake of things which yield you no profit but only condemnation and loss. So let us have mercy upon ourselves. Do not make us bring twofold troubles down upon our head. We shall already have repented on the day of our visitation<sup>4</sup> and shall find nought<sup>5</sup> to help us there; especially as it was also told us and we did not listen.

<sup>1</sup> The prefix *με-* may be either interrogative or conditional, expressing doubt, cf. Crum, Dict., p.260a.

<sup>2</sup> *H* may stand for either the Greek *ἢ* "or", or else for *ἢ* "in truth", "of a surety". Here the latter seems best.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mt.16.26 and Mk.8.36.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of this difficult phrase seems to be that the chances of repentance are over when the Last Judgment Day comes. Cf.63v. *οὐκ* followed by the conjunctive is rare, cf. Crum, Dict., p.473b.

<sup>5</sup> For "nought" read perhaps "none".



ΔΥΩ ΝΤΩΤΗ  
 ΤΗΡΤΗ Ω ΝΕ  
 CΝΗΥ ΔΡΙΖΟΤΕ  
 ΖΗΤΥ ΑΠΝΟΥ  
 5 ΤΕ, ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕ  
 ΤΗΝCΑΖΩΤΗ Ε  
 ΒΟΛ ΝΖΩΒ.

ΝΙΛ ΕΤΥΜΟ  
 CΤΕ ΑΜΟΟΥ.

10 ΝΤΕΤΝΕΙΡΕ  
 ΑΠΕΤΡΑΝΔΥ  
 ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

ΚΑΤΑΘΕ ΕΤ  
 CΗΖ ΔΕ ΖΗΝΟΥ

15 ΖΟΤΕ ΑΥΝΟΥ  
 CΤΩΤ' ΔΡΙΖΩΒ  
 ΕΠΕΤΗΝΟΥCΔΙ.

ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΝΤΕ  
 ΤΗΖΥΠΟΤΑC

20 CΕ ΝΝΕΤΝΕΙ  
 ΟΤΕ ΖΗΘΟΤΕ

ΑΠΕΧC ΔΞΝ  
 ΚΡΥΡΥ ΖΙΜΟΚ

ΜΕΚ ΕΥΖΟΥ:

25 ΓΛΗΝ ΤΑΜΟ  
 ΑΥΩΤΗ ΔΕ Ε  
 ΤΕΤΝΤΜΕΙΜΕ  
 ΔΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΟ  
 ΝΔΥ ΝΖΕ. ΔΥΩ

ΝΤΕΤΟΥΕΙ  
 ΤΟΥΕΙ ΑΥΩ  
 ΤΗΝ CΑΖΩC' Ε  
 ΒΟΛ ΝΝΙΖΒΗΥΕ  
 ΑΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ.

ΕΡΥΑΝΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΤΩΥ' ΤΝΑ

ΕΙ ΥΑΡΩΤΗ  
 ΝΤΝΕΙΡΕ ΝΗ

ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΘΕ Ε  
 ΤΕΡΕΠΤΝΟΥΤΕ

ΝΑΤΟΥC. ΔΥΩ

ΝΤΕΠΕΤΗΝΖΗΤ  
 ΑΚΑΖ ΝΖΟΥΟ.

ΔΥΩ ΤΡΖΟΤΕ

ΝΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΠΟ  
 CΤΟΛΟC ΔΟ  
 ΟC ΔΕ ΜΗΠΟ  
 ΤΕ ΝΤΑΕΙ ΥΑ

ΡΩΤΗ ΝΤΑΖΕ

ΕΡΩΤΗ ΝΘΕ

ΕΝΤΟΥΑΥC

ΔΝ. ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕ

ΤΗΝΖΕ' ΕΡΟΙ Ν

ΘΕ ΕΝΤΕΤΗΝ

ΟΥΑΥΤ ΑΥΕ

ΔΝ. ΜΗΠΟΤΕ

ΖΕΝΤΩΝ ΝΕ.

ΑΝΖΕΝΚΩΖ



And you all, O sisters, fear God and remove yourselves from everything that he hates, and do that which is pleasing to God, as it is written, "Work out your salvation in fear and trembling"<sup>1</sup>, and be subject to your fathers in the fear of Christ without murmuring and evil thought.<sup>2</sup> But I tell you that if you do not recognise of what sort you are, and remove, each of you, herself from evil works, if God so decree, I shall come to you and we shall do to you as God shall ordain, and your heart shall be exceedingly troubled. "And I am afraid", as the apostle<sup>3</sup> said, "lest by any means I should come to you and find you not as I wish, and you should find me not as you wish me; lest by any means there should be strifes, jealousies,

<sup>1</sup>Phil.2.12.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Phil.2.14.

<sup>3</sup>Read ΕΝΤΑΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC for ΕΝΤΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC .

5 ὤνζενδωντ  
 ὤνζενδοκ  
 δκ· ὤνζενκα  
 ταλαλιδ·  
 10 ὤνζενκαδκς·  
 ὤνζενδισε  
 νζητ· ὤνζε  
 ωτορτρ·  
 και γαρ νταϊ  
 15 σζαϊνδαι ζνογ  
 νος νικαζ  
 νζητ ὤνογ  
 λυπη ενδωωσ·  
 δεκας νινδει  
 νταλυπει ν  
 20 τοοτογ ννε  
 τεωωε' ετρα  
 ραωε εβολ  
 ζιτοοτογ·  
 25 επειδη ωα  
 τενογ ὤτα  
 τνινδαι ελαδγ  
 ντωτ' νζητ  
 ευσμωντ·  
 3 ουσον γαρ  
 η ζενσνηγ  
 εγδιδαπ' ὤν  
 νεγερηγ· νδαι  
 ζενδπιςτος  
 νε·

ΠΛΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΝΕΝ  
 ΕΙΟΤΕ, ΔΥΩ  
 ΝΕΝCΝΗΥ ΔΝ  
 ΔΟΟΥCΟΥ Ε  
 ΤΡΕΥCΩΤῸ  
 ΕΝΕΤῸCΩΔΕ  
 ὤΝΝΕΤῸCΒΗ  
 ΟΥΕ, ΝCΕΤΑ  
 ΜΟΝ· ΣΑΡΕΖ  
 ΝΤΟΥ ὤΠΡΩ  
 ΝΟΥΕΩ ΝΤΑ  
 ΜΟΥ ΕΣΩΒ  
 ΝΙΜ· ΔΥΩ ΟΝ  
 ΝΤΕΤῸΝΤΑΜΟ  
 ΟΥ, ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΤΩΝ· Η ΖΙΤῸΝ  
 ΟΥ, ΔΝΙΜΩΕ  
 ὤΝΝΙΗΤΩΝ  
 ΝΕΖCΕ ΝΖΗΤ  
 ΤΗΥΤῸΝ· ΜΗ  
 ΕΤΕΤῸCΩΥ  
 ὤΜΩΤῸΝ ΔΝ  
 ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΜΑΥ  
 ΑΤΤΗΥΤῸΝ,  
 ΔΥΩ ΕΤΕΤῸΝ  
 ΩΠΕ ΝΝΕΤΕ  
 ὤΝΤΑΥ·  
 ΔΥΩ ΝΤΟ ΜΑΡΙΔ  
 ΤΜΑΥ ΝΙΩΖΑ

wraths, provocations, evil-speakings, whisperings, vanities and disturbances.<sup>1</sup> I also wrote these things in great grief and much sorrow, lest I should come and have sorrow from them who ought to cause me to rejoice over them".<sup>2</sup> For up to now we have not yet seen any firm conviction. For a brother or brethren who go to law with each other, these are unbelievers.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, here<sup>4</sup> are our fathers and our brethren; we have sent them that they should listen to your words and your works and inform us. Beware, however, do not stop<sup>5</sup> without telling them everything, and also tell them whence or through what<sup>6</sup> these fights and strifes arose among you. Do you not thus bring yourselves into contempt and bring shame upon those who are without them? And you Mary, mother of John,

<sup>1</sup>II Cor.12.20.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. II Cor.2.3.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. I Cor.6.6.

<sup>4</sup>EC probably introducing the bearers of this epistle, cf. Crum, Dict., p.85a.

<sup>5</sup>The meaning of 6ω can be either "continue", "persist", or "desist", "stop". An alternative translation therefore would be: "do not persist in not telling"; cf. also 18v.

<sup>6</sup>For "what" perhaps "whom".



5 ΝΗC Μ̄ΝΤΑ  
ΛΟΪ ΤΜΔΔΥ  
Μ̄ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC  
Μ̄ΝΝΕΥΚΕ  
ΨΕΕΡΕ ΕΨ  
ΔΕ ΟΥΝ̄ΤΗΤ̄Ν  
ΨΑΔΕ Μ̄ΜΔΥ·  
Μ̄Π̄ΡΘΩ̄ ΝΟΥ  
ΕΨ Ν̄ΔΟΟΥ·  
10 Μ̄Π̄ΡΘ̄ΝΑΡΙΚΕ  
ΟΥΤΕ Μ̄Π̄  
Κ̄ΡΜ̄Ρ̄ ΕΠ̄ΔΙ  
Δ̄Η· ΟΥΤΕ Μ̄  
Π̄Ρ̄ΤΕΖ̄ΤCΥΝ  
15 ΑΓΩΓ̄Η Μ̄Π̄Ν̄Υ  
ΤΕ Ζ̄ΝΖΕΝΨΑ  
ΔΕ Ν̄CΚΑΝΔΑ  
ΛΟΝ· Ν̄ΤΕΠ̄  
ΖΗΤ' Μ̄ΚΔΖ' Ε  
20 ΡΩΤ̄Ν ΕΠΕ  
ΖΟΥΘ̄· ΚΑΙ  
ΓΑΡ ΨCΗΖ' ΔΕ  
ΠΕΤΝΑCΚΑΝ  
ΔΑΛΙΖΕ ΝΟΥΔ̄  
25 Ν̄ΝΙΚΟΥΕΙ  
ΕΤΠΙCΤΕΥΕ  
ΕΡΟΪ· C̄ΡΝΟ  
ΨΡΕ ΝΑΥ ΔΕ  
ΚΑC ΕΥΕΜΟΥΡ

ΝΟΥΩΝΕ Ν̄CΙ  
ΚΕ, ΕΠΕΨΜΑ  
Κ̄Ζ Ν̄CΕΟΜ̄CΥ  
ΖΡΔΙ Ζ̄Μ̄ΠΠΕ  
ΛΑΓΟC Ν̄ΘΑΛΑC  
CΔ· Ν̄ΖΟΥΘ̄ Ε  
ΤΡΕΨCΚΑΝΔΑ  
ΛΙΖΕ ΝΟΥΔ̄ Ν̄  
ΝΙΚΟΥΕΙ ΕΤ  
ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΪ·  
Τ̄Η Μ̄ΜΟΝ ΤΕΤ̄Ν  
ΨΑΔΤ' Ν̄CΚΔ  
ΔΑΛΙΖΕ Ν̄ΖΔΖ  
Ν̄ΤΕΪΖΕ ΖΙΤ̄Ν  
ΝΕΝΤΑΤΕΤ̄Ν  
ΔΔΥ Μ̄ΝΝΕΝ  
ΤΑΤΕΤ̄ΝΔΟΟΥ  
ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΖΡ̄Ν  
ΝΕΤ̄ΝΕΙΟΤΕ·  
ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΡΕ  
Τ̄Ν† Μ̄ΜΟΥ·  
ΑΡΗΥ ΡΩ ΤΕ  
ΤΝΑΔΙΖΕΝ  
ΨΒΑΤΕ ΕΡΩ  
Τ̄Ν, Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄ΝΖΙ  
ΟΥΕ Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ·  
ΝΑΤCΒΩ̄ ΕΤΕ  
ΖΕΝCΑΒΕΕΥΕ  
ΔΝ ΝΕ· Η Μ̄ΜΟ

and Talou, mother of Macarius, and their daughters too, if you have anything to say, do not stop without saying it. Do not find fault or grumble without cause. And do not stir up the community of God by offensive speech so that our heart is exceedingly grieved because of you, for it is also written, "He who will offend one of these little ones<sup>1</sup> who believe in me, it is better for him that a millstone should be tied to his neck and he be sunk in the depth of the sea<sup>2</sup>, rather than that he should offend one of these little ones who believe in me"<sup>3</sup>. Moreover you must needs offend many thus through the things which you do and say against your fathers, even smiting them, perhaps you will even take unto yourselves staves and strike with them, foolish ones who are not wise. Or

<sup>1</sup>Note KOYEI the subachmimic form of KOYI , cf. Crum, Dict., p.92b.

<sup>2</sup>Mt.18.6.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Lk.17.2.



ΕΡΕΨΗΕ  
 ΜΗΜΕΡΕΣ  
 200Υ, Ε20ΥΕ  
 ΠΛΑΣ ΠΡΕΨΗ  
 5 ΨΕ, ΜΗΠΡΕΨ  
 ΣΩΨ. 4ΣΗ2  
 ΓΑΡ ΞΕ ΠΝΑΞΕ  
 ΠΝΨΗΡΕ ΠΝ  
 ΡΩΜΕ. 2ΕΝ20  
 10 ΠΛΟΝ ΝΕ 2ΙCΟ  
 ΤΕ. ΔΥΩ ΠΕΥ  
 ΛΑΣ' ΟΥΣΗΕ  
 ΤΕ ΕCΤΗΜ.  
 ΕΤΒΕΓΔΑΪ 2ΑΡΕ2  
 15 ΕΡΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ  
 2Π2ΩΒ ΝΙΜ' Ε  
 ΘΟΟΥ. ΞΕ Π  
 ΝΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 6ΩΝΤ ΕΡΟΝ.  
 20 ΝΨΚΤΕΠΕΨ  
 2Ω ΕΒΟΛ ΜΩ.  
 ΔΥΩ ΔΕ ΠΝΕ  
 ΠCΑ2ΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΕΝΤΑΠΕΝΕΙ  
 25 ΩΤ' ΔΟΟΥ, ΕΪ  
 Ε2ΡΔΑΪ ΕΔΩΝ'  
 2ΜΠΤΡΕΠΕΨ  
 2ΗΤ' ΜΚΑ2' ΕΡΟ  
 2ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΨ

Π2ΗΤΨ. ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΜΑΡΨCΠΟΥ  
 ΔΑΞΕ ΤΗΡΨ 2Ι  
 ΟΥCΟΠ' ΕΤΡΕ  
 ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΥ  
 ΦΡΑΝΕ Ε2ΡΔΑΪ  
 ΕΔΩΝ ΜΗΠΕΨ  
 ΧC. ΔΥΩ ΠΤΕ  
 Π2ΗΤ' ΠΝΕΝ  
 ΕΙΟΤΕ ΜΤΟΝ.  
 ΞΕΚΑΣ 2ΩΨ  
 ΕΡΕΠΕΝ2ΗΤ'  
 ΝΑΜΤΟΝ. ΟΥ  
 ΜΟΝΟΝ 2ΜΠΕΪ  
 ΜΑ. ΑΛΛΑ 2Μ  
 ΠΜΑ ΕΤΨΝΑ  
 ΒΩΚ ΕΡΟΥ.  
 ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΨΔΥ  
 ΡΑΨΕ ΕΔΨΝ  
 ΑΓΑΟΟΝ. ΠCΕ  
 ΛΥΠΕΙ ΕΔΨΜ  
 ΠΕΘΟΟΥ:

ΑΠΑ ΒΗCΑ  
 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΝCΩ  
 ΤΨ ΞΕ ΟΥΠ20  
 ΕΙΝΕ ΕΙΡΕ Π  
 2ΕΝΨΤΟΡΤΡ  
 2ΑΤΕΤΗΥΤΨ

are swords and evil spears worse than the quarrelsome and scornful tongue? For it is written, "The teeth of the sons of men are weapons and arrows and their tongue is a sharp sword"<sup>1</sup>. Therefore guard us from every evil thing lest God be angry with us and turn his face from us, and lest all the curses which our father<sup>2</sup> spoke come upon us and make his heart sad concerning us in the place<sup>3</sup> where he is. But let us all be zealous together that God and his Christ may rejoice over us, and that the heart of our fathers may be at rest; that our heart too may be at rest, not only in this place but in the place to which we shall go, the place where there is rejoicing over the good<sup>4</sup> and grief over the wicked.

Apa Besa.

Whereas we have heard that there are some who make disturbances among you

<sup>1</sup>Ps.56.5.

<sup>2</sup>Probably Shenoute, as also in subsequent occurrences of the expression, cf. p.48.

<sup>3</sup>No doubt this is a reference to heaven.

<sup>4</sup>Read ἀγαθόν for ἀγαθόν .



5



ΜΝΖΕΝ ΜΙΨΕ  
ΕΠΔΙΝΔΗ ΕΥΝ  
ΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΖΗΥ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ.  
ΕΤΒΕΠΔΙ †20  
ΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΝΗ  
ΤΗΝ ΤΗΡΤΗΝ Μ  
ΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
10 ΜΝΠΕΧΣ ΙΣ  
ΠΕΝΔΟΕΙΣ  
ΔΕ ΕΨΩΠΕ Ν  
ΤΕΤΝΑΡΖΟΤΕ  
ΑΝ ΖΗΤῤ Μ  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΕ  
15 ΤΗΝΙΝΙΜΩΤ  
CΟ6 ΕΒΟΛ Μ  
ΜΩΤΗ ΜΝΤΕΙ  
ΜΝΤΝΑΨΤ  
20 ΖΗΤ. ΝΤΕΤΗ  
CΩΤῤ ΝCΔΝΕ  
ΤΗΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΜΝ  
ΝΕΤΗΝΖΛΛΟΕΙ  
ΕΤΗΙ ΜΠΕΤΗΝ  
25 ΡΟΟΥΨ. †ΝΔ  
ΤΡΕΤΗΝΚΩΤΕ  
ΝCΔΤΟΥΕΙ  
ΤΟΥΕΙ ΜΜΩ  
ΤΗΝ ΝΤΕΤΗΝΤῤ



ΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΙ ΠΕ  
ΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ Μ  
ΜΟΥ. ΜΗ Ν  
ΤΕΤΝΑΡΖΟΤΕ  
ΑΝ ΖΗΤῤ ΜΠΔΟ  
ΕΙC. Η ΝΤΕΤ  
ΝΑΨΛΔΖ' ΑΝ Μ  
ΠΕΜῤΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ.  
ΜΗ ΝΤΑΤΟΥΕΙ  
ΤΟΥΕΙ ΜΜΩΤΗΝ  
ΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΔ Ε  
ΜΙΨΕ. Η ΕΨΩ.  
Η ΕΟΥΩΖῤ.  
Η ΕΚΡῤΡῤ  
Η ΕΡΑΤCΩΤῤ.  
Η ΕΔΙΟΥΕ.  
Η ΕΔΙ6ΟΛ.  
Η ΕΨΝΟΥC  
ΜΠΨΔΔΕ Μ  
ΠΔΟΕΙC. ΝΤΑ  
ΕΙ ΑΝ ΤΗΡΗΝ Ε  
ΤΡΕΝΜΕΤΑ  
ΝΟΕΙ ΕΔΝΝΕ  
ΠΕΘΟΥ ΕΝ  
ΤΑΝΔΔΥ ΜΠΕΜ  
ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΔΟ  
ΕΙC ΙC. ΔΥΩ  
ΝΤΗΝΙΠΡΟ  
ΟΥΨ ΔΕ ΝΝΕ



and quarrels without cause from which God has no gain, I therefore promise you all in the sight of God and Christ Jesus our Lord: if you will not fear God and put away from you these follies and this hardness of heart and obey your fathers and superiors who take care of you, I will cause you to go round seeking<sup>1</sup> one another, and you will not know what shall befall them. Will you not fear the Lord? Or will you not be afraid of him? Did each one of you come to this convent to quarrel, or fight, or contradict, or grumble, or be disobedient, or steal, or lie, or provoke the word of the Lord to anger? Did we not all come to repent of our wickednesses, which we did in the sight of the Lord Jesus, and to take care that we should not

<sup>1</sup>Does the writer refer to the nuns' fate after a threatened expulsion from the convent?

ῤΝΟΒΕ ῤΚΕ  
СОП' ῤΠΕϣῤ  
ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ· ῤῤῤῤ  
ῤῤ ΕΡΟΝ ῤῤῤῤῤ.

5 ῤΗ ΤΕΤΝἈΥ  
ϣΙ ῤἈΠῤῤῤῤ  
ῤΟΥΡῤῤῤ.  
ῤΕ ΕΤΕΤΝἈΥ  
ῤἈΠῤῤῤῤ ῤ  
10 ΠῤῤΕΙC· †ῤῤ  
ΕΥΕ ῤΕ ΝΙῤΒΗΥΕ  
ῤΤΕῖῤΕ ΕΤΕ  
ῤῤΕΙΡΕ ῤῤῤ  
ΟΥ· ῤῤῤῤῤῤ  
15 ΝΗῤῤ ἈΝ· ΟΥ  
ΤΕ ῤΤΕΤΝἈ†  
ῤΗΥ ἈΝ ΕΡῤῤῤ.  
ΟΥΤΕ ΕΝCΟ  
ΟΥῤ' ἈΝ Εῤῤῤ  
20 ΕΠΕῖῤἈ Εῤῤῤ  
ῤΒΗΥΕ Εῤῤ  
ῤῤῤ· ῤἈῤ  
CῤἈ· ῤῤῤῤ.  
ῤΙῤΙΟΥΕ·  
25 ῤΙῤῤῤ· ῤΙῤῤῤῤ·  
ῤῤῤῤῤῤ·  
ῤΙΚῤῤ·  
ῤΙῤῤῤῤ·  
ΕΡΕΤΟΡΓΗ ΓἈΡ

ῤΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΗΥ  
ΕΤΒΕΝἈῖ Εῤῤ  
Νῤῤῤῤ ῤῤῤῤῤ  
ἈΤΝἈῤῤῤ, ΕΤΕ  
ῤῤἈῖΠΕῤῤῤῤ  
ΝΕ:

ΕΤΒΕΓἈῖῤΕ ΝΕ  
CΝΗΥ ῤῤῤῤῤῤ  
ῤΕΡΕῖῤῤῤῤ  
ΟΥ· ῤΗῤῤῤῤ  
ῤῤῤῤἈῤῤ·  
ῤἈῤῤῤῤῤ  
ῤΕ ῤῤῤῤἈῤ  
ῤῤῤῤῤῤῤ Ε  
ΝΕῤῤῤῤῤῤ.  
ῤΗῤῤῤ ῤῤῤ  
ῤῤῤῤ ῤῤῤῤ  
ῤἈῤ· ῤῤῤῤῤῤ  
ῤῤῤῤῤῤῤ ῤ  
ῤῤῤ' Εῤῤῤ  
ῤἈῤἈΝ' ῤῤῤ  
ῤῤῤ ΕΝῤῤῤ  
ῤῤῤῤῤῤῤ  
ῤῤῤῤῤῤῤῤ  
ῤΕ ΕΤΒΕΟΥ  
ΓἈΡ ΝΕῖῤῤἈ  
ῤΟΥ ἈΝ ΠΕ ΕΥ  
†CΒῤῤ ΝἈῖ· ἈΥῤ  
ἈΠἈῤῤῤ ῤΙΚΕ

sin yet again before him and he be very angry with us? Will you be able to bear the wrath of man that you would bear the wrath of the Lord? I think that such things as you do are profitless to you. You shall neither profit by them, nor are we gathered together in this convent to do things unfitting, in particular pollution, theft, lying, contention, strife, envy and hatred. For because of these things comes the wrath of God upon the sons of unbelief<sup>1</sup> who are the lovers of evil. For this reason therefore, sisters, do not let us love the evil lest we perish, but let us open our eyes and look at the things that are upright<sup>2</sup> lest by any means we regret it at our end, and afterwards grieve over ourselves with weeping and sorrow and groaning saying, "Why did I not want them to teach me, and my heart turn away

<sup>1</sup>Eph.5.6.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Prov.4.25.



ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΧΠΙΘ.  
ΕΤΒΕΟΪ ΜΠΙ  
CWTU ΕΠΕΞΡΟ  
ΟΥ ΜΠΕΤΤ  
5 CBW NAI. ΔΥΩ  
ΜΠΙΡΙΚΕ Μ  
ΠΑΜΑΔΕ Μ  
ΠΕΤΤCABO  
ΜΜΟΙ. ΚΑΙ  
10 ΓΑΡ ΠΥΗΡΕ  
ΕΤΚΩ ΝCΩΗ  
ΝΤΕCΒΩ. ΥΝΑ  
ΖΕ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΕΖΕ  
ΠΕΘΟΥ.  
15 ΥΝΑΜΕΛΕΤΑ  
ΔΕ ΝΖΕΝCΑ  
ΔΕ ΕΥΒΟΟΝΕ:  
ΤΕΝΟΥΘΕ ΜΑ  
ΡΝCΑΖΩΝ Ε  
20 ΒΟΛ ΜΠΠΕ  
ΘΟΥ. ΝΤΝ  
ΝΑΡΖΟΤΕ ΔΝ.  
ΔΥΩ ΜΝCΤΩΤ  
ΝΑΖΩΝ' ΕΡΟ.  
ΕΥΩΠΕ ΕΤΕ  
25 ΤΝCΑΝΤΜCΑ  
ΖΩΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΝΝΙΖΒΗΥΕ  
ΕΤΕΡΕΠΝΟΥ

ΤΕ ΜΟCΤΕ Μ  
ΜΟΥ. ΝΤΕ  
ΤΝΑΒΩΠΝΔΥ  
ΔΝ ΕΤΝΔΕΙ CΑ  
ΡΩΤΝ ΝΤΔΕΙ  
ΡΕ ΝΤΟΥΕΙ ΤΟΥΕΙ  
ΜΩΤΝ ΚΑΤΑ  
ΠΕCΩΠCΑ.  
ΚΑΤΑΠCΑΔΕ  
ΕΝΤΑΠΔΠΟ  
CΤΟΛΟC ΔΟ  
ΟΥ ΔΕ ΜΗΠΟ  
ΤΕ ΝΤΔΕΙ CΑ  
ΡΩΤΝ ΝΤΔΕ  
ΕΡΩΤΝ ΝΘΕ  
ΕΝΤΟΥCΩC  
ΔΝ. ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕ  
ΤΝΖΕ' ΕΡΟΙ ΖΩ  
ΝΘΕ ΕΝΤΕ  
ΤΝΟΥCΩΤ Μ  
ΜΟC ΔΝ. ΜΗ  
ΠΟΤΕ ΖΕΝΤ  
ΤΩΝ ΝΕ.  
ΜΝΖΕΝΚΩΖ.  
ΜΝΖΕΝΩΝΤ.  
ΜΝΖΕΝΔΟΚΔΚ.  
ΜΝΖΕΝΚΑΤΑ  
ΛΑΛΙΔ.  
ΜΝΖΕΝΚΑCΚC.

from reproofs? Why did I not listen to the voice of him who teaches me, and did not incline my ear to him who instructs me?"<sup>1</sup> For indeed the son who forsakes instruction will fall upon evils and will practise evil things.<sup>2</sup> Now therefore, let us remove ourselves from wickedness. We shall not be afraid and no trembling will come nigh unto us. If you do not remove yourselves from the things which God hates, you will not know the time when I shall come to you and do to each one of you according to her deserts; according to the word which the apostle spoke, "Lest by any means I should come to you and find you not as I wish, and you should find me not as you wish me; lest by any means there should be strifes, jealousies, wraths, provocations, evil-speakings, whisperings,

<sup>1</sup>Prov.5.12-13.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Prov.19.24.



5 ΜΝΖΕΝΔΙΣΕ  
 ΝΖΗΤ. ΜΝΖΕ  
 ΥΤΟΡΤΡ. Ε  
 ΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΔΥΔΟ  
 ΟΣ ΖΝΟΥΨΩ  
 ΩΤ'ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ  
 ΕΪΨΑΝΕΙ ΝΚΕ  
 ΟΠ', Ν†ΝΑ†  
 ΟΔ ΔΝ.  
 10 ΜΗ ΜΝΟΝΤΕ  
 ΒΕ ΨΟΟΠ' ΖΝ  
 ΓΑΛΑΔΔ. Η ΜΝ  
 ΟΔΕΙΝ ΖΨΠΩ  
 ΕΤΨΩΔΥ. ΕΤΒΕ  
 15 ΟΥ ΜΠΨΕΙ Ε  
 ΖΡΑΪ ΝΟΙΠΤΑΛ  
 ΟΔ ΝΤΨΕΕΡΕ  
 ΜΠΑΛΑΟΣ. ΕΤΕ  
 ΠΔΪ ΠΕ. ΔΕ ΜΗ  
 20 ΤΨΨΑΔΤ' ΕΤΡΕΥ  
 †ΟΒΩ ΝΑΝ Ν  
 ΟΙΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ.  
 Η ΝΟΕΤΟΑΒΕ  
 ΕΙΔΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ  
 25 ΖΝΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ.  
 ΜΝΝΕΧΑΓΓΕ  
 ΛΙΟΝ ΜΠΕΝΔΟ  
 ΕΙΟ ΙΟ ΠΕΧΟ.  
 ΕΤΒΕΟΪ ΜΠΨ

ΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΝΟΙΠΤΑΛ  
 ΟΔ ΝΜΠΑΡΑΠΤΩ  
 ΜΔ. Η ΕΤΒΕΟΪ  
 ΜΠΨΑΖΩΝ Ε  
 ΒΟΛ ΝΜΠΕΘΟ  
 ΟΥ. ΔΖΡΟΝ' ΕΝ  
 ΟΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ε  
 ΔΩΝ ΜΩΝ Μ  
 ΜΟΝ ΜΠΟΑΖΟΥ  
 ΝΝΕΓΡΑΦΗ  
 ΜΝΠΩΝΤ Μ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΠΕΝΤΩΜ Ν  
 ΖΗΤ. ΜΝΤΕΝ  
 ΜΝΤΝΑΨΤΨ  
 ΜΕ.  
 ΤΕΝΟΥΒΕ ΝΕ  
 ΟΝΗΥ ΜΑΡΝ  
 ΚΩ ΝΩΝ Ν  
 ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ Μ  
 ΠΚΑΚΕ. ΝΤΝ  
 † ΔΕ ΖΙΩΩΝ  
 ΝΝΖΟΠΛΟΝ  
 ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ.  
 ΤΕΤΝΟΟΥΝ  
 ΓΑΡ ΝΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ  
 ΜΠΚΑΚΕ. ΔΕ  
 ΟΪ ΝΕ. ΔΨΩ  
 ΔΕ ΟΥ ΝΕ ΝΕ

vanities and disturbances.<sup>1</sup> Therefore he said sharply, "If I come again I shall not spare"<sup>2</sup>. Is there no balm in Gilead or is there no physician there? Why did the healing of the daughter of my people not come up<sup>3</sup>; which means, do we lack teaching from our fathers or that they instruct<sup>4</sup> us from the scriptures and the gospels of our Lord Jesus Christ? Why did the healing of the trespasses not come up? Or why did we not remove ourselves from the wickednesses? Why do we draw down upon ourselves the curse of the scriptures and the wrath of God because of our hardening of heart and our presumptuousness? Now therefore, sisters, let us forsake the works of darkness and put upon us the armour of light.<sup>5</sup> For you know the works of darkness, what they are; and what

<sup>1</sup>II Cor.12.20.

<sup>2</sup>II Cor.13.2.

<sup>3</sup>Jer.8.22.

<sup>4</sup>Lit. "teach our eye", cf. Crum, Dict., p.73b.

<sup>5</sup>Rom.13.12.



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ΖΒΗΥΕ ΜΠΟΥ  
 ΟΕΙΝ. ΟΥΟΝ  
 ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΙ  
 ΡΕ ΜΠΠΕΤ  
 ΝΑΝΟΥΥ. ΟΥ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΩΠΝΥ  
 ΤΕ ΠΕ. ΠΕΤ  
 ΕΙΡΕ ΔΕ ΖΩ  
 ΩΥ ΜΠΠΕΘΟ  
 ΟΥ. ΟΥΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΩΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΕ  
 ΠΕ. ΔΥΩ ΝΥ  
 ΟΟΟΥΝ ΔΝ Μ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΜΑ  
 ΡΝΡΖΟΤΕΒΕ  
 ΖΩΩΝ ΜΗΠΩΟ  
 ΝΩΕΔΟΟΟ ΝΑ  
 ΖΝΟΥΔΠΕΙΛΗ  
 ΔΕ ΜΗ ΠΔΟ  
 ΕΙΟ ΥΟΟΠ ΔΝ  
 ΖΝΟΙΩΝ. Η  
 ΜΝΡΡΟ ΥΟ  
 ΟΠ ΜΜΑΥ. Ε  
 ΤΒΕΟΥ ΔΤΕΤΝ  
 †ΘΩΝΤ ΝΑΪ,  
 ΖΝΝΕΤΝΓΛΥ  
 ΠΤΟΝ ΜΝΝΙ  
 ΠΕΤΩΟΥΕΙΤ.  
 ΝΩΥΜΟ.

ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΡΟΥ  
 ΔΟΟΟ ΝΑΝ Ν  
 ΤΟΥ ΖΝΟΥΤΩΤ  
 ΝΖΗΤ. ΔΕ ΜΗ  
 ΠΑΛΔΟΟ ΔΝ ΝΕ  
 ΝΑΨΗΡΕ. Ν  
 ΝΕΥΔΘΕΤΕΙ.  
 ΤΕΝΟΥΒΕ Ω  
 ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕ  
 ΡΕΠΕΥΖΗΤ  
 ΟΡΜ ΕΤΟΥ  
 ΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΔΙ  
 ΚΑΙΟΟΥΝΗ.  
 †ΠΕΤΝΖΗΤ  
 ΕΤΕΟΒΩ, ΝΤΕ  
 ΤΝΟΟΒΤΕ Ν  
 ΝΕΤΜΑΔΔΕ  
 ΕΝΨΑΔΕ ΝΤΔΙ  
 ΟΘΗΟΙΟ. ΕΥ  
 ΔΕ ΥΔΩ ΜΜΟΟ  
 ΔΕ ΕΨΔΕ ΜΟ  
 ΓΙΟ ΕΡΕΠΔΙΚΑΙ  
 ΟΟ ΝΔΟΥΔΔΙ.  
 ΕΙΕ ΕΡΕΠΔΟΕ  
 ΒΗΟ ΜΝΠΡΕΥ  
 ΡΝΟΒΕ ΝΔΟΥ  
 ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΤΩΝ. ΕΙΕ Ν  
 ΔΥ ΝΖΕ ΔΝΟ



the works of light are. For everyone who does good is of God but he who does evil is of the devil<sup>1</sup> and does not know God. Let us then fear lest it be said threateningly to us, "Is not the Lord in Zion or is there no king there? Why did you provoke me to anger with your carved images and these strange vanities?"<sup>2</sup> But let it rather be said of us with confidence, "Are they not my people, my children? They shall not deal treacherously."<sup>3</sup> Now therefore, O people, whose heart is far astray from righteousness, pay heed to teaching and prepare your ears for the words of knowledge<sup>4</sup>. If it is said, "If the righteous will scarcely be saved then where will the ungodly and the sinner appear"<sup>5</sup>, then how shall we

<sup>1</sup>Cf. I Jn.3.8.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Jer.8.19.

<sup>3</sup>Is. 63.8.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Prov.23.12.

<sup>5</sup>I Pet.4.18.

ΤῖΝΔΡΒΟΛ ΕΝ

ΨΑΝΔΜΕΛΕΙ

ΕΠΕΪΝΟΘ Ἰ

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ

5

ΔΥΩ ΠΕΪΟΥ

ΔΔΙ ἸΤΕΪΘΟΤ

ΕΝΤΑΝΕΪ ΕΞΟΥ

ΕΡΟΥ ΔΝΟΝ

ἸΔΘΗΤ ΔΥΩ

10

ἸΔΤΣΒΩ. ΠΕ

ΔΔΥ ΓΑΡ ΔΕ ΠΔ

ΘΗΤ. ἸΝΠΔΤ

ΣΒΩ ΝΔΤΑΚΟ

ΖΙΟΥΣΟΠ.

15

ΕΥΔΕ ΥΔΩ

ΔΕ ΟΝ ἸΜΟC

ΔΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ

† ΟΥΒΕἸΔΑCΙ

ΖΗΤ. † ΔΕ

20

ἸΟΥΖΜΟΤ Ἰ

ΝΕΤΘΒΒΙΗΥ.

ΕΪΕ ΔΕΡΟΝ' ΕΝ

CΩΚ' ΕΞΡΔΙ Ε

ΔΩΝ ΜΔΥΔΑ

25

ἸΠΥΟΡΥΡ

ἸΤΕΝΨΥΧΗ.

ΕΝΤἸΔΙCΘΑ

ΝΕ ΔΝ' ΕΠΕΝ

ΤΔΔΙΘ ΕΤΒΕ

ΤΕΝἸΝΤΒΔΒΕ

ΡΩΜΕ, ἸΝΠΕ

ΨΟΤ' ἸΠΕΝ

ΖΗΤ. CΟΛΟ

ἸΩΝ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΔΩ

ἸΜΟC ΔΕ ΨΑ

ΡΕΟΥΨΗΡΕ

ἸCΔΒΕ CΩΤἸ

ἸCΔΠΕΥἸΩΤ.

ΕΡΕΠΨΗΡΕ

ΔΕ ἸΔΤCΩΤἸ

ΖἸΠΤΔΚΘ.

ΔΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΤἸΕΙ

ΝΕ ΕΞΡΔΙ ΕΔΩ

ἸΠΤΕΝΤΑΚΘ

ἸΜΙΝ ἸΜΟΝ.

ΕΤΒΕΤΕΝἸΝΤ

ΔΤCΩΤἸ ΕΜ

ΠἸΝΨΠΤΕ ΕΤΡΕ

CΩΤἸ ΠΔΝ' Ἰ

ΠΩΝΖ ΕΞΟΥΕ

ΠΜΟΥ. ΟΥΤΕ

ἸΠἸΝΨΩΠΕ

ἸΡἸἸΖΗΤ' Ε

ΤΡΕΝΔΠΘ ΝΔ

ἸΟΥΡΖἸΜΕ.

ΤΟΥ ΔΥΤΟΥ

ΝΤΟ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΤΕ

escape if we neglect this great principle and this so great salvation<sup>1</sup> into which we foolish and ignorant ones entered? For it has been said, "The foolish and the ignorant shall perish together"<sup>2</sup>. But if it is also said, "God resists the proud but gives grace to the humble"<sup>3</sup>, then why do we draw down upon ourselves the destruction of our soul? We do not perceive our condemnation because of our boastfulness and the hardening of our heart. Solomon also says, "A wise son obeys his father but a disobedient son is in perdition"<sup>4</sup>. But we bring our own perdition upon us. Because of our disobedience we were not ashamed to choose for ourselves life rather than death<sup>5</sup>, and we were not wise to acquire for ourselves guidance.<sup>6</sup>

By the Same.

But you

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Heb.2.3.

<sup>2</sup>Ps.48.11.

<sup>3</sup>Prov.3.34; I Pet.5.5; Jam.4.6.

<sup>4</sup>Prov.13.1.

<sup>5</sup>This clause seems difficult as it stands. We would expect the consequence of disobedience to be the choosing of death rather than life; cf. Jer.8.3 which is correctly used on 38r and 78v. It would be an easy scribal error to transpose  $\Gamma\omega\lambda\alpha\iota$  and  $\Gamma\alpha\lambda\omega\iota$ .

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Prov.1.5.





Mary, sister of Matai<sup>1</sup>, will you not put away from you this hardness of heart and this pride which will not profit you, and will you not hear that the hard of heart will be filled with his own ways<sup>2</sup>; and again, the hard of heart will meet with no good<sup>3</sup>; and again, the foolish man digs for himself evils and gathers up a fire on his lips?<sup>4</sup> Therefore I say unto you, ignorant one, if you will not put away from you this shamelessness, I shall cause your heart to be grieved. Is it a small thing to you to fight against men? And how can you fight against the Lord with your struggle and your strife and your disobedience, driving away from you the mercy of God, and dishonouring your own soul by your contempt and ranting<sup>5</sup> at your fathers who take care of you at all times and who are in travail for your souls that God may give them<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For this name cf. Crum, Dict., p.190b. Heuser, Personennamen, only gives:  $\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota$  masc. and  $\tau\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota$  fem. The root meaning is "soldier".

<sup>2</sup>Prov.14.14.

<sup>3</sup>Prov.17.20.

<sup>4</sup>Prov.16.27.

<sup>5</sup>Lit. "roaring", "neighing", cf. Crum, Dict., p.682b.

<sup>6</sup>The change of person from 2nd to 3rd plural is due to the writer's having followed the text of scripture.



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ΟΥΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΔ  
ΕΠΙΘΟΥΝ ἦ  
ΤΜΕ. ΔΥΩ ἦΤΕ  
ΤῆΝΗΦΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΖῆΝῆΒΟΡῶς ἤ  
ΠΑΙΔΒΟΛΟΣ.  
ΔΥΩΣΕ ἤΠῆΝ  
ΔΙΘΑΝΕ.

10

ἦ ΕΝΕΟΥῆ  
ΓΙΣΤΗΜΗ ἤ  
ΜΩ. ΝΕΡΑΩΩ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΖῆΤΜΗ

15

ΤΕ ἦΝΕCΝΗΥ  
ΣΕ ΛΩΟΥ, ΛΩ  
ΟΥ ΕἶΝΑΒΩΚ  
ΕΠΜΑ ἦΝΑΩΗ  
ΡΕ, ΖῆΤΟΥΜῆΤ  
ΝΑΩῆΜΑΚῆ  
ΜῆΤΟΥΜῆΤ  
ΒΑΒΕΡΩΜΕ.

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ΣΕ ἦῆΝΔ ἈΝ  
ΕΠΜΑ ἤΠῆΡῶ  
ΕΞΙΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ.

25

ἦ ἦΤΑΡῆΑΤCΩ  
Τῆ ἈΝ ἦCΑΠῆ  
ΩΔΕ ἦΤΕῖZE.  
ΑΝΟΝ' ἈΝ' ΠΕΝ  
ΤΑΝΔΟΟΣ ΣΕ  
ΜΑΡΟΥΒΩΚ

ΕΠΜΑ ἤΠῆΡῶ  
ἦCΕΞΙΕΠΙΤΙ  
ΜΙΑ. ΜΗ ΓΑΡ  
ἦΤΑΝΔΑC' ἈΝ'  
ΕΟΥΖΗΥ ΝΗΤῆΝ.  
ΤΑΡΕΠῆΝΟΥΤΕ  
Κῶ ΝΗΤῆΝ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΝῆΥΕΠῆΤῆΝ  
ΩΛΗ' ΕΡΟΥ  
ΣΕ ΑΝΟΝ ΖΕΝ  
ΤΑΛΑΙΓῆΩΡΟC.  
ἦΤῆΝCΟΥΝ  
ΑΝ ΣΕ ΕΝΝΗΥ  
ΕΖΡΑῖ ΕΝΘΙΣ  
ἤΠῆΝΟΥΤΕ ἦ  
ΔΥ ἦZE.  
ΕΝΕῆῆΤΕΟΥΔ  
ΘΗΤ' ΓΑΡ ἈΝ ΠΕ.  
ΝΕΡΑΔΟΟΣ ΣΕ  
ΕἶΝΑΒΩΚ' ΕΠΜΑ  
ἦΝΑΩΗΡΕ. ΕΥ  
ΤΩΝ ΖΩΩΗ  
ΝΟΥΩΗΡΕ, Ε  
ΝΕἤΠΟΥῆΠΕ  
ΘΟΥ ΓΑΡ, ΝΕΥ  
ΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΤΑ  
Κῶ. ἦΤΟ ΖΩ  
ΩΤΕ ΕΡΕΟΥ  
ΩΩ ΕΒΩΚ' Ε

repentance unto the knowledge of truth, that you may recover yourselves from the snares of the devil?<sup>1</sup> And we therefore did not understand. If you had had any understanding would you have cried out among the sisters, "Indeed<sup>2</sup>, indeed, I shall go where my children are", in your stiff-neckedness and your boastfulness, and, "I shall not go to the gate to receive punishment"?<sup>3</sup> And did you not thus disobey our injunction? Was it not we that said, let them go to the gate and receive punishment? Did we not do it for your profit, so that God may forgive you and receive your prayer to himself, because we are wretched and do not know how we come into the hands of God? For if you had not been foolish would you have said, "I shall go to where my children are"? But where are your children? For if they had not done wickedness would they go to perdition? You too want to go to

<sup>1</sup>Cf. II Tim.2.25-26.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Crum, Dict., p.147b.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. p. 134ff.



5 ΠΤΑΚΩ ΕΤΕΡΕ  
ΝΕΤΩΜΑΥ Ν  
ΖΗΤΩ. ΕΒΟΛ  
ΔΕ ΘΟΤΕ Α  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥ  
ΗΥ ΑΜΩ. ΑΥΩ  
ΝΤΕΕΙΡΕ ΑΝ  
ΑΠΜΕΕΤΕ Ν  
ΤΟΥΖΑΗ. ΜΗ  
10 ΕΡΚΑΤΑΦΡΟ  
ΝΕΙ ΑΝ ΝΤΕΙ  
ΖΕ ΑΠΤΕΖΜΟΤ  
ΑΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ.  
ΑΥΩ ΕΡΩΨΩ  
15 ΝΤΕΧΑΡΙC ΕΝ  
ΤΑΧΑΔC ΝΤΜΕ  
ΜΑΥΔΑΤΕ ΑΝ.  
ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΜΑΝ  
ΤΗΡΝ, ΕΔΥΝ  
20 ΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΤΕ  
ΖΩ ΑΠΤΕΝΙ  
ΠΕ ΕΤΕΠΚΟ  
CΜΟC ΠΕ. ΕΔΥ  
CΟΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ  
25 ΖΝΤΜΗΤΕ Α  
ΠΤΑΚΩ. ΑΥΩ  
ΑΥΝΤΝ ΕΖΟΥ  
ΕΥΤΑΙΟ ΕΝΑ  
ΠΩΑ ΑΜΟΥ ΑΝ.

ΔΕΚΑC ΕΡΕΠΩΑ  
ΔΕ ΕΤΗΖ' ΝΑ  
ΔΟΟC ΝΔΙ ΝΤ  
ΜΕ, ΔΕ ΠΕΤΝΑ  
† ΝΖΕΝΠΕΘΟ  
ΟΥ, ΕΠΜΑ ΝΖΕ  
ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ.  
ΑΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΝΑ  
ΚΙΜ ΑΝ ΖΩΠΕΥ  
ΗΙ. ΝΤΕΤΝ  
CΩΤΩ ΑΝ ΕΠΔΟ  
ΕΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΕΥΔΩ ΑΜΟC  
ΝΝΩΗΡΕ Α  
ΠΗΛ ΕΥΘΝΑ  
ΡΙΚΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ  
ΑΥΩ ΕΥCΩΨΩ.  
ΑΜΟΟΥ, ΑΥΩ  
ΕΥΔΠΙΩ ΑΜΟ  
ΟΥ. ΔΕ ΝΤΩ  
ΤΝ ΝΤΕΤΝΟΥ  
ΛΑΟC ΝΝΑΨΤ  
ΜΑΚΖ. ΒΩΨΤ  
ΜΗΠΩC ΝΤΑ  
ΕΙΝΕ ΝΚΕΠΛΗ  
ΓΗ ΕΔΝΤΗΥ  
ΤΝ ΕΥΕΤΤΗΥ  
ΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ. ΑΥ  
CΩΤΩ ΝΒΙΝ



perdition where those are, because the fear of God is far from you and you do not take thought for your end. Do you not thus despise the grace of God and scorn the grace which he wrought not for you alone but for all of us, having brought us out of the iron furnace<sup>1</sup> which is the world, having redeemed us from out of the midst of perdition? And he brought us into honour of which we are not worthy, so that the word which is written may say to me and to you, "He who shall recompense evil for good, evil will not stir from his house<sup>2</sup>." You do not hear the Lord God speaking to the children of Israel blaming them and scorning them and upbraiding them, "You are a stiffnecked people, beware lest I bring another calamity upon you to wipe you out"<sup>3</sup>. The children of Israel heard

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Jer.11.4; Deut.4.20; III Kg.8.51.

<sup>2</sup>Prov.17.13.

<sup>3</sup>Ex.33.5.

ΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΗΛ  
ΕΠΕΪΩΔΕ ΕΤ  
ΝΑΥΤ. ΔΥΡΖΗΒΕ.

ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΗΝΩ  
ΤΩ ΕΠΕΝΩΩ  
ΜΗΠΕΝΤΟΔΙΟ  
ΕΤΒΕΤΕΝΜΩΤ  
ΝΑΥΤΕΝΤ

ΜΗΤΕΝΜΩΤ  
ΒΑΒΕΡΩΜΕ,  
ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥ  
ΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΛΟΙ  
ΜΟΣ. ΝΤΝΑΙ  
ΟΘΑΝΕ ΔΝ. ΟΥ

ΤΕ ΝΤΝΕΙΡΕ  
ΔΝ ΝΖΤΗΝ' Ε  
ΔΝΝΕΝΠΕΘΟ  
ΟΥ. ΔΕ ΝΝΕ  
ΠΔΟΕΙC ΙC ΒΩ  
ΝΤ ΕΡΟΝ ΝΥ  
ΝΟΔΝ ΜΗΝΕΤ  
ΡΩΒ ΕΤΑΝΟ

ΜΑ. Η ΝΤΝ  
ΩΤΩ ΔΝ ΝΤΕ  
ΡΕΜΑΡΙΖΑΜ  
ΚΑΤΑΛΑΛΕΙ,  
ΔΥΩ ΝΚΡΩΡΗ  
ΝΩΜΩΪCΗC  
ΔΕ ΝΤΑΥΔΟC

ΝΑC' ΔΕ ΟΥ ΝΤΩ  
ΠΔΟΕΙC, ΔΕ Ε  
ΝΕΠΕCΕΙΩΤ  
ΠΕΝΤΑΥΝΕC'  
ΤΑΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε  
ΖΡΑC' ΝΕCΝΑΥΙ  
ΠΕ ΔΝ ΠΕ ΝCΑ  
ΩΥ ΝΖΟΥ,  
ΜΑΡΕCΠΩΡΔ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΒΟΛ  
ΝΤΠΑΡΕΜΒΟ  
ΛΗ ΝCΑΩΥ Ν  
ΖΟΥ. ΕΔCΡ  
ΠΚΕCΩΒΖ.

ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΝΕΥ  
ΔΩ ΜΜΟC ΝΑΥ  
ΖΝΤΕΥΜΩΤ  
ΜΑΪΡΩΜΕ ΝΒΙ  
ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΟΥ  
ΔΔΒ ΜΩΪCΗC  
ΔΕ †ΖΤΗΚ' Ε  
ΡΟΚ ΕΠΖΩΒ  
ΜΠCΩΒΖ. ΕΤΕ  
ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΚΑΤΑ  
ΛΑΛΙΑ.

ΑΝΟΝ' ΔΕ ΠCΩ  
ΒΖ ΝΝΕΝΠΕ  
ΘΟΥ ΜΠΕΝ  
ΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ Ν

this hard saying and grieved. But we hear of our shame and our condemnation because of our hardness of heart and our boastfulness - that which is called pestilence - and we do not perceive nor do we repent of our wickednesses lest the Lord Jesus be angry with us and cast us together with those who work for lawlessness<sup>1</sup>. Or do we not hear, when Miriam<sup>2</sup> had spoken and murmured against Moses<sup>3</sup>, - what was said to her from the Lord? - namely that, "If her father had spit in her face, should she not be ashamed for seven days? Let her be separate outside the camp for seven days<sup>4</sup>," for she had even become leprous. So the holy man Moses said to them in his benevolence, "Give heed to the matter of leprosy<sup>5</sup>," which is evil-speaking. But the leprosy of our wickednesses is before us at

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Ps.124.5.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Num.12.1ff.

<sup>3</sup>A second dot is intended over the  $\gamma$  in  $\mu\omega\gamma\chi\eta$  which is covered up by the foot of the  $\rho$  in  $\bar{\nu}\chi\rho\bar{\omega}$  ..., cf. col.2, line 20.

<sup>4</sup>Num.12.14.

<sup>5</sup>Deut.24.8.



5 ΝΔΥ ΝΙΜ· ΔΥΩ  
 ΟΕΧΠΙΟ̄ ΛΙΜΟ̄  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΩΠΙΔΟ  
 ΕΙC ΙC̄ ΝΖΟΥ  
 ΝΙΜ· ΔΥΩ Ν  
 ΤΝΩΠΙΕ ΔΝ·  
 ΟΥΔΕ ΛΙΠΕΝ  
 ΖΗΤ' Θ̄ΝΔΡΙΚΕ  
 ΕΡΟΝ' ΔΝ' ΕΤΡΕ̄  
 10 ΚΤΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ  
 Ζ̄ΝΝΕΝΖΒΗΥΕ  
 ΛΙΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ·  
 ΝΤ̄ΝΕΙΡΕ Λ  
 Π̄ΠΕΤΝΔΝΟΥ·  
 15 ΕΤΒΕΠΑῙ †τα  
 ΛΟ̄ ΛΙΜΟ̄ ΧΕ  
 ΕΥΩΠΙΕ ΤΕ  
 ΝΔΜΟΥΥΕ ΔΝ  
 ΝΤΕΧΙΕΠΙΤΙ  
 20 ΜΙΔ ΝΘΕ ΕΝ  
 ΤΑΥΔΟΥC ΝΕ·  
 †ΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ  
 ΠΩΩΝΤ̄ ΛΙΠ̄Ν̄  
 ΤΕ ΝΔΜΟΥΥΕ  
 25 ΝΥΡΩΒ ΝΕ  
 Ζ̄ΝΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΩ̄Μ  
 ΜΟ· Μ̄Ν̄ΝCΩC  
 ΝΤΕΥΚΔΖ Ν  
 ΖΗΤ' ΕΧΩ ΜΔΥ

ΔΔΤΕ· ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ  
 ΝΤΕΟΥCΖΙΜΕ  
 ΕCΘΟΥΜΕ, Ε  
 ΡΕΕΙΝΕ, ΝΕ' Λ  
 ΠΟΥΤΑΚΟ̄ Λ  
 ΜΙΝ ΛΙΜΟ̄ Ζ̄Ν  
 ΤΟΥΤΑΠΡΟ·  
 ΔΥΩ ΕΡΕCΩΚ  
 ΛΙΤCΔΖΟΥ Λ  
 ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΖΡΑῙ  
 ΕΧΩ ΜΔΥΔΔΤΕ:

ΕΙC ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ  
 ΔΕ ΟΝ ΔΠΔ ΙCΔ  
 ΔΚ ΔΝΤ̄ΝΝΟ  
 ΟΥ· ΨΑΡΩΤ̄Ν  
 Μ̄Ν̄ΝΚΕΓ̄ΛΛΟῙ  
 ΕΤΡΕΥΜΕΨ̄Τ  
 ΝΕΤ̄ΝΨΑΧΕ·  
 ΔΥΩ ΛΙΠ̄ΡΖΕΠ̄  
 ΛΔΔΥ ΝΖΩΒ Ε  
 ΡΟΥ· ΜΑΡΕΥ  
 ΕΙ ΨΑΡΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΙΤΟΤΤΗΥΤ̄Ν  
 Ζ̄ΝΟΥΛ̄ΤΟΝ  
 ΝΖΗΤ:

ΠΛΗΝ †ΧΩ Λ  
 ΜΟC ΝΗΤ̄Ν  
 ΤΗΡΤ̄Ν ΝΤΩ  
 Τ̄Ν ΝΡΩΜΕ Ν

all times and we are upbraided by our Lord Jesus every day and we are not ashamed and our heart does not blame us so as to make us turn away from our evil works and do good. Therefore I tell you that if you will not go and receive punishment as it was told you, I think that the wrath of God will proceed to work upon you strangely<sup>1</sup>, and afterwards you will be grieved at your own self. For you are a perverse woman bringing upon you your own perdition by your mouth and drawing down upon yourself the curse of God. But here<sup>2</sup> is our father Apa Isaac, we have sent him to you and the other elders that they may examine your words. And do not hide anything from him. Let him return to us from you with satisfaction.

<sup>3</sup>But I speak to you all, you ignorant people

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Is.28.21.

<sup>2</sup>For  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  cf. 18r, note 4.

<sup>3</sup>New letter begins, cf. Analysis of Contents, p.15.



ατςβω· αγω  
 νεσνηυ ἡνῶδ'  
 ετεῦπουκα  
 θοτε ῥπινου  
 5 τε ῥπειῦτο  
 εβολ· ἀλλὰ ε  
 τι τετῆμην  
 εβολ εἴνεετῆ  
 διογε· ῥννε  
 10 τῆκρου· ῥν  
 νετῆβολ ετ  
 μερ' ῥπινη  
 ριδ νιμ εμπε  
 τῆωιπε ετρε  
 15 τῆςαεθυ  
 τῆ εβολ ἡνι  
 μῆτασεβης  
 ετεῖνειρε  
 ῥμοου, εμ  
 20 πετῆρσοτε  
 εἰτῆ ῥπινου  
 τε· αγω εμπε  
 τῆωιπε εἰτῆ  
 ἡρωμε· ετβε  
 25 παι' τετῆςου  
 οῖτ αγω πε  
 τῆςαπ' ῥνπε  
 τῆκρμα ερῶι  
 εδωτῆ· εβῶ

δε ατςβω νη  
 τῆν ἡςαε ἡςοπ'  
 αγω ῥπετῆ  
 †ετῆτῆ., αγω  
 ερενετῆμα  
 αδε ογην, αγω  
 ῥπετῆςωτῆ·  
 απετῆετ γαρ  
 τωμ αγω αμ  
 ογμοτ'. εμ  
 πετῆνοῖ. ογ  
 τε ῥπετῆωωπ'  
 ερωτῆ ἡτε  
 βω ῥνῆεν  
 τολῆ εντανε  
 ειοτε εονου  
 ετοοτῆ. κα  
 ταπενταχο  
 ομ δε απετ  
 γαρ ῥπεῖλδος  
 ἡωοτ'. αγω  
 αγωκ εσω  
 τῆ εἴνευμα  
 αδε· αγω αμ  
 ωταμ ἡνεμ  
 βαλ· μηπο  
 τε ἡενδμ εἴ  
 νεμβαλ· ἡε  
 σωτῆ εἴνεμ

and false brethren who did not put the fear of God before them, but still persist in your thefts and your guiles and your lies which are full of every evil, and you were not ashamed so as to remove yourselves from these ungodlinesses which you do, and feared not God nor respected man<sup>1</sup>. Therefore you are cursed and your judgment and your condemnation are upon you, because you were taught many times and you did not pay heed. And even though your ears were open you did not hear. Your heart was hard and thick, for you had no understanding, and you did not receive the teaching and the commandments which our fathers enjoined upon us, according to that which was said, "For the heart of this people was hardened and they were slow to hear with their ears, and they shut their eyes lest haply they might see with their eyes and hear with their

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Lk.18.2.



5     μᾶδε. ἵκεκο  
       τοῦ ἵταταλ  
       βοοῦ, ἡ ἵτα  
       να ναῦ. ὦ  
       θελπίς ἵνεν  
       εἶρε ἵνιμῆτ  
       ἀεβης ἵτει  
       ζε ζογοῖτ  
       εβὼλ δε ἀγω  
 10    ῶ ἄπραν ἄ  
       πνοῦτε ζῆ  
       νεγβηγε ἄ  
       πτονηρον.  
       ἀγω ἀγῶιπε  
 15    ἵνετεμῆτα.  
       εἰγωῶ  
       δε οἷ ἄπραν  
       ἵνενειοτε  
       ετμᾶματ'  
 20    ζῆτεμῆτ  
       ατβῶ. ετβε  
       νεγδιογε  
       μῆνεγβὼλ.  
       μῆνεγκροχ.  
 25    εἰπῶτ' ἀγω  
       αγβωκ εζεν  
       βοομ ετρεγ  
       ῶλ ἀγω ἵ  
       σεδιογε εμ

πούωινε. ἀγω  
 εμποῦταμε  
 ρωμε εἶνα  
 βωκ. εγβωκ  
 μπεζοῦ ἄ  
 πνοῦτε εζραῖ  
 εζωοῦ μαγα  
 ἀγ ετβετεγ  
 μῆταγω  
 ζνε μῆπεν  
 ῶτ' ἄπτεγ  
 ζητ'. εμποῦ  
 μεκμοῦκοῦ  
 οἷδε εμποῦ  
 μῶπτοῦ δε  
 ζεννοβε  
 ῶμ' ἀν νε  
 τοῦερε ἄμο  
 οῦ. εγτρεζῆ  
 κοογε †ζηγ  
 ζῆνεγνοβε.  
 εγῶω δε  
 ζωωῦ ἵτεγ  
 ψυχῇ ἄμιν  
 μμοοῦ εμ  
 πούεμε.  
 εγδιογε.  
 ἀγω εγῶωλ  
 εγτωρῆ ζῶ



ears and turn and I may heal them"<sup>1</sup>, or have mercy upon them. O, the hope of those who do such impious deeds is cursed because they despised the name of God by their evil works and they brought shame upon those that have it not<sup>2</sup>; having also despised the name of our blessed fathers in their ignorance because of their thefts and lies and deceptions, and, having gone away, they went into vineyards that they might spoil and steal without permission and without telling anyone that they would go, drawing the curse of God down upon themselves because of their thoughtlessness and the hardness of their heart. They did not think nor consider that the things they do are not small sins in that they let others benefit by their sins, but they destroy their own soul unknowingly, stealing and spoiling, robbing on

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Is.6.10 and Mt.13.15.

<sup>2</sup>ΝΕΤΕΛΩΝΤΑΙ lit. "those that have not". The object is not expressed. It seems that the writer means to point out to his sinful readers that they, by their deeds, are discrediting the innocent. The same phrase also occurs on 34v and 49v.

πικὰ μῆπαϊ-  
 ψαζραϊ ἐζεν  
 ψοψοῦ νηρῖ  
 μῆνελελοο  
 5 λε εὔφι μῶο  
 οὔ νχιοῦε· ζω  
 στε ἐτρενετ  
 ναῦ εροοῦ δι  
 οὔα ἐπνοῦτε  
 10 νσεχοοο δε  
 ἐνεζενμω  
 ναχοο νε ναϊ·  
 ἡ δε νεναϊ νε  
 ἥρωμε παπα  
 15 ψενοῦτε·  
 αῦω δε ἥνε  
 βε ρωμε ψω  
 πε· ἐνροῦ  
 ἀνον παπαρ  
 20 οὔ· ἥταχσο  
 οο δε μαροῦ  
 ναῦ ἐνετῆ  
 ζβηγε ἐτνα  
 νοῦοῦ· ἥσε  
 25 ἥροοῦ μῆτε  
 τῆεῖωτ' ἐτ  
 ζῆμῆτηγε·  
 ἥτωτῆ δε α  
 τετῆψωω

ναῦ ψαντοῦ  
 σω μῆτραν  
 ἥνενειοτε  
 ἐτβενετῆ  
 ζβηγε μῆτο  
 νηρον·  
 7 ἐπμα ἥσεχο  
 οο δε εἰς οὔ  
 λαοο ἥσοφῆ  
 αῦω ἥρῆνζητ.  
 ἡ δε εἰς οὔ  
 στερμα εὔ  
 σμαμαατ' ζιτῆ  
 πνοῦτε· αῦ  
 σω' δε ζω  
 ω μῆτραν μ  
 πενμα ετοῦ  
 ααβ·  
 7 ὦ τετῆρωγε  
 ἥτωτῆ νετοῦ  
 ζω ἥναϊ ἐτβη  
 ητοῦ· εβολ  
 δε μῆτετῆρ  
 ζοτε ζητῆ  
 μῆτεχ· αῦω  
 μῆτετῆωῖτε  
 ζητῆ ἥρωμε·  
 ἐτβεπαῖ οὔ  
 οἱ νητῆ, δε

this side and that, pilfering even jars of wine and grapes, so that those who see them blaspheme against God and say, "Are these monks?" Or "Are<sup>1</sup> these the people of Apa Shenoute?"<sup>2</sup> And "Shall then not anybody be? What do we do more than they?" It has been said, "Let them see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven<sup>3</sup>." But you despised him until they despised the name of our fathers because of your evil works. Instead of saying "Behold a people wise and of understanding" or "Behold a seed blessed by God", they rather despised the name of our holy monastery. O you concerning whom these things are said, you are responsible because you have not feared Christ nor respected man<sup>4</sup>. Therefore woe to you, because

<sup>1</sup>Note XE NE for XE ENE .

<sup>2</sup>The famous abbot and predecessor of Besa. The name is common, meaning "son of God". Cf. Heuser, Personennamen, p.32 and also Crum, Dict., p.231b.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Mt.5.16.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Lk.18.2.



5 ΔΟΥΚΡΙΤΗΣ  
 ΕΥΡΩΤΕ ΔΝ  
 ΖΗΤῆ ἈΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ, ΔΥΩ ΕΝῆ  
 ΨΙΠΕ ΔΝ ΖΗ  
 Τῆ ΝΡΩΜΕ Ρ  
 ΠΖΑΠ ΝΟΥΧΗ  
 ΡΑ ΔΕ ΝΝΕC  
 10 ΨΩΠΕ ΕCΝΗΥ  
 ΨΑΡΟΥ ΝΖΑΖ  
 ΝCΟΠ' ΕCΖΙ  
 CΕ ΝΔΥ· ΕΛ  
 ΠΕΤῆΨΙΠΕ  
 ΔΕ ΝΤΩΤῆ  
 15 ΟΥΤΕ ΕΛΠΕ  
 ΤῆΝΔΙCΘΑΝΕ  
 ΕΥΝΟΘΝΕC  
 ἈΜΩΤῆ. ΔΥΩ  
 ΕΥCΒΩ ΝΗ  
 20 Τῆ ΝΖΑΖ ΝCΟΠ·  
 ΕΤΡΕΤῆΨῆ  
 ΖΤΗΝ ΖΑΡΩ  
 Τῆ ΜΑΧΑΤΤΗ  
 Τῆ ΝΤΕΤῆΛΟ  
 25 ΖῆΝΕΤῆΠΟ  
 ΝΗΡΑ· ΝΤΕ  
 ΤῆΝΔΙCΒΩ ΕΡ  
 ΠΠΕΤΝΟΥΥ·  
 ΕΛΠΑΤΕΤῆ

ΨΩΠΕ ΝΘΕ Ν  
 ΟΥΖΡΗΡΕ ΕΨΑΥ  
 ΤΑΚΟ· ΕΛΠΑ  
 ΤCΕΙ ΕΔῆΝΤΗ  
 Τῆ ΝCΙΤΟΡΓῆ  
 ἈΠΔΟΕΙC·  
 ΔΥΩ ΕΛΠΑΤΟΥ  
 ΤΩΚῆ ΝΤΕΤῆ  
 ΨΥΧΗ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ν  
 ΖΗΤΤΗΤῆ  
 ΝΤΕΤῆΠΩΖ  
 ἈΠΕΤῆΠῆΔ  
 ΖῆΖΕΝΡΜΕΙΟ  
 ΟΥΕ ΖΡΑΪ ΖῆΔ  
 ΜῆΤΕ· ΕΛῆ  
 ΠΕΤΝΔCΩΤῆ  
 ΕΡΩΤῆ· ΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΕΛῆΠΕΤ  
 ΝΔΨῆΖΤΗ  
 ΖΑΡΩΤῆ·  
 ΕΠΕΙΔῆ ΔΥ  
 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΩ  
 Τῆ· ἈΠΕΤῆ  
 CΩΤῆ· ΔΥΩ  
 ΔΥΠΩΡῆ ΝΕΥ  
 ΨΑΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ·  
 ἈΠΕΤῆΖΤΗ  
 Τῆ· ἈΛΛΑ ΔΤΕ  
 ΤῆΤCΟ ΕΒΟΛ

a judge who neither feared God nor respected man, gave judgment for a widow that she should not be coming to him so often and troubling him<sup>1</sup>. But you were not ashamed nor did you notice when you were being reproached and frequently told to have pity upon yourselves<sup>2</sup> and cease from your wickednesses and learn to do good<sup>3</sup> before you become like a flower that perishes, before the wrath of the Lord comes upon you, and before your soul is rooted out from within you and you break your spirit with tears down in Amente<sup>4</sup>, with none to hear you and no one to have pity on you. When you were called, you did not hear. And words were spread abroad: you paid no heed<sup>5</sup>. But you rejected<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Lk.18.2ff.

<sup>2</sup>Read 2THTN for 2THN .

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Is.1.16-17. - Read METNANOY4 for METNOY4 .

<sup>4</sup>Hades, lit. the western place, treated as name without article, cf. Crum, Dict., p.8b. Christians adopted this term from pagan Egypt. It is even accepted by as strict a Christian as Shenoute.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Prov.1.24.

<sup>6</sup>Read TCTO for TCO .



Νῆψοςνε ἄ  
 πδοεῖς, ἔντε  
 τῆμῆτῆαψῆ  
 ἄμε. αὖω ατε  
 5 τῆρᾶτσωτῆ  
 ἄκαπεχπῆ.  
 ετβεπαῖ ζω  
 ωῆ ἡνασβε  
 ἄκαπετῆτα  
 10 κῶ. ἡνασβε  
 δε ἄμωτῆν ἐρ  
 ψανπτακῶ  
 εἰ ἐσωτῆν ἄ  
 πῆαυ ἄπετῆ  
 15 βῆψῆνε.  
 αὖω ἐρψαν  
 οὔθλιψῆς εἰ  
 ἡτῆν ἄνοῦ  
 κτῶ ἐρωτῆν,  
 20 παῖ ἔῆαμῆτε.  
 ἄπῆαυ ἦτε  
 τῆαῆαγκῆ.  
 ετβεξε αἰμῆ  
 τε ἐρωτῆν πε  
 25 χα. ἄπετῆ  
 σωτῆ ἐροῖ.  
 αἰψαξε. αὖω  
 ατετῆεβῶ  
 τητῆν. ατε

τῆερε ἄπῆτε  
 θοοῦ ἄπαῦ  
 το ἐβολ. αὖω  
 ατετῆσῶτῆ  
 ἦνετεῆτοῦ  
 αὖω αἰ. ετβε  
 30 παῖ ἡσῶ ἄμο  
 ξε εἰςῆητε  
 νετῶ ἦεῦαλ  
 ἡαῖ ἡαῶω.  
 ἦτωτῆν δε τε  
 τῆακῶ. εἰς  
 ῆητε νετῶ  
 ἦεῦαλ ἡαῖ ἡα  
 σῶ. ἦτωτῆ  
 δε τετῆαει  
 βε. εἰςῆη  
 τε νετῶ ἦεῦ  
 αλ ἡαῖ ἡαεῦ  
 φῆνε. ἦτω  
 τῆν δε τετῆα  
 σῶπτε. εἰς  
 ῆητε νετῶ  
 ἦεῦαλ ἡαῖ ἡα  
 τεῆηλ ἔνοῦ  
 οὔνοῦ. ἦτω  
 τῆν δε τετῆα  
 σῶκακ' ἐβολ  
 ετβεπεκαε

the counsels of the Lord in your presumptuousness and you disobeyed his upbraidings. Therefore he will also mock at your perdition and he will deride you when perdition comes upon you<sup>1</sup> at the time of your visitation, and when tribulation comes to you and you are in straits<sup>2</sup> down in Amente in the time of your need. "For I called you," he said, "you did not hear me, I spoke and you heeded not, you did evil in my sight and you chose the things which I do not wish." Therefore he says, "Behold they who are servants of mine shall eat, but you will be hungry. Behold they who are servants of mine shall drink, but you will be thirsty. Behold they who are servants of mine shall rejoice, but you will be ashamed.<sup>3</sup> Behold they who are servants of mine shall exult with joy, but you shall cry for the sorrow

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Prov.1.25-26.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Prov.1.27. - The noun κτο literally means: "turning", "return", "what surrounds", cf. Crum, Dict., p.129a.

κτο stands here for πολιορκία in the LXX, which suggests the meaning "besieging" hence "to be in straits".

<sup>3</sup>Is.65.12-13.



5 ὤπετ' ἔνζητ'  
 αὐτὸς τέτνα  
 ὡς' ἐβόλ ἐ  
 τβεποὺ ὡς  
 10 ὤπετ' ἔνπῃ.  
 ἀτετ' ἔνκαπρᾶ  
 γὰρ ὤπετ'  
 ὁεῖς ἔνω  
 τ' ἔτεοῦσε  
 15 πῇ. πῶς  
 δε νᾶμεῦτ  
 τητ' ἔν. ἐβόλ  
 δε τετ' ἔνμῃ  
 20 ἐβόλ ἔννε  
 τ' ἔνκακῃ. μῇ  
 νετ' ἔνδιοε.  
 ἐτετ' ἔνωῦτ  
 ἔννεοῖτε  
 25 ἔνετ' ἔνερη  
 ἔντετ' ἔνμῃ  
 ἀτβαλ μῃτε  
 τ' ἔνμῃτατῷ  
 πῇ. ἔνκα  
 30 θάρτος, νετ  
 ὅ ἔνεοῖτ  
 ἐτοῦ ἔννε  
 τ' ἔννομῃ  
 μῇνετ' ἔννο

βε ἐτ' ἔνωῦτ.  
 αὐτὸς ἐτετ'  
 5 ἔννεοῖτε  
 ἔνετ' ἔνερη  
 ἔνδιοε; ὡς  
 10 ἔνκακῃ  
 ἀτβαλ ἐτετ'  
 ἔννομῃ.  
 μῇ γὰρ ἔντα  
 15 ἔνερη  
 ἐῖ ἐτοῦ ἐπῷ  
 αὐτῷ. ἀλ  
 20 λα ἔνερη  
 ἔνεοῖτε νε  
 τ' ἔνκακῃ ἔννε  
 τ' ἔντατῷ  
 25 γὰρ ἐτῷ  
 ἔνετοῦνα  
 ἐπῷ. ἐτ  
 30 ὡς ἔντα  
 35 ἐτοῦ ἔντα  
 τε ἐτῷ ἐτῷ  
 40 ὡς ὡς ἔν  
 45 ὡς ἔντα  
 50 τῷ ἔντα  
 55 τῷ ἔντα  
 60 ἔντα  
 65 ἔντα



of your heart and you shall cry out because of the destruction of your spirit. For you renounced the name of your Lord which is satisfaction for my chosen ones, but the Lord will kill you"<sup>1</sup>, because you persist in your wickednesses and your thefts stealing each other's garments in your impudence and your shamelessness. Unclean ones, who are notorious in your lawlessnesses and your obstinate sins! And you steal each other's things<sup>2</sup>, even down to the very linen clothes<sup>3</sup> you carry off. Did people come in to us and take them? No, but the fact is there are thieves in the midst of us, the community, seizing whatever they can find, drawing the curse of God upon them, even boasting with their mouths - which ought to shut up<sup>4</sup> - and their deceitful, bragging tongues,

<sup>1</sup>Is.65.14-15.

<sup>2</sup>ⲙⲟⲩⲃⲉⲩ lit. "tool", "weapon", cf. Crum, Dict., p.363b.

<sup>3</sup>ⲉⲓⲁⲁⲩ lit. "linen", here probably as name of a garment, cf. Crum, Dict., p.88a.

<sup>4</sup>I have ventured to use this slang phrase because it seems to be a good equivalent for the Coptic.

ΝΩΔΕ ΔΕ Ἄ  
 ΠΟΥΤΑΖΟΝ  
 ΖΗΛΑΔΥ ΝΩΒ  
 ΟΥΤΕ ἌΠΟΥ  
 5 ΕΙΜΕ ΕΡΟΝ' Ε  
 Χ ΝΕΤΝΕΙΡΕ ἌΜΩ  
 ΔΝΟΝ· ἌΠΟΥ  
 ΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ ΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΝΑΠΑΖΟΥ  
 10 ΖΙΤΕΥΜΗΤΕ  
 ΝΤΕΟΥΟΝ  
 ΝΙΜ ΝΔΥ ΕΡΟ  
 ΟΥ· ΟΥΤΕ  
 ἌΠΟΥΔΟΟC  
 15 ΖΗΤΕΥΤΑΠΡΟ  
 ΕΤΜΕΖ ΝCΔ  
 ΖΟΥ, ΖΙCΙΥΕ  
 ΔΕ ΤΟΡΓΗ Ἄ  
 ΠΔΟΕΙC ΝΔ  
 20 ΜΟΥΖ' ΖΗΝΡΩ  
 ΜΕ ΕΤΜΑΥ  
 ΨΑΝΤΥCΟΤΟΥ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΝΕΥ  
 CΥΝΔΓΩΓΗ·  
 25 ΝΘΕ ΕΤCΗΖ  
 ΔΕ ΕΙC ΟΥΚῪ  
 ΤΩ ΥΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΙΤῪΠΔΟΙC  
 ΜΝΟΥΟΡΓΗ

ΖΗΝΟΥΥΤΟΡ  
 ΤΡ ΕΥΚΤΩ Ἄ  
 ΜΟΥ ΕΥΝΗΥ  
 ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΔΝῪ  
 ΔCΕΒΗC· ΝΥ  
 ΝΔΚΤΟΥ ΔΝ  
 ΝΒΙΠΘΩΝΤ  
 ἌΠΔΟΕΙC ΕΛΩ  
 ἌΜΑΥ ΨΑΝΤῪ  
 ΕΙΡΕ ΔΥΩ ΝΥ  
 ΔΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ἄ  
 ΠΕΤΕΖΝΕΠΕΥ  
 ΖΗΤ' ΖΡΑΙ ΖΗ  
 ΝΔCΕΒΗC ΕΤ  
 ΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΕΝΜῪΤ  
 ΔCΕΒΗC, ΜῪΝ  
 ΖΕΝΔΙΟΥΕ·  
 ΜῪΝΖΕΝΒΟΛ·  
 ΜῪΝΖΕΝΚΡΟΥ·  
 ΑΤΠΕ ΝΕΖΩῪΥ  
 ΕΔῪΠΕΙΖΩΒ  
 ΔΥΩ ΑΠΚΔΖ  
 CΤΩΤ' ΕΜΔΤΕ  
 ΠΕΔΕΠΔΟΕΙC·  
 ΔΥΚΔΔΤ' ΝCΩ  
 ΟΥ ΤΠΗΓΗ Ἄ  
 ΜΟΥ ΝΩΝΖ  
 ΕΤΕΤΜΕ ΤΕ·  
 ΔΥΨΙΚΕ ΝΔΥ

saying, "They did not catch us in anything nor did they know about us or about the things which we ourselves do." They did not know that God would divide them in their midst so that everyone might see them, nor did they say with their mouths which are full of cursing and bitterness,<sup>1</sup> "The wrath of the Lord will burn those men until he wipes them out of his communities"; as it is written, "Behold an earthquake comes from the Lord and wrath unto turmoil, whirling and coming down upon the godless. The wrath of the Lord will not turn to cease there, until he performs and completes the desire of his heart"<sup>2</sup> upon the godless who do impious deeds and thefts and lies and deceits. "The heaven was fearful about this matter and the earth trembled greatly", said the Lord.<sup>3</sup> "They forsook me, the fountain of living water", which is the truth, "they dug for themselves

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Ps.9.28 and Rom.3.14.

<sup>2</sup>Jer.23.19-20.

<sup>3</sup>Jer.2.12. - Note that in the LXX there is no word for "the earth", which however is attested in the Boh. version, cf. H.Tattam, *Prophetæ Majores*, Oxford, 1852. For further evidence cf. P.Volz, *Der Prophet Jeremia*, Leipzig-Erlangen, 1921.



ΝΖΕΝΩΗΙ ΕΥ

ΟΥΟΠ. ΕΤΕ

ΠΔΙΟΥΕ ΠΕ

ΜΝΠΒΟΛ.

ΜΝΠΕΚΡΟΥ.

ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΔΝ

Η ΠΡΜΜΕ

ΠΕ ΠΕΤΕΥ

ΠΟΥΤΑΖΟΥ

ΖΝΝΕΥΠΕΘΟ

ΟΥ ΖΙΤΝΝΡΩ

ΜΕ. ΑΛΛΑ ΠΠΙ

ΣΤΟΣ ΝΑΜΕ

ΔΥΩ ΠΡΜΜΕ

ΠΕ ΠΕΤΕΥ

ΠΟΥΒΟΠΥ.

Η ΜΠΟΥΤΑΖΟΥ

ΖΙΤΜΠΝΟΥ

ΤΕ. ΠΕΤΝΑ

ΣΥΝΖΙΣΤΑ ΓΑΡ

ΜΟΥ ΔΝ ΜΔΥ

ΔΔΥ ΠΕ ΠΩ

ΤΠ. ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕ

ΤΕΡΕΠΔΟΙΣ

ΝΔΣΥΝΖΙΣΤΑ

ΜΟΥ ΠΕ.

ΖΜΠΑΙ ΓΑΡ Ν

ΤΑΥΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ

ΓΑΘΗΤ' ΜΝ

ΠΑΤΣΒΩ ΝΑ

ΤΑΚΟ ΖΙΟΥΣΗ:

ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΨΔΥ

ΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΥ

ΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΖΝ

ΟΥΤΑΙΟ ΕΜ

ΠΥΕΙΜΕ ΕΡΟΥ.

ΔΥΤΝΤΩΝΥ

ΕΝΤΒΝΟΥΕ

ΝΔΤΕΙΜΕ ΔΥ

ΕΙΝΕ ΜΟΥΟΥ.

ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΕΤΝ

ΖΕ ΖΩΤΤΗΥ

ΤΝ ΕΝΤΑΤΕ

ΤΝΩΩΥ Μ

ΠΕΖΜΟΤ' Μ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝ

ΤΕΤΝΜΝΤΒΑ

ΒΕΡΩΜΕ ΜΝ

ΤΕΤΝΜΝΤΔΑ

ΣΙΖΗΤ' ΝΝΑ

ΩΤΖΗΤ' ΔΥΩ

ΝΔΤΣΒΒΕ ΖΜ

ΠΕΥΖΗΤ' ΜΝ

ΝΕΥΚΕΜΑΔ

ΔΕ. ΝΤΩ

ΤΝ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΕ

ΣΠΕΡΜΑ ΝΝΕ

ΤΑΥΔΟΟΣ Ε

broken cisterns", which are thieving and falsehood and deceit. The faithful or the honest man is not he who was not caught in his evils by men, but the truly faithful and honest man is he who was not seized or caught by God. For not he who shall commend himself is the elect but whom God shall commend<sup>2</sup>. For on this it has been said, "The foolish and the ignorant shall perish together"<sup>3</sup>, and again it is said, "Man that is in honour did not understand, he was likened to ignorant beasts, he resembled them"<sup>4</sup>. This is your own way. You despised the grace of God in your boastfulness and your pride, O you hard of heart and uncircumcised in heart and ears too!<sup>5</sup> For you are the seed of those about whom it was said,

<sup>1</sup>Jer.2.13.

<sup>2</sup>II Cor.10.18.

<sup>3</sup>Ps.48.11.

<sup>4</sup>Ps.48.13,21.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Acts 7.51.



ΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ, ΔΕ  
 ΝΤΩΤῆΝ ΝΟΥ  
 ΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕ  
 ΤῆΤ ΟΥΒΕΠΕ  
 5 ΠῆΝ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ  
 ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΤῆΝ  
 ΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΕ  
 ΠΔΙΔΒΟΛΟΣ  
 ΠΕ ΜῆΝΝΕΥΔΑΙ  
 10 ΜΩΝ. ΤΑΪ ΖΩΤ  
 ΤΗΥῆΝ ΤΕ ΤΕ  
 ΤῆΖΕ' ΕΤΕΤῆΝ  
 Ο ΝΑΤCΩΤῆ  
 ΝCΑῆΝΕΝΤΟ  
 15 Λῆ ΜῆΠΧΟΕΙC  
 ΖῆΤΕΤῆΝΜῆΤ  
 ΡΕΥΚΑΤΑΦΡΟ  
 ΝΕΙ ΜῆΠΕΝ  
 ΨΟΤ' ΜῆΠΕΤῆΝ  
 20 ΖΗΤ' ΕΤΟ ΝΑΤ  
 CΒῶ. ΟΥΟΪ  
 ΝΗΤῆΝ ΔΕ ΔΤΕ  
 ΤῆΤΑΨΕΡΕΥ  
 ΜΟΥΤ ΖῆΤΕ  
 25 ΤῆΚΑΤΑΦΡΟ  
 ΝΗCΙC, ΜῆΤΕ  
 ΤῆΔΜΕΛΕΙΔ.  
 ΝCΟC, ΔΥΩ Ν  
 ΔΘΗΤ. ΝΔΨ

ΝΖΕ ΤΕΤΝΔΡ  
 ΒΟΛ ΕΤΕΚΡΙ  
 CΙC ΝΤΓΕΖΕΝ  
 ΝΔ. ΟΥΟΪ ΝΗ  
 3 ΤῆΝ ΔΕ ΜῆΠΕΤῆΝ  
 ΕΙΜΕ ΟΥΤΕ Μ  
 ΠΕΤῆΝΔΜΠΕ  
 ΤῆΖΗΤ' ΕΤΕΤῆΝ  
 ΜΟΥΨΕ Ζῆ  
 ΠΚΑΚΕ ΝΤΕ  
 ΤῆΜῆΤΑΤCΩ  
 Τῆ. ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ Δ  
 ΠΕΤῆΝΖΗΤ' Ν  
 ΔΤCΒῶ ΡΚΑΚΕ  
 ΕΡΩΤῆΝ Ζῆ  
 ΠΧΙΟΥΕ. ΜῆΝ  
 ΠΕΚΡΟΥ. ΟΥ  
 3 ΟΕΙ ΝΗΤῆΝ ΕΤΕ  
 ΤΝΔΡΟΪ ΖῆΠΕ  
 ΖΟΥΥ ΜῆΠῆΝ  
 ΠΨΙΝΕ. ΤΕ  
 ΤῆΘΛΙΨΙC ΝΗΥ  
 ΜΠΟΥΕ. ΔΥΩ  
 ΕΤΕΤΝΑΠΩΤ'  
 ΕΡΑΤῆ ΝΝΙΜ  
 ΕΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΕΡΩ  
 ΤῆΝ, ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ  
 ΝΨΑΔΕ ΜΠΧΟ  
 ΕΙC ΔΤΕΤῆΝCΩ

"You always resist the Holy Spirit like your fathers" which are the devil and his demons. This is your own way, you being disobedient to the commandments of the Lord in your contempt and the hardness of your ignorant heart. Woe to you, you multiplied the things of death<sup>2</sup> by your contempt and your indifference. Foolish and ignorant ones, how shall you escape the judgment of Gehenna! Woe to you, because you did not understand neither did you learn wisdom, walking in the darkness of your disobedience because your ignorant hearts were darkened<sup>3</sup> from thieving and deceit. Woe to you, what shall you do on the day of visitation? Your affliction is coming from afar and to whom will you flee to help you,<sup>4</sup> because you have despised the words of the Lord

<sup>1</sup>Acts 7.51.

<sup>2</sup>The word περὶ θάνατον means lit. "dead person", "dead thing", "deadly thing", cf. Crum, Dict., p.160a. The context suggests that the reference is to the sinfulness which results in damnation. "Death" here is the opposite of "eternal life".

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Rom.1.21.

<sup>4</sup>Is.10.3.



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40Υ. ΔΥΩ ΝΕΥ  
ΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΔΤΕ  
ΤΗΧΟΟΡΟΥ Ε  
ΒΟΛ. ΤΑΙ ΕΩ  
5 ΩΥ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΕ  
ΡΕΠΔΟΕΙC ΝΔ  
ΧΕΡΕΤΗΥΤΗ  
ΕΒΟΛ. ΔΥΩ ΝΥ  
ΕΥCΤΗΥΤΗ

10 2ΝΤΕ2ΡΩ Ν  
CΔΤΕ 2ΡΔΙ 2Ν  
ΔΥΝΤΕ. ΝΔΚΔ  
ΘΑΡΤΟC ΕΤΟ  
ΝCΟΕΙΤ' ΕΤΟΥ

15 2ΝΝΕΥΔΝΟ  
ΜΔ. ΝΕΤΗ2Ι  
ΟΟΥΕ ΓΑΡ ΟΟ  
ΜΕ ΕΤΕΤΗΜΟ  
ΟΥΕ Ν2ΗΤΟΥ.

20 ΔΥΩ ΜΠΕΤΗ  
ΕΩΒΜΒΟΜ  
ΕΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΙΤΜ  
ΠCΟΥΤΗ.

25 ΝΤΑΥΔΟΟC ΔΕ  
ΔΟ ΝΗΤΗ ΕΥ  
ΔΙΚΔΙΟΥΝΗ.  
ΝΤΕΤΗΩ2C  
ΝΟΥΚΑΡΠΟC  
ΝΩΝ2. ΝΤΩ

ΤΗ ΔΕ ΔΤΕΤΗΔΟ  
ΝΟΥΜΗΤΥΔΗ  
ΤΕ. ΔΥΩ ΔΤΕ  
ΤΗΩ2C ΝΟΥ  
ΔΝΟΜΙΔ. ΝΤΕΙ

2Ε ΟΝ ΝΤΑΥΔΟ  
ΟC ΔΕ ΔΟ Ν2Ε  
CΟΥΟ. ΝΤΕΤΗ  
Ω2C Ν2ΕΝΩΟ  
ΤΕ. ΝΕΥΚΛΗ  
ΡΟC ΠΕΔΔΗ  
ΝCΕΝΔΤ2ΗΥ  
ΝΔΥ ΔΝ. ΕΤΕ  
ΠΔΙ ΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΕΥ  
ΩΛΗΛ ΜΗΝΕΥ  
ΝΗCΤΕΙΔ ΜΗ  
ΝΕΥΜΕΛΕΤΗ.

ΝCΕΝΔΤ2ΗΥ  
ΕΡΟΥ ΔΝ Ε  
ΤΒΕΝΕΥΔΝΟ  
ΜΔ ΕΝΤΑΥΡ  
ΩΔΥΤΕ Ν2Η  
ΤΟΥ. ΔΥΒΩ

ΓΑΡ ΕΠΟΥΟΕΙ.  
ΔΠΚΔΚΕ ΩΩ  
ΠΕ ΝΔΥ. ΔΥ  
2ΥΠΟΜΗΝΕ  
ΕΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ.  
ΔΥΜΟΟΥΕ 2Ν

and brought his commandments to naught? So also the Lord will bring you to naught and he will plunge you into the fiery furnace in Amente. Unclean ones, who are notorious in lawlessnesses! For the ways wherein you walk are crooked and you have been unable to go through the straight. It has been said, "Sow for yourselves unto righteousness and reap a fruit of life"<sup>1</sup> but you sowed iniquity and reaped lawlessness. Thus again it has been said, "Sow wheat and reap thorns. Their lots," it was said, "shall not profit them"<sup>2</sup>, which means their prayers and their fastings and their religious exercises<sup>3</sup> shall not profit them because of their lawlessnesses by which they have worked iniquity. For they waited for light, darkness befell them; they awaited light, yet they walked in

<sup>1</sup>Hos.10.12.

<sup>2</sup>Jer.12.13.

<sup>3</sup>ΜΕΛΕΤΗ may denote recitations from scripture but may also have a wider meaning.



5 ΟΥΚΡΩΤΣ· CE  
 ΝΑΘΩΣΟΜΕ  
 ΤΧΟ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥ  
 ΒΛΛΕ· ΔΥΩ CE  
 ΝΑΔΟΠΔΠ Ν  
 ΘΕ ΝΙΝΕΤΕΜΝ  
 ΒΑΛ ΜΩΟΥ·  
 ΔΥΩ ΝΣΕΣΕ Μ  
 ΜΕΕΡΕ ΝΘΕ  
 10 ΝΝΕΤΣΝΤΠΑ  
 ΨΕ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ·  
 ΕΤΕΓΔΙ ΠΕ  
 ΧΕ ΔΤΕΤΝΡΝΟ  
 ΒΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕ  
 15 ΤΕΜΠΟΥΣΟΥ  
 ΝΓΡΑΦΗ ΕΝΕΣ·  
 ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΤ  
 ΣΒΩ ΝΔΥ ΕΠΤΗ  
 ΡΑ· ΝΕΤΝΣΒΗ  
 20 ΟΥΕ ΓΑΡ ΣΕΝ  
 ΣΩΒ ΝΑΝΟΜΙΑ  
 ΝΕ, ΔΥΩ ΕΡΕ  
 ΝΕΥΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ  
 ΠΗΤ' ΕΥΠΟΝΗ  
 25 ΡΙΔ· ΕΥΒΕΠΗ  
 ΕΠΤΝΣΝΟΥ Ε  
 ΒΟΛ· ΔΥΩ ΝΕ  
 ΤΝΜΟΚΜΕΚ  
 ΣΕΝΜΟΚΜΕΚ

ΝΑΘΗΤ' ΝΕ·  
 ΕΤΕΤΝΜΟΚ  
 ΜΕΚ ΕΠΔΙΟΥΕ  
 ΜΝΠΒΟΛ ΜΝ  
 ΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ ΝΙΜ·  
 ΕΤΒΕΓΔΙ ΤΑΙ  
 ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ  
 ΠΤΗΥ ΝΔΥΙΤΗΥ  
 ΤΝ· ΕΤΕΠΩ  
 ΝΤ ΠΕ ΝΤΟΡ  
 ΓΗ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ·  
 ΧΕ ΝΝΕΤΝΒΝ  
 ΘΕ ΝΑΥΤΟΝ Μ  
 ΜΩΤΝ· ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΧΕ ΔΤΕΤΝ†ΝΥ  
 ΒΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ·  
 ΔΥΚΤΟΥ ΝΗ  
 ΤΝ ΕΥΜΝΤΧΑ  
 ΧΕ:

ΝΤΩΤΝ ΔΕ ΝΕ  
 ΣΝΗΥ ΕΤΡΣΟ  
 ΤΕ ΣΗΤΥ ΜΠΝΥ  
 ΤΕ· ΠΔΟΕΙΣ  
 ΕΥΕΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΩ  
 ΤΝ· ΔΥΩ ΝΥΝΕ  
 ΣΜΤΗΥΤΝ Ε  
 ΝΕΙΣΑΣΟΥ ΤΗ  
 ΡΟΥ· ΔΥΩ ΝΥ  
 ΣΑΡΕΣ ΕΡΩΤΝ

the dark. They will grope<sup>1</sup> for the wall like a blind man and they will feel as do those who have no eyes, and they will fall at noonday like those at midnight,<sup>2</sup> which means you sinned like those who never knew scripture and were entirely untaught. For your works are works of lawlessness and their<sup>3</sup> feet run to evil, they hasten to shed blood. And your thoughts are foolish thoughts<sup>4</sup>, you think of thieving and lying and every evil. So therefore the wind will take you<sup>5</sup>, which is the anger of the wrath of God, so that you will not find for yourselves the way of rest. Because you provoked God to anger, he turned to you in enmity<sup>6</sup>. But you, brethren, who fear God, the Lord will bless you and save you from all these curses and he will guard you

<sup>1</sup>Note 6̄μ60μ for 60μ6̄μ

<sup>2</sup>Is.59.9-10.

<sup>3</sup>Note the crude change of person which is due to an imperfect adaptation of the O.T. passage; cf. p.60.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Is.59.6-7.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Is.64.6.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Is.63.10. - The verb κτο might perhaps be rendered here by the expression "to round on".



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ΕΒΟΛ ΖΩΠΕΤ  
ΖΟΥΥ ΝΙΛ· ΔΥΩ  
ΕΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΝΥ  
ΔΕΛΔΔΥ ΔΝ Λ  
ΜΕ. ΕΤΕΠΔΙΔ  
ΒΟΛΟΣ ΠΕ.

10

ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΔΟ  
ΕΙΣ ΙC ΕΧΕΤΟΥ  
ΔΕΤΗΥΤΝ Ε  
ΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΥ  
ΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΕΤ  
ΖΝΤΠΕ· ΔΥΩ  
ΕΧΕΖΑΡΕΖ Ε  
ΠΕΤΝΠΝΔ ΕΥ  
ΟΥΟΔ' ΜΝΤΕ  
ΤΩΨΥΧΗ ΜΝ  
ΠΕΤΝCΩΜΔ  
ΔΔΝΝΟΒΕ ΖΝ  
ΤΠΑΡΟΥCΙΑ Λ  
ΠΕΝΔΟΕΙC ΙC  
ΠΕΧC:

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ΝΤΩΤΝ ΔΕ ΝΕ  
CΝΗΥ ΝΝΕΤΕ  
ΤΝΖΩΠΚΑΚΕ  
ΔΝ ΔΕ ΕΡΕΠΕ  
ΖΟΥΥ ΤΔΖΕ  
ΤΗΥΤΝ ΝΘΕ Ν  
ΟΥΡΕΥΔΙΟΥΕ·  
ΝΤΩΤΝ ΓΑΡ

ΤΗΡΤΝ ΝΤΕΤΝ  
ΝΨΗΡΕ ΛΠΟΥ  
ΟΕΙΝ, ΔΥΩ Ν  
ΨΗΡΕ ΛΠΕΖΟ  
ΟΥ. ΝΤΕΤΝ  
ΝΔΤΕΥΨΗ ΔΝ  
ΟΥΤΕ ΝΔΠΚΔ  
ΤΚΕ· ΔΡΑΒΕ Λ  
ΠΡΤΡΕΝΝΚΟ  
ΤΚ ΝΘΕ ΛΠΚΕ  
CΕΕΠΕ· ΑΛΛΔ  
ΜΑΡΝΡΟΕΙC  
ΝΤΝΝΗΦΕ·  
ΝΕΤΝΚΟΤΚ  
ΓΑΡ ΕΥΝΚΟΤΚ  
ΝΤΕΥΨΗ· ΔΥΩ  
ΝΕΤΔΖΕ. ΕΥ  
ΤΔΖΕ ΝΤΕΥΨΗ·  
ΔΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΔΝΘ  
ΝΔΠΕΖΟΥΥ  
ΜΑΡΝΝΗΦΕ,  
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ΜΠΖΩΚ' ΝΤΠΙ  
CΤΙC ΜΝΤΑΓΔ  
ΠΗ ΜΝΤΠΕΡΙ  
ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΔ Ν  
ΘΕΛΠΙC ΛΠΥ  
ΔΔΙ. ΔΕ ΝΤΔ  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΔΔ

from every evil and from one who speaks nothing of truth, which is the devil<sup>1</sup>. But the Lord Jesus will save you into his kingdom which is in heaven<sup>2</sup> and he will keep your spirit sound and your soul and your body without sin at the advent<sup>3</sup> of our Lord Jesus Christ<sup>4</sup>. But you, brethren, were not in darkness that the day should overtake you as a thief;<sup>5</sup> for you are all sons of the light and sons of the day; you are not of the night nor of the darkness<sup>6</sup>. So then let us not sleep as do the rest but let us watch and be sober. For those who sleep sleep in the night, and those who are drunk are drunk in the night. But we are of the day. Let us be sober, having put upon us the breastplate of faith and love and the helmet of the hope of salvation.<sup>7</sup> For God did not appoint us

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Jn.8.44.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. II Tim.4.18.

<sup>3</sup>The term παρουσία in secular Greek means: "presence", "arrival", "official, royal visit". In the N.T. it is often a technical, eschatological term meaning the Second Coming of Christ.

<sup>4</sup>I Thes.5.23.

<sup>5</sup>I Thes.5.4.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. I Thes.5.5.

<sup>7</sup>I Thes.5.6-8.



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AN ETORGH.  
ALLA EYTANZO  
NOYDAI ZITU  
PENXOEIC IC  
PAI ENTAYU  
ETBHHTN. DE  
KAC EITE TN  
POEIC, EITE  
TNKOTK E  
NEWNZ NU

MAU:  
TENOTSE NE  
CNHY MTP  
TPENWATE  
ENTNTWN' E  
NECNHY N  
NOYD' ETZPAI  
NZHTN, ETMO  
OWE ZNOY  
KPOY. ALLA  
ZNOYZOTE  
MNOYCTWT.  
APIZWB EPE  
TNOYDAI. DE  
KAC EPETZO  
EIC IC NADA  
PEZ EPWTN  
ZINNETNZBH  
OYE THPOY.



GINOYTE GAP  
PETENERGEI  
NZHTHTHTN  
MPOUYWY MN  
PXWK EBOA  
MPOUYWY.  
APIZWB NIU  
ADNKPRU  
ZIMOKUEK.  
DEKAC ETET  
NAYWATE NAT  
NOBE, AYU N  
AKERAIOS N  
WHPE MPTNOY  
TE EYOYDAB  
NTWATE NTGE  
NEA ETBOOYB  
AYU ETBOOME.  
ETETNOYO  
NZ EBOA NZH  
TOY NBE NNI  
PEYPOYOEIN  
ZIMTKOCMOC.  
ETETNBEEET  
EPYDZE U  
PTWNZ EYWOY  
WOY NAI ZU  
PEZOYU MTE  
XC. TAISE TE



unto wrath but unto a preservation<sup>1</sup> of salvation through our Lord Jesus, he who died for us in order that, whether we watch or sleep, we may live with him<sup>2</sup>. Now therefore, brethren, let us not be like the false brethren in our midst who walk in guile, but work out your salvation in fear and trembling<sup>3</sup> that the Lord Jesus may guard you in all your works. For it is God who works in you the will and the fulfilment of the will. Do all things without murmuring and disputing, that you may become sinless and innocent, children of God, holy, in the midst of the crooked and perverse generation among whom you are manifested as enlighteners in the world, persisting in the word of life for a glorying unto me on the day of Christ<sup>4</sup>. So then

<sup>1</sup>The literal meaning of the noun ΤΑΝΣΟ is "keeping alive", "saving". In the N.T. passage it translates περιποίησις which can also mean "gaining possession of", "acquisition", cf. the R.V. translation "unto the obtaining of salvation".

<sup>2</sup>I Thes.5.9-10.

<sup>3</sup>Phil.2.12.

<sup>4</sup>Phil.2.13-16.

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ΤΥΗ

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ΡΕΖ ΕΝΕΝΤΟ  
ΛΗ̄ Ν̄ΝΕΝΕΙΟ  
ΤΕ. ΕΥΝΔΨΟΥ  
ΨΟΥ ὰΨΟΥ  
ΕΧΩΝ̄ ΖΔΤῶ  
ΠΔΟΕΙC ΕΥΔΩ  
ὰΨΟC ΔΕ ΜΗ̄  
Ν̄ΝΔΐ ΔΝ ΝΕ ΝΔ  
10 ΨΗΡΕ. Ν̄ΝΕΥ  
ΔΘΕΤΕΙ. ΔΥΩ  
ΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΙCΖΗΗ  
ΤΕ ΔΝΟΝ ὰΝ̄  
Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΗ  
15 ΕΝΤΔΚΤΔΔΥ  
ΝΔΝ. ΕΔΝΨΠ  
ΖΙCΕ ΕΡΟΥ  
ΕΤΒΕΠΕΚΡᾹ.  
20 ΠΔΟΕΙCΔΕ ΕΥΕ  
†ΘΕ ΝΔΝ ΕΤΡΕ̄  
ΡΒΟΛ ΕΝΒΟΡ  
Β̄C ΤΗΡΟΥ ὰ  
ΠΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕ  
ΝΟC. Ν̄ΤΝ̄Ρ  
25 ΡῶΔΔ̄ Ζ̄ΝΖΕ̄  
ΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΝΔ  
ΝΟΥΟΥ. ΕΨΤΔ  
Τ̄ΝΕΐ ΕΖΡΔΐ Ε  
ΠΖΔΠ̄ ὰΠΝΟΥ

ΤΕ, Ν̄ΤΝ̄ΡΒΟΛ  
ΕΝΚΟΛΔCΙC  
ΕΤCΒΤΩΤ̄  
Ν̄ΝΡΕΥΡ̄ΝΟ  
ΒΕ ΕΤΩΗΝ̄ Ε  
ΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΝΝΕΥ  
ΠΕΘΟΥ:

ΤΟΥ ΔΥΤΟΥ

ΝΔΝΟΥC ΝΗΤ̄Ν  
ΔΥΩ ΟΥΔΑΘΟ̄  
ΠΕ Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΥ  
ΧΗ̄ Ν̄ΤΔΔΑΙΠΩ  
ΡΟC, ΕΤΡΕΤΕ  
Τ̄ΝΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ Ε  
ΤΕΤ̄ΝΤΩΝ.  
Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄Ν†ΕΟ  
ΟΥ ὰΠΔΟΕΙC  
ΠΕΤ̄ΝΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΕΨΤΔΤΕΠΚΔ  
ΚΕ ΨΩΠΕ.  
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ΝΕΤ̄ΝΟΥΕΡΗ  
ΤΕ ΔΙΔΡΟΠ̄  
ΖΙΔ̄Ν̄ΝΤΟΥ  
Ν̄ΚΔΚΕ. ΤΕ  
Τ̄ΝΔΔΩΨΤ̄ ΖΗ  
Τῶ ὰΠΟΥΟΕΤ̄.  
ΟΥΖΔΐΒΕC Ν̄

if we keep the commandments of our fathers they will pride themselves on us before the Lord, saying, "Are these not my children? They will not deal treacherously!" And again, "Behold, we and the children you gave us;<sup>2</sup> we have laboured for them for the sake of your name." The Lord will then give us means to escape all the snares of the adversary and be rich in good works<sup>3</sup> before we come into the judgment of God and to escape the punishments prepared for the sinners who persist in their evils.

By the Same.

It is right for you and good for your soul, wretched ones, to learn whence you are and give glory to the Lord your God before the darkness comes and your feet stumble upon the dark mountains. You will look for light, a shadow of

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Is.63.8.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Is.8.18 and Heb.2.13.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. I Tim.6.18.



ΤΕΤΙΜΟΥ, ΠΕΤ  
ΥΟΟΠΙ ΛΥΔΑΙ.

ΔΥΩ ΣΕΝΔΑΚΑ

ΔΥ ΕΥΚΑΚΕ.

ΕΥΩΠΕ ΔΕ Ε

ΤΕΤΙΝΤΙΣΩ

ΠΥ. ΣΤΟΥΣΩΠ

ΣΝΑΡΙΜΕ ΝΒΙ

ΤΕΤΙΝΨΥΧΗ Λ

ΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ

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ΔΥΩ ΝΕΤΙΝΒΑΛ

ΝΑΨΟΥΕΡΥ

ΕΙΗ ΕΠΕΧΤ

ΕΥΙΝΠΕΤΝΑ

ΥΩΤΕ ΝΤΕΤΙΝ

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ΣΙΝΕΤΙΝΒΑΛ.

ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΔΥ

ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΩ

ΤΙΝ. ΔΥΩ ΛΥΠΕ

ΤΙΝΣΩΤΥ.

ΔΥΨΑΔΕ. ΔΥΩ

ΔΤΕΤΙΝΕΒΥ

ΤΗΥΤΙΝ. ΔΤΕ

ΤΙΝΕΙΡΕ ΛΥΠΠΕ

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ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΛΥΠΧΟ

ΕΙΣ. ΔΥΩ ΔΤΕ

ΤΙΝΣΩΤΙ ΝΙΝΕ

ΤΕΤΙΝΟΥΔΥ

ΔΝ. ΨΑΝ

ΤΕΟΥΣΕ ΨΩΠΠΕ

ΕΙΝΣΩΚ' ΕΣΡΑΙ

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ΔΕ ΕΤΧΗ' ΔΕ

ΑΝΔΑΣΕΒΗΣ Ρ

ΠΒΟΛ ΛΥΠΤΥ.

ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΤΕ

ΤΙΝΣΙΟΥΕ.

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ΤΕΤΙΝΟ ΝΑΤ

ΣΩΤΥ.

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ΤΕΤΙΝΑΝΟΜΕΙ.

ΤΕΤΙΝΣΙ ΝΒΟ

ΝΣ ΝΝΕΝΤΟ

ΛΗ ΛΥΠΕΧΣ.

ΤΕΤΙΝΤΑΚΟ

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ΤΕΤΙΝΡΝΟΒΕ

ΣΙΝΣΩΒ ΝΙΜ.

ΚΑΤΑΠΕΝΤΑΥ

ΣΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΕ

ΣΙΗ ΝΤΨΕΕ

ΡΕ ΛΥΠΑΛΑΟΣ.

ΝΣΨΟΟΠ' ΔΝ

ΕΥΣΟΟΥΤΙΝ.

death is there; and they shall be put in darkness. But if you do not hear, your soul will weep secretly confronted with your contempt and your eyes will shed tears<sup>1</sup> with no one to wipe away your tears from your eyes<sup>2</sup>. For you were called and you did not hear, you were spoken to and heeded not, you did evil in the sight of the Lord and chose the things he did not wish<sup>3</sup>. How long then will we draw down upon us the word which is written, "The ungodly passed over the landmark"<sup>4</sup>, because you steal, you lie, you are disobedient, you work iniquity, you act lawlessly, you violate the commandments of Christ, you destroy your body, you sin in everything, as it was said, "The way of the daughter of my people is not towards uprightness

<sup>1</sup>Jer.13.16-17.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. perhaps Rev.7.17.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Is.65.12.

<sup>4</sup>Job 24.2.



ΟΥΔΕ ΕΥΤΒΒΟ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΤΑΙ  
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 Η ΜΝΟΔΕΙΝ  
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 25 ΠΑΙ ΠΕ· ΧΕ ΜΝ  
 ΓΡΑΦΗΕ ΥΟ  
 ΟΠ' ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗ  
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 ΤΟΒΩ ΝΑΝ ΖΜ

ΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΜΠΔΟ  
 ΕΙΣ, ΧΕ ΑΛΩΤΝ  
 ΖΝΝΕΤΜΠΟ  
 ΝΗΡΙΑ· ΔΙΟΒΩ  
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 ΜΜΕ ΜΠΝΟΥ

nor towards purity"<sup>1</sup> and again, "This is your wickedness, for it is bitter, because it reached to your heart<sup>2</sup>." Moreover it was said, in censuring the untaught and foolish ones amongst us who have not learned wisdom but walked in darkness, "Is there no balm in Gilead or is there no physician there? Why did the healing of the daughter of my people not come up?"<sup>3</sup> which means, was there no scripture among us or were we not taught in the law of the Lord namely, "Cease from your wickednesses, learn to do good?"<sup>4</sup> Yet we were not afraid and did not realise that we should depart from our inciting of God to wrath by our evil deeds, but we chose to bring upon us the word which is written, "Because of your hardness and your impenitent heart you treasure up for yourself wrath in the day of wrath and the revelation of the just judgment of God<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>1</sup>Jer.4.11.

<sup>2</sup>Jer.4.18.

<sup>3</sup>Jer.8.22.

<sup>4</sup>Is.1.16-17.

<sup>5</sup>Rom.2.5.



ΤΕ. ΠΑΙ ΕΤΝΑ  
 ΤΩΩΒΕ ΜΠῶ  
 ΠΟΥᾶ ΚΑΤΑ  
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 ΑΝ ΜΠΕΥΩΗ  
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 ΝΗΡΟΝ ΔΥΔΑΙ  
 ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤῆ  
 ΝΤΕΠΠΟΥΤΕ  
 25 ΝΟΥΘC ΕΡΟΝ·  
 ΝΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΥ  
 ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΝΤΟ  
 ΟΥ ΔΕ ΔΥΡΑΤ  
 CWTῦ ΔΥΗΝΟΥ

ὅC ἄπευπῆδα  
 ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ· ΔΥΩ  
 ΑΠΔΟΕΙC ΚΤΟΥ  
 ΝΔΥ ΕΥΜῆΤΔΑ  
 ΔΕ· ΟΥΟΙ ΝΑΝ  
 ΔΕ ΔΝΡΝΟΒΕ·  
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 ΖΗΤ' ΨΩΠΕ ΕΥ  
 ΜΟΚῆ· ΕCΕΤ  
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 ΔΠΙΟΝ' ΝΒΙΤΕ  
 ΚΑΚΙΑ· ΕΙΜΕ  
 ΒΕ ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕ  
 ΤῆΝΟΕΙ, ΔΕ  
 ΥCΑΨΕ ΝΑΝ Ε  
 ΤΡΕΝΚῦ ΝCῦ  
 ΝῆΕΝΤΟΛῆ  
 ΜΠΠΟΥΤΕ,  
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 3 ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΓΑΡ  
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 ΔΕ ΝΤΟΥ ΔΥ  
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 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΔΥ·  
 ΔΥΩ ΝΔΤΝΔΖΤΕ

who will render to every man according to his works!<sup>1</sup> For were we not told or do we lack teaching<sup>2</sup> that we should guard ourselves from evil, in accordance with the saying, "He who does not tell his son at the outset to guard himself from evil will perish suddenly"<sup>3</sup> And we did not hearken so that the evil increased among us and God was angry with us as it was said, "They were disobedient, they provoked his holy spirit to anger and the Lord turned<sup>4</sup> to them in enmity<sup>5</sup>" Woe to us because we sinned! That is why our heart was grieved. Our ignorance will teach us and our wickedness will upbraid us. Know therefore and understand that it is bitter for us to forsake the commandments of God<sup>6</sup> and the laws of our fathers. For thus it was said, "But this people has got a disobedient and unbelieving heart:

<sup>1</sup>Rom.2.6.

<sup>2</sup>Note the Boh. form of the conjunctive  $\bar{\text{NTOY}}\dagger$  instead of the Sah.  $\bar{\text{NCE}}\dagger$ .

<sup>3</sup>Prov.24.22. This clause, though in the Sah., is not in the LXX.

<sup>4</sup>See 30r, note 6.

<sup>5</sup>Is.63.10.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Jer.2.19.



5 ΔΥΡΙΚΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΔΥΩ ΔΥΒΩΚ  
 ὤΠΟΥΔΟΟC  
 ΔΕ ΣΩΠΕΥΖΗΤ  
 ΔΕ ΜΑΡΝΡΩ  
 ΤΕ ΖΗΤῶ ὤ  
 ΠΔΟΕΙC ΠΕΤ  
 † ΝΑΝ ΝΟΥΖΩ  
 ΟΥ, ΝΩΟΡΠ  
 10 ΔΥΩ ΝΖΔΕ.  
 ΕΤΕΠΕCΜΟΥ  
 ὤΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ  
 ΕΤΖΙΔΩΝ Ε  
 ΤΒΕΝΕΝΕΙΟ  
 15 ΤΕ. ΔΥΩ  
 ΟΝ ΔΕ ΟΥΟΕΙ  
 ΝΑΙ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ  
 ΔΕ ΔΠΡΕΥΡ  
 ΖΟΤΕ ΤΑΚΟ  
 20 ΖΙΔΩΠΚΑΖ.  
 ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤCΟΥ  
 ΤΩΝ ΖΝΝΡΩ  
 ΜΕ ΝῶΨΟΟΠ  
 ΔΝ. ΑΛΛΑ ΨΑ  
 25 ΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΚΕ  
 ΧΡΕΙΔ ΨΗΜ  
 ΕΤΟΥ† ὤΜΟC  
 ΝΗΤΝ ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΠΕΤΨΩΝΕ.

ΔΤΕΤΝΠΟΝΗ  
 ΡΕΤΕ ΕΡΩΤΝ  
 ΜΑΥΑΤΤΗΥ  
 ΤΝ. ΔΤΕΤΝΑΙ  
 ΤC ΝΔΙΟΥΕ Ν  
 CΑΝΕΤΝΕΡΗΥ.  
 ΠΕΪΚΕΖΟΥΕ  
 ΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ Ε  
 ΖΡΑΙ ΕΔΩΤΝ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ὤΠΝ  
 CΩΤῶ ΕΤΕΙ  
 ΚΕΓΤΑΡΑΝΟ  
 ΜΙΔ ΕΝΕΖ.  
 ΕΤΒΕΠΔΙ CΕ  
 CΖΟΥΟΡΤ Ε  
 ΠΕΖΟΥΟ ΝΝΔ  
 ΖΡῶΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΜΝΝΡΩΜΕ  
 ΝΒΙΝΕΤΕΙΡΕ  
 ΝΝΔΙ. ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΟΝ ΔΕ ΔΤΕΤΝ  
 ΡΖΟΥΕΡΑCΕ  
 ΒΗC. ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΠΔΙ ΠΕΤΝΝΟ  
 ΒΕ ΚΗΒ' ΕΡΩ  
 ΤΝ. ΔΕ ΖΕΝΝΟ  
 ΒΕ ΨΗΜ ΝΕ  
 ΝΑΙ ΔΝ' ΕΤΕ  
 ΤΝΕΙΡΕ ὤΜΔΥ.

they turned away and departed; they did not say in their heart, let us fear the Lord who gives us the former and the latter rain,<sup>1</sup>" that is to say the blessing of God which is upon us because of our fathers. And again, "Woe to me my soul because the god-fearing has perished from the earth and the upright among men is not<sup>2</sup>." But even down to the barest necessity which you are given for the sick you acted wickedly to your own selves - you stole from each other. Even this great wickedness is on your heads, for we have never heard of such a transgression. Therefore they who do these things are cursed all the more before God and men, for you also were very ungodly. Thus your sin is double upon you, because these are not little sins that you do.

<sup>1</sup>Jer.5.23-24.

<sup>2</sup>Mic.7.1-2.



ἄπονηρος

Ναυε. ετεϊρε

ἡγεννος, ἄ

πονηρον. ε

5

τερετπε μῆν

πκαζ' Ναυτορ

τῖρ εζραϊ' εδω

ου, αὐω ἡσε

νεζωλῆ.

10

σεναναι ἡβι

ἡδικαιος αὐω

ἡσνῆν ετμε

ἡπεχς ζῆου

με αὐω ετ

15

στωτ' ζητῆ ἄ

πεφραν' ἡσε

ῖροτε ἡσεδο

ος, δε εἰς ζεν

ρωμε εμτοϋ

20

καπνοϋτε

Ναι ἡβοηθος.

ἀλλὰ αὐτελ

πιζε εδῶπεϋ

πετρωϋετ'.

25

μῆνευμανιὰ

ἡβολ. Ναϊ ετ

δῶ ἡμος δε

μῆρωμε Να

εἰμε, ερον' ε

νετῆειρε ἄ

μωου ἡδιοϋε.

Το

οϋοἱ Ναϋ, εϋ

Ναροἱ ον ζῶ

περοϋ ετε

ρεῦμῆτωα

ϋτε ἡποϋὰ

ποϋὰ Ναοϋω

ἡε εβολ.

Τ

πεδαϋ ταρ δε

πετδῖτο μῆν

οϋρεϋδιοϋε

ετεπδῖαβολε

πε εϋμοστε

ἡτεϋψϋχῆ

μαδαϋ. εϋ

ϋανσμῖνε δε

ἡοϋανδϋ' πε

δαϋ ἡσετῶου

ωνῆ. σεναζε

ἡσεδῖωπε

δε αὐῖροτε

ζητοϋ ἡζεν

ρωμε. Ναῖα

τῶ δε ἡπετῖρ

ροτε ζητῆ ἄ

Τ

πνοϋτε:

ζῶπαἱ δε ον εν

ταϋδοος δε

O truly wicked ones, who do great wickednesses over which the heaven and the earth shall be troubled and fearful<sup>1</sup>, the righteous and the brethren<sup>2</sup> who love Christ truly and who tremble at his name shall see and be afraid and say, "Behold, men who did not make God their helper but set their hope upon their vanity and their lying delusions"<sup>3</sup>. The people who say, "No one shall know about us or about the thefts which we commit", woe to them, and what will they do on the day when every one's iniquities shall be revealed? For it was said, "He who shares with a thief - which is the devil - hates his own soul. But if an oath is sworn", it was said, "and they do not reveal it, they shall fall and be ashamed because they feared men; but blessed is he<sup>4</sup> who fears God<sup>5</sup>." But on this it was said,

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Jer.2.12.

<sup>2</sup>Note NCNHY for NECNHY .

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Ps.51.9 and Ps.39.5.

<sup>4</sup>Lit. "great his eye", cf. Crum, Dict., p.74a.

<sup>5</sup>Prov.29.24-25.



5 ΠΛΟΥ, ΝΑΤΩ  
 ΜΤ ΕΝΑΤΣΒΩ.  
 ΝΑΚΑΘΑΡCΙΔ  
 ΝΑΤΩΛΤ ΕΥ  
 ΡΩΜΕ ΝΛΟΙ  
 ΜΟC ΣΝΟΥ20  
 ΟΥ, ΕΥ200Υ  
 ΜΝΟΥ200Υ  
 ΝΘΛΙΨΙC ΨΑΝ  
 10 ΤΩΔΝ. ΟΥ  
 ΟΕΙ ΝΗΤΝ ΝΕΤ  
 ΕΙΡΕ ΝΝΔΙ ΜΝ  
 ΝΙΚΟΥΕ ΝΔΙ  
 ΟΥΕ ΝΨΟΥΜΕ  
 15 CΤΩΟΥ, ΔΥΩ  
 ΕΤΟ ΝΚΡΟΥ  
 ΣΝ2ΩΒ ΝΙΜ.  
 Ω ΤΕΤΝC2ΟΥ  
 ΟΡΤ ΣΝΝΕΤΝ  
 20 ΣΒΗΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΔΕ ΑΤΕΤΝ2Ι  
 ΤΟΤΤΗΥΤΝ Ε  
 ΝΙΣΒΗΥΕ ΜΠΑ  
 ΡΑΝΟΜΟΝ.  
 25 ΕΑΤΕΤΝCΩΥ  
 ΜΠΑΝ ΜΠΝΙ  
 ΤΕ ΣΝΝΕΤΝ  
 ΚΡΟΥ. ΔΥΩ Α  
 ΤΕΤΝΨΥΠΕ

X

ΝΝΕΤΕΜΝΤΑΥ.  
 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ 2Ω  
 ΩΨ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΜΝΠΕΥΧC ΝΔ  
 ΩΡΩΡΤΗΥΤΝ  
 ΝΥΤΤΗΥΤΝ Ε  
 ΤΟΟΤΩ ΜΠΩΙ  
 ΠΕ ΤΗΡΩ ΜΝ  
 ΘΛΙΨΙC ΝΙΜ  
 ΜΝΠΚΩΣΤ  
 ΕΤΕΜΕΥΔΕΝΔ.  
 ΜΝΠΥΝΤ ΕΤΕ  
 ΜΕΥΝΚΟΤΚ  
 2ΡΔΙ ΣΝΔΜΝΤΕ.  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΓΑΡ ΣΝΟΥ  
 ΝΟ6, ΝΘΛΙΨΙC  
 ΜΝΟΥΜΚΔ2  
 Ν2ΗΤ' ΕΝΔΨΩΥ  
 ΕΙΔΩ ΝΝΔΙ. Ε  
 ΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΜΠΝ  
 CΩΤΩ ΟΝ' ΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΜΠΝΝΑΥ  
 ΕΠΙΚΕ2ΩΒ  
 ΜΜΠΤΨΑΥΤΕ  
 ΕΝΕ2' ΔΕ ΑΡΩ  
 ΜΕ ΥΙΤΕΧΡΕΙΔ  
 ΝΝΕΤ2ΙΤΟΥ  
 ΩΟΥ ΝΔΙΟΥΕ.  
 ΔΕΚΑC ΕΡΕ

"Death will befall the ignorant, uncleannesses will defile a pestilent man on an evil and troublous day until he perishes!" Woe to you who do these and other detestable and wholly deceitful thefts! O you are cursed in all your works because you put your hand to these lawless deeds, having despised the name of God in your deceptions. And you brought shame on those that have it not<sup>2</sup>. Therefore God, for his part, and his Christ will destroy you and hand you over to all shame and every affliction and the fire that is not quenched and the worm that never dies<sup>3</sup> down in Amente. For out of great affliction and much grief<sup>4</sup> I say these things, because we never either heard or saw such an iniquitous thing, that men stole their neighbours' necessities so that

<sup>1</sup>Prov.24.8-10.

<sup>2</sup>For the phrase *NETEANTAY* cf. 25v, note 2.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Is.66.24 and Mk.9.48.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. II Cor.2.4.



ΠΟΛΥΟΝ ΝΑΨΩ  
ΠΕ ΕΥΚΗΒ' Ε  
ΖΡΑΪ ΕΣΩΟΥ.

ΧΙΟΥΕ ΜΕΝ ΝΙΜ  
200Υ, ΔΥΩ ΟΕ  
ΟΖΟΥΟΡΤ ΝΙΝΑ  
ΖΡΩΠΕΝΔΟΙΣ

ΙΣ. ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΙ  
ΟΝ' 200Υ, ΕΠΕ

20ΥΘ ΝΙΝΑΖΡΩ

ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ

ΝΡΩΜΕ. ΔΥΩ

Υ200Υ ΕΠΑΡΑ

ΝΟΜΙΔ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ

ΜΝΤΑΤΩΠΕ

ΝΙΜ. ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ

ΥΔΙ Ε20ΥΝ ΕΥ

ΜΝΤΡΕΥ2Ω

ΤΒ. ΕΡΩΔΝ

ΠΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ

ΥΙΤΕΧΡΕΙΔ Μ

ΠΕΤΩΩΝΕ.

ΕΥΘ ΝΘΕ Μ

ΠΕΤΜΟΥΟΥΤ

ΜΟΥ. ΝΘΕ

ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΣΕ

ΠΔΟΕΙΣ ΝΖΜΧ

ΖΩΠΕΥΕΙΒΕ.

ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΝΔΙ

2ΩΟΥ ΤΕΝΟΥ

ΕΥΗ ΝΤΕΧΡΕΙΔ

ΝΝΕΥΟΝΗ

ΕΤΩΩΝΕ ΝΔΙΟΥΕ:

ΠΕΪΝΟΣ ΝΟΛΟΥ

ΔΥΩ ΤΕΪΝΟΣ

ΝΟΡΓΗ ΕΖΡΑΙ

ΕΣΝΝΕΤΕΙΡΕ

ΝΝΔΙ ΝΤΕΪΜ

ΝΕ. ΕΤΒΕΓΔΙ

ΟΕΡ2ΟΥΕΟ2ΟΥ

ΟΡΤ. ΔΥΩ ΕΡΕ

ΠΛΑΟΣ ΤΗΡΥ

ΝΑΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ Ε

ΥΕΩΩΠΕ.

ΔΥΩ ΝΘΕ ΕΝ

ΤΑΥΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ

ΥΟ2ΟΥΟΡΤ Ν

ΟΙΠΕΤΝΑΠΩ

ΩΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ν

ΝΤΟΥ ΜΠΕΤ

ΖΙΤΟΥΩΥ.

ΔΥΩ ΕΡΕΠΛΑ

ΟΟ ΤΗΡΥ ΝΑΔΟ

ΟΟ ΔΕ ΕΥΕΩΩ

ΠΕ. ΤΑΙ ΟΝ

ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΟΥΝΑ

ΩΩΠΕ ΕΥΟ2ΟΥ

ΟΡΤ ΝΟΙΠΕΝ

the curse should be doubled upon them. Indeed every theft is evil and cursed in the sight of our Lord Jesus, but this is still more evil in the sight of God and men. And it is more evil than any transgression and shamelessness. It even leads on to murder. For if a man take the thing needful to a sick man, he is as good as that man's murderer. Like those who gave the Lord in his theft vinegar to drink<sup>1</sup>, so are they for their part now, for they steal the thing needful to their sick brethren. This great curse and this great wrath is upon those who do such things. So they are greatly cursed, and all the people shall say, "It shall be so"<sup>2</sup>. And even as it was said, "Cursed be he who shall remove his neighbour's landmarks and all the people shall say, 'It shall be so'"<sup>3</sup>, so shall he come to be cursed who

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Mt.27.48 and parallels.

<sup>2</sup>Deut.27.15 etc.

<sup>3</sup>Deut.27.17.



5 ΤΑΥΤΗ, ἡ ΠΕΤ  
 ΝΑΥΙ Ν̄ΔΙΟΥΕ  
 ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ΤΩ  
 Ν̄ΝΕΤΖΙΤΟΥ  
 10 ΩΟΥ· ΕΙΤΕ  
 ΤΕΥΧΡΕΙΑ· ΕΙ  
 ΤΕ ΤΕΥΔΑΠΑ  
 ΝΗ· ΕΙΤΕ ΤΕΥ  
 ΖΟΕΙΤΕ· ΕΙΤΕ  
 ΠΕΥΠΡΗΩ·  
 ΕΙΤΕ ΛΑΔΥ Ν̄  
 ΖΝ̄Ο Ν̄ΤΑΥ·  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ Ν̄CΕ  
 15 ΩΑΔΤ' ΔΝ Ν̄ΛΑ  
 ΔΥ Ζ̄ΝΤΕΥΧΡΕΙΑ  
 ΤΗΡ̄C· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥ  
 Ρ̄ΝΟΒΕ ΕΡΟΥ  
 ΜΑΥΔΑΥ· ΔΥΩ  
 ΕΥCΩΚ' ὤΠCΑ  
 20 ΖΟΥ ὤΠΙΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΔΩ  
 ΟΥ ὤΜΙΝ ὤΜΟ  
 ΟΥ· ΔΥΩ ΠΕ  
 ΤΝΔΨΙΤΟΟΤ̄Υ  
 25 ΖΟΛΩC ΕΖΡΑΪ  
 ΕΝΕΥΕΙΟΤΕ  
 ΕΤΨCΒ̄Ω ΝΑΥ  
 Ζ̄ΝΟΥΔΕΡΩΒ·  
 ἡ Ζ̄ΝΟΥΤΡΟΠ̄

ΕΥΕΨΩΠΕ ΕΥ  
 CΖΟΥΟΡ̄Τ Ν̄ΝΔ  
 Ζ̄Ρ̄ΩΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ  
 Μ̄Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ,  
 ΔΥΩ ΕΥΕΜΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΙΤ̄ΩΠΩΔΕ  
 ΕΤCΗΖ' ΔΕ Ν̄  
 ΩΝΕ Ν̄ΔΡΟΠ̄  
 ΕΤΖΙΤΕΖΙἩ ὤ  
 ΜΟΩΕ· Ν̄ΘΕ  
 ΕΤCΗΖ' ΔΕ ΥΙ  
 Ν̄ΕΙΩΝΕ Ν̄  
 ΔΡΟΠ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ  
 ΤΕΖΙἩ ὤΠΑΛΑ  
 ΟC· ΔΥΩ ΠΕ  
 ΤΝΔΨΤΩΝ̄ Ε  
 ΠΤΗΡ̄Υ ΕΖΟΥ  
 ΕΖΡΑΥ Ζ̄ΝΤΕΥ  
 Μ̄Ν̄ΤΝΑΨ̄ΤΖΗΤ  
 Μ̄ΝΤΕΥΜ̄ΝΤ  
 ΒΔΒΕΡΩΜΕ  
 ΔΥΩ ΤΕΥΜ̄ΝΤ  
 ΔΤΨΙΠΕ· ΕΥΕ  
 ΔΟΟC ΕΡΟΥ  
 ΔΕ Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ ΕΤ  
 † ΟΥΒΕΠΙΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ Μ̄ΝΠΕΥΧ̄C  
 Ζ̄ΝΤΕΥΜ̄ΝΤ

has stolen or shall steal from the shares of his neighbours, whether their necessities or their money or their clothing or their cloak or anything which is theirs, for none lack anything that they need, but they sin against themselves and draw the curse of God upon themselves; and those who shall actually raise their hand against their fathers, who teach them, with a stick or a blow<sup>1</sup>, they shall be cursed in the sight of God and men, and shall be called in the scriptural phrase, "stumbling-blocks"<sup>2</sup> which are in the way, as it is written, "Take these stumbling-blocks out of the way of my people<sup>3</sup>." And those who shall quarrel with them ever in their hardness of heart and their boastfulness and their shamelessness, they shall be called 'Men who fight against God and his Christ in their

<sup>1</sup>The meaning of the word τροπή is doubtful, cf. Crum, Dict., p.431b.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Is.57.14.

<sup>3</sup>Is.57.14.



NaWTMaKē  
 M̄NΠEYΓHT  
 ETΔOCE· ΔE  
 KAC ZWWH E  
 5 ΠEΓTNOYTE  
 NaT OYBHY  
 N̄HNOΔOY M̄N  
 NETP̄ZWB' E  
 TANOμIΔ· N̄ΘE  
 10 ETCHZ ΔE ΠET  
 CWY M̄ΠEY  
 EIWT' M̄NTEY  
 M̄ΔAY, EYME  
 EYE ΔE N̄T̄P̄NO  
 15 BE AN· OYKOI  
 NWNOC ΠE  
 ΠAI N̄OYPWME  
 N̄ACEBHC·

20 ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΧΔΩ  
 ΜΩΟC, ΔΕ ΠΩΗ  
 ΡΕ ΕΤCΩY M̄  
 ΠEYEIWT'  
 AYW ETKΩ N̄  
 CWY N̄TEYMA  
 AY· YNAYW  
 25 ΠE ZANOΘINEC  
 AYW N̄YΔIYI  
 ΠE· AYW ON  
 ΔE ΠOTOΘEIN

NaWΔN M̄ΠET  
 ΔEΠEΘOY  
 N̄CAΠEYIWT  
 M̄NTEYMAAY  
 N̄KEKE N̄NEY  
 BAY N̄ANDY EY  
 KAKE· N̄TEI  
 3E ON N̄TAYΔO  
 OC ΔE ΠNOY  
 TE + OYBENΔA  
 CIZHT'. YT ΔE  
 N̄OYIZWOT N̄  
 NETΘ̄BBHY·  
 AYW ON ΔE N̄  
 TOK AKΘ̄BBIE  
 ΠXACIZHT' N̄  
 ΘE N̄OYIZWTB  
 ETEΠΔIABO  
 ΛOC ΠE M̄NNET  
 EIRE THPOY  
 N̄NEYZBHYE·  
 AYW ΔE Z̄M̄ΠE  
 BBOI N̄TEKΩ  
 AKXAWPE E  
 BOL N̄NEKΔA  
 ΔE· ETEN̄PW  
 ME NE N̄PEY  
 P̄NOBE ETEI  
 PE M̄ΠΠONH

stiffneckedness and their pride', so that God for his part will contend against them, and cast them together with those who work for lawlessness,<sup>1</sup> as it is written, "He who despises his father and his mother thinking, 'I do not sin', is an associate of an ungodly man"<sup>2</sup>. Again it is said, "The son who despises his father and forsakes his mother shall be under reproach and be ashamed<sup>3</sup>." And again, "The light of him who reviles his father and his mother shall go out, the pupils of his eyes shall see darkness<sup>4</sup>." Thus again it was said, "God resists the proud but gives grace to the humble<sup>5</sup>." And again, "You humbled the proud like a thing slain", which means the devil and all those who do his works, "and you scattered your enemies with the arm of your strength"<sup>6</sup>, which means the sinners who do wickedness

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Ps.124.5.

<sup>2</sup>Prov.28.24.

<sup>3</sup>Prov.19.23.

<sup>4</sup>Prov.20.10.

<sup>5</sup>Prov.3.34; I Pet.5.5; Jam.4.6.

<sup>6</sup>Ps.88.11.



5 ΡΟΝ ἈΠΕΥἈ  
 ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ.  
 ΑΥΩ ΣῶΤΑΙ ἢ  
 ΤΑΥΔΟΟC ΔΕ  
 10 ΣΕΝΔΩΥΠΕ  
 ἢΤΟ ἢΝΒΑΥΡ  
 ΕΤΕΝΔΑΙΜΩ  
 ΝΕ ΕΤCΩΚ' Ἀ  
 ΜΟΥ, ΑΥΩ ΕΤ  
 15 ῤΩΒ ΣΡΑΙ ἢ  
 ΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΑΝΟ  
 ΜΙΑ ΝΙΚΑ.  
 ἢΘΕΕ ΕΝΤΑΥ  
 ΧΟΟC ΕΤΒΑΒΥ  
 ΛΩΝ ἈΠΙΟΥΟ  
 ΕΙΩ ΔΕ ΑΝῤΠΑ  
 ΣΡΕ ΕΡΟC Ἀ  
 ΠCΔΙΠΑΣΡΕ.  
 ΜΑῤΝΚΑΔC Ε  
 20 ΒΟΛ ἢΤῤΒΩΚ  
 ΔΕ ΑΓΓΕCΑΓ' ἢ  
 ΠΩΣ' ΥΑΖΡΑΙ  
 ΕΤΠΕ. ΑΥΩ ΑΥ  
 ΔΙCΕ ΕΣΡΑΙ ΥΑ  
 25 ἢCΙΟΥ. ΤΑΙ  
 ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΟΥ  
 ΝΑΚΑΤΗΥΤῤ  
 ἢCΩΟΥ ἢCΙῤ  
 ΑΓΓΕΛΟC Ἀ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ἈΝ  
 ΝΕΤCΒΩ ΝΗ  
 ῤῤ, ΕΥΧΩ ἈΜΕ  
 ΔΕ ΑΝCΒΩ  
 ΝΑΥ. ἈΠΟΥΔΙ  
 CΒΩ. ΜΑῤΝ  
 CΑΖΩΝ' ΕΒΟΛ  
 ἈΜΟΥ, ΔΕ Α  
 ΠΕΥΣΑΓ' ΠΩΣ  
 ΥΑΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΝῤ  
 ΤΕ ἈΝΠΕΥΧC  
 ΠΑΙ ΕΤΝΑΚΡΙ  
 ΝΕ ἈΠΟΥΑ  
 ΠΟΥΑ ΚΑΤΑΝΕΥ  
 ΖΒΗΥΕ. ἢΤΟΥ  
 ΓΑΡ ΕΤCΟΟΥΝ  
 ΕΝΕΤΕΙΡΕ Ἀ  
 ΠΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ  
 ΣῤΟΥΣΩΠ.  
 ΑΥΩ ΝΥΟΒΩ  
 ΑΝ' ΟΝ' ΕΝΕΤ  
 ΕΙΡΕ ἈΠΑΓΑ  
 ΘΟΝ ἈΠΕΥἈ  
 ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ἈΝ  
 ΝΕΤCΤΩΤ' ΖΗ  
 Τῤ ἈΠΕΥΡΑΝ.  
 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ἢΘΕ  
 ΕΝΤΑΓΧΟΕΙC  
 ΧΟΟC ΔΕ ΕΡΕ

before him. And on this it was said, "They shall be portions for foxes"<sup>1</sup>, which are the demons who beguile them and work in them for every lawlessness. So it was said of Babylon at that time, "We healed her but she was not healed; let us abandon her and go, because her judgment reached up to heaven, it mounted aloft to the stars"<sup>2</sup>. Thus the angels of God and those who teach you shall forsake you, saying, "We taught them but they were not taught; let us depart from them, because their judgment reached unto God and his Christ, who will judge each one according to his works"<sup>3</sup>. For it is he who knows<sup>4</sup> those who do wickedness in secret, and also he does not forget those who do good before him and those who tremble at his name. Therefore as the Lord said,

<sup>1</sup>Ps.62.11.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Jer.28.9.

<sup>3</sup>Similar phrases occur many times both in the O.T. and the N.T.

<sup>4</sup>For ΕΤCOOYN the form ΓΕΤCOOYN would be expected, cf. Steindorff, para 533; Plumley, para 367.



Τῆς βίβλου τῆς  
 σοφίας ἐστὶν ἐξαι  
 ἑκαστοῦ τοῦ  
 νόμου. ὡς οὖν  
 λέγει ὁ νόμος· ἐγώ  
 περὶ δεξιᾶς  
 μου. ὡς δὲ τῆς  
 σοφίας ἐστὶν  
 ὁ νόμος.

ΝΤΕΙΞΕ ΟΝ ΕΡ  
ΨΑΝΤΨΠΡΩ  
ΜΕ ΜΟΥΟΥΤ  
ΨΠΕΥΘΩΜΑ.  
ΥΝΔΨΩΠΕ ΕΥ  
ΨΟΥΕΙΤ' ΖΝ  
ΝΕΥΖΒΗΥΕ.

15       $\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau' \hat{\gamma}\bar{n}$   
 $NEU2BH\gamma E \cdot$   
 $E\gamma\omega\pi E \Delta E E\gamma$   
 $\gamma\alpha n\omega\omega\gamma\tau\bar{\gamma}$   
 $\gamma n\alpha\tau \bar{n}\omega\gamma k\alpha p$

20       $\pi\omega\sigma E n\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma$   
 $\hat{\gamma}\bar{n}\gamma E n\gamma B H \gamma E$   
 $E n\alpha n\omega\gamma\omega\gamma \cdot$   
 $\bar{n}\theta E E\tau\chi\gamma^2$

20      ПТОС ЕНАУУУУ  
 2Н2ЕН2ВН4Е  
 ЕНАНОУΟΥ·  
 НΘΕ ЕТН2

25. ΜΟΥ ΕΝΤΟΔΡΕ.  
ΑΥΛΟ ΕΥΠΝΟ  
ΒΕ. ΕΤΥΤΡΕΥ  
ΩΩΠΕΒΕ ΕΝ  
ΝΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ Ν

ἮΡΩΜΕ· ΑΛΛΑ  
ΕῤΠΕΚΕΘΕΕΠΕ  
ἮΝΕ2004 ἤ  
ΠΕΨΩΝ2 2ἤ  
ΠΟΥΨ ἤ  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ:

Ū TETN P W W E  
 NTWTN NET  
 KAMĀ ŪTCATA  
 NAC ETPEUEI  
 EZOTN NUXW  
 ZU NĪUD ETOY  
 DAB ŪTNOUTE.  
 AYW NTETN  
 CWWY ŪPEY  
 PTE ETENTW  
 TN TE ŪWIN Ū  
 WWTN. ŪPE

Τῶν ῥημάτων  
ἡ ἀποφασίς  
ὑποπόστο  
λος, δε μετ  
ἡ δὲ ὡς ἡ  
περὶ ὑπὸ  
τε. πάλιν  
τε ἡ ἀποκ:

οὐτε οὐκ ἔστι  
τῆς πύλης

"Unless the grain of wheat falls upon the earth and dies it remains alone, but if it die it bears much fruit<sup>1</sup>." Thus also unless a man mortifies<sup>2</sup> his body, he shall be without avail in his works, but if he mortify<sup>2</sup> himself he shall bear much fruit in good works, as it is written, "He who died<sup>3</sup> in the flesh ceased from sin so as to be no longer in the lusts of men but rather spend the rest of the days of his life according to the will of God"<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>5</sup>O, yours is the responsibility, you who give opportunity to Satan to come in and pollute the holy convents of God! And you defiled his temple which is you yourselves.<sup>6</sup> You did not call to mind the apostle's assertion, "He who defiles the temple of God, him will God destroy"<sup>7</sup>. Also you did not remember

<sup>1</sup>Jn.12.24.

<sup>2</sup>Lit. "kill". The context suggests, I think, that self-discipline and self-denial are intended and not any severer ascetic practice.

<sup>3</sup>So the Sah. N.T., cf. Horner, Sah.; but the Greek text has ὁ παθών. Possibly the Sah. reading arose from a confusion between ἀποθνήσκω (ἀποθανών) and πάσχω (παθών), cf. e.g. the variants in the Greek text of I Pet.3.18.

<sup>4</sup>I Pet.4.1-2.

<sup>5</sup>New letter begins, cf. Analysis of Contents, p.15.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. I Cor.3.16-17.

<sup>7</sup>I Cor.3.17.



5 ΝΗΝΑΖΟΥ ΤΗ  
 ΡΟΥ ΕΝΤΑΠΕ  
 ΕΙΩΤ' ΔΟΥ  
 ΕΥΤ' ΑΜΟΝ ΤΗ  
 ΡΗ ΕΤΟΟΤΗ  
 ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΥ  
 ΔΩ ΑΜΟΣ, ΔΕ  
 ΥΣΖΟΥΟΡΤ ΝΒΙ  
 ΠΕΤΝΑΔΩΣΗ  
 10 ΑΠΕΥΣΩΜΑ  
 ΚΑΤΑΛΑΔΥ Ν  
 ΣΜΟΤ. Η ΝΥ  
 ΔΙΟΥΕ ΣΗΛΑΔΥ  
 ΝΕΝΟ. ΔΙΝΟΥ  
 15 ΖΩΣ' ΑΝΟΥ  
 ΜΟΥΣ. ΜΑΛΙ  
 ΣΤΑ ΖΟΕΙΤΕ  
 ΖΙΠΡΗΥ ΖΙ  
 ΚΛΑΥΤ. ΔΥΩ  
 20 ΨΑΖΡΑΙ' ΕΟΥΕ  
 ΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΝ Ν  
 ΖΝΟ ΝΟΥΩΜ.  
 ΕΙΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝ  
 ΝΕΖΝΑΔΥ Ν  
 25 ΤΑΔΑΚΟΝΙΔ Α  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΕΙ  
 ΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝΝ  
 ΤΟ ΝΙΝΕΤΖΙΤΟΥ  
 ΩΟΥ.

ΝΕΙΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΕ  
 ΠΕ ΕΕΙ ΨΑΡΩ  
 ΤΗΝ ΣΗΟΥΤΩΤ  
 ΝΖΗΤ' ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΠΕΥΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ  
 ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥ  
 ΣΩΝΤ ΑΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΔΥΩ ΔΥΛΥ  
 ΠΕΙ ΑΠΕΥΠΗΝΑ  
 ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ. ΠΕ  
 ΤΑΚΩΛΥΕ Α  
 ΠΕΝΟΥΡΟΤ'.  
 ΤΟΟΥΝ ΜΕΝ  
 ΔΕ ΠΑΥΠΩΑ  
 ΠΕ ΑΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ  
 ΝΙΜ. ΑΛΛΑ ΕΡ  
 ΨΑΝΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΑΝΠΕΝΔΟΙΣ  
 ΙΣ ΡΕΝΑΥ. Τ  
 ΝΗΥ ΨΑΡΩΤΗΝ  
 ΣΗΟΥΣΩΝΤ.  
 ΝΤΑΕΙΡΕ ΝΝΙ  
 ΑΤΣΒΩ ΔΥΩ  
 ΝΙΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ  
 ΝΚΟΒ, ΕΤΕ  
 ΑΝΝΕΣ' ΕΝΝΕΥ  
 ΑΓΓΙΟΝ ΝΝΕΤ  
 ΣΩΤΑΖΗΤ'  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ. ΔΕ ΠΑ

all the curses which our father pronounced when giving us all into the hand of God saying, "He is cursed who shall defile his body in any way, or shall steal anything"<sup>1</sup> - a cord or girdle, more especially garments, cloaks<sup>2</sup>, cowls, or even the least thing to eat, either from the things for the service of God or from the shares of their neighbours. I was thinking indeed of coming to you with a mind at rest, but the grief for those who provoked God to anger and grieved his Holy Spirit prevented our gladness. I know indeed that what I deserve is every grief but, if God and our Lord Jesus desire it, I come to you in wrath and do all the things that are in my heart to these ignorant persons and foolish virgins who have no oil in their vessels<sup>3</sup>; seeing that

<sup>1</sup>Perhaps one may see in this pronouncement of "our father" a reference to the vow introduced by Shenoute, cf. C73, p.40; Leipoldt, Shenute, p.108f. - Possibly the quotation continues to "neighbours".

<sup>2</sup>Or "mats".

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Mt.25.1ff.

ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΝΤΕ  
 ΤΗΝΚΕΤΤΗ  
 ΤΗΝ ΕΠΑΘΟΥ  
 ΖΙΝΙΛΩΝΤΡΕΥ  
 5 ΤΩΝΤ ΜΠΙΝ  
 ΤΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΖΕ  
 ΕΣΡΑΙ ΕΤΟΟ  
 ΤΣ ΝΤΣΗΕ  
 ΜΠΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ  
 10 ΠΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΚΟ  
 ΝΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΕ  
 ΝΗ ΤΗΡΣ ΖΝ  
 ΝΕΥΝΟΒΕ  
 ΜΝΙΝΕΥΑΝΟ  
 15 ΜΙΑ· ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ  
 ΑΤΕΤΝΜΕΡΕ  
 ΠΧΩΣΜ· ΕΣΟΥΕ  
 ΠΤΒΒΟ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΑΤΕΤΝΣΩΤΗ  
 20 ΝΗΤΗΝ ΜΠΜΟΥ·  
 ΕΣΟΥΕΠΩΝΣ·  
 ΑΤΕΤΝΤΝΟΥ  
 ΕΣ ΓΑΡ ΜΠΤΕΝ  
 ΤΑΥΤΑΜΕΤΗΥ  
 25 ΤΗΝ· ΑΥΩ ΑΥΑ  
 ΝΩΥΤΗΥΤΗ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΥΑ  
 ΕΝΕΣ· ΑΤΕ  
 ΤΗΝΤΑΥΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ

ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΤΕΝ  
 ΤΑΣΩΕΠΩΠ  
 ΤΗΥΤΗ ΘΙΛΗΜ  
 ΕΤΕΤΣΥΝΑΓΩ  
 ΓΗ ΤΕ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΑΤΕΤΝΖΕ· Μ  
 ΜΕΕΡΕ ΝΘΕ  
 ΝΝΕΤΣΝΤΠΑ  
 ΩΕ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ·  
 ΝΘΕ ΕΤΣΗ  
 ΧΕ ΑΣΣΛΑΔΤΕ  
 ΑΣΣΕ ΝΒΙΤΠΑΡ  
 ΘΕΝΟΣ ΜΠΠΗΛ  
 ΝΣΝΑΟΥΩΣ  
 38 ΔΕ ΑΝ' ΕΤΟΟΤΣ  
 ΕΤΩΟΥΝ·  
 ΝΕΤΝΚΟΤΚ  
 ΓΑΡ ΠΕΧΑΥ· ΕΥ  
 ΝΚΟΤΚ ΝΤΕΥ  
 ΩΗ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤ  
 ΤΑΣΕ· ΕΥΤΑΣΕ  
 ΝΤΕΥΩΗ·  
 ΝΤΩΤΗΝ ΔΕ Α  
 ΤΕΤΝΤΣΕ Μ  
 ΜΕΕΡΕ ΝΘΕ  
 ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥΣΟ  
 ΟΣ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ·  
 ΧΕ ΝΕΤΤΑΣΕ  
 ΑΣΝΗΡΠ·



you turn back again<sup>1</sup> to<sup>2</sup> these provocations of God and fall upon the sword of the evil one who corrupted all the world in his sins and his lawlessnesses, because you loved defilement rather than purity, and chose for yourselves death rather than life<sup>3</sup>. For you incited him who made you and nourished you, God, the Eternal, to wrath and you also grieved her who nursed you, Jerusalem<sup>4</sup>, that is to say the community. And you fell at noonday like those at midnight<sup>5</sup>, as it is written, "The virgin of Israel stumbled, she fell, she shall no more rise"<sup>6</sup>. "For those who sleep", it is said, "sleep in the night and those who are drunk are drunk in the night."<sup>7</sup> But you were drunk at noonday like those about whom it was said, "They are drunk without wine"<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>For ΠΑΠΑΛΙΝ read ΠΑΛΙΝ .

<sup>2</sup>Crum, Dict., p.644b translates "turn back from, out of", but from the context it seems necessary to adopt the translation "turn back to".

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Jer.8.3.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Bar.4.7-8.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Is.59.10.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Amos 5.2.

<sup>7</sup>I Thes.5.7.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Is.29.9 and 51.21.

γῆβ  
7

αὐτὼ ἀτετῆνῶ  
ῥῆτ ἄμερε  
ἦθε ἦνετῆ  
κοτῆ ἦτε  
5 ὡς· ἐβόλ δε  
ἀτετῆκῶ ἦ  
σωτῆ ἦθε  
ἄπνοτε·  
ἐατετῆμερε  
10 ἦκακε· ἐζογε  
ἐπογοεῖν·  
ἐατετῆετ  
ἦετῶδε δε  
ον, δε ἡζολῶ·  
15 αὐτὼ ἦετῶλῶ·  
δε ἡετῶε·  
ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΟΥΟΙ  
ἦτῆ ἄπο  
ἦρος δε ἄ  
20 ἦετῆῤῥῆμε  
εγε ἄπρῖσε  
τῆρῃ ἐνταπῆ  
εἰωτ' ὡπῆ  
ἦμῶτῆ τῆρ  
25 τῆ· ἐατετῆ  
κῶ ἦσωτῆ  
ἦνεετῶογε  
ἦωνῆ ἄνῆ  
ἀνέμῆ ἦνε

κ5  
7

τῆνεῖοτε·  
ΠΛΗΝ' ΕΙΣ ἦλ  
λοι μῆνεν  
σῆτῃ ἀεῖ ὡ  
ῥωτῆ ἦετῆ·  
ἐνονῆ ῆνο  
νος ἦλητῆ  
ἄνογῶκαῆ ἦ  
ῆτ' ἐναῶω·  
ετρεγερε  
ἦτογεῖ τογεῖ  
ἄωτῆ κατῶ  
ἦετῶπῶ·  
ἐβόλ δε ἀτε  
τῆκῶ ἦσωτῆ  
ἦτῆτῆ ἄ  
μογῆ ἦωνῆ· ἐ  
τετῆκῶε  
ἦτῆ ἦγεν  
ὡς· ἐπογοῆ  
ῆετῆ  
τῆτῆτ' ἦετῶ  
ῤῥακε ἐρωτῆ·  
ετῆτῆ ἄ  
μω δε ἀνῶ  
ῆετῆ· ἀτε  
τῆῤῥω· ἐατε  
τῆωῖε ἄπ  
οογ ἄπνοτε

And you slept at noonday like those who sleep in the night, because you forsook the fear of God and loved the darkness rather than the light<sup>1</sup>, and also reckoned the bitter sweet and the sweet bitter<sup>2</sup>. So woe to you, wicked ones, because you did not call to mind all the trouble which our father took with you all, but forsook his teachings of life and the ordinances of your fathers. Nevertheless, here<sup>3</sup> are the elders and our brethren; they have come to you again because we are living in great distress and much grief, that they may do to each of you according to her deserts. For you forsook the fountain of living water and dug<sup>4</sup> for yourselves broken cisterns<sup>5</sup> and when your ignorant hearts were darkened, and you said, "We are wise", you became fools, having exchanged the glory of God<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Jn.3.19.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Is.5.20.

<sup>3</sup>For ΕΙC cf. 18r, note 4.

<sup>4</sup>For ΚΙΩΕ read ΩΙΚΕ .

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Jer.2.13.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Rom.1.21-23.



2N2EN2BHYE  
 EUWYE. E  
 TBEPAI' AINOY  
 TE THTN E  
 5 2PAI' EZENPA  
 ΘOC EYCHY  
 ETEPIDIOYE  
 ΠE MNPXWZU  
 MNPIONHPOT  
 10 NIU. NAI' ETE  
 PETIMWPIA  
 NIU WOOTI N  
 NETEIRE MUO  
 OY. OY MONOT  
 15 ZWPEIDAWN.  
 ALLA ZWTKE  
 OYA:

TOY AYTOY

20

ΠENCAZ AYW  
 ΠENXOEIC IC PE  
 XC ΠENCWTHP  
 YΠAPAΓΓEILE  
 AYW YTCBΩ  
 25 NAN EYXW M  
 MOC, ZE MOO  
 WE ZOCON OY  
 NHTN POYO  
 EIN, ZE NNE

ΠKAKE TAZE  
 THTN. AYW  
 ZE PETMOO  
 WE ZWPEZO  
 OY. MEYXIDPOT  
 ZE YNAY, EPOY  
 OEIN MPEIKO  
 CMOO. PET  
 MOOYE ZNTEY  
 WH WAXIDPOT  
 ZE POYO EIN  
 WOOTI AN ZPAI  
 NZHTC.

ANON ZE ZWW  
 ENWANDMOO  
 WE ZNNINOME  
 MPTNOTE  
 MNNENTOLH  
 NNENEIOTE.  
 TNNAXIDPOT  
 AN. ZE POYOET  
 WOOTI ZPAI N

ZHTOY. PE  
 XAY GAP ZE NEI  
 MOOYE ZU  
 PETOYO EIN  
 ZWTKAKE.

EYWPTE EN  
 WANDPAKTN

for unfitting things. Therefore God gave you up to despicable passions,<sup>1</sup> that is to say theft and defilement and every wickedness, for the doers of which things there are all sorts of punishment, not only in this age but in the next.<sup>2</sup>

By the Same.

Our teacher and our Lord Jesus Christ our saviour exhorts and teaches us saying, "Walk as long as you have the light, that the darkness may not overtake you"<sup>3</sup>. And he who walks in the day does not stumble, because he sees the light of this world. He who walks in the night stumbles because the light is not in it.<sup>4</sup> We also, if we walk in the laws of God and the commandments of our fathers, shall not stumble, because the light is in them. For it is said, "I walked in his light through the darkness"<sup>5</sup>. But if we turn ourselves away

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Rom.1.26.

<sup>2</sup>Eph.1.21.

<sup>3</sup>Jn.12.35.

<sup>4</sup>Jn.11.9-10.

<sup>5</sup>Job 29.3.

ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΝΕΝΤΟ

ΛΗ̄ ἈΠΝΟΥΤΕ

ἈΝΝΕCΒΟΟΥΕ

Ν̄ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ

5 ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΥ Ε

ΤΟΟΤ̄Ν· Τ̄ΝΝΑ

ΔΙΔΡΟΠ' ΠΕ, ΔΕ

Ν̄Τ̄ΝCΟΟΥΝ

ΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΝΜΟΟ

10 ΩΕ ΕΤΩΝ· ΔΕ

ΑΠΚΑΚΕ ΤΩῤ

Ν̄ΝΕΝΒΑΛ· ΑΥΩ

Τ̄ΝΝΑΔΟΠΔ̄Π

Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΕΤΕ

15 ἈΝΒΑΛ ἈΜΟΟΥ·

Τυχω̄ γαρ ἄμος

ΔΕ ΟΥΡΕῩΡΟΥ

ΟΕΙΝ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ

ΤΕΝΤΟΛ̄Η ΕΤ

20 ΝΑΝΟΥC· ΠΝΟ

ΜΟC ΔΕ ΟΥΟΥ

ΟΕΙΝ ΠΕ Ν̄ΖΙΗ̄:

ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΖΗ

Β̄C Ν̄ΝΑΟΥΕ

25 ΡΗΤΕ ΠΕ ΠΕΚ

ΩΔΕ, ΑΥΩ Π̄Υ

ΟΕΙΝ ΠΕ Ν̄ΝΑ

ΖΙΟΟΥΕ·

ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΔ

Γ̄ΝΔ ΝΔΨΟΡ

Π̄Υ ΔΙΝΤΕΥΩ̄Η

ΥΝΔΨΟΡΠ̄Υ

ΨΑΡΟΚ ΠΙΝΟΥ

ΤΕ, ΔΕ ΖΕΝΟΥ

ΟΕΙΝ ΝΕ ΝΕΚ

ΠΡΟCΤΑΓΜΑ

ΖΙΔ̄ΨΠΚΑΖ·

ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΝΟ

ΜΟC ἈΠΔΟΙC

ΟΥΔΑΒ· ΕΥΚΤ̄Ο

Ν̄ΝΕΨΥΧ̄Η·

ΕΥΚΤ̄Ο ἈΜΟ

ΟΥ, ΕΤΩΝ· ΕΙ

ΜΗΤΙ ΕΒΟΛ

Ζ̄ΨΠΠΕΘΟΥ

ΕΠ̄ΠΕΤΝΑΝ̄Υ·

ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΨΠΚΑ

ΚΕ ΕΠΟΥΟΕ̄Τ·

ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΕ

ΤΟΛ̄Η ἈΠΔΟ

ΕΙC ΟΥΟΥΟΕ̄Τ

ΤΕ ΕC̄ΡΟΥΟΕ̄Τ

ΕΝΒΑΛ Ν̄ΝΚΟῩΙ·

ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΕΤ

ΝΑΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΤΕ̄

ΤΟΛ̄Η· Ν̄ΥΝΔ

ΕΙΜΕ ΑΝ ΕΥΨΑ

ΔΕ ἈΠΟΝΗΡΟ̄·



from the commandments of God and our fathers' teachings which they gave us, we shall stumble, since we know not whither we go<sup>1</sup> because the darkness has shut our eyes, and we shall grope like those who have no eyes<sup>2</sup>. For it is said, "The good commandment is a lamp, and the law is a light for the way<sup>3</sup>." And again, "Your word is the lamp of my feet and the light of my ways<sup>4</sup>." And again, "My spirit shall come early out of the night, it shall come early to you, O God, because your statutes are lights upon the earth<sup>5</sup>." And again, "The law of the Lord is holy, converting souls<sup>6</sup>." Whither does it turn<sup>7</sup> them except from evil unto good, from darkness to light? And again, "The commandment of the Lord is a light which enlightens the eyes of the young<sup>8</sup>." And again, "He who shall keep the commandment shall know no evil thing<sup>9</sup>."

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Jn.12.35.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Is.59.10.

<sup>3</sup>Prov.6.23.

<sup>4</sup>Ps.118.105.

<sup>5</sup>Is.26.9.

<sup>6</sup>Ps.18.8.

<sup>7</sup>I.e. "convert". Here as in the quotation of Ps.18.8 the Coptic word is KTO . No one English word seems to be satisfactory in both instances.

<sup>8</sup>Ps.18.9.

<sup>9</sup>Eccles.8.5.

— αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστι  
τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἔτε  
τολῆ. πᾶσι περ  
οὐκ.

5 οὐκ ἐν ὧν  
παράβα ἡτέ  
τολῆ. ἐν ὅ ἡ  
θε ἡπενταχ  
τάκῳ, αὐτῶν αὐ  
10 οὐκ ἔστι. πε  
τερενδῆ γὰρ  
ὡοσιτ' ἡδὲ ἀν.

οὐκ ἔστι πε ε  
ἡπενταχ ἐβόλ  
15 ἀν, ἐὰν δὲ ἡοῦ

ἔστι ἡπενταχ  
ἡπενταχ  
ἡπενταχ.

Καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἡδὲ

20 αὐτῶν ἡτέ  
τὸν ἀγαθὸν τε. ἡ  
εὐκ ἡδὲ ἐβόλ  
ἡπενταχ, ἡδὲ ἡ  
ὡοσιτ' ἡπενταχ

25 οὐκ ἔστι ἐκ  
τὸν ἀγαθὸν τε.  
πᾶσι ἐκτῶ ἡ  
εὐκ ἡπενταχ  
ἡπενταχ

κοι. αὐτῶν ἐκ  
οὐκ ἔστι ἀγαθὸν  
ἡπενταχ.

γὰρ ἡπενταχ.  
αὐτῶν ἡπενταχ  
ἡπενταχ ἡπενταχ  
ἡπενταχ ἡπενταχ

οὐκ ἔστι ἐκ  
οὐκ ἔστι ἐκ  
τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἡπενταχ  
ἡπενταχ ἡπενταχ

ἡπενταχ ἡπενταχ  
ἡπενταχ ἡπενταχ  
ἡπενταχ ἡπενταχ

ἡπενταχ ἡπενταχ  
ἡπενταχ ἡπενταχ  
ἡπενταχ ἡπενταχ

οὐκ ἔστι ἐκ  
οὐκ ἔστι ἐκ  
ἡπενταχ ἡπενταχ

ἡπενταχ ἡπενταχ  
γὰρ ἡπενταχ ἡπενταχ  
ἡπενταχ ἡπενταχ

And again, "He who shall keep the commandment is saved"<sup>1</sup>. Surely, if we transgress the commandment, we are like him who perished and was broken. For he who lacks these things is blind and sees not, having forgotten the cleansing of his former sins<sup>2</sup>. For truly the mother of us all, which is wisdom, teaches us saying, "My son, let not evil counsel overtake you which forsakes teaching from its youth and forgets the holy covenant. For it set its house near death and its path with men near Amente. None that adheres there- to shall return or attain to the ways of life.\*But they shall regret\*,<sup>3</sup> because the years of life shall not be attained by them. For if they had walked<sup>4</sup> on the good paths they would have found the ways of the righteous smooth<sup>5</sup>." If we pay heed to the teachings of the scriptures

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Prov.13.13.

<sup>2</sup>II Pet.1.9.

<sup>3</sup>\*-\* This clause is not in the Greek text of Proverbs, but does occur in the Sah., cf. Worrell, Prov.

<sup>4</sup>For ENENTAYTAUOOYE read ENENTAYUOOYE .

<sup>5</sup>Prov.2.16-20.



$\frac{?}{\gamma\ddot{\iota}\beta}$   
 $\frac{?}{T}$

5 ΟΥΩΡ̄Χ ΔΥΩ  
 ΝΤ̄ΝCΩΤ̄Μ Ν  
 CΩΟΥ. Τ̄ΝΝΔ  
 ΔΙΔΡΟΠ̄ ΔΝ ΠΕ-  
 ΟΥΤΕ ΝΤ̄ΝΝΔΚΔ  
 ΤΔΦΡΟΝΕΙ ΔΝ  
 ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΝCΥΩ  
 ΠΕ Ζ̄ΜΠΕΘΟ  
 ΟΥ ΝΙΜ. ΔΛΛΔ  
 10 Τ̄ΝΝΔCΩΤ̄Μ  
 ΝCΔΠΕΤΔΩ  
 Μ̄ΜΟC ΔΕ ΔΜΔ  
 ΖΤΕ Μ̄Π̄ΠΕΤ  
 ΝΔΝΟΥC. CΔ  
 15 ΖΕΤΗΥΤ̄Ν ΕΒΛ  
 ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ Ε  
 ΘΟΥ. ΔΕΚΔC  
 ΕΡΕΖΔΖ' ΝΖΙΗ  
 ΝΩΝ̄Ζ CΥΩΠΕ  
 20 ΝΔΝ. CΔΩ  
 ΓΑΡ Μ̄ΜΟC ΔΕ  
 ΠΕΤ̄ΜΕ Μ̄ΠΝΟ  
 ΜΟC. ΕCΚΤ̄Ο  
 ΕΡΟΥ ΝΟΥCΟ  
 25 Β̄Τ. ΔΥΩ  
 ΟΝ CΑCΧΟΟC  
 ΔΕ ΔΥΓ ΓΑΡ Μ̄  
 ΠΝΟΜΟC ΕΥ  
 ΒΟΗΘΕΙΔ.

Ζ̄ΜΠΤΡΕΠΡΩ  
 ΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΩΤ'  
 ΕΡΑΤ̄Υ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ Ν̄ΥΡ̄ΖΟΤΕ  
 ΖΗΤ̄Υ ΔΥΩ Ν̄Υ  
 †ΖΤΗC ΕΝΕC  
 ΝΟΜΟC Μ̄Ν  
 ΝΕCΕΝΤΟΛ̄Η.  
 CΑΡΕΠΔΟΕΙC  
 CΥΩΠΕ ΝΔΥ Ν  
 ΒΟΗΘΟC, Ν̄ΥΝΔ  
 ΖΜΕΨ ΕΖΙΗ ΝΙΜ  
 ΕΘΟΥ. ΔΥΩ Ε  
 ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΝ̄Υ  
 ΔΕΛΔΔΥ ΔΝ' Μ̄  
 ΜΕ', ΕΤΕΠΔΙΔΒΟ  
 ΛΟC ΠΕ, ΠΔΪ ΕΤ  
 ΦΘΟΝΕΙ ΕΝΕΤ  
 ΟΥΩΨ ΕΩΝ̄Ζ  
 Ζ̄ΝΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΕΥ  
 CΕΒΗC:  
 ΕΤΒΕΠΔΪ ΟΥΟΪ  
 Ν̄ΝΕΤΚ̄Ω Ν  
 CΩΟΥ Ν̄ΝΟ  
 ΜΟC Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΔΥΩ ΕΤΩΒ̄Υ  
 Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΕΝΕΝ  
 ΤΟΛ̄Η Ν̄ΝΕΝΕΙ  
 ΟΤΕ ΕΝΤΔΥΖΩ

strictly and obey them, we shall not stumble nor shall we act scornfully so as to live in all wickedness, but we will obey him who says, "Lay hold on the good, abstain from every evil thing"<sup>1</sup>, in order that we may have many ways of life. For it is said, "He who loves the law surrounds himself with a wall"<sup>2</sup>. And again it is said, "He gave the law for a help"<sup>3</sup>. If a man take refuge with God and fear him and observe his laws and his commandments, the Lord becomes his helper and preserves him from every evil way and from one who speaks nothing of truth, which is the devil<sup>4</sup>, who envies those who wish to live in godliness. Woe, therefore, to those who forsake the laws of God and neglect the commandments of our fathers which they enjoined

<sup>1</sup>I Thes.5.21-22.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Prov.28.4.

<sup>3</sup>Is.8.20.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Jn.8.44.

ἄλλοις ἐτο

οὔν· σὺ δὲ

δοὺς γὰρ δίκαι

ως δὲ οὕτοι

νάυ δὲ ἀνὰ

τοῦ ἐβόλ ἄλλοι.

οὐκ οὐκ

ἐβίην νάτα

οὔ, δὲ ἀνὰ

ἡτε ἐροῖ.

ἡ ἡ δὲ

νάυ δὲ ὡς

κὺς ἡ δὲ

ἡ δὲ

ἐτὸς τῶν.

ἐτὸς τῶν

ἡ δὲ

ἡ δὲ.

φράνε ἐξήν

ρεχρπεθ

οὔ. ἐτὸς

ἐξήνεθου,

νάϊ ἐρενε

ζιουε βο

με. ἀνὰ

μα ἡ δὲ

ἀνὰ ἡ δὲ.

ἐτρεῦο.

ἀνὰ ἡ δὲ

ἡ δὲ

ἡ δὲ

καὶ οὔ.

ἐτρεῦο οὔ

ἡ δὲ

βά ἡ δὲ

ἐτρεῦο

τε καὶ νάυ

εἰ, ἀνὰ ἡ δὲ

ἀνὰ, ἡ δὲ

κροῦ. ἡ δὲ

† ἐβόλ. ἡ δὲ

τοῦ, ἡ δὲ

ἡ δὲ.

οὔμα ἡ δὲ

ἡ δὲ

ἡ δὲ

ἡ δὲ

νάγωγῃ ἡ δὲ

ἡ δὲ

ἐτρεῦο

τε καὶ νάυ

εἰ, ἐμπε

δοὺς ἡ δὲ.

ἐτρεῦο

εἰ, ἡ δὲ

ἡ δὲ

ποῦ. ἡ δὲ

ἐτρεῦο



on us. For it shall rightly be said, "Woe to them because they turned away from me; misery shall overtake them because they did iniquity against me!" And to us it shall be said, "O forsakers of straight ways, who choose for themselves the ways of darkness, who take pleasure in them that do evil and who rejoice at the wicked, whose<sup>2</sup> ways are twisted and whose paths<sup>3</sup> are so devious<sup>4</sup> that they become remote and estrange themselves from the purpose of the righteous.<sup>5</sup>" So all who transgress the commandments which our fathers laid down for us, and who buy and sell fraudulently, or sell or buy without asking permission, or eat and drink covertly either outside or inside the community against the rules which our fathers laid down for us, unless they tell it previously, shall be cursed with all their works, especially if they eat

<sup>1</sup>Hos.7.13.

<sup>2</sup>One would expect the construction ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΕΝΕΥΣΙΟΟΥΕ , cf. Steindorff, para 519; Plumley, para 357. It may be noted that one MS containing this verse of Proverbs (2.15) reads ΕΤΕΡΕ -, cf. Worrell, Prov.

<sup>3</sup>For ΕΡΕΥΜΑ read ΕΡΕΝΕΥΜΑ .

<sup>4</sup>Prov.2.13-15.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Prov.2.16.

ΟΥΖΝΟ ΕΥΩ  
 ΒΕ ΕΜΠΟΥΤΑ  
 ΔΥ ΕΤΟΟΤΗ.  
 ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΝΟΕ  
 5 ΖΕ' ΕΡΟΝ ΕΝΚΑ  
 ΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙ, ΔΥΩ  
 ΕΝΚΩ ΝΩΩΝ  
 ΝΩΤΩΥ' ΜΩ  
 ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΝ  
 10 ΤΑΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ  
 ΚΑΔΥ ΝΔΝ' ΕΖΡΑΙ  
 ΕΤΒΕΖΕΝΤΡΟ  
 ΦΗ ΝΖΗ ΕΥΝΑ  
 ΤΑΚΟ. ΜΩΝΩ  
 15 ΤΡΕΥΣΑΙ ΝΑ  
 ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕΟΥ  
 ΖΡΕ ΜΠΡΚΑΤΑ  
 ΛΥΕ ΜΠΖΩΒ  
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ.  
 20 ΝΟΥΝΟΒΕ ΜΕ  
 ΔΝ ΠΕ, ΟΥΤΕ  
 ΝΟΥΔΡΙΚΕ ΝΑ  
 ΔΝ, ΠΕ ΕΝΩΔ  
 ΩΙΝΕ ΖΝΖΩΒ  
 25 ΝΙΜ. ΕΜΠΑΤΗ  
 ΔΔΥ. ΟΥΔΝΟ  
 ΜΙΔ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΥ  
 ΝΔΝ ΤΕ, ΔΥΩ  
 ΟΥΝΟΒ ΜΩΝΤ

ΩΔΥΤΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ  
 ΕΧΩΝ ΤΕ ΕΝ  
 ΩΔΑΝΡΑΔΥ Ν  
 ΖΩΒ, Η ΝΤΗ  
 ΒΩΚ ΕΛΑΔΥ  
 ΜΩΔ ΕΜΠΗΩΥ  
 ΝΕ ΝΩΟΡΗ.  
 Η ΝΤΝΟΥΩΜ  
 ΛΑΔΥ ΝΔΙΟΥΕ.  
 Η ΝΤΗΝΣΕΗΡΗ.  
 ΕΜΠΗΤΑΜΕ  
 ΝΕΤΗΙ ΜΠΕ  
 ΡΟΥΩ.  
 ΕΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ  
 ΕΝΩΔΑΝΡΖΩΒ  
 ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΕΜ  
 ΠΗΩΙΝΕ, ΠΕ  
 ΟΝΟΥ ΖΙΧΩ.  
 ΔΥΩ ΝΕΤΕΙΡΕ  
 ΝΝΔΙ, ΣΕΝΔ  
 ΟΝΖΟΥ ΖΗ  
 ΝΕΥΜΕΕΥΕ.  
 ΔΥΩ ΣΕΝΔΑΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ Ε  
 ΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΩΠΩΔ  
 ΔΕ ΕΤΗΖ' ΔΕ  
 ΝΤΟ ΝΒΑΩΟΡ  
 ΕΤΕΝΔΑΙΜΩ  
 ΝΕ. ΔΥΩ ΟΝ

anything different from what has been allowed to us. Again we are found scorning and forsaking the ordinances and the things which our fathers laid down for us concerning foods of the belly that perish<sup>1</sup>, even after it was written for us, "Because of food do not destroy the work of God"<sup>2</sup>. It is not a sin or a fault in us if we ask concerning everything before acting. But on the other hand it is lawlessness for us and a great iniquity on our part if we do anything or go anywhere without having first asked permission, or if we eat anything covertly or drink wine without having informed those who take care of us. And if we do such a thing without asking permission, our blood is on our heads. Moreover those who do these things shall be fettered in their devices and they shall be called in the scriptural phrase, "Portions for foxes"<sup>3</sup>, which means demons. And again

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Jn.6.27 and I Cor.6.13.

<sup>2</sup>Rom.14.20.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Ps.62.11.



ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΤ  
CH2' ΝΑΔΟΟΣ  
ΝΑΝ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ  
ΔΕ CEC2OYO  
5 ΡΤ ΝΘΙΝΕΤΡΙ  
ΚΕ ΜΟΟΥ Ε  
ΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΚΕΝ  
ΤΟΛΗ. ΔΥΩ

ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΔΚΕΩΥ  
10 ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΛ ΕΤ  
CΑ2ΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΝΝΕΚΔΙΚΑΙΩ  
ΜΑ. ΔΕ ΟΥΔΙ Ν  
ΘΟΝC ΠΕ ΠΕΥ  
15 ΜΕΕΥΕ.

X ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ Π9  
ΔΑΙ' ΟΥΗΥ ΝΝ  
ΡΕΥΡΝΟΒΕ.

ΔΕ ΜΠΟΥΨΙΝΕ  
20 ΝCΑΝΕΚΔΙΚΑΙ

ΩΜΑ:

ΕΤΒΕΓΔΑΙΘΕ ΝΕ  
25 CΝΗΥ ΝΑΝΟΥC  
ΝΑΝ ΕΤΡΕΝ  
ΔΠΘ ΝΑΝ' ΝΘΟ  
ΤΕ ΜΠΔΟΕΙC.  
ΔΥΩ ΝΤΝCΔ2Ω  
ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΤΕ  
ΡΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ

ΜΟCΤΕ ΜΩ  
ΟΥ. ΔΕΚΔC ΕΝΕ  
2Ε' ΕΥΝΔ ΕΥΠΙΕ  
20ΟΥ ΜΠΕΝ6Μ  
ΠΨΙΝΕ. ΔΕ Ν  
ΤΝCΟΟΥΝ ΔΝ  
ΔΕ ΕΝΕΤΩΜΤ  
ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΥΩ  
ΠΕΝΔΟΕΙC IC  
ΝΔΩ Ν2Ε. Π2ΩΒ  
ΓΑΡ ΜΟΚ2 ΕΜΑ  
ΤΕ ΕΔΠΑΝΤΑ Ε  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΚΑΙ  
ΓΑΡ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ  
ΔΝ ΝΤΕΝ2Ε' ΠΕ  
ΤΝΝΔΤΩΜΤ Ε  
ΡΟΥ. ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥ  
ΔΟΕΙC ΠΕ ΔΥΩ  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ  
ΕΥCΟΟΥΝ Ε  
ΝΕΤΝΕΙΡΕ Μ  
ΜΟΥ, 2ΜΠΚΑ  
ΚΕ. 4ΔΩ ΓΑΡ  
ΜΩC ΔΕ ΜΗ  
ΟΥΝΟΥΑ ΝΔΥ  
2ΟΠ4 2ΝΟΥ  
ΜΑ Ν2ΩΠ'. ΝΤΑ  
ΤΜΝΔΥ ΕΡΟΥ  
ΔΝΟΚ. ΜΗ Ν

the word which is written will speak to us thus, "They who turn away from your commandments are cursed"<sup>1</sup>, and again, "You despised all who are far from your statutes, because their thoughts are iniquity"<sup>2</sup>, and again, "Salvation is far from the sinners because they did not seek after your statutes"<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, brethren, it is good for us to acquire for ourselves the fear of the Lord and to depart from the things which God hates, that we may find grace on the day of our visitation, since we do not know how we shall meet God and our Lord Jesus. For it is a very hard thing to meet God. He whom we shall meet is not a man like us, but he is Lord and God, knowing the things we do in the darkness. For it is said, "'Shall anyone hide himself in a secret place and I not see him? Do

<sup>1</sup>Ps.118.21.

<sup>2</sup>Ps.118.118.

<sup>3</sup>Ps.118.155.



†ΜΟΥΣ' ΔΝ ΝΤΠΕ  
ΜΝΠΚΔΣ ΠΕ  
ΔΕΠΔΟΕΙΣ.

ΤΕΣΙΗ ΓΑΡ ᾤ  
ΠΩΝΣ ΠΕ ΡΑΚ  
ΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ ᾤΠΠΕ  
ΘΟΥ. ΔΥΩ  
ΤΑΡΧΗ ΝΤΣΟ  
ΦΙΔ. ΤΕ ΘΟΤΕ

ᾤΠΔΟΕΙΣ:

ᾤΠΩΡΘΕ ΤΕ  
ΝΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΝ  
ΔΠÔ ΝΔΝ ΝΟΥ  
ΜΝΤΑΤΣΟΤΕ  
ΝΤΝΡΝΟΒΕ  
ᾤΠΕΜΤΟ Ε  
ΒΟΛ ᾤΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΝΝΕ  
ΡΣΤΗΝ ΣΝΤΕΝ  
ΣΑΗ. ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑ  
ΡΝ†ΠΕΝΣΗΤ'  
ΕΤΕΣΒΩ, ΝΤΝ  
ΡΙΚΕ ΝΝΕΝΜΑ  
ΔΔΕ ΕΝΩΔΔΕ  
ΝΤΑΙΣΘΗCIC.

ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΝΕΕΙ  
ΜΕ ΔΕ ΕΝΤΩ.  
ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΤΝ  
ΜΟΥΤ. ΕΝΔΩ

ΜΜΟC ΔΕ ΤΝ  
ΟΝΣ. ΜΗΠΟ  
ΤΕ ΤΝÔ ΝΚΑ  
ΚΕ. ΕΝΔΩ ᾤ  
ΜΟC ΔΕ ΔΝΟΝ  
ΣΕΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ.

ΤΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ ΘΕ  
ΕΝΤΑΝCΔΒΕ  
ΕΥ ΔΟΟC ΔΕ  
ΜΝΒΕCΩΝΤ  
ΝΘΕ ᾤΠΑΙ. ΕΟΥ  
ΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΣΝ  
ΣΕΝΝΟΒΕ. ΕΜ  
ΠΕΥΣΗΤ' ΕΝΔ  
ΡΙΚΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΔΝ.  
ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΥΕ  
ΚΩ ΝCΩΥ Ν  
ΝΕΥΝΟΒΕ  
ΜΝΝΕCΜΝΤ  
ΩΔΥΤΕ.

ΣΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΝ  
ΩΔΑΝΣΑΡΕΣ Ε  
ΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ ᾤ  
ΠΔΟΕΙC ΙC. ΔΥΩ  
ΝΤΝCΩΤῤ Ε  
ΝΕΥΩΔΔΕ. ΤΕ  
ΣΙΗ ΝΔCΟΥ  
ΤΝ ΠΕ. ΔΥΩ Ν  
ΤΝΝΔΔΙΔΡΟΠ'

I not fill the heaven and the earth?' says the Lord<sup>1</sup>." For to turn ourselves from evil is the way of life, and the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom<sup>2</sup>. Now therefore far be it from us to acquire disrespect and to sin before God lest we regret<sup>3</sup> at our end, but let us pay heed to teaching and incline our ears to the words of knowledge<sup>4</sup>, that we may know how we are<sup>5</sup>, lest we are dead while saying we are alive, lest we are dark while saying we are light. For thus the wise men said, "There is indeed no wrath like this, that a man is sinful while yet his heart finds no fault with him that he may renounce his sins and his iniquities." But whenever we keep the commandments of the Lord Jesus and hear his words, our way shall be straight and we shall not stumble.

<sup>1</sup>Jer.23.24.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Ps.110.10 and Prov.1.7.

<sup>3</sup>Note ENNENĀ - for NĀNENĀ -.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Prov.23.12.

<sup>5</sup>I.e. "what our spiritual state is".



5 ἄν· καὶ γὰρ αὐ  
 τῶν ἑ  
 γὰρ ζιτῶν  
 ψαλμῶδός  
 ἐχθρῶ ἄνθρωπος  
 δε εἰς τοῦ ἐρε  
 οὔσης ψημ  
 νάσοοι τῶν ἡ  
 τευγίη· περὶ  
 10 δε εἰς τῶν  
 ἀρεῶν ἐνεκ  
 ὡς· οὐκ  
 οὐν· οὐοὶ νάν  
 ἐν ψαλμοῖς  
 15 ἐν ὡς ἡν  
 εἰοτε· ἐτοῦ  
 ζων· ἄνθρωπος  
 ἐτοῦτῶν·  
 20 Γλῆν ἡν  
 ἡν εἰς  
 ἡν ἡν  
 ἡν ἡν  
 ἡν ἡν  
 25 ἡν ἡν  
 ἡν ἡν  
 ἡν ἡν  
 ἡν ἡν  
 ἡν ἡν

ΖΗΤΩ· ΕΝΘΩ  
 ΟΥΝ ἄν· ἡν  
 ΟΥΤΕ ΔΙΟΕ·  
 ΕΤΒΕΓΔΙ ΟΥ  
 ΟΙ ἡν  
 ΖΗΛΩΝ ἡν  
 ΖΗΛΩΝ ἡν  
 ΔΥΩ ΕΤΔΙ ΕΤ  
 ΖΗΝΟΥΚΡΟΥ  
 ΜΗΝΟΥΜΝΤΩ  
 ΚΟΤΩ, ΕΜΠΟΥ  
 ΔΟΥΣ ἡν  
 ΔΥΩ ΕΕΖΟΥ  
 ΡΤ ἡν  
 ΡΕ ἡν  
 ΚΟΥΕ; ΔΕ ἡν  
 ΠΟΥΠΠΕ, ΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ἡν  
 ΤΕ ΖΗΤΟΥ ἡν  
 ΕΖΟΥ ΕΝΘΩ  
 ΓΕΝΕΙΩΤ' ΔΟΥ  
 ΟΥ ΕΤΒΕΝΕΙ  
 ΖΒΗΥΕ ἡν  
 ΖΕ· ΕΤΒΕΓΔΙ  
 ΠΕΜΚΩΣ ἡν  
 ΤΗΡΩ ἡν  
 ΟΤΕ ἡν  
 ΤΟΥΔΩ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΜΗΝΠΕΝΔΩΙΣ

X

This too we were told by the psalmist, who says, "Where-  
with shall a young man straighten his way? By keeping your  
words"<sup>1</sup>, he said. Woe to us indeed if we forget the words  
of our fathers which they enjoined on us. But it is with  
great pain and grief that I ask, where is our freedom  
which exists in our monastery every day, and the liberty  
in which there is no deceit, deceit and theft being un-  
known to us? So woe to those who steal anything anywhere  
and who buy and sell with deceit and duplicity, not having  
first reported it<sup>2</sup>. And those who do these and other things  
are cursed, because they were not ashamed and did not fear  
the curses which our father pronounced concerning such  
things. Therefore all the grief of our fathers and of all  
the saints and of our Lord

<sup>1</sup>Ps.118.9.

<sup>2</sup>The Paris fragment 130<sup>5</sup>, fols.109-110 (cf. p.29) contains  
a text parallel to 43r, col.II, line 11, beginning  
[ΕΛ]ΠΟΥΧΟΟC - 45r, col.I, line 15, ending ΑΥΟΥΑΖΟΥ . The  
Paris leaves are fragmentary, only part of one column of  
each being extant. Variants between the two texts will be  
noted.



5  
10  
15  
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25

IC ECEEI EZPAI  
EXWOU, AYU  
EXNTCOOY  
ZE NAXWOU.  
EBOL ZE AYF  
CBW NAN AYU  
AYTAMON EY  
XW MOC ZE  
ATEYWH PRO  
KOPTE. APE  
ZOY ZWN E  
ZOYN. MAPN  
KWB NCWN  
NNEZBHYE M  
PKAKE. NTN  
† ZE ZIWWN N  
NZOPLON M  
POYOEIN. ETE  
Nai NE NEZBH  
OYE, ETNANOY  
OY, AYU NAIKAI  
OCYNNH. EU  
PATEPiezoy  
NTENZAH ETU  
MAY EI EXWN  
ZNOYWCNE  
NΘE NOYPA  
WH NTNTUP  
BOL. EWNPE

TNACWTU EPOT.  
OYTE EWNPE  
TNACWTE N  
TENPWEIH E  
BOL ZINENBAL.  
EBOL ZE MTN  
CWTU KALWC.  
OYTE MTNT  
ZTHN EYZW  
ETOOTN ZE  
ALWTN ENNE  
TNPONHPID.  
ZICBW EPHPPE  
TNANOYH.  
NTOOY ZE PE  
XAU AYPATCW  
TU. AYU AYF  
NOYOC MPEU  
PNA ETOYADB.  
AYU APXOEIC  
KTOY NAY EY  
MNTXAXE.  
Tdi GAP TE ΘE  
ENTANETNOI  
XOOC NTEPOY  
NAY EPON EN  
TNMOYWT M  
MON AN, OYTE  
ENTNDIDKPI

Jesus shall come upon them and upon their pate. For we were taught and told that, "The night is far spent, the day is at hand, let us therefore forsake the works of darkness and put upon us the armour of light"<sup>1</sup>, which are good and righteous works, before the day of our end comes upon us suddenly like a snare<sup>2</sup> and we do not escape, for there will be no one who will hear us and no one who will wipe our tears from our eyes<sup>3</sup>, because we did not hear diligently nor did we heed when they commanded us, saying, "Cease from your wickednesses, learn to do good"<sup>4</sup>. "But they were disobedient", it says, "and provoked his holy spirit to anger, and the Lord turned to them in enmity"<sup>5</sup>. For thus said those of understanding when they saw that we were not examining ourselves or judging

<sup>1</sup>Rom.13.12.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Lk.21.34.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. perhaps Rev.7.17.

<sup>4</sup>Is.1.16-17.

<sup>5</sup>Is.63.10, cf. 30r, note 6.



NE ūMON dN  
 XE ENEPEx̄C  
 īC n̄ZHt̄N. PE  
 ΔAY XE OYn̄OY  
 5 MHHYCE EY2O  
 CE Z̄NTΠOΛI  
 TId. EdTEYm̄NT  
 dTΔIdKPINE  
 2OTBOY ūm̄T  
 10 ūMOOY.

ΨAYΔOOC ΔE  
 ON XE ENYAN  
 †2THN EBOL  
 Z̄NNEΓPAΦH.

15 T̄NNdEIME Z̄N  
 OYwP̄X XE NET  
 O n̄ATCWTū  
 KATdOYOEIY.

MEPEλdAY n̄  
 20 2WB EYCOY  
 TWN' YWΠE  
 NAY n̄NdzPū  
 ΠINOYTE. dλ  
 λd EYAY2YΠO  
 25 MINE EZENE  
 BATE EYCOY  
 EIT' Z̄MΠKEI  
 KOCMOC.

ΠdλIN ON YAY

ΔOOC XE EIC  
 2HHTE dNNDAY  
 EBOL Z̄NNEΓPA  
 ΦH ETOYdAB  
 XE NETOYH2  
 n̄CαΠOYWY  
 ūΠINOYTE. n̄  
 TOOY NETNΔ  
 KΛHPONOMEI  
 n̄NEYdΓdΘO.

NETMOOYCE  
 ΔE Z̄MΠOYWY  
 EΘOOY ūΠEY  
 2HT. EYCBTWT  
 EYOPΓH. n̄ΘE  
 ETCH2' XE ΠEY  
 YNT NAYMOY dN  
 dYw ΠEYKW  
 2T NΔXENd dN.

n̄CEYWΠE E  
 PECdP̄Z̄ NIM  
 NAY EP0OY:

ETBEΠdī OYoi  
 NdN. ECET  
 CBŪ NdN n̄OI  
 TENM̄NTdT  
 CWTū. dYw  
 ECEΔΠION n̄  
 SITENKdKId.

whether Christ Jesus was in us, "Many", they said, "are troubled in the community,"<sup>1a</sup> for their lack of judgment is killing them". But it is also said, "If we heed the scriptures we shall know with certainty that to <sup>\*</sup>those<sup>2</sup> who are disobedient time after time no right thing happens before God, but they endure<sup>b</sup> months of vanity<sup>3</sup> in this world."<sup>4c</sup> Again it is said, "Behold we have seen from the holy scriptures that those who follow the will of God shall inherit his good things<sup>5</sup>, but those who walk in the evil will of<sup>6</sup> their hearts are ripe for wrath<sup>d</sup>, as it is written, 'Their worm shall not die and their fire shall not be quenched and they shall be for all flesh to see them'".<sup>7</sup> So woe<sup>e</sup> to us. Our disobedience will teach us, and our wickedness will upbraid us.

<sup>1</sup>Perhaps "way of life".

<sup>1a</sup>--\* This passage also occurs in Zoega CCIV (cf. p.19ff) fol.C1r introduced as follows: ἀλλὰ μαρναγωνίζε ἐνεῖρε ὑπῆεγε ὑπενταχόος δε . The words ἦναζρωπινoyτε are omitted.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Job 7.3.

<sup>4</sup>For ζῶπκεῖκοςμος read with Zoega CCIV and Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, 109v ζῶπεικοςμος .

<sup>5</sup>The quotation up to this point also occurs in Paris 130<sup>1</sup>, fol.12v (cf. p.28), with the addition of "brethren" after "Behold". It is introduced thus: ἀκεογὰ δε ον χοος ἦκεμα δε .

<sup>6</sup>Note the use of ἦ for ἦτε , cf. Steindorff, para 167; Plumley, para 100.

<sup>7</sup>Is.66.24.

<sup>a</sup>For πολιτία Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, 109v reads πολιτεία

<sup>b</sup>For ζῆπομινε Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, 109v reads ζῆπο[μ]εῖνε

<sup>c</sup>For πκεῖκοςμος Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, 109v reads πεικοςμος

<sup>d</sup>For εχοργη Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, 110r reads [ε]χογοργη

<sup>e</sup>For οχοῖ Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, 110r reads οχ[ο]ει



ΥΚΔ  
7

ΕΙΜΕ ΔΥΩ Ν  
ΤΗΝΔΥ ΔΕ ΥΟΑ  
ΩΕ ΝΑΝ ΕΤΡΕ  
ΚΩ ΝΩΝ Ν  
ΝΔΙΚΔΙΩΜΔ  
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΜΝΗΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ

ΝΗΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ:

ΜΠΩΡΕ ΟΝ  
ΕΤΡΕΥΔΟΟC  
ΝΑΝ ΖΝΟΥΩ  
ΝΤ ΔΕ ΔΟ ΝΖΕ  
CΟΥΟ. ΝΤΕΤΝ  
ΩΖC ΝΖΕΝΩΟ

ΤΕ. ΠΕΙΝΟC  
ΝCΑΖΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ

ΤΕΝΜΝΤΑΤ  
CΒΩ ΜΝΤΕΝ  
ΜΝΤΑΤCΩΤΩ.

ΕΤΒΕΧΕ ΔΝ  
ΚΩ ΝΩΝ Ν  
ΤΠΗΓΗ ΝΤCΟ  
ΦΙΔ. ΔΥΩ ΔΠΕ  
ΖΗΤ ΝΑΤCΒΩ  
ΡΚΔΚΕ ΕΡΟΝ.  
ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΩ  
ΤΡΕΝΡΠΜΕ  
ΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΝΖΔΗ.  
ΜΝΠΝΔΥ ΕΤΝ

ΝΔΤ ΜΠΤΕΝΠΤΑ  
ΕΝΒΙΔ ΜΠΝΟΥ  
ΤΕ. ΝΙΜΒΕ

ΠΕ ΠCΟΦΟC  
ΝΫΕΙΜΕ ΕΝΔΙ.  
ΔΥΩ ΠΡΜΝΖΗΤ  
ΝΫCΟΥΩΝΟΥ  
ΔΕ CΕCΟΥΤΩ  
ΝΒΙΝΕΖΙΟΟΥΕ  
ΜΠΔΟΕΙC.

ΝΔΙΚΔΙΟC ΜΕ  
CΕΝΔΜΟΟΥΕ  
ΝΖΗΤΟΥ. ΝΔ  
CΕΒΗC ΔΕ. CΕ  
ΝΔΡΩΩΒ ΝΖΗ  
ΤΟΥ:

ΒΗCΔ ΠΕΙΕΛΔ  
ΧΙCΤΟC ΠΕΤ  
CΖΔΙ ΝΝΕΥ  
ΜΕΡΑΤΕ Ν  
CΝΗΥ ΖΩΠΔΟ  
ΕΙC. ΕΪΩΔΝ  
ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΧΔΙ  
ΡΕ. ΤΕΝΟΥ  
ΡΩ ΕΥΤΩΝ  
ΠΡΑΥΕ ΔΕ  
ΑΠCΟΛCΛ ΖΩΠ  
ΕΝΒΔΛ ΝΝΕΤ



Know and see<sup>1</sup> that it is bitter for us to forsake the statutes of God<sup>2</sup> and the commandments of our fathers. On no account then let it be said of us in wrath, "Sow wheat and reap thorns"<sup>3</sup>. This great curse is because of our ignorance and our disobedience and because we forsook the fountain of wisdom, and our ignorant hearts were darkened<sup>4</sup>, so that we did not call to mind our end and the time when we shall give our spirit into the hands of God<sup>5</sup>. Who then is wise and knows these things? and prudent and understands them? For the ways of the Lord are straight and the righteous shall walk in them; but the ungodly shall faint therein<sup>6</sup>.

Besa, this most humble<sup>a</sup> one, writes to his beloved brethren in the Lord. If I say "Joyful Greetings", now where indeed is the joy? For the consolation was hidden from the eyes of those

<sup>1</sup>For ΝΤΙΝΝΑΥ read ΝΤΕΤΙΝΝΑΥ .

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Jer.2.19.

<sup>3</sup>Jer.12.13.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Rom.1.21.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Lk.23.46.

<sup>6</sup>Hos.14.10.

<sup>a</sup>For ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧΙCΤΟC Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, 110v reads ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙ[C]ΤΟC

5 ΟΥΕΨΠΕΥΟΥ  
 ΔΑΙ· ΔΥΩ ΕΤ  
 ΜΟΚΕ ΝΖΗΤ'  
 ΕΔΨΠΕΝΤΑ  
 ΚΟ· ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ  
 ΟΥΝΖΟΕΙΝΕ  
 ΝΖΗΤΗΝ ΔΥΨΩ  
 ΠΕ ΕΥΤΗΝΤΩ  
 ΕΠΔΕΒΗC Ε  
 10 ΤΕΜΨΤΗ ΡΑΨΕ  
 ΜΑΔΥ· ΔΥΩ  
 ΝΘΕ ΜΠΛΑΟC  
 ΕΤΕΜΨCΟΟΥ  
 ΝΖΗΤΗ· ΕΒΟΛ  
 15 ΔΕ ΔΥΟΥΔΖΟΥ  
 ΝCΑΠΔΙΔΒΟ  
 ΛΟC ΠΕΝΤΑΥ  
 ΤΑΚΟ ΝΤΟΙ  
 ΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΖΗ  
 20 ΝΕΥΝΟΒΕ·  
 ΝΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΥ  
 ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΔΕΟ  
 ΕΙΝΕ ΓΑΡ ΔΙΝ  
 ΤΕΝΟΥ, ΟΥΔ  
 25 ΖΟΥ ΖΙΠΔΖΟΥ  
 ΜΠCΑΤΑΝΔC·  
 ΔΥΩ ΔΥΚΩ Ν  
 CΩΟΥ ΜΠΝΟ  
 ΜΟC ΜΠΨΤΕ·

ΔΥΟΥΔΖΟΥ ΝCΑ  
 ΠΕΥΖΗΤ' ΝΚΑ  
 ΚΕ ΕΤΟ ΝΖΒΑ  
 ΜΨΠΕΥCΟΟΥ  
 ΝΝΟΥΔ' ΕΤΟ  
 ΝΚΜΗΜΕ· ΜΨ  
 ΤΕΥΜΨΤCΑΒΕ  
 ΝΔΥ ΜΑΥΔΑΥ  
 ΤΑΙ' ΕΝΤΑΝΕΤ  
 ΝΟΙ' ΨΟΛC ΕΒΛ·  
 ΕΔΥΔΟΟC ΔΕ  
 ΟΥΟΙ' ΝΝΕΤΟ  
 ΝCΑΒΕ ΝΔΥ ΜΑ  
 ΔΑΥ· ΔΥΩ ΕΥΟ  
 ΝΡΨΝΖΗΤ' Μ  
 ΠΕΥΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ·  
 ΟΥΟΙ' ΝΝΕΤ  
 ΩΠ' ΜΠΚΔΚΕ·  
 ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ· ΔΥΩ  
 ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Ν  
 ΚΔΚΕ· ΝΕΤ  
 ΔΩ ΜΜΟC ΔΕ  
 ΠΕΤCΑΨΕ ΖΟ  
 ΛΟ· ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤ  
 ΖΟΛΟ CΑΨΕ·  
 ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC  
 ΔΕ ΟΝ ΔΩ Μ  
 ΜΟC ΔΕ ΔΠΕΥ  
 ΖΗΤ' ΝΔΤCΒΩ

who desire our<sup>1a</sup> salvation and who are grieved over our perdition, because some among us have become comparable to the ungodly man who has no<sup>b</sup> joy and like the ignorant folk, because they followed the devil who destroyed the world in his sins, as it was said, "For some already followed after Satan.<sup>2</sup>" And they forsook the law of God. They followed their dark minds, which are in confusion, and their false knowledge, which is dark, and that which is wisdom in their own eyes, which those of understanding have demolished, as it has been said, "Woe unto them that are wise in their own<sup>3</sup> eyes, and prudent in their own sight.<sup>4</sup> Woe unto them who count darkness for light and light for darkness, who say that bitter is sweet and sweet is bitter.<sup>5</sup>" And again the apostle says, "Their ignorant hearts were

<sup>1</sup>Read ΠΕΝΟΥΔΑΙ for ΠΕΥΟΥΔΑΙ which is supported by Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, 110v and makes better sense.

<sup>2</sup>I Tim. 5.15.

<sup>3</sup>For ΜΑΔΔΑΙ read ΜΑΥΔΔΑΙ

<sup>4</sup>Is. 5.21.

<sup>5</sup>Is. 5.20.

<sup>a</sup>For ΠΕΥΟΥΔΑΙ Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, 110v reads [Π]ΕΝΟΥΔΑΙ

<sup>b</sup>For ΕΤΕΜΝΤΥ Paris 130<sup>5</sup>, 110v reads ΕΤΕΜ[Υ]ΝΤΥ



$\frac{1}{\gamma\kappa 5}$   
7

ῥῥῥῥ ΕΡΟΟΥ  
ΕΥΔΩ ἄμωο  
ΔΕ ΔΝΟΝ ΖΕΝ  
CABE. ΔΥῖCOC,  
5 ENCENOÏ ΔΝ  
ἸΝΕΤΟΥΔΩ  
ἄμωο. ΟΥΔΕ  
ΔΕ ΕΥΤΑΔΡΗΥ  
ΕΔῆΟΥ. ΕΥ

10 ΟΥΩΝῆ ΔΕ ΟΝ  
ΕΒΟΛ ἄΠCΩΥ.  
ἄΝΤἄΝΤCΔῖΕ  
ἸΝΔῖ ἸΤΕῖἄ  
ΝΕ ἄΝΤΕΥἄΝΤ

15 ΡΕΥΚΑΖΤΕΥ  
ΕΡΟΟΥ ἄΔῖΔ  
ΔΥ. ὡΔΥΔΟ  
OC ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΔΕ ἄΠΟΥΔΟ  
20 ΚῖἄΔΕ ἄΠῖ  
ΤΕ ΕΚΔΔΥ ΝΔΥ  
ΖῖΝΟΥCΟΟΥΝ.

25 ΔΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΔ  
ΔΥ ΕΖΡΔῖ ΕΥΖΗΤ  
ἸΔΟΥΤ, ΕΕΙ  
ΡΕ ἸΝΕΤΕΜΕ  
ΩΥΕ. ΕΥΔΗΚ  
ΕΒΟΛ ἸΔῖ Ν

6ONC ΝΙἄ. ΖΙ  
ΚΔΚῖΔ. ΖΙΠΟ  
ΝΗΡῖΔ. ΖΙἄῖ  
Τῶ ἸΖΟΥῶ.

ΕΥΜΕΖ ἸἄΔ.  
ΖΙΖΩΤῖ.  
ΖΙΤΩΝ.  
ΖΙΚΡΟΥ.  
ΖΙΖΗΤ' ΕΥΖΟΥ.

ἸΡΕΥΚΔCΚC.  
ἸΡΕΥΚΔΤΔΔ  
ΛΕΙ. ἄἄCΤ  
ἸΟΥΤΕ.

ἸΡΕΥCΩΥ.  
ἸΔΔCΙΖΗΤ.  
ἸΒΔΒΕΡΩΜΕ.  
ἸΡΕΥΚΩΤΕ  
ἸCΔΠΠΕΘΟΥ.

ENCESCWTἄ  
ΔΝ ἸCΔΝΕΥΕΙ  
ΟΤΕ. ἸΔΘΗΤ.  
ἸΔΤΝΔΖΤΕ.

ἸΟΥΔΖΙΖΗΤ  
ἸΔΤΝΔ. ΝΔῖ  
ΕΤCΟΟΥΝ ἄ  
ΠΔΙΚΔῖΩἄ  
ἄΠΝΟΥΤΕ.  
ΔΕ ΝΕΤΕΙΡΕ

darkened. Saying, 'We are wise', they became fools"<sup>1</sup>; knowing neither what they said nor upon what they were established. And, making manifest also the shame and the disgrace of the people of this kind, and their self-reliance, it says, "As they did not think fit to have God<sup>2</sup> in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind to do those things which are unseemly, being filled with all iniquity and wickedness and evil and covetousness, being full of envy, murder and strife and deceit and malignity; whisperers, slanderers, haters of God, despisers, proud, boasters, seekers after evil, who disobey their parents, senseless, unbelieving, cruel, merciless<sup>3</sup>; who, knowing God's ordinance that those who do

<sup>1</sup>Rom.1.21-22.

<sup>2</sup>For ἈΓΝΩΣΤΕ read ἈΓΓΙΝΟΥΤΕ .

<sup>3</sup>Rom.1.28-31.



Ἰνδαῖ· σεῦπυα  
ἄπο· οὐ μὴ  
νον σεῖρε  
ἄμοου· ἀλλὰ  
σεσυνεῦδο  
5 κει ὅν μῆνnet

εἶρε ἄμοου·  
Ζῦπταῖ δε ὅν ἦ  
ταχσοο δε  
10 γενκακε δε  
νε νεζιοογε  
Ἰνδασεβης·

αὖω Ἰσεσοοτ  
ἀν δε εὐχιχρῖτ  
Ἰδω νζε· αὖω  
δε πμοῦ να  
τωῦτ ενδτ  
CBW· νασε  
βης δε ναμοῦ

20 Ζῆνγεννοβε·  
νακαθαρσιδ  
νατωλῦ εὐ  
ρωμε Ἰλοι  
μορ Ζῆνογ20

25 οὐ εὐ200γ  
μῆνογ200γ  
Ἰθλιψις ὡαν  
τῶωδῆν·

Ναμε καταπυα  
δε ἄπαποστο  
λος δε τῶωπη  
ρε δε Ἰτεῖζε  
Ζῆνοβεπῆ τε  
τῆπωωνε ἦ  
τῶπενταχτε  
Ζῦτηγτῆν Ζῦ  
περμωτ' ἄπε  
Χς Ἰς εκεεγδτ  
Γελιον· εἰμ  
κεογὰ ὡοογτ·  
ταῖ ὅν τε θε ἦ  
Ναῖ ζωοῦ τε  
νοῦ, εὐπωω  
νε εβολ Ζῦ  
ππετνανογμ·  
επῖπεθοογ·  
αὖω εβολ Ζῆ  
ταγαπη μῆτ  
ρηνη· επμο  
στε μῆτμῆτ  
δαδε· αὖω  
εβολ Ζῦπε  
Θββιὸ μῆτμῆτ  
στμῆτ· εὐ  
μῆτδασι2ητ  
μῆνογμῆττατ  
CWTU·

these things are worthy of death<sup>1</sup>, not only do them but also approve of those who do them<sup>2</sup>." And on this it was also said, "But the ways of the ungodly are dark, and they do not know how they stumble"<sup>3</sup>, and "Death will befall the ignorant, and the ungodly will die in sins. Uncleanesses will defile a pestilent man on an evil and troublous day until he perishes"<sup>4</sup>. Truly according to the word of the apostle, "I marvel that you so quickly turn from him who called you in the grace of Christ Jesus unto another gospel, whereas it is not another<sup>5</sup>." So they too now turn away from good to evil, and from love and peace to hatred and enmity, and from humility and obedience to pride and disobedience,

<sup>1</sup>For ἀπογ read ἀπμογ.

<sup>2</sup>Rom.1.32.

<sup>3</sup>Prov.4.19.

<sup>4</sup>Prov.24.8-10.

<sup>5</sup>Gal.1.6-7.



5

ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ  
ΤΜΠΤΡΑΥ  
ΜΝΟΥΜΠΤΡΕΥ  
ΔΙΣΒΩ· ΕΠΕΝ  
ΩΟΤ' ΝΖΗΤ'  
ΜΝΟΥΑΤΣΒΩ·

10

ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ  
ΤΜΕ, ΜΝΤΜΠΤ  
ΡΩΖΕ· ΕΠΒΟΛ  
ΜΝΠΔΙΟΥΕ·  
ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ  
ΠΤΒΒΩ· ΕΠΔΩ  
ΖΜ· ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΖΝΤΔΙΚΔΙΟΥ

15

ΝΗ ΤΗΡΣ Μ  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΕΖΟΥ  
ΕΤΑΝΟΜΙΔ·  
ΜΝΠΕΚΡΟΥ·

20

ΜΝΤΚΑΤΑΔ  
ΛΙΔ· ΜΝΠΤΚΑΣ  
ΚΣ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΖΟΥ·

25

ΕΥΤΑΚΩ ΜΠΖΗΤ  
ΝΝΕΤΝΑΠΑΝ  
ΤΑ ΕΡΟΥ· ΕΥ  
ΑΠΑΤΑ ΝΝΕΤ  
ΝΗΥ ΕΖΩΠΕΥ  
ΖΗΤ' ΕΤΕΙΝΕ  
ΜΜΟΥ ΖΩΠΤΚΑΣ  
ΚΣ· ΜΝΤΚΑΤΑ

ΛΑΛΙΔ· ΕΥΩΔΕ  
ΝΩΑΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ·  
ΕΥΔΩ ΜΠΕΤΕ  
ΝΩΥΟΟΠ' ΔΝ·  
Η ΝΤΟΥ ΕΥΩΟ  
ΟΠ'· ΕΜΠΟΥΟΝ  
ΖΩ ΕΒΟΛ· ΕΔΥ  
ΔΟΥ ΜΕΝ' Ε  
ΖΔΖ' ΝΖΔΖ ΝΟΟΠ'  
ΖΝΟΥΜΠΤΡΕΥ  
ΤΩΖ' ΜΝΟΥΔ  
ΠΑΤΗ ΕΣΩΟΥ  
ΕΙΤ' ΜΝΟΥΜΟ  
ΣΤΕ· ΜΝΟΥ  
ΚΩΜΩ· ΕΥΣΩ  
ΟΥΖ ΝΔΥ ΕΖΟΥ  
ΝΖΕΝΝΟΒΕ  
ΕΝΔΩΟΥ·  
ΑΥΩ ΕΜΠΟΥ  
ΔΟΥ ΡΩ ΝΟΥ  
ΟΟΠ' ΝΟΥΩΤ  
ΕΠΕΤΕΩΥΕ  
ΕΔΟΥ ΝΔΥ·  
ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΝΝΑ  
ΩΩΠΕ ΝΔΤ  
ΝΟΒΕ·

ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙΣΕ ΝΕ  
ΣΝΗΥ ΜΑΡΝΣΑ  
ΖΩΝ' ΕΒΟΛ Ν  
ΝΕΙΖΒΗΥΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΜΝ

and from gentleness and enlightenment to hardness of heart and ignorance, and from truth and freedom to untruth and theft, and from purity to impurity, and from all the righteousness of God unto lawlessness and deceit and evil-speaking and whispering like a serpent, destroying the hearts of those who encounter<sup>1</sup> them, deceiving those of like mind who resemble them in whispering and evil-speaking, maligning each other, saying what is not so or rather not revealing what is, and having spoken many, many times with wrangling and purposeless deceit and hatred and mockery, gathering many sins up for themselves, and not even once saying what ought to be said in order that we may be without sin. Therefore, brethren, let us depart from<sup>\*</sup>such things and<sup>\*2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>For ΝΙΝΕΤΝΑΠΑΝΤΑ read either ΝΙΝΕΤΑΠΑΝΤΑ or ΝΙΝΕΤΝΑΔΑΠΑΝΤΑ.

<sup>2</sup>\*-\* This line, i.e. col.II, line 30, is written in smaller characters, badly faded, perhaps erased. The passage reads smoothly with or without the line.



NEÏWOXNE N̄  
KPOÛ ΔΕ N̄NE  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΘΩ  
N̄T EPON N̄Y  
5 NOX̄N M̄NET  
P̄ZWB ETANO  
M̄A. AYW N̄Y  
N̄OYGE EGP̄I  
EXWN ΔIN̄  
10 ΠEÏMA EYΓA  
T̄NΠWZ P̄W E  
ΓMA ET̄NNA  
BWK EPY.  
ΓMA M̄TGE  
15 THP̄Y M̄ΓA  
YAZOY.  
N̄A ME' KATAΠYΔ  
ΔE M̄TENEI  
WT' ΠENTON  
20 T̄N AN ΓE ΓAI.  
ΠENTONT̄N  
AN ΓE ΓAI. E  
BOL ΔE N̄TAY  
T̄AZW̄N AN EOY  
25 ΔWZ̄U M̄NOY  
T̄TWN. AΛΛA  
Z̄NOYT̄BB̄O.  
ETPENW̄WTE  
Z̄NOYT̄CAN̄O.

M̄NOYGINAZE  
PAT̄N EPZOIC  
KALWC AX̄NPO  
OYU.  
T̄ENOYGE NE  
CNHY OYON NIU  
ENTAYMEPE  
ΠOYWN̄Z EBOL  
N̄TKOINWNIΔ.  
T̄WK' N̄ZHT' M̄  
ΠP̄T̄ETH̄T̄N E  
NIPWME N̄AT  
CBW̄ ET̄NEHT  
THYT̄N ET̄  
ΔPOΓ' AYW ET  
ΠWP̄Z M̄TCA  
MA ENECERHY.  
KATAΠETCHZ.  
ΔE YAPEOY  
P̄WME EYBOO  
ME, ΔOY, N̄OY  
T̄TWN. AYW  
YAZ̄T̄WEO N̄  
OYWAZ N̄KPOY  
N̄NEΘOY.  
AYW YAZ̄T̄W  
P̄Z N̄ZENWBE  
EP M̄NZENP̄U  
N̄HI. AΛΛA T̄





these deceitful counsels, that God may not be angry with us and cast us together with those who work for lawlessness<sup>1</sup> and bring upon us suffering from this place on, even before we reach the place to which we shall go, the place of all suffering and groaning. Truly according to the saying of our father this is not our ideal,<sup>\*</sup> this is not our ideal<sup>\*,2</sup> because we were not called unto defilement and strife but in purity<sup>3</sup> that we might live in propriety and stand worthily before the Lord without anxiety. Now therefore, brethren, all who like to display fellowship, be strong of heart, do not pay heed to these ignorant men who are among you, who cause stumbling, and who divide the body in pieces as it is written, "A perverse man spreads strife and kindles the flame of deceit with evils and divides friends<sup>4</sup> and kinsmen", but rather pay

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Ps.124.5.

<sup>2</sup>\*-\* The repetition of this clause seems to be due to dittography.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. I Thes.4.7.

<sup>4</sup>Prov.16.28.

$\frac{5}{4\lambda}$   
7

5 2ΤΗΤἢ ΝΤΟΥ  
ΕΠΕΝΤΑΓΓΑ  
ΠΟCΤΟΛΟC  
ΧΟΟῦ ΔΕ Τἢ  
ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΙΛΕ  
ΝΗΤἢ ΖῶΠΡΑ  
ἈΠΕΝΔΟΕΙC  
ΙC ΠΕΧC ΕCα  
ΖΕΤΗΥΤἢ Ε  
10 ΒΟΛ ΝCΟΝ' ΝΙΜ  
ΕΤΜΟΟΨΕ α  
ΤΑΚΤΩC. ΔΥΩ  
ΕΝΚΑΤΑΤΕ  
CΒΩ ΔΝ ΕΝΤΑΥ  
15 ΔΙΤC ΝΤΟΟΤἢ.  
ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ Τἢ  
CΩΤῦ ΕΤΒΕ  
ΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΔΕ  
CΕΜΟΟΨΕ  
20 ΝΖΗΤΤΗΥΤἢ  
ΑΤΑΚΤΩC  
ΕΝCΕΡῬΑΔΥ  
ΝΖΩΒ ΔΝ. ΔΛ  
ΛΑ ΕΥΘ ΝΡΕΥ  
25 ΤΩΖ. ΕΥΧΩ  
ΝἢΕΤΕΜΕ  
ΨΨΕ. ΕΥΚΡῦ  
Ρῦ ΔΥΩ ΕΥΚΑ  
ΤΑΛΑΛΕΙ ΖΝἢ

X

ΚΛΔΕ ΝἢCΥ  
ΝΔΓΩΓἢ ΔΥΩ  
ΖἢἢΖΕΙΡ. ΔΥΩ  
ΖἢἢΗΕΙ. ΔΥΩ  
ΖΙἢΔΕΝΕΠΩΡ.  
ΔΥΩ ΖΙἢCα ΜΔΥ  
ΔΔΤΟΥ, ΜἢΝΝΕΤ  
ΝΗΥ ΕΖΤἢΠΕΥ  
ΖΗΤ' ΖῶΠΚΑC  
ΚC ΜἢΤῦἢΤ  
ΖΔΖ ΝΨΔΔΕ  
ΕΝΤΑCΡΧΟῖC  
ΕΡΟΟΥ. ΤΔἢ  
ΕΝΤΑΥΔΟΟC  
ΕΤΒΗΗΤC ΔΕ  
ΝἢΕΚΡΒΟΛ  
ΕΝΟΒΕ. ΕΝ  
CΕΔΡΕCΚΕ  
ΔΝ ΜἢΠΝΟΥΤΕ.  
ΔΥΩ ΕΥ† ΟΥΒΕ  
ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ.  
ΝΔἢ ΓΑΡ ΝΔΜΕ  
ΝΕΝΤΑΥΔΟ  
ΟC ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ  
ΔΕ ΨΔΡΕΖΕ  
ΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΖΟ  
ΟΥ, ΡΕΚΖΟΥ  
ΠΟΛΙC. ΔΥΩ  
ΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΔἢ ΝΕ

heed to what the apostle said, "We command you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to withdraw yourselves from every brother who walks disorderly and not according to the teaching which they received from us"<sup>1</sup>. And again, "We hear concerning some that they walk among you disorderly, they do no work but are busybodies"<sup>2</sup>, speaking unseemly things, murmuring, and speaking evil in the corners of the monasteries and in the streets and in the houses and on the roofs and at their own places, with those of like mind<sup>3</sup> in whispering, and in the talkativeness which has taken command of them. Concerning this it was said, "You shall not escape sin"<sup>4</sup>. They please not God and resist every man<sup>5</sup>. For these indeed are those about whom it was said, "Evil men burn a city"<sup>6</sup>, and again, "These are

<sup>1</sup> II Thes. 3.6.

<sup>2</sup> II Thes. 3.11.

<sup>3</sup>  $\epsilon 2 \tau \eta \eta \epsilon \gamma 2 \eta \tau$  seems to be a mistake for  $\epsilon 2 \omega \eta \epsilon \gamma 2 \eta \tau$  (cf. Crum, Dict., p.685a) which occurs on 46v, col.I, line 25ff.  $\epsilon 2 \tau \eta$  - would appear to be the Sah. equivalent of the Achm.  $\alpha \epsilon \tau \eta$  - "against", cf. Crum, Dict., p.23b, but that evidently means the opposite of the meaning required here.

<sup>4</sup> Prov. 10.19.

<sup>5</sup> I Thes. 2.15.

<sup>6</sup> Prov. 29.8.



ἄρῳ με ἐτμε  
εὐε εὐπτετ  
ψοϋεῖτ. ἀγῳ  
εὐψοδνε εὐ  
ψοδνε ἄπο  
νήρον ζῆτεῖ

5

πολις:

Ἰτωτῆν δὲ νετ  
εἶρε ἡνιτωε.

10

ἀγῳ ἐτκῳ ἡ  
σωογ ἡῆεν  
τολῆ ἡῆεν

εἶοτε, ἡῆνεγ  
σβοογε. οἱ

15

οἱ νητῆν. ἐτε  
τναροῖ, ζῳ  
περοογ ἡποῦ  
ψῖνε. τετῆν  
θλιψις γάρ νηγ

20

ἡπογε. ἡ ε  
τετναπτωτ  
ερατῆ ἡῆιμ  
εβοηθεῖ ερω  
τῆν. ἡ ἐτε

25

τνατογνεσ  
ζενπονηριδ  
ἡῆενστα  
σις ἡθε ἡῆ  
ψηρε ἡπεῖ

διων ζῆῳα

ετογδαβ ἡ

πνογτε. ἐν

ναογεζῆνοβε

εἰῆῆνοβε.

ἀνεῖμε τῶν

δε ἀπνογτε

καδγ ναν εβολ.

ζῳ γάρ ἀν επτε

ογοειγ ἐνταγ

ογεῖνε. ἐτε

γδαῖ πε ἐνζῳ

πκοσμοσ ζῳ

πκαῖρος ἡτε

ἡῆτῆβῆῆ.

ἐνμοογε ζῆ

ἡδωζῳ. ἡῆ

ἡῆζε. ἡῆῆδῆρ

ἡῆῆσῳ. ἡῆ

ἡῆῆτρεαγῳ

ψεεῖδωλον

ετδδζῳ. ἀγῳ

ἐνμοογε

ζῆνογκακιδ

ἡῆογφθο

νοσ. ἐνὸ ἡ

μεστε. ἐνμο

στε ἡῆνε

ρηγ. ἐνὸ ἡ

the men who think of vanity and take evil counsel in this city"<sup>1</sup>. But you who create these disturbances and forsake the commandments of our fathers and their teachings, woe to you. What shall you do on the day of visitation?<sup>2</sup> For your affliction is coming from afar, and to whom will you flee to help you?<sup>3</sup> Or will you raise evils and rebellions like the sons of this age in the holy monasteries of<sup>4</sup> God? Shall we add sin upon sin? How did we know that God had forgiven us? For is not the time which is past sufficient, that is to say when we were in the world in the time of our bestiality, when we walked in defilements and drunkennesses and revellings and carousals and abominable idolatries<sup>5</sup>, walking in wickedness and envy, hateful and hating one another,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ez.11.2.

<sup>2</sup>For πῶμῳινε read πῶμῳινε .

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Is.10.3.

<sup>4</sup>Note the use of N for NTE , cf. Steindorff, para 167; Plumley, para 100.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. I Pet.4.3.

<sup>6</sup>Tit.3.3.



!

ΥΛΒ

Τ

5 ΔΤΩΤΩ· ΕΝ  
ΠΛΑΝΑ· ΕΝ ΜΟ  
ΟΨΕ ΖΩΤΗΤΕΤ  
ΨΟΥΕΙΤ ΜΠΕ  
ΖΗΤ· ΕΝΘ Ν  
ΚΑΚΕ ΖΝΝΕΝ  
ΜΕΕΥΕ· ΕΝΘ  
ΝΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΟC  
ΕΠΩΝΖ ΜΠΙΝΥ  
10 ΤΕ ΕΤΒΕΤΩΝΤ  
ΔΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΤ  
ΨΟΟΠ ΝΖΗΤΗ.  
ΕΤΒΕΠΕΝΤΩΜ  
ΝΖΗΤ· ΕΑΝ  
15 ΤΑΔΝ ΜΥΝ Μ  
ΜΟΝ ΜΠΧΩ  
ΖΩ ΜΝΠΡΩΒ  
ΕΑΚΑΘΑΡCΙΑ  
ΝΙΜ ΖΝΟΥ  
20 ΜΝΤΜΑΙΤΟ  
ΝΖΟΥΟ· ΤΕ  
ΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΝΤΑΥ  
ΤCΑΒΟΝ ΔΝ Ν  
ΤΕΪΖΕ· ΑΛΛΑ  
25 ΝΤΑΥΤCΒΩ  
ΝΔΝ, ΔΕ ΖΝΟΥ  
ΖΟΤΕ ΜΝΟΥ  
CΤΩΤ· ΔΡΙΩΒ  
ΕΠΕΤΝΟΥΔΑΪ:

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ  
ΠΕΤΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ  
ΝΖΗΤΗΤΗΤΗ  
ΜΠΟΥΩΨ ΜΝ  
ΠΔΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΜΠΟΥΩΨ·  
ΔΥΩ ΔΕ ΔΡΙΩΒ  
ΝΙΜ ΔΧΝΚΡΜ  
ΡΜ ΖΙΜΟΚΜΕΚ·  
ΔΕΚΑC ΕΤΕΤ  
ΝΔΨΩΠΕ ΝΔΤ  
ΝΟΒΕ, ΔΥΩ Ν  
ΔΚΕΡΔΙΟC ΝΨΗ  
ΡΕ ΜΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΕΥΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΤΜΗ  
ΤΕ ΝΤΓΕΝΕΔ  
ΕΤΒΟΥΥC ΔΥΩ  
ΕΤΒΟΟΜΕ· ΕΤΕ  
ΤΝΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΘΕ  
ΝΝΙΡΕΥΡΟΥ  
ΟΕΙΝ ΖΩΤΚΟ  
CΜΟC· ΔΥΩ  
ΔΕ ΝΤΑΥΤΕ  
ΖΩΤΗΤΗΤΗ ΕΥ  
ΜΝΤΡΜΖΕ, ΝΕ  
CΝΗΥ· ΜΟΝΟ  
ΤΕΝΜΝΤΡΜ  
ΖΕ· ΜΠΤΡΕC

disobedient, erring,<sup>1</sup> walking in the vanity of our hearts, darkened in our thoughts, alienated from the life of God because of the ignorance which was in us and because of our hardness of heart, having given ourselves up to defilement and the working of every uncleanness in covetousness? Now we were not taught in this manner,<sup>2</sup> but rather thus were we taught: - "Work out your salvation in fear and trembling. For it is God who works in you the will and the fulfilment of the will"<sup>3</sup> And, "Do all things without murmuring and disputing, that you may become sinless and innocent, children of God, holy, in the midst of the crooked and perverse generation among whom you are manifested as enlighteners in the world<sup>4</sup>." And, "You were called unto freedom, brethren, only let not our freedom

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Tit.3.3.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Eph.4.17-20.

<sup>3</sup>Phil.2.12-13.

<sup>4</sup>Phil.2.14-15.



ΩΩΠΕ ΕΥΑΦΡ  
ΜΗ ΝΤΑΡΞ  
ΑΛΛΑ ΖΙΤΝΤΑ  
ΓΑΠΗ ΜΠΕΠΝΑ  
5 ΔΡΙΖΜΖΔΛ Ν  
ΝΕΤΝΕΡΗΥ.

ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΝΤΑΥ  
ΖΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤΝ  
ΕΥΤΣΒΩ ΝΑΝ.  
10 ΧΕ ΤΕΝΟΥΒΕ  
ΚΩ ΝΩΤΝ  
ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ.  
ΤΟΡΓΗ.

ΠΩΝΤ.

15 ΤΚΑΚΙΔ.

ΟΥΩΧΕ ΝΩΛ  
ΜΠΡΤΕΥΕΙ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΡΩΤΝ.

20 ΜΠΡΧΙΒΟΛ Ε  
ΝΕΤΝΕΡΗΥ.

ΕΔΤΕΤΝΚΑ  
ΤΗΥΤΝ ΚΑΖΗΥ  
ΜΠΡΩΝΑΣ  
ΜΝΝΕΥΖΒΗΥΕ.

25 ΔΥΩ ΔΤΕΤΝΤ  
ΖΙΩΤΤΗΥΤΝ  
ΜΠΒΡΡΕ.

ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΖΩ  
ΩΥ. ΔΝΠΩ

ΩΝΕ ΜΠΖΔΠ  
ΕΥΧΟΛΗ. ΔΥΩ  
ΠΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΝΤΑΙ  
ΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ. ΕΥ  
CΙΥΕ. ΕΝCΩΥ  
ΝΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ.

ΔΥΩ ΕΝΔΙΒΟΛ  
ΕΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ  
ΖΩΤΜΟCΤΕ  
ΜΝΠΜΥΕ.

ΜΝΠΤΩΝ.

ΕΤΒΕΖΕΝΤΡΟ

ΦΗ ΝΑΡΚΙΚΟ.

ΕΝCΩΔΤ' ΔΝ Ν

ΛΔΔΥ ΚΑΤΑΤΕ

ΧΡΕΙΔ. ΔΥΩ

ΚΑΝ' ΔΝCΩΩΤ'

ΟΝ. ΕΝΕΙΡΕ

ΜΠΜΘΕΥΕ Μ

ΠΩΧΕ ΕΤΧΖ

ΔΕ ΖΝΖΕΝΛΩ

ΧΕ ΖΑΠΕΧC.

ΔΥΩ ΕΝCΩΩΥ

ΜΠΕΖΜΟΤ' Μ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΔΙ

ΕΝΤΑΥΔΑΝ Ν

ΜΠCΩ ΝΝΤΝ

ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΙ

ΒΙΟC. ΕΝΤΝΜ

\*

become an occasion of the flesh, but through the love of the spirit serve one another.<sup>1</sup>" And again when we were taught we were bidden, "Now therefore renounce all these, anger, wrath, wickedness; let not a shameful word come out of your mouth. Do not lie one to another, having stripped off the old man with his works, and having put on the new".<sup>2</sup> But now we have turned judgment into gall<sup>3</sup> and the fruit of righteousness into bitterness<sup>4</sup>; despising our fathers and lying to each other in hatred, conflict, and strife for the sake of carnal foods, although we have not been short of anything we needed. And even if we have been short we remember the word which is written, "In straits for Christ's sake"<sup>5</sup>. And we despise the grace of God who deigned<sup>6</sup> to bring us into this life, though we were not

<sup>1</sup>Gal.5.13.

<sup>2</sup>Col.3.8-10.

<sup>3</sup>It may be noted that the LXX has θυμός, and not χολή as here, but the Hebrew is  $\sqrt{\chi\gamma}$  which is a poisonous plant, perhaps poppy, which the LXX usually renders χολή.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Amos 6.12.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. II Cor.12.10.

<sup>6</sup>For this translation cf. Crum, Dict., p.180a, lit. "who made us worthy to be brought.....".



$\frac{1}{\gamma\lambda\Delta}$   
7

πῶτα ἄμου ἀν-

ζωστε εἰρε-

ψωπε ἡδρόπ'

ἡἡἰούδαϊ, μῆν

5

ἡζελλην μῆν

τεκκλήσια

ἡπνούτε.

ἐνψωπε ἡνε

τεμῆνται.

10

ζωστε εἰρε

νετζην' ἐρο-

μῆννετοῦην

ἡμον' σωτῆ

ἡσεχοος δε

15

εἰсне' ζωοῦ

ον, σεμοστε

ἡνεγερην.

τεγδε. τε τε

δε. ἡθε εἰ

20

χηε δε εἰβε

τηγτῆν σεξι

ογὰ ἐπαρὰν

εἰἡἡζεθνος:



25

Ταῖ ον τε θε

ἐνταπμεριτ

ἡπνούτε α

πα ἀθανάσιε

χοος δε ἡπ

τρεογὰ ναγ

εροκ ἐκάσχη

μῶνει. ἡχδο

ος δε παῖ πε

πρωμε εἰτα

σκεῖ εἰταε

τάωρεα εἰ

ἡπ' εἰπε.

παῖ πε πῶαθ

της, αγω πε

σβογῖ ἡπταε

ἡπῶνζητ.

παῖ πε πρω

με ἐνταγcot

πῆ εβολ εἰ

πκοσμος.

εαγοπῆ μῆν

ἡαγγελος ἡ

ἡπηνε. πετ

σωγῆτ εβολ

ζητῆ ἡπῆρῶ

ἡππε, εαζελ

πιζε εαζερα

τῆ ετογωμ.

αγω δε μαρεμ

διεοογ εβολ

εἰτοοτῆ ἡ

εἰπεχς. ἡπῆ

τρεγδίουα

ερομ εἰβη



worthy of it, so that we became an offence to the Jews and to the Greeks and to the church of God<sup>1</sup>, bringing shame on those that have it not<sup>2</sup>, and so that those who are near us and those who are far from us hear and say, "Behold<sup>3</sup>, they too hate each other, our way is their way", as it is written, "Because of you my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles"<sup>4</sup>. Thus again the beloved of God, Apa Athanasius<sup>5</sup>, said, "Do not<sup>6</sup> let anyone see you behaving unseemly and say, 'This is the man who disciplines himself to attain the gift that belongs unto heaven. This is the disciple and the pupil of the wise teacher. This is the man who was chosen out of the world, having been reckoned with the angels of heaven, he who expects the king of heaven, hoping to stand by his side!'" And, "Let Christ be glorified by you; do not let him be blasphemed because of

<sup>1</sup>Cf. I Cor.10.32.

<sup>2</sup>For the phrase *NETEUNTAI* cf. 25v, note 2.

<sup>3</sup>Note *EICNE* for *EIC2HHNE*, a contraction not found in Crum, Dict. or the grammars which however cite *EICTE* and *EICTE*.

<sup>4</sup>Is.52.5, cf. Rom.2.24.

<sup>5</sup>The following quotations do not occur in the published works of Athanasius but form part of a Sah. homily the author of which is unidentified, i.e. Ryl.62 in Crum, Ryl., p.24.

<sup>6</sup>Note *rip* for the more usual form *urip*, cf. Crum, Dict., p.178b.

HTK. 4XW ΓAP  
 ΛΜOC ΔE ΠET  
 TEOOT NAI. †  
 NATEOOT NAY.

5

ΠETNATCWW  
 ΔE NAI. †NACO  
 W. AUTATE  
 ΓWAXE ΔE ET  
 WWWT EBOL

10

ENOTΓAPPH  
 CIA. ΔE EK  
 CWW ΛΜOC  
 ON. KAN EK  
 WANTAIOY EN  
 NEKWAXE. EK  
 ΔIOYΔ EPON

15

ENNEKZBHTE:  
 ΛΠWPCE TE  
 NOY NECNHY  
 ETPEYΔIOYΔ

20

EITNOTTE E  
 TBHHTN. H  
 NCEWHTPA  
 NNENEIOTE  
 ETBETENUNT  
 ATCBW. EN  
 TTRENKW N  
 CWN NNEY  
 CBOOTE, MN

25

NEYENTOLH  
 ENTAYZONON  
 ETOOTN MN  
 TEYEPICTH  
 MH. AYW PEY  
 TBBO. NΘE EN  
 TAYZWN ETO  
 OTN EYPAWY  
 EPON NTTE  
 MNPKAZ ETU  
 TRENTPAPBA  
 ΛMOOY ΔINOY  
 KOYI WAOY  
 NOS. NBOYO  
 ΔE ETUTREN  
 TAKEPENCW  
 MA KATALLAY  
 NCMOT' MTO  
 NHPON. ΔE N  
 NENPETHN  
 ENTENZAH.  
 AYW NTNPWZ  
 MTENZHT'  
 ENPTMA ETN  
 NABWK EPON.  
 ENCOOYN ΔE  
 WANDY NIM.  
 ZATC ETREN  
 AZEPATN THPN,

you. For it says, 'I will honour him who honours me, but I will despise him who will despise me'.'. And he proclaimed the word which decided openly, "You despise him if you honour him with your words but blaspheme him by your works<sup>2</sup>." Now, brethren, on no account let God be blasphemed because of us, and the name of our fathers be defamed because of our ignorance in forsaking their teachings and their commandments which they enjoined upon us, and their wisdom and their purity, in that they bade us adjuring us by heaven and earth that we should not transgress them from the least to the greatest, and especially that we should not destroy our body in any evil way, lest we be remorseful at our end and break our hearts in the place to which we shall go. We know that it is at all times necessary for us all to stand

<sup>1</sup>I Kg.2.30.

<sup>2</sup>Presumably the writer intends to attribute this quotation to Athanasius also. In Ryl.62, fol.2v, it follows immediately on the preceding passages attributed to Athanasius.



$\frac{1}{\gamma\lambda\varsigma}$   
7

ΕΠΙΒΗΜΑ ΜΠΕ

ΧΣ. ΝΤΕΠΟΥΑ

ΠΟΥΑ ΔΙ ΕΒΟΛ

ΖΙΤΜΠΕΥΩ

5

ΜΑ ΠΡΟΣΝΕΝ

ΤΑΥΔΑΥ, ΕΙΤΕ

ΑΓΑΘΟΝ, ΕΙΤΕ

ΠΕΘΟΥ· ΑΛ

X

ΛΑ ΜΑΡΕΝΕΝ

10

ΒΑΛ' ΘΩΥΤ Ε

ΝΕΤΟΥΤΩΝ

ΝΘΕ ΕΤΗΖ.

ΝΤΕΝΕΝΒΟΥ

ΖΕ ΕΙΩΡΜ ΕΜ

15

ΜΝΤΜΕ. ΑΥΩ

ΝΤΝΡΙΚΕ Μ

ΠΕΝΖΗΤ' ΕΤΕ

ΣΒΩ. ΝΤΝΣΟΒ

ΤΕ ΝΝΕΝΜΑΔ

20

ΔΕ ΕΝΨΑΔΕ

ΝΤΑΙΣΘΗΣΙΣ.

ΝΤΝΣΖΑΪΟΥ

ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΠΠΩ

ΔΩ ΜΠΕΝΖΗΤ.

25

ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΝΝΑ

ΡΒΟΛ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥ

ΣΖΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ

ΖΕΝΖΑΒΕ. ΑΥΩ

ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΖΑΛΗΤ.

ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΟΥΠΑ

ΩΥ. ΑΥΩ ΝΤΝ

ΡΒΟΛ ΕΠΛΩ

ΩΜΕ ΜΝΤΑ

ΚΑΘΑΡΣΙΑ:

ΕΝΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΜΕ

ΕΥΕ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΥ

ΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ ΔΙΝ

ΤΕΝΟΥ ΠΚΕ

ΛΑΒΙΝ ΚΗ ΖΑ

ΤΝΟΥΝΕ ΝΝ

ΩΗΝ'. ΩΗΝ'

ΘΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕ

ΝΥΕΙΡΕ ΑΝ Ν

ΟΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ

ΕΝΔΝΟΥΥ.

ΣΕΝΔΚΟΟΡΕΥ

ΝΣΕΝΟΧΥ Ε

ΠΚΩΖΤ.

ΖΜΠΑΪ ΓΑΡ Ν

ΤΑΥΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ

ΘΑΗ ΝΟΥΟΝ

ΝΙΜ ΔΣΩΝ

ΕΖΟΥΝ. ΒΜ

ΠΕΤΝΖΗΤ'ΘΕ

ΝΤΕΤΝΝΗΦΕ

ΕΝΕΨΛΗΛ.

ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΗ

ΦΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΡΟ

at the judgment-seat of Christ and for each one to receive through his body according to the things he has done whether good or evil<sup>1</sup>. "But let our eyes look at things that are upright", as it is written, "and our eyelids open wide<sup>2</sup> to the truths<sup>3</sup>." And let us incline our hearts to teaching and prepare our ears for the words of knowledge<sup>4</sup>, and write them on the tables of our hearts<sup>5</sup>, that we may escape like a gazelle out of a snare and like a bird out of a trap<sup>6</sup>, and that we may escape from filth and uncleanness. We remember that which was said, "From now the axe is laid at the root of the trees; every tree then which does not bear good fruit shall be cut down and cast into the fire<sup>7</sup>." For on this subject it has been said, "The end of all is nigh<sup>8</sup>. Be prudent therefore and be sober unto prayers"<sup>9</sup>. And again, "Be sober and vigilant

<sup>1</sup>II Cor.5.10.

<sup>2</sup>Lit. "stare", cf. Crum, Dict., p.84b. The LXX here has  $\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ , "nod", "beckon". The normal Coptic rendering of this would be  $\Delta\omega\rho\alpha$ . A confusion between  $\epsilon\iota\omega\rho\alpha$  and  $\Delta\omega\rho\alpha$  is not unknown, cf. Crum, Dict., p.785b, but note that  $\epsilon\iota\omega\rho\alpha$  is universally attested in the Sah. text of Prov. 4.25, cf. Worrell, Prov.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Prov.4.25.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Prov.23.12.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Prov.7.3.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Prov.6.5.

<sup>7</sup>Lk.3.9, cf. Mt.3.10.

<sup>8</sup>Zoega CCV, fols.  $\chi\eta\theta$  -  $\psi\beta$  (cf. p.21f) contain a text parallel to 50v, col.II, line 23, beginning  $\alpha\varsigma\omega\nu$  - 52v, col.II, line 17, ending  $\sigma\omega\mu\epsilon\kappa$ . Variants between the two texts will be noted.

<sup>9</sup>I Pet.4.7.



ΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΤ̄Ν

ΑΝΤΙΔΙΚΟΣ

ΠΑΙΔΒΟΛΟΣ

ΜΟΥΣΕ ΕΥΛ

5 ΖΗΛ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΙ

ΜΟΥΕΙ, ΕΥΩΙ

ΝΕ ΝΑΩΜΚ

ΝΝΕΤΨΥΧΗ.

ΑΥΩ ΜΠΥΡΟ

10 ΟΥΩ ΝΑΝ. ΟΥ

ΤΕ ΡΩ ΜΠΕΠΕ

ΖΗΤ' ΔΙΘΑΝΕ

ΕΝΟΙ ΜΠΕΤΕ

ΩΥΕ:

15 ΜΑΡΝΡΖΟΤΕΒΕ

ΑΥΩ ΝΤΝΡΠΜΕ

ΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΑΥΔΟ

ΟΣ ΔΕ ΨΕΟΥ

ΜΠΔΟΕΙΣ ΠΕ

20 ΤΝΝΟΥΤΕ. ΕΜ

ΠΑΤΕΠΚΑΚΕ

ΩΩΠΕ. ΑΥΩ

ΕΜΠΑΤΕΝΕ

ΤΝΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ

25 ΔΙΔΡΟΠ' ΖΙΔΝ

ΝΤΟΥ ΝΚΑΚΕ.

ΤΕΤΝΔΩΩΤ

ΖΗΤΨ ΜΠΟΥ

ΟΕΙΝ. ΟΥΖΑΙ

ΒΕΣ ΝΤΕΠΜΟΥ

ΠΕΤΩΟΟΠ' Μ

ΜΔΥ. ΑΥΩ ΟΕ

ΝΔΚΔΥ ΕΥΚΑ

ΚΕ. ΕΩΩΠΕ

ΔΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΤΨ

ΣΩΤΨ. ΖΝΟΥ

ΖΩΠ' ΣΝΑΡΙΜΕ

ΝΒΙΤΕΤΨΥΧΗ

ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ

ΜΠΕΤΝΣΩΩ.

ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤΝΒΑΛ.

ΕΥΩΟΥΕΡΨ

ΕΙΗ ΕΖΡΑΙ:

ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙΔΕ ΝΕ

ΣΝΗΥ ΣΔΕ

ΤΗΥΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ

ΝΝΙΜΥΤΡΕΥ

ΨΝΟΥΒΣ ΜΠΨ

ΤΕ. ΕΤΕΠΑΙ

ΠΕ ΕΤΨΤΑΚΕ

ΠΖΗΤ' ΝΛΔΥ

ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΤ

ΨΣΒΩ ΝΔΥ.

ΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΨΣΩΩ

ΝΝΕΤΝΕΙΟΤΕ.

ΔΕ ΝΝΕΠΨΟ

ΕΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ ΑΓΑ

ΝΔΚΤΕΙ ΕΡΩ  
ΤΝ

because your adversary the devil goes<sup>a</sup>, roaring as the lions<sup>b</sup>, seeking to devour your souls"<sup>1</sup>. And we did not trouble about it, nor did our heart know<sup>c</sup> how to perceive<sup>d</sup> what was fitting. Let us therefore stand in awe, and remember that it has been said, "Give glory to the Lord your God before the darkness comes and your feet stumble upon the dark mountains. You will look for light, a shadow of death is there, and they shall be put in darkness. But if you do not hear, your soul<sup>e</sup> will weep secretly, confronted with your contempt, and your eyes will shed tears"<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, brethren, depart from provoking the wrath of God. This means not corrupting the mind of anyone against him who teaches him, nor despising your fathers, lest the Lord<sup>f</sup> Christ be angry with you

<sup>1</sup>I Pet.5.8.

<sup>2</sup>Jer.13.16-17.

<sup>a</sup>For μωωυε Zoega CCV reads qμωωυε

<sup>b</sup>For μωυει Zoega CCV reads μωυι

<sup>c</sup>For διϑανε Zoega CCV reads διϑινε

<sup>d</sup>For νοι Zoega CCV reads νοει

<sup>e</sup>For τετῶψyxη Zoega CCV reads τετῆψyxη

<sup>f</sup>For λοειc Zoega CCV reads λοιc



! /  
ΥΛΗ  
J

NŪEINE NŌY  
CΔZΟΥ ΕΞΝΤΗΥ  
TŊN ΔINŪPEIŪA.

ΔΕ ΥCHZ ΔΕ  
ΠΕΤΧΙ ΜΠΕΥ  
ΕΙΩΤ' NŌONC  
MŪTEYMAAY,  
ΕΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΔΕ  
NŲPNOBE ΔN.

ΟΥΚΟΙΝΩNΕ  
ΠΕ ΠΔΙ' NŌYPO  
ME NΔCEBHC.

ΔΥΩ ΔΕ ΠΕΤNΔ  
ΔΕΠΕΘΟΥ  
ΕΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ'  
MŪTEYMAAY.  
ZŊNOYMOY MA  
PEYMOY.

ΔΥΩ ΔΕ ΥCZΟΥ  
OPŲ NŌIΠET  
NΔCΩY MΠEY  
ΕΙΩΤ' ΕΤQIPO  
ΟΥY ZAPOY.

Η ΝΕΥΕΙΟΤΕ  
ΕΤQCBŪ NΔY  
ZŊNOYMŲNTΔA  
CIGHT' MŲNOY  
KΩMŲY ΔΥΩ  
ZŊNOYMOCTE

MŲNOYMŲNTBA  
BERWME. EN  
CEEIPE ΔN M  
ΠMEEYE NŲΘE

ENTAYOΠŲN  
EPŌOY ZŊTEY  
ΔΓAΠH ETBE  
ΠNOYTE. ΔE  
APA TŲNΔTZHY  
NTENΨYXĤ.

ΔΥΩΘΕ MΠŲNT  
ΟΥTE ENCE  
EIPΔ ΔN MΠME  
EYE, ΔE ΔYΔO  
OC ΔE ΠΕΤNΔ  
† NZENΠEΘO  
OY EPMA NZE  
ΠETNΔNOYOY.

MΠEΘOY NΔ  
KIM ΔN ZŲTEY

HĤ. ETBE  
ΠΔΙ' MΔPŲNTHT  
EPON ETŲTA  
KEΠZHŲ' NΔA  
AY, OYTE ETŲ  
CΩY NNEŲN  
EIOTE, ΔE ZE  
NŌB NŲNOBE  
NE NIGBHYE

X

and bring a curse upon you from this<sup>a</sup> place on', because it is written, "He who uses violence against his father and his mother, thinking, 'I do not sin', is an associate of an ungodly man<sup>2</sup>." And "He who shall speak evil of his father and his mother, let him die the death<sup>3</sup>." And "Cursed is he who shall despise his father"<sup>4</sup>, who takes care of him, or his fathers, who teach him, in pride, mockery, hatred, and boastfulness. They<sup>5</sup> do not remember how they<sup>6</sup> received us in their love for God's sake, so that we might profit our souls. And did we not give a reminder and did they<sup>5</sup> not call to mind that it had been said, "He who shall recompense evil for good, evil will not stir from his house<sup>7</sup>." Therefore let us pay heed not to corrupt the mind of anyone, nor to despise your<sup>8</sup> fathers, because such things<sup>b</sup> are great sins.

<sup>1</sup>I.e. from now on, already in this world. This is clear from 47r where it is further elaborated.

<sup>2</sup>Prov.28.24.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Ex.21.16, Lev.20.9, Mt.15.4, Mk.7.10.

<sup>4</sup>Deut.27.16.

<sup>5</sup>I.e. those who despise their fathers.

<sup>6</sup>I.e. the fathers.

<sup>7</sup>Prov.17.13.

<sup>8</sup>Scil. our.

<sup>a</sup>For ΓΕΙΜΑ Zoega CCV reads ΓΙΜΑ

<sup>b</sup>For ΝΙΣΘΗΥΕ Zoega CCV reads ΝΕΙΣΘΗΥΕ



ἄντεῖζε. καὶ  
 γὰρ ἀνενεῖο  
 τε δοὺς δεῖ  
 5 ἑαῖ ἄνομα  
 δεῖ εἰῶ ἐβόλ  
 ἄπογρητ' ἐ  
 βόλ ἑντκακία  
 θίλῃμ δεκάς  
 ἐραοῦδαῖ. ἡγ  
 10 ὅννετῶμα  
 ἄτοοῦ πεδα  
 ἐγείῳ ἐβόλ  
 ἄδικαῖος  
 ἡ. ἐγδὸ ἑραῖ  
 15 ἄρητοῦ ἄου  
 κακία ἄου  
 ἄντατσωτῶ.  
 εἰε ἄπκω  
 20 τῶ ἄτοκ ὦ  
 πρῶμε, δε οὔ  
 οἰ ἄπετῶ  
 ἄπετρητοῦ  
 ὡ ἑνοῦτα  
 κὸ ἐγροῦ  
 25 ἐβόλ ἑννε  
 τενῶμεε  
 ἐροῦ ἀν, ἀγ  
 ἐτρεψε.  
 ἑντκατάλα

λῖα. ἄντατ  
 ἀτσωτῶ. ἄν  
 τῶντρητ' ἄ  
 ὡμο. ἐν  
 5 ἑκ ἄννε  
 ρῆ ἐπαροῦ  
 ἑνοῦμῶν.  
 ἐπῶ ἄτεῖ  
 10 ὡπε ἄκωτ'  
 ἄνετῆρη.  
 ἄθε ἐτρη  
 δε ἐτεῖκωτ  
 ποῶ ποῶ ἄ  
 περη.  
 15 ἀγ ἐτεῖ  
 ὡδε ἄνε  
 τῆρη ἑνῶ  
 ψαλμος ἄν  
 20 ἑνσω, ἄν  
 ἑνωδῇ ἄ  
 πνικόν. ἀν  
 ὡπε ἄρε  
 ὡρῶρ ὡ  
 25 ὡ ἄννε  
 ρῆ ἑνεβῆ  
 οἰ ἄπδῖβο  
 λος. ἐβόλ  
 δε ἀθετῶ  
 πνοῦτε οἰ



For our fathers also said that it was written in a certain place, "Wash your heart from wickedness, Jerusalem, that you may be saved!" "And you shall find those men", they said, "washing away righteousness and sowing in themselves wickedness and disobedience." Have you not heard, O man, the saying, "Woe to him who gives his neighbour to drink<sup>2a</sup> with evil corruption from such things as he conceives<sup>b</sup> not, and makes him drunk"<sup>3</sup> with evil-speaking, disobedience, and disaffection? We weakly act as a drag on one another instead of being an edification to each other, "edifying one another"<sup>4</sup> and "speaking to one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual<sup>c</sup> songs"<sup>5</sup>, as it is written. But we have become mutually destructive with the devil's works<sup>d</sup> because the fear of God is far

<sup>1</sup>Jer.4.14.

<sup>2</sup>Read ΠΕΤΤΟ with Zoega CCV.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Hab.2.15.

<sup>4</sup>I Thes.5.11.

<sup>5</sup>Eph.5.19.

<sup>a</sup>For ΠΕΤΤΟ Zoega CCV reads ΠΕΤΤΟ

<sup>b</sup>For ΖΗΝΕΤΕΝΥΜΕΕΥΕ Zoega CCV reads ΖΗΝΕΤΥΜΕΕΥΕ

<sup>c</sup>For ΑΥΤΝΙΚΟΝ Zoega CCV reads ΑΥΠΝΑΤΙΚΟΝ

<sup>d</sup>For ΖΒΗΟΥΕ Zoega CCV reads ΖΒΗΥΕ

τῷ

5 ἦνετε ἰρε ἦ  
ναῖ· ναμε  
ενεζενωη  
ρε ωημ ἰμα  
τε νε· ἰνθε̃  
κοογε ἦθε  
ετοχο ἰμος  
νε ουκοῖ ἦ  
10 λυπη τε· ἀλ  
λα ἐπειδᾷ θε̃  
νος ον ἦρω  
με νετῆνι  
20 2βηγε· ετβε  
παῖ ουνος πε  
ἦῶκαε ἦζητ  
δε ἀρθε ἦ  
νετὰ κρῶ  
ῤῥῶ ἦκαμωῖ  
30 3ης ἰπιοχο  
εἰω εζενρω  
με νε ἦονο  
μαστος· εμ  
πογωπε 2η  
τῷ· ἰνῆκα  
25 4τρεωεῖνι  
νος ἦ2ice  
ἦμωγ, εδ4  
ἦτογ εβολ  
2ῶπηῖ ἦτει

ἰντεῶκαλ.  
ωαντεπκαε  
ογων ἦρω  
ἦουκογ.  
εμπογῤπε  
εγε ἦθε εν  
ταχοῖς εζω  
ογ ἰπεωτο  
εβολ ἰπιογ  
τε· δε εγω  
πε κνακῶ  
ναγ εβολ ἰ  
πεγνοβε· εἰε  
καδ4· εγω  
πε ἰμων εἰε  
ουττ εβολ 2ῶ  
πεκζωωμε  
εντακα2ῷ·  
ογτε ἰπογ  
ῤπεεγε ἦ  
θε εντα42ῷ  
ετοοτογ  
2ῶπεωαδε  
δε 42ηκ ε  
ροκ επ2ωβ  
ἰπ2ωβ2· ετε  
ταῖ τε τκατα  
λαλιδ· ἦτε  
ἦνκοογν δν

from those who do these things. Truly if they and others like them were only children the grief would be small, but since they are grown men who act thus<sup>a</sup> therefore it is a great sorrow. For they have resembled those who murmured against Moses at that time, being notable men, but not revering him even after he had taken great troubles with them and had brought them out of the house of their bondage, so that the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up<sup>1</sup>. They did not remember how he prayed for them before God, saying, "If you will forgive their sin, forgive it, but if not, blot me out of your book which you have written"<sup>2</sup>; nor did they remember how he commanded them by his word, "Give heed to the matter of leprosy"<sup>3</sup> which means evil-speaking. You do not know

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Num.16.2ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ex.32.32.

<sup>3</sup>Deut.24.8.

<sup>a</sup>For N128H7E Zoega CCV reads NE128H7E



ΣΕ ΕΡΕΠΕΝ  
CΩNE CΩOΠ'  
NΔN' ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄N  
NENEPIY. ΠΑ  
5 ΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΕΠΕΝ  
ΤΑΚΟ CΩOΠ'  
NΔN ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ

Τ̄N NENEPIY.

CΩT̄M ΔΕ ΔΥΔΟ

OC ΔΕ ΕCΥΔΕ

ΟῩNΟῩNΤ

Ρ̄ΩN̄ΖΗΤ' CΩO

OΠ' NΔK. OY

ΩCΩB Λ̄ΠΕΤ

ΖΙΤΟΥCΚ'.

ΕCΩΠΕ Λ̄MΩ

KΔTEKΔIΔ' ΖΙ

Ρ̄N̄PΩK.

ΔΥΩ ΔΕ ΟΥΩΔ

ΔΕ ΕCΟΟΥ C̄M

ΠΕCΟΥCΕIΩ.

NΔNΟΥC TΗ

Ρ̄C. ΕCΩ

ΠΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΟΥ

ΚΟΥΔ̄ ΕΡΕΠΕC

ΖΗΤ' ΜΟΚ̄Z C̄N

ΟΥCΩB. NIM

ΠΕCΩΛΥΕ

Λ̄MΟΥ ΕCΟΟΥ

ΕΝΕΤ̄NΕΙΟΤΕ

Ζ̄NΟῩNΤ̄P̄M

N̄ΖΗΤ' Λ̄NΟΥ

ΕΠΙCΤΗMΗ.

ΔΥΩ Λ̄NΛΔΔΥ

N̄CΔZ N̄ΖΗΤ

NΔCΩΠΕ. ΔΛ

ΛΔ ΕΥNΑPΔCΕ

N̄TOY N̄ZOȲO.

ΕΔ̄NΤ̄ΠΔP̄P̄H

CID N̄T̄M̄T̄CΩH

PE, ΔΥΩ T̄M̄T̄

CON. ΖΙT̄N NΔI

ΓΑP ΕCΩPE

T̄M̄T̄ΖΗΤ' N̄OY

ΩΤ' ΟΥΩN̄Z Ε

ΒΟΛ. ΔΕ Λ̄NΠΩ

Ρ̄Δ Ζ̄M̄ΠΕNΖΗΤ

ΕCΟΥN ΕNΕN

ΕPΗΥ. ΔΛΛΔ

T̄N̄P̄OΕIC ΕΠ̄E

ΛΔC ΕΚΑΤΑΛΔ

ΛΙΔ NIM. ΠΕΤ

ΖΔPEZ ΓΑP ΕPΩC

Λ̄NΠΕCΛΔC.

ΕCΖΔPEZ ΕTEC

ΨΥΧΗ. ΔΥΩ

ΠΕCME Λ̄ΠΩ

N̄Z. C̄NΔT̄C̄O

X

that as our stability is through each other, so also our destruction is through each other. Hear that it has been said, "If you have understanding, answer your neighbour; if not, lay your hand upon your mouth"<sup>1</sup>, and "To speak a word in its season is altogether good"<sup>2</sup>. Moreover if there is anyone whose heart is grieved in anything, who prevents him from sensibly and wisely telling it to your fathers? And there will be no sorrow, but rather they will rejoice the more at the frankness conferred by the state of being a son and a brother. For by means of these things unanimity is revealed, because there is no division in our hearts, one to another, but we vigilantly keep our tongue from all evil-speaking<sup>3</sup>, since he who guards his mouth and his tongue, guards his soul<sup>4</sup>, and he who loves life will restrain

<sup>1</sup>Ecclus.5.12.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. perhaps Prov.15.23. The Sah. text, following the LXX, reads in the relevant part of the verse: αὐτὸς ἡνευξε λαλῶν ἐναντιοῦν ἐμπροσθοῦν αὐτῶν (cf. Worrell, Prov.). Besa's text seems to be nearer the Hebrew which runs: בְּיוֹם-הַדִּבְרִי לִפְנֵי רֵעִי. The same quotation occurs in Insinger 57, fol. 74v (cf. p.26).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Wisd.1.11.

<sup>4</sup>Prov.21.23.



!  
τμβ  
7

ΕΡΩΥ· ΔΥΩ  
ΔΕ ΕΡΕΓΜΟΥ  
ΜΗΠΩΝΣ· ΣΗ  
ΤΣΙΔ' ΜΗΠΛΑΔ·

5 ΠΕΤΑΜΑΣΤΕ  
ΔΕ ΜΩΟΥ· ΝΑ  
ΣΕΙ ΝΗΕΥΚΑΡ  
ΠΟΣ· ΔΥΩ

ΔΕ ΜΗΡΑΩΔ  
10 ΣΟΥ ΕΝΕΤΗ  
ΕΡΗΥ ΝΑΣΝΗΥ·

ΕΤΕΤΗΝΟΟΥ  
ΔΕ ΤΗΝΑΔΙ Ν  
ΟΥΝΟΒ ΝΚΡΙ

15 ΜΑ ΤΗΡΗ· ΕΙΣ  
ΣΗΗΤΕ ΠΕ  
ΚΡΙΤΗΣ ΔΣΕ  
ΡΑΤΥ ΣΙΡΜΠΡΟ·

ΕΤΡΕΥΚΡΙ

20 ΝΕ ΜΠΟΥΔ  
ΠΟΥΔ ΚΑΤΑ

ΝΕΥΣΒΗΥΕ·

25 ΜΗ ΣΕΝΣΒΗΥΕ  
ΩΗΩ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ  
ΕΝΤΑΝΙΡΩ

ΜΕ ΜΠΟΝΗ  
ΡΟΣ· ΔΥΩ Ν  
ΚΡΟΥ ΣΙΤΟΟ  
ΟΤΟΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ·

ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΕΤΡΕΥ  
ΣΜΗΝΕ ΝΣΕΝ  
ΣΣΑΙ ΕΤΟΒΟΥ  
ΕΒΟΛ· ΕΥΤΟΥ  
ΝΟΣ ΝΣΕΝΣΤΑ

ΣΙΣ· ΔΥΩ ΕΥ  
ΠΩΡΣ ΝΗΕ  
ΣΝΗΥ, ΣΗΤΕΥ  
ΜΡΡΕ ΝΚΡΟΥ·  
ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΝΣΕ  
ΡΣΟΤΕ ΔΝ ΣΗ  
ΤΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ·

ΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΣΗΣ  
ΔΕ ΣΕΝΡΩΜΕ  
ΝΣΝΟΥ ΔΥΩ  
ΝΚΡΟΥ· ΝΗΕΥ  
ΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ Ν  
ΝΕΥΣΟΟΥ·

Ε ΜΗ ΜΗΡΩΜΕ·  
ΣΣΑΙ ΝΣΗΤΤΗΥ  
ΤΗ, Η ΣΣΙΜΕ·

ΜΗΩΗΡΕ, ΜΗ  
ΩΕΕΡΕ, ΣΩΣ  
ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ· Η  
ΣΩΣ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ  
ΔΝ ΠΕ ΣΑΡΕΣ  
ΕΠΕΥΣΗΤ  
ΜΗΠΕΥΣΩ  
ΜΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΣΗ

his mouth.' Also "Life and death are in the power of the tongue<sup>2</sup> and he who controls it shall be satisfied with its fruits.<sup>3</sup>" Again "Groan not at one another, my brethren<sup>4</sup>." You know that we shall all receive a great judgment. Behold, the judge stands at the door,<sup>4</sup> that he may judge each one according to his works<sup>5</sup>. Are these things unimportant, to which the wicked and deceitful men have set their hand,<sup>6</sup> even going so far in their bond of deceit as to affix notices for publication which stir up rebellions and cause division of the brethren? For they fear not God, as it is written, "Bloody and deceitful men shall not remember<sup>7</sup> their days.<sup>8</sup>" Is there not amongst you a man or a woman, a boy or a girl, like an angel? And is it not angelic to guard one's heart and body from

<sup>1</sup>Prov.16.17.

<sup>2</sup>For  $\mu\tilde{\nu}\pi\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  read  $\mu\pi\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ , cf. Worrell, Prov.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Prov. 18.21.

<sup>4</sup> Jan. 5. 9.

<sup>5</sup>Similar phrases occur many times both in the O.T. and the N.T.

<sup>6</sup>Read 21T00T0Y for 21T000T0Y .

The Hebrew and the LXX read ׀ִיָּהּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִן הַמֶּלֶךְ וְעַד הַמֶּלֶךְ . But one Greek MS (L), agreeing with the Sah., reads οὐ μὴ μνησθῶσι τῶν ἡμερῶν αὐτῶν , cf. A.Rahlfs, Septuaginta-Studien, (Göttingen, 1904-1911) Heft 2, p.157. L, a 4th century MS, is now Pap.39, Leipzig Univ.-Bibl. and comes from Ashmunein. May the L reading perhaps have arisen by the omission of η at the beginning of the verb due to haplography, further alterations then being necessary to produce an intelligible text?

<sup>8</sup>Ps. 54. 24.



5 ΔΩΣῒ ΝΙΜ  
 ΜῒΝΤΩΛῒ ΝΙΜ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΠΕΥΛΑΣ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΕῒΠΘΟΛ  
 ΜῒΝΤΙΜῒΤΕΔΕ  
 ἸῒΨΑΔΕ, ΑΥΩ  
 ΤΕΥΣΥΠΟΜΟ  
 Νἦ ΜῒΕ·  
 ΟΥῒΡΩΜΕ  
 10 ΟΝ. ΟΥῒΝΣΙ  
 ΜΕ. ΟΥῒΨΗ  
 ΡΕ ΣΙΨΕΕΡΕ  
 ΖΩΣ ΔΙΑΒΟΛῒ  
 Ἡ ΖΩΣ ΔΙΑΒΟ  
 15 ΛΟΣ ΔΝῒ ἸῒΤΟΥ  
 ΠΕ ΔΩΣῒ Μῒ  
 ΠΕΥΣΗΤῒ ΜῒΝ  
 ΠΕΥΣΩΜΑ ΣῒΝ  
 ΔΙΚΑΘΑΡΣΙΑ  
 20 ΝΙΜ· ΑΥΩ ΠΕΥ  
 ΛΑΣ ΣῒΝΤΚΑΤΑ  
 ΛΑΛΙΑ ΜῒΝΠΕ  
 ΚΡΟΥῒ· ΑΥΩ  
 ΤΕΥΣΥΠΟΜΟ  
 25 Νἦ ἸῒΒΟΛ·  
 Ἡ ΝΕῒΣΒΗΥΕ  
 ΔΝ ἸῒΚΡΟΥ  
 ΣΙΜΟCΤΕ  
 ΣΙΨΤΩΝῒ ΝΕΤ

† ΜῒΜΩΤῒΝ ΕΤΟ  
 Οῒῒ ΜῒΠΕΤΘΟ  
 ΡῒΒ ΕΡΩΤῒΝ ΕΤΑ  
 ΚΕῒΤΗΥΤῒΝ Ἰῒ  
 ΔΙΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΣ Ἰῒ  
 ΡΩΜΕ, ΑΥΩ Ἰῒ  
 ΛΟΙΜΟΣ· ΚΑ  
 ΤΑΘΕ ΕΤΧΗΣ  
 ΔΕ ΝΕΚΡΟΥῒ  
 ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΣῒΝ  
 ΟΥΨΩΛ·

ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ἸῒΤΕ  
 ΤῒΝΔΩΛῒ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΣΙΤῒΝΝΕΤῒΝ  
 ΕΡΗΥ· ΠΑΛῒ  
 ἸῒΤΕΤῒΝΡῒΣΙΕῒΤῒ  
 ΕΝΕΤῒΝΕΡΗΥ·  
 ΨΑΝΤΕΠCΑ  
 ΤΑΝΔC ΜΕΣΕΙ  
 Αῒῒ ΜῒΜΩΤῒΝ·  
 ΑΥΩ ΝῒΖΩΜῒ  
 ΕΧΩΤῒΝ ΣῒΝ  
 ΝΙΣΒΗΥΕ ἸῒΒΟ  
 ΤΕ· ΑΥΩ ἸῒΤΕ  
 ΤῒΝCΛΟΜῒ  
 ΣῒΝΝΕΨΩΝΗΥ·  
 ΜῒΤΡΜΕΕΥΕ  
 ΔΕ ΕῒΜΟCΤΕ  
 ΜῒΜΩΤῒΝ, Εῒ

all foulness and impurity and one's tongue from falsehood and chatter and for one's constancy to be true? And there is a man or woman or boy or girl like a devil. Is it not devilish to defile one's heart and one's body in all uncleanness, and one's tongue in evil-speaking and deceit and for one's constancy to be false? Are not those things deceitful, hateful, and discordant which deliver you up to him who ensnares you to your doom, O unclean and pestilent men, as it is written, "The deceitful shall be for a prey!"? Again, you are ensnared by one another, and you make a pit for one another until Satan looks gloatingly<sup>2</sup> at you and tramples upon you by means of these abominable works, and so you are entangled in his nets. Do not think that I hate you, when I

<sup>1</sup>Prov.12.24.

<sup>2</sup>Lit. "fill eye", hence "look intently", cf. Crum, Dict., p.73b, perhaps better "gaze one's fill". It often seems to indicate not the intensity of the look so much as the fact that it is accompanied by an emotion, usually joy, and often malicious (see the examples cited in Crum, Dict.).



$\frac{1}{\tau\mu\delta}$   
7

ΧΩ ΝΝΔΙ· ΔΛ  
ΛΔ ΝΔΜΕ ΕΙΟΥ  
ΕΩΤΗΥΤΝ Ν  
20ΥΟ· ΕΙΣΥΜ  
5 ΒΟΥΛΕΥΕ ΝΗ  
ΤΝ ΖΩC CON·  
ΔΕΚΑC ΕΤΕ  
ΤΝΔΡΕΤΗΤΝ  
ΝΤΕΤΝΡΒΟΛ  
10 ΕΝΘΟΡΘC Α  
ΠΑΔΙΒΟΛΟC·  
ΚΑΤΑΠΕΤCΗC·  
ΔΕ ΚΝΑΝΤ Ε  
ΒΟΛ ΖΝΤΕΪΘΟΡ  
15 ΘC ΕΝΤΑΥ20  
ΠC ΕΡΟΙ· ΔΕ  
ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ ΤΑ  
ΝΔΥΤΕ·

20 ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΔΙ  
ΚΑΙΟC ΨΑΧΕΙ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΖΕΝ  
ΩΝΗΥ· ΔΥΩ  
ΝΤΝΡΑΠΥΔ  
ΝΔΩ ΑΠΥΔ  
25 ΔΕ ΕΤCΗC  
ΔΕ ΤΑΜΝΤΔΔ  
ΔΕ ΑΠΡΡΑΥΕ  
ΑΜΟΙ· ΔΕ ΔΙ  
ΖΕ· †ΝΔΤΩ

$\frac{1}{\kappa\eta}$   
7

ΟΥΝ ΟΝ· ΤΕ  
ΝΟΥΘΕ ΝΕCΝΗΥ  
ΝΤΩΤΝ ΤΗΡ  
ΤΝ ΖΙΟΥCΟΠ'  
ΖΑΡΕC ΕΡΩΤΝ  
ΖΝΤΑΓΑΠΗ Α  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΔΕ  
ΚΑC ΕΝΝΕΥ  
ΔΙΤΗΥΤΝ ΖΝ  
ΤΕΠΛΑΝΗ Ν  
ΝΑΝΟΜΟC·  
ΝΤΕΤΝΖΕ· Ε  
ΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΤΝ  
ΤΑΔΡΟ, ΕΤΕ  
ΤΑΙ ΤΕΤΝΖΥ  
ΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΕΤ  
ΔΗΚ' ΕΒΟΛ  
ΑΜΝΤΡΑΥΝ  
ΖΗΤ ΝΙΚ·  
ΔΥΩ ΡΟΕΙC  
ΑΖΕΡΑΤΤΗΥ  
ΤΝ ΖΝΤΠΙCΤΙC  
ΔΡΟ ΝΤΕΤΝ  
ΘΥCΟΜ· ΝΕ  
ΤΝΖΒΗΥΕ ΤΗ  
ΡΟΥ, ΜΑΡΟΥ  
ΩΩΠΕ ΖΝΟΥ

ΑΓΑΠΗ·  
ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ



say these things: truly I love you greatly. I counsel you as a brother that you may repent and escape the snares of the devil, as it is written, "You will bring me out of this snare which they have hidden for me, for you are my protector"<sup>1</sup>. And again, "The righteous always escapes out of nets"<sup>2</sup>. And we are worthy to speak the word which is written, "Do not rejoice over me, my enmity<sup>3</sup>, because I fell; I shall rise again"<sup>4</sup>. Now therefore brethren, all of you together keep yourselves in the love of God<sup>5</sup> in order that you may not be taken<sup>6</sup> in the error of the lawless and fall from your steadfastness, that is to say your constancy which is full of all wisdom. And be vigilant, stand fast in the faith, be strong and mighty, let all your works be in love<sup>7</sup>. And again as

<sup>1</sup>Ps.30.5.

<sup>2</sup>Prov.11.8.

<sup>3</sup>Both the Hebrew and the LXX have "my enemy" (f.) יָדֹאֵם ἡ ἐχθρά μου. Perhaps the reading here arose because ἐχθρά and ἔχθρα would have been indistinguishable in early unaccented MSS.

<sup>4</sup>Mic.7.8.

<sup>5</sup>Jude 21.

<sup>6</sup>Note ΕΝΝΕΥΔΙ ... for ΝΝΕΥΔΙ ...

<sup>7</sup>I Cor.16.13-14.

ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΠΑΠΟ

ΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΧΘΕ

ΧΕ †ΠΑΡΑΚΑ

ΛΕΙ ΜΩΩΤΗΝ

5

ΝΑΚΝΗΥ, ΕΤΡΕ

ΤΗΝΩΩΤ Ε

ΝΕΤΕΙΡΕ ΝΑ

ΠΩΡΧ ΜΗΝΕ

ΚΑΝΔΑΛΟΝ

10

ΠΑΡΑΤΕΣΒΩ

ΕΝΤΑΤΕΤΗΝΔΙ

ΣΒΩ ΕΡΟΣ. Ν

ΤΕΤΗΝΑΖΕ

ΤΗΥΤΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ

15

ΜΩΟΥ. ΝΑΙ

ΓΑΡ ΝΤΕΪΜΗΝΕ.

ΝΣΕΟ ΔΝ ΝΕΜ

ΖΑΛ ΜΠΧΘΕΙC

ΠΕΧC. ΑΛΛΑ

20

ΕΥΟ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ.

ΔΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ

ΤΗΝΤΕΥΘΙΝΩΔ

ΧΕ ΕΤΖΟΛC

ΜΗΠΕCΜΟΥ

25

ΩΔΥΕΖΑΓΤΑΤΑ

ΜΤΖΗΤ' ΝΝ

ΒΑΛΖΗΤ' :

ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΧΕ †ΖΗ

ΤΗΝ ΕΝΙΟΥΖΟ

ΟΡ. †ΖΗΤΗΝ

ΕΝΙΕΡΓΑΤΗΣ

ΕΘΟΥ. †ΖΗ

ΤΗΝ ΕΝΡΩΜΕ

ΕΝΤΑΝΔΑΙΜΩ

ΡΧΘΕΙC ΕΡΘΥ.

ΜΠΤΡΕΥCΚΑ

ΔΑΛΙΖΕ ΜΩ

ΤΗΝ. ΕΜΠΑΙ ΓΑΡ

ΝΤΑΧΘΟC Ν

CΙΠΑΠΟCΤΟ

ΛΟC ΧΕ ΕΙΧΩ

ΜΩC ΚΑΤΑ

ΟΥCΩΥ. ΤΕ

ΤΗΝΑΝΕΧΕ ΓΑΡ

ΕΖΗΗΤΗΝ ΝΝΙ

ΑΘΗΤ. ΕΝΤΕ

ΤΗΝΑΕΝΑΒΕ

ΕΥ. ΤΕΤΗΝ

ΑΝΕΧΕ ΓΑΡ Μ

ΠΕΤΕΖΑΓΤΑΤΑ

ΜΩΩΤΗΝ. Μ

ΠΕΤΚΤΟ Ε

ΒΟΛ. ΜΠΕΤ

ΕΙΡΕ ΜΩΩΤΗΝ

ΝΕΜΖΑΛ. Μ

ΠΕΤΟΥΩΜ.

ΜΠΕΤΔΙ. Μ

ΠΕΤΔΙCΕ ΜΩ.

the apostle has said, "I beseech you my brethren that you mark those who make divisions and scandals contrary to the teaching which you learned, and withdraw yourselves from them. For such are not the servants of the Lord Christ, but of their belly. And through their fair speech and flattery they beguile the hearts of the innocent!" And again, "Beware of the dogs, beware of the evil workers"<sup>2</sup>; beware of the men over whom the demons ruled. Do not let them give you occasion for stumbling. For on this the apostle said, "I speak by way of reproach"<sup>3</sup>. For you, being wise, bear willingly with the foolish<sup>4</sup>. For you bear with \*him who beguiles you, him who turns away\*<sup>5</sup>, him who enslaves you, devours, and seizes, him who exalts himself,

<sup>1</sup>Rom.16.17-18.

<sup>2</sup>Phil.3.2.

<sup>3</sup>II Cor.11.21.

<sup>4</sup>II Cor.11.19.

<sup>5</sup>\*- \* This clause, though not in the Greek N.T., is to be found in all extant Sah. MSS, cf. Thompson, Acts.



$\frac{5}{\gamma\mu\epsilon}$   
7

ᾠπετριοϋε  
εβοϋν επε  
τῆς. ἡ οϋ  
5 Νος, ῆνοβε  
αν πε ξε τε  
τῆς, αϋω τε  
τῆς μῆκο  
εμκον' πα  
ρατεγνωνη  
10 ῆνετῆειο  
τε ετι' ᾠπε  
τῆς.  
μαλιστα ες  
κῆ εραϊ εβολ  
15 εἰτῆνενοι  
οτε δινῆω  
ρῆ ξε ῆνερω  
με δῖ, ἡ ετ'  
παρτεγνων  
20 μη. αϋω  
Οἱ νενειο  
τε ενταβωκ  
τενοϋ ερα  
τῆ ᾠπνοϋτε  
25 αϋων' αϋω  
αἱπαρττει  
λε, ξε υςροϋ  
ορτ ῆοιπε  
τῆς, αϋω

ῆτ εἰνοκρῶ  
αἱνεειο  
τε: ῆτω  
τῆ δε ῆμοῖ  
χιπροϋω ῆ  
ῆρωμε ετδ  
τετητῆ ετ  
εαλωϋ ερω  
τῆ. ετενετῆ  
ωρε νε. ῆ  
θε εντατε  
τῆςοιτοϋ ε  
ρωτῆ ετβε  
πνοϋτε. ῆ  
τετῆχιπρο  
οϋω' οἱ ῆτεϋ  
ψυχῆ εἰταγα  
πη ᾠπνοϋ  
τε. ξε υςρε  
ξε +παρκα  
λειβε ῆνε  
πρεσβυτε  
ρος ετῆετ  
τητῆ εως  
ωβρπρεσβυ  
τερος, αϋω  
ᾠμῆρε ῆμ  
μοκῆς ᾠπε  
ῆς. αϋω εως

him who smites you in the face!<sup>1</sup> Is it not a great sin that you buy and sell with the laymen contrary to the judgment of your fathers who take care of you? It is especially laid down by our fathers from the beginning that men shall not buy or sell contrary to their judgment. And again our fathers who have now gone to God, bade us and commanded saying, "Cursed is he who shall buy and sell covertly without his fathers." But you, elders, take care of the men under you who are entrusted to you and who are your children, since you received them for the sake of God. Take care also of their souls in the love of God, because it is written, "I exhort therefore the elders who are among you, as fellow-elder and as witness of the sufferings of Christ, and as

<sup>1</sup>II Cor.11.20.



ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ

ᾠπεοογ ετ

ναδωλῆ εβολ

δε μοονε ᾠ

5

ποζε ᾠπνη

τε, ετῆζητ

τηγῆν, ἑῆογ

στορ' αν. αλ

λα εἰνητῆν

10

καταπνογτε.

ογτε ἑῆογ

μῆτμαῖζηγ

ῆωλου αν.

αλλα ἑῆογτογ

15

ποτ. ζωε

τεῆνὸ αν ῆ

δοεῖς ενε

κῆρος. αλ

λα ετεῆνωο

20

οπ' ῆτγπος

ᾠποζε. ετε

ῆνειρε ᾠπμε

εγε δε αχδο

ος δε ἑῆογ

25

δο εβολ. σε

ναδοῖ εβολ

ζανεῆψγ

χῆ. αγω δε

πενταδαλε

ζαε ερογ. σε

ναδατῆ ῆζαε.

ῆτεῆνχιπρο

ογῆ ῆτεγψγ

χη καταπνη

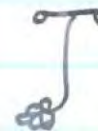
τε. αγω οη

ῆτεῆντῆκα

αγ εγδατ' ῆ

τεγχεῖα κα

ταπενβιος.



δε αχδοος δε

εγωπε ογῆ

ογcon, ῆ ογ

cωνε κη κα

ζηγ. αγω εγ

δατ' ῆτεζε

ᾠπεζοογ, πε

ζοογ. ῆτε

ογᾶ δοος ναγ

εβολ ῆζητ

τηγῆν δε βωκ

ἑῆογεῖρηνη;

ῆτεῆνζμουῖ

ῆτεῆνσι. νῆ

τῆγ δε ναγ

ῆνετογδε

ναγ, ῆτεγτω

μα. ογ πε φηγ.

εγωπε δε

steward<sup>1</sup> of the glory which shall be revealed. Tend the flock of God which is among you, not under constraint but willingly according to God; not with love of shameful gain but gladly; not as being lord over the charges but being examples to the flock<sup>2</sup>." You remember that it was said, "Freely I will be spent for your souls"<sup>3</sup>, and, "To whom much is entrusted, from him will much be required"<sup>4</sup>, that you may care for their souls according to God and not leave them lacking that which is needful for our way of life; because it has been said, "If there is a brother or a sister naked and lacking daily food, and one among you say to them, 'Go in peace and be warmed and be satisfied', but does not give them the things of the body which they need, what is the use?"<sup>5</sup> If, however,

<sup>1</sup>ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ is probably an error for ΚΟΙΝΩΝΟΣ, the N.T. reading. A conscious adaptation, by no means unknown in Besa's use of the Bible (cf. p. 60f), seems unlikely here.

<sup>2</sup>I Pet. 5.1-3.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. II Cor. 12.15.

<sup>4</sup>Lk. 12.48.

<sup>5</sup>Jam. 2.15-16.

! /  
γμν  
7

5 Ἰκεψαδτ' αν  
Ἰτερε μν  
Ἰβσῶ· μντα  
ψαδε μμα  
εξῶ· αγω Ἰ  
τοκ ζωωκ  
ον' κναψω  
πε Ἰατνοβε·  
10 αλλα ροεισ  
Ἰτου ετῶκα  
αἱ εῷβοτον  
εοτον· μν  
ποτε Ἰτῶν  
ζοεινε εἰ  
15 δι μπεγμτο  
δε οἰντα  
ρωμε μμα  
Ἰτῶνζοεινε  
εγμωψε  
20 ζῆνοκωλῆ  
μνογῶκα  
δε μντο  
ρωμε μμα  
ετβεπαῖ οἰ  
25 νοβ, Ἰνοβε  
πε ζῶμα Ἰτει  
ζε ετρεγδι  
πζῶ Ἰζοῖνε·  
Ἰκεκαζοῖνε·

εγμωτ' Ἰσω  
οἰ ρῶ αν ζο  
λως· αλλα  
μαρεογγω  
Ἰογωτ' ῶω  
πε ναγ, τηρογ  
ζιογσπ' Ἰ  
θε ετχηε δε  
παπεζογῶ  
μτῶρζογῶ·  
αγω παπκοῖ  
μτῶσβοκ·  
δεκας ερεογ  
μτον ῶωπε  
ναγ τηρογ·  
Ἰκεῶμμε  
μπνογτε ζῆ  
οἰτωτ' Ἰζητ·  
εμῆρικε  
ωοοπ'. οἰτε  
μντρεμζιζῶ:  
Ἰτωτῆν δε Ἰ  
ειοτε Ἰῆῆ  
μπροογ  
Ἰῆρωμε εν  
ταπνογτε  
βαλωγ, ερω  
τῆν ζῆνογζοτε  
Ἰτεπνογτε



they do not lack food and clothing, they have no complaint to make<sup>1</sup>, and you yourself also will be sinless. But be vigilant not to let them prefer one more than another, lest you find some being at their ease because they have a friend, but others walking in distress<sup>2</sup> and grief because they have no friend. Therefore it is a great sin in such a place that they should favour some and neglect others, not regarding them at all. But let there be the same equality<sup>3</sup> for all of them together as it is written, "He who had much did not exceed, and he who had little did not lack"<sup>4</sup>; in order that there may be peace for them all and in order that they may serve God in contentment, without fault-finding or favouritism. And you, fathers of the houses, in the fear of God take care of the men whom God entrusted to you,

<sup>1</sup>Lit. "no word to say".

<sup>2</sup>Lit. "bent state", cf. Crum, Dict., p.107b.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. II Cor.8.14.

<sup>4</sup>II Cor.8.15, cited from Ex.16.18.

ΕΤΕΤῆΝ†CBΩ

ΝΔΥ ΕΠΟΥΔΑΙ

ἸΝΕΥΨΥΧΗ.

ΔΕ ΔΥΔΟΟC

5 ΔΕ ἸΕΙΟΤΕ

ἈΠῚΡ†ΝΟΥC

ἸΝΕΤῆΝΨΗΡΕ.

ΑΛΛΑ CΑΝΟΥ

ΨΟΥ ΕἸΤΕ

10 CBΩ ἈΠῚΡCΑ

ΒΘ ἈΠΔΟΕΙC.

ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΕ  
ΤΕΟΥῚΡΩΜΕ

ΒΑΛΩΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ.

15 CΕΝΔΔΝΟΥC

ΕΡΟΥ. 20

ΜΟΙΩC ΠΕΤΕ

ἈΠῚΡΩΜΕ ΒΑ

ΛΩΟΥ, ΕΡΟΥ.

20 CΕΝΔΔΝΟΥC

ΕΤΕΨΥΧΗ

ἈΜΗΝ ἈΜΟΥ.

ΕΤΕΤῆΝCΟΟΥ

25 ΔΕ ἸΘΕ ἈΠῚΡ

ΤΑΥΔΙ ἈΠῚΡΟΥ

ἸΒΙΝCΩΡ' ΔΥ

ῚΩΒ ἸΖΗΤΟΥ.

ΔΥ†ΖΗΥ ἸΚΕ

†ΟΥ. ΔΥΩ

ΠΕΝΤΑΥΔΙ Ἀ

ΠΕCΝΔΥ. ΔΥ

†ΖΗΥ ἸΚΕCΝΔΥ.

ΤΑΙ ΖΩΤΤΗΥ

ἸΝ ΤΕΤῆΝΖΕ.

ΕΤΕΤῆΝΨΑΝ

ΜΟΟΝΕ ἈΜΩ

ΟΥ ΚΑΛΩC Ἰ

ΘΕ ἈΠΨΩC

ΕΤΝΔΝΟΥC

ΕΨΑΥΚΩ ἸΤΕΥ

ΨΥΧΗ ΖΑΝΕΥ

ΕCΟΟΥ:

ΠΔΟΕΙC ΓΑΡ ΔΩ  
ἈΜΩC ΔΕ Ἀ

ἈΝΔΑΓΑΓΗ Ε

ΝΔΔΔΥ ΕΤΑΙ.

ἸCΑΤΡΕΠῚΩ

ΜΕ ΚΩ ἸΤΕΥ

ΨΥΧΗ ΖΑΝΕΥ

ΨΒΕΕΡ. ΔΕ

ΚΑC ἸΤΩΤῆΝ,

ΔΥΩ ἸΤΟΥ

ΕΤΕΤΝΕῚἈ

ΠΩΑ ΖΙΟΥCῚ

ΕΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥ

ΕΠῚἈ ἸΨΕ

ΛΕΕΤ' ἈΠῚΡΑ

ΤΨΕΛΕΕΤ'



teaching them for the salvation of their souls. For it has been said, "Fathers, do not provoke your children to wrath but nurture them in the teaching and the instruction of the Lord<sup>1</sup>.", and again, "He to whom a man is entrusted, of him he shall be required. Likewise he to whom no man is entrusted, his own soul shall be required of him<sup>2</sup>." You know that even as he who received five talents worked with them and gained another five, and as he who received two gained another two<sup>3</sup>, so also are you if you tend them well like the good shepherd who lays down his life for his sheep<sup>4</sup>. For the Lord says, "There is no love greater than this that a man lay down his life for his friends"<sup>5</sup>, in order that you and they together may be worthy to go into the bridechamber with the true bridegroom<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>1</sup>Eph.6.4.

<sup>2</sup>The context suggests that this is a Biblical quotation but I have been unable to trace it.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Mt.25.16-17.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Jn.10.11.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Jn.15.13.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Mt.25.10.

<sup>5</sup>  
7ND

ῶμε ἱς. ἀρεῶ

ἡτοῦ αὐτοῦ πο

εἰς ὑπερρεῖ

βουλήν ἡγήτην

5 ἐρετεῦς

οὗ λαοῦ ἡ ἐκ

τακῆς. ἡ

δοξὸς καὶ ἡ

οὐρανίου

10 περὶ τῆς

ἡγεσίας

τοῦ ἐπεὶ

ἐκείνη

ἡ ἐκείνη

15 τῶν καὶ ἡ

ἐκείνη

νοῦ ἐκείνη

ἐκείνη

ἐκείνη

20 καὶ αὐτοῦ

οἱ ἡτοῦ

ἐκείνη

τῶν ἐκείνη

25 ἡ τῶν ἐκείνη

τῶν ἐκείνη

ἐκείνη

ἐκείνη

ἐκείνη

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Jesus. Take heed and be vigilant, do not let one of us be found whose garment is filthy or perished and it be said to him with shame, "Friend, how did you come hither, without wearing a wedding-garment?"<sup>1</sup>, or it be said, "Cast him out into the outer darkness"<sup>2</sup>. Woe to me and woe to every one if this befall us! But you, O brethren, obey your fathers who teach you with all proper obedience and submission, because it has been said, "Submit to one another in the fear of Christ"<sup>3</sup>, and, "Children, obey your fathers in every respect, for this is the will of the Lord"<sup>4</sup>, and again, "Obey your great ones and submit to them, for they themselves keep vigil for your souls, that they may do so with joy and not groan"<sup>5</sup>, and again, "But we beseech you, brethren,

<sup>1</sup>Mt.22.12.

<sup>2</sup>Mt.22.13.

<sup>3</sup>Eph.5.21.

<sup>4</sup>Col.3.20.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Heb.13.17.



ECOYĪNET  
 ZOCE N2HT  
 THYTĪN, AYW  
 ETΠPOZICTA  
 5 EPWTĪN ZĪMΠO  
 EIC, AYW ET  
 CBW NHTĪN.  
 NTEĪNKAY  
 NNΔ2PHTĪN  
 10 ZĪNOY2OYŌ ZĪN  
 TΔΓΔΓTH ETBE  
 ΠEY2WB. ΔE  
 KAC ETETNE  
 WWPTE NKΛŌ  
 15 NWOYWOY  
 AYW NTEΛHΛ  
 NEOY NNET  
 NAY EPON, M̄N  
 NETNATWMT  
 20 EPON THPOY.  
 EYKTŌ M̄NOY  
 METANOIA.  
 AYW NTEĪN  
 WWPTE NWOY  
 25 WOY, NNEN  
 EIOTE THPOY  
 ZĪMTE2OY  
 M̄PEX̄C. ETE

ΠAĪ ΠE ENWΔ  
 EĪ EBOL ZĪMTEĪ  
 MΔ, NTNBINE  
 NΟΥΓΔAPPH  
 CIA NNΔ2PAY  
 ZĪMMA ETU

May:

ETBEΠAĪ NE  
 CNHY MAPN  
 KTON NTNTA  
 ZENEN2BHYE  
 EPATOY, M̄N  
 NEN2IOOYE.  
 AYW NTNWI  
 NE NCANE2I  
 OOYE NWE  
 NE2' M̄ΠΔOIC.  
 ΔEKAC ENESI  
 NE NOYTBBO

NNENΨYXH:

T ΠΔOEIC ΔE ΠE  
 X̄C IC ΠWHPE  
 M̄PETCMMMA  
 AT' ΠNOYTE  
 NNBOU ΠTTAN  
 TOKPATWP  
 EYECOOYTĪN  
 NNETN2HT

to know those that labour among you and preside over you in the Lord and teach you, and to esteem them highly in love because of their work"<sup>1</sup>, that you may become a crown of pride and a joy of glory to those who see us and all those who shall meet us, for a return and a repentance, and that you may become the pride of all our fathers on the day of Christ, that is, when we come out of this world and find freedom in their presence in that place. Therefore, brethren, let us turn and establish our works and our ways, and seek the eternal ways of the Lord, that we may find purification for our souls<sup>2</sup>. And the Lord Christ Jesus the Son of the Blessed, God of hosts, the Almighty, shall direct your hearts

<sup>1</sup>I Thes.5.12-13.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Jer.6.16.



ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΤΑΓΑ  
ΠΗ ΛΥΠΝΟΥ  
ΤΕ ΔΥΩ ΕΘΥ  
ΠΟΜΟΝΗ Λ  
5 ΠΕΧ̄C· ΔΥΩ  
ΕΥΝΑΨΟΜ  
ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΤΗΡΤ̄Ν  
ΖΙΟΥCΟΠ· ΕΙ  
ΤΕ ΝΟΒ· ΕΙΤΕ  
10 ΚΟΥΕΙ·

ΕΙΤΕ ΕΙΩΤ·  
ΕΙΤΕ ΨΗΡΕ·  
ΕΙΤΕ ΛΑΔΥ·  
ΕΙΤΕ ΨΕΕΡΕ·

15 ΕΙΤΕ ΟΥΟΝ  
ΝΙΜ ΖΙΟΥCΟΠ'  
ΕΤΡΕΤ̄ΝΥΙ ΖΑ  
ΝΕΤ̄ΝΕΡΗΥ·

20 ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΤΕ  
ΤΝΕΧΩΚ ΕΒΛ  
Ν̄ΝΝΟΜΟΣ Λ  
ΠΕΧ̄C:

Ν̄ΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΝ̄Υ  
ΤΕ Ν̄ΡΗΝΗ  
25 ΕΥΕΟΥΨΥ  
ΛΥΠCΑΤΑΝΑΣ  
ΖΑΝΕΤ̄ΝΟΥ  
ΕΡΗΤΕ Ζ̄ΝΟΥ  
ΒΕΠΗ· ΔΥΩ

ΕΥΝΑΨΟΜ  
ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΤΗΡΤ̄Ν  
ΕΤΡΕΤΕΤ̄Ν  
ΕΙΡΕ ΛΥΠΕΥΟΥ  
ΩΨ ΝΔΥ· ΕΥ  
ΕΙΡΕ ΛΥΠΕΤ̄Ρ  
ΑΝΔΥ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Ν  
ΛΥΠΕῩΤΟ Ε  
ΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄ΝΙC  
ΠΕΧ̄C· ΔΥΩ  
ΕΥΝΑΔΕΚ̄ΤΗΥ  
Τ̄Ν ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΟΥ  
ΩΨ ΝΙΜ̄ ΕΤ  
ΝΔΝΟῩ· ΕΤΡΕ  
Τ̄ΝΨΩΠΕ Ν  
CΟΦΟC ΕΠΑ  
ΓΑΘΟΝ· ΝΔΚΕ  
ΡΑΙΟC ΔΕ ΕΠΠΕ  
ΘΟΥ:

Τ̄ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ Τ̄ΝΔ  
Δ̄Ω ΝΗΤ̄Ν Λ  
ΠΕΪΚΕΨΑΔΕ  
ΕΤΕΟΥΟCΕ  
ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΑΝ ΠΕ·  
ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΖΗΥ  
Ν̄ΤΟΥ ΝΗΤ̄Ν  
ΠΕ ΛΥΝΟΥΕΟ  
ΟΥ· ΕΤΕΠΔ̄Ι  
ΠΕ· ΔΕ Ζ̄ΥΤΕ

towards the love of God and the patience of Christ<sup>1</sup>. And he will give all of you together power, whether great or small, father or son, mother or daughter, or every one together, to support each other in order that you may fulfil the laws of Christ<sup>2</sup>. And the God of peace will crush Satan quickly under your feet<sup>3</sup>, and he will give all of you power to perform his will, doing that which is pleasing amongst us before him through Jesus Christ; and he will fill you with every good desire<sup>4</sup> that you may become wise in respect of good, but innocent in respect of evil<sup>5</sup>. Furthermore, I shall also tell you this saying, which is no loss to you, but rather a profit and a glory, and that is this: that in the

<sup>1</sup>II Thes.3.5.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Gal.6.2.

<sup>3</sup>Rom.16.20.

<sup>4</sup>II Thes.1.11. -  $\chi\omega\kappa\epsilon\theta\omicron\lambda$  can also mean "to complete", "to fulfil". The pronominal suffix  $-την\tau\eta\bar{\nu}$  has no equivalent in the Greek N.T. There, as here, the meaning of the passage is doubtful since it is not clear whether  $\sigma\tau\omega\omega - \epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\alpha$  is God's or man's, cf. Kittel, TWNT, vol.II, p.744.

<sup>5</sup>Rom.16.19.



2ME N200Y  
 ΕΤΟΥΚΗΡΥC  
 CE ΛΜΟΥC ZM  
 ΠΚΔ2 ΤΗΡΥ  
 5 ΕΤΡΕΟΥΟΝ  
 ΝΙΚΩ ΔΓΩΝΙΖΕ  
 N2HTY ZM  
 ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΤΗ  
 ΡΥ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ  
 10 ΚΑΤΑΤΕΥCΟΜ.  
 ΕΙΤΕ ΝΟC.  
 ΕΙΤΕ ΚΟΥΕΙ.  
 ΔΚΜΗΝ' ΕΥΡ  
 ΖΟΥΟ ΠΑΡΑΤΕΥ  
 15 CΟΜ. †CΩΤΥ  
 ΔΕ ΟΥΝ2Δ2' N  
 ΖΗΤΤΗΥΤN  
 ΖNNETEΟΥN  
 CΟΜ ΛΜΟΥC  
 20 ΕΡ2ΟΥΟ. ΕΥ  
 ΟΥΩΜ' ΖΙΡΟΥ  
 ΖΕ ΛΜΗΝΕ.  
 ΕΜΠΥΡΡΟΥ  
 ΝΔΥ, ΔΕ ΟΥΕΤ  
 25 ΝΙ20ΟΥ, ΕΤ'  
 NKE20ΟΥ ΤΗ  
 ΡΟΥ. ΕΟΥN2Δ2  
 NΚΟCΜΙΚΟΝ  
 ΖΙΒΟΛ ΕΙΡΕ

CΝΔΥ, CΝΔΥ, ΖΙ  
 ΥΤΟΥC. ΔΥΩ  
 ΟΝ' ΕΟΥNΟΥ  
 ΟΝ' CΕΚCΔΒ  
 ΒΑΤΟΝ. ΜΑΛΙ  
 CΤΑ ΝΕCΝΗΥ  
 ΛΥΠΕΐΜΑ ΖΑΤΗ'  
 ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΔΕ  
 CΕΖΩΤΡ ΤΗ  
 ΡΟΥ, ΔΙΝN2Λ  
 ΛΟΕΙ ΕΤΕΛN  
 CΟΜ ΛΜΟΥC  
 ΩΔNΩΗΡΕ  
 ΩΗΜ ΕΤCΟ  
 ΒΚ. ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΥ  
 ΖΟΥΟ ΟΝ' CΕΚ  
 ΥΤΟΥC, ΖΙCΔΒ  
 ΒΑΤΟΝ, ΕΥΡ  
 ΠΚΕΟΥΩΜ  
 ΟΕΙΚ ΔΝ. ΕΥ  
 ΕΙΡΕ ΛΥΓΜΕ  
 ΕΥΕ ΛΥΠΕΝΔ  
 ΕΙC IC. ΔΥΩ  
 ΠΚΕΛΩΥCΗC.  
 ΛN2ΗΛΙΔC, Ε  
 ΔΥΡΠΕΖΜΕ' N  
 ΖΟΥC ΤΗΡΥ  
 ΝΟΥCΟΠ' ΝΟΥ  
 ΩΤ' ΕΜΠΟΥ

forty days during which it is proclaimed in all the earth that every one in the whole world should strive with himself, each one according to his strength, be it great or small, and even going beyond his strength, I hear that many among you in whom there is strength to excel eat every evening, and care not that these days are one thing and all the other days another,<sup>1</sup> while many laymen outside do periods of two days together or four, and also that some fast a week, especially the brethren of this monastery with us, for not only do they all act as a team from the old men who have no strength down to the little children who are small, but also most of them fast four days or a week without even eating bread, remembering that our Lord Jesus<sup>2</sup> and Moses<sup>3</sup> too, and Elijah<sup>4</sup>, did the whole forty days on end without

<sup>1</sup> Note ET for OYET after NI200Y .

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mt.4.2 and Lk.4.2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ex.34.28.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. III Kg.19.8.

ΤΕΠ'ΛΑΔΥ, ΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΟΕΙΚ· ΟΥΤΕ  
 ΜΟΥ· ΑΝΟ  
 ΔΕ ΜΠΙΝΤΗ  
 5 ΤΩΝΝ ΕΡΟΥ  
 ΖΟΛΩΣ ΖΗΤΕ  
 ΛΕΥΛΙΧΕ ΝΕ  
 ΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΝ·  
 ΔΥΩ ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΕ  
 10 ΖΟΥΟ ΔΕ ΔΝΕΙ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΩΠΚΟ  
 ΣΩΟΣ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΠΕΙΒΙΟΣ  
 ΠΑΙ ΕΤΝΑΠΥΑ  
 15 ΜΟΥ ΔΝ·  
 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ Μ  
 ΠΡΤΡΕΝΔΜΕ  
 ΛΕΙ· ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑ  
 ΡΝΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ  
 20 ΤΗΡΝ ΠΟΥΑ  
 ΠΟΥΑ ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΤΕΥΘΟΥ· ΚΑ  
 ΤΑΠΕΝΤΑΠΕ  
 ΤΑΠΧΟΕΙC ΔΟ  
 25 ΟΥ· ΔΕ ΑΓΩ  
 ΝΙΖΕ ΕΒΩΚ  
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΙΤΗ  
 ΠΠΥΛΗ ΕΤΘΗ·  
 ΤΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΧΟ

ΟC ΔΕ ΖΕΝΚΥΙ  
 ΝΕΤΝΑΒΩΚ  
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΖΗΤC·  
 3 ΠΠΥΛΗ ΔΕ Ν  
 ΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΟΥC  
 ΖΑΖ ΝΕΤΒΗΚ  
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΖΗΤC·  
 ΕΤΕΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΔΕ  
 ΝΑΥΕ' ΝΕΤΕΙ  
 ΡΕ ΜΠΕΥΟΥ  
 ΩΥ ΝΖΗΤ' ΤΕ  
 ΝΟΥ, ΝΘΕ ΕΤΟΥ  
 ΔΥC· ΕΥΝΑ  
 ΠΩΖ' ΜΠΕΥ  
 ΖΗΤ' ΖΩΩΥ  
 ΕΥΩΑΝΕΙ Ε  
 ΒΟΛ ΖΩΠΕΙΜΑ·  
 ΖΕΝΚΟΥΙ ΔΕ  
 ΝΕΤΝΑΒΕΧ  
 ΖΩΔΟΥ, ΝCΕ  
 ΜΟΚΖΟΥ, ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΠΤΟΥΤΕ· ΔΕ  
 ΕΥΝΑΔΙ ΖΩΩΥ  
 ΜΠΕΥCΟΛCΛ  
 ΜΝΠΕΥΤΩΤ  
 ΝΖΗΤ' ΖΩΠΜΑ  
 ΕΤΟΥΝΑΒΩΚ  
 ΕΡΟΥ· ΔΥΩ

70 Ν' ΠCΟΕΙC ΔΩ



tasting anything, either bread or water. But we have not resembled them in the very least. What is the use<sup>1</sup> of our having retired from the world into this life of which we are not worthy? So let us not be negligent, but let us all strive, each one according to his strength, even as<sup>2</sup> the Lord said, "Strive to go in through the narrow gate"<sup>3</sup>, of which he said, "Few are they who will go in by it"<sup>4</sup>. But many are they who go through the wide gate"<sup>5</sup>. And that means: those who do their hearts' desire now, as they wish<sup>6</sup>, are many; but they will break their hearts when they leave this world. On the other hand, they who will be distressed and grieved for God's sake are few; but they will receive their comfort and their hearts' content in the place to which they will go. Again the Lord says,

<sup>1</sup>2040 here as if 244 , for other examples cf. Crum, Dict., p.735a.

<sup>2</sup>Note the duplication of ΠΕΝΤΑ - which is due to ditto-graphy.

<sup>3</sup>Lk.13.24.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Mt.7.14.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Mt.7.13.

<sup>6</sup>Note ΕΤΟΥΔΩC for ΕΤΟΥΟΥΔΩC as often.

ἄλλος δὲ πῆ-  
ταυσε' εἶπεν  
ψυχῇ. ἡνάκορ  
μεσ· πῆτνα  
5 σωρῦ δὲ ἦτεν  
ψυχῇ ἐτβηητ'.  
ἡνάσε εἶρος.  
εὔωνε ὡδε  
NE2:

10 ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ ΔΕ ἦ  
ΤΕΠΔΟΕΙC ΤΑ  
ΔC ΝΑΝ' ΕΤΡΕΥ  
ΣΕ ΕΡΟΝ' ΕΝ  
ΡΟΕΙC, ΔΥΩ  
15 ΕΝΤΚΑΡΠΟC.  
ΕΝΕΙΡΕ ἈΓΜΕ  
ΕΥΕ ΝΝΕΥΕΝ  
ΤΟΛῇ. ΕΝΚΑ  
ΘΑΡΙΣΕ ἄλλο  
20 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝΔΩ  
Σῦ ΝΙΩ ἈΝ  
ΤΑΝΤΕΗΤ  
CΝΔΥ. ΔΥΩ  
ΤΑΝΤΡΕΥ  
25 ΤΩΝ', ἦΤΑΝΤ  
ΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΜ.  
ἈΝΤΑΝΤΣΑ  
CΙΣΗΤ'. ΤΑΙ Ε  
ΩΔΡΕΠΝΟΥ

ΤΕ + ΟΥΒΗC.  
ΕΝΣΩ ΕΡΟΝ  
ἄλλοτε εἶε  
CΒΩ ΕΤΟΥΟΔ',  
ἦΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ  
ἈΝΝΕΥΕΝΤΟ  
Λῇ ΕΝΤΑΥΣΟ  
ΝΟΥ ΕΤΟΟΤῆ.  
ΣΕΚΑC ΕΤΕ  
ΤΝΕΡῶΤΩΔ  
ἦΒΩΚ ΕΣΟΥΝ  
ΕΠΩΝΣ ΖΙΟΥ  
CΟΓ'. ἦΤΩΤῆ  
ἈΝΝΕΤῆΩΗ  
ΡΕ, ἈΝΝΕΤῆ  
CΝΗΥ, ἈΝΝΕ  
ΤῆΩΔΔΥ, ἈΝ  
ΝΕΤῆΩΕΕΡΕ.  
ἈΝΝΕΤῆΡΩ  
ΜΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ.

Εἰ μὴ λαλῶ +  
ΧΡΟΠ' ΝΗΤῆ:

ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ἦΤΑΙ  
CΣΑῖΝΑΙ ΔΝ Εἶ  
+CΒΩ ΝΗΤῆ.  
ΔΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΔΝΟΚ  
ΟΥΤΑΛΑΙΓΩ  
ΡΟC, ΕΝΤΠΗΣ  
ΔΝ ΕΝΕῖΩΙ.

"He who finds his life will lose it, but he who loses his life for my sake will find it unto eternal life<sup>1</sup>." May it come to pass that the Lord grant that we be found vigilant<sup>2</sup> and fruitful, remembering his commandments, purging ourselves of every impurity, hesitancy<sup>3</sup>, youthful quarrelsomeness, and arrogance which God resists<sup>4</sup>. We are quite satisfied with the sound teaching of our fathers and their commandments which they have laid upon us in order that you may become worthy to enter the life<sup>5</sup> together, you, your sons, your brethren, your mothers, your daughters, and all men, there being nothing to cause you to stumble. For indeed I have not written these things to teach you. Myself, I am a wretched man, not having attained to these measures,

<sup>1</sup>Mt.10.39 and Jn.12.25.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Lk.12.37.

<sup>3</sup>Lit. "double-mindedness". Here the meaning clearly is lack of single-mindedness resulting in doubt and irresolution.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Prov.3.34, I Pet.5.5, Jam.4.6.

<sup>5</sup>Probably the reference is to "life eternal". But the possibility cannot be excluded that the reference is either to "monastic life" as opposed to secular life, or to the "Christian life" as opposed to pagan life.



$\frac{1}{\gamma \text{IN} 5}$   
7

5 ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕΨΛΗΛ  
ΕΧΩΪ ΝΤΕ  
ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΔ  
ΖΜΕΤ' ΕΒΟΛ  
5 ΖΩΠΕΘΟΥ  
ΝΙΩ· ΔΕ ΔΝΟΚ  
ΟΥΖΗΚΕ ΔΝΓ  
ΟΥΕΒΙΗΝ· ΔΛ  
ΛΔ ΕΪΟΥΩΩ  
10 ΕΤΡΕΝΡΒΟΛ  
ΤΗΡΝ ΕΤΕΚΡΙ  
CIC ΜΠΝΟΥ  
ΤΕ· ΝΤΝΡΩ  
ΠΩΔ ΜΠΩΝΖ  
15 ΩΔΕΝΕΖ ΖΙ  
ΟΥCΟΥΤ:

20 ΒΗCΔ ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙ  
CΤΟC ΠΕΤ  
CΖΑΪ ΜΠΕΨΜΕ  
ΡΙΤ' ΝCΟΝ ΜΔΘ  
ΘΔΙΟC· †ΡΩΠΗ  
25 ΡΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΪΖΕ  
ΖΝΟΥΒΕΠΗ  
ΔΚΠΩΩΝΕ  
ΜΠΕΖΜΟΤ' Ν  
ΙC ΠΕΧC ΠΔΪ

ΕΝΤΑΥΤΔΖΜΕΚ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΩΠΚΔ  
ΚΕ· ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε  
ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ·  
ΔΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΩ  
ΠΜΟΥ· ΕΖΟΥ  
ΕΠΩΝΖ· ΕΔΚ  
ΚΩ ΝCΩΚ Ν  
ΤΕΚΖΥΠΟΜΟ  
ΝΗ, ΜΝΤΕΚ  
ΜΝΤΑΠΟΤΔ  
ΚΤΙΚΟC· ΔΚ  
ΔΡΝΔ ΜΜΟΚ  
ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΚ  
ΖΝΟΥΜΝΤ  
ΒΩΒ ΜΝΟΥ  
ΖΗΤ' ΜΜΝΤ  
ΩΜΜΟ· ΔΥΩ  
ΔΚΜΕΡΕΓΕΪ  
ΔΙΩΝ' ΔΚΒΩΚ  
ΕΘΕCΣΑΛΟ  
ΝΙΚΗ· ΕΤΕ  
ΤΜΝΤΑΤΖΗΤ  
ΤΕ· ΜΝΘΕ ΕΝ  
ΤΑΚΚΤΟΚ' Ε  
ΠΑΖΟΥ ΖΝΟΥ  
ΩΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΚ  
ΩΩΠΕ ΝΔΡΗ'  
ΝΟΥΜΗΗΨΕ·  
→ ΜΠΚΡ

and I pray<sup>1</sup> for myself that God may deliver me from every evil, for I am a poor man and a miserable. But I desire us all to escape the judgment of God and become worthy of eternal life together.

Besa the most humble writes to his beloved brother Matthew. I marvel that you have turned so quickly from the grace of Jesus Christ<sup>2</sup>, who called you out of the darkness into the light<sup>3</sup> and from death into life, having forsaken your constancy and your monastic way of life. You have disowned your very self through weakness and estrangement. You loved this present age and went to Thessalonica<sup>4</sup>, which is foolishness and the way in which you turned shamefully back so as to become a stumbling-block for the many. You did not

<sup>1</sup>For ΝΤΕΩΛΗΛ read probably ΝΤΑΩΛΗΛ . But if the former be the correct reading, translate: "and you (fem. sg.) pray for me....". It might then refer to the prayers of the ΕΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ, as the letter is addressed to monks.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Gal.1.6.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. I Pet.2.9.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. II Tim.4.10. - Probably only metaphorically, and Matthew did not in fact go to Thessalonica. For a discussion of this point cf. p.94f.



ΓΜΕΕΥΕ ἈΠΨΑΞΕ  
ἈΠΔΟΕΙC ἸΘΕ  
ΕΝΤΑΥΔΟΟC

5

ΞΕ ΠΕΤΝΑΚΔ̄  
ΔΔΛΙΞΕ ἸΟΥΔ̄  
ἸΝΙΚΟΥῙ ΕΤ  
ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟῙ.

10

ΣΡΝΟΥΡΕ ΝΔΥ  
ΔΕΚΔC ΕΥΕ  
ΜΟΥΡ ἸΟΥΨ  
ΝΕ ἸCΙΚΕ Ε  
ΠΕΥΜΔΚ̄Ξ ἸCΕ

15

ΟΥCΥ ΕΠΠΕ  
ΛΔΚΟC' ἸΘΔΛΔC  
CΔ· ΕΞΟΥΕ ΤΡΕΥ  
CΚΑΝΔΔΛΙΞΕ  
ἸΟΥΔ̄ ἸΝΙΚΟΥῙ  
ΕΤΠΙCΤΕΥΕ  
ΕΡΟῙ.

20

ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΔΛΗΘΩC  
ἸΟΥΚΟΥῙ Ἰ  
CΚΑΝΔΔΛΟΝ  
ΔΝ ΓΕ ΝΤΔΥ  
ΨΩΠΕ ἸΞΔΞ

25

ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟ  
ΤΚ ΕΥΡΨΠΗ  
ΡΕ ἸΘΕ ΕΝΤΔΚ  
ΔΔC ΕΔΚΙΤΟ  
ΝΗΡΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΚ

ἈΨΙΝ ἈΜΟΚ·  
ΔΚΚΩ ἸCΩΚ  
ἸΤΠΗΓΗ ἈΜΟῩ  
ΩΝΞ· ΔΚΨΙ  
ΚΕ ΝΔΚ ἸΞΕΝ  
ΨΗῙ ΕΥΟΥΟ  
ΘΠ ΕΝCΕΝΔΥ  
ΔΜΔΞΤΕ ΔΝ Ἀ  
ΠΜΟῩ· ΕΜ  
ΠΚΜΕΚΜΟῩ  
ΚΚ ΟΥΤΕ ΕΜ  
ΠΚΒ̄ΝΠΕΚΞΗΤ  
ΕΤΡΕΚΕΙΜΕ  
ΞΕ ΟΥΨΠΕ  
ΝΔΚ' ἸΝΔΞΡ̄Ν  
ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΓΕ  
ΠΞΩΒ ΕΝΤΔΚ  
ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ Ε  
ΡΟΥ ΕΔΔΥ·

ΟΥΤΕ ΟΝ ἈΤΚ  
ΡΓΜΕΕΥΕ Ἀ  
ΠΕΝΤΑΠΞΟΙC  
ΞΟΟῩ ΞΕ ΓΕ  
ΤΝΔΞΥΠΟΜ  
ΝΕ ΨΑΒΟΛ·  
ΠΔΙ ΠΕΤΝΔΟῩ  
ΔΔῙ· ΔΥΩ ΞΕ  
Ξ̄ΝΤΕΤ̄ΝΞΥΠΟ  
ΝΗ ΕΤΕΤΝΔ

remember the word of the Lord, how he said, "He who will offend one of these little ones who believe in me, it is better for him that a millstone should be tied to his neck and he be sunk in the depth of the sea<sup>1</sup>, rather than that he should offend one of these little ones who believe in me"<sup>2</sup>. For truly it is not a small offence which befell many through you, for they were amazed at what you did, in that you have acted wickedly against yourself. You have forsaken the fountain of living water and have dug for yourself broken cisterns which will not be able to hold water.<sup>3</sup> You did not consider nor did you learn to understand that the thing that you undertook to do was a disgrace to you in the sight of every one. Nor again did you remember what the Lord said, "He who will endure to the end, he shall be saved"<sup>4</sup>, and, "In your constancy<sup>5</sup> you shall

<sup>1</sup>Mt.18.6.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Lk.17.2.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Jer.2.13.

<sup>4</sup>Mt.10.22, Mt.24.13, Mk.13.13.

<sup>5</sup>For  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$  read  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ .

$\frac{1}{\gamma\eta\eta}$   
7

ΔΠÔ ΝΗΤἼ ᾤ  
ΝΕΤἼΨΥΧἪ.  
ΕΙΤΑ ΟΝ' ΔΕ  
ΠΕΚΛΩ' ΕΥ  
5 ΩΟΟΠ' ᾤΝΕ  
ΤΝΔΜΟΥΝ Ε  
ΒΟΛ· ΠΕΝΕΪ  
ΖΒΗΥΕ ΡΩΔΥ  
ΝΔΚ· ᾤΤΟΚ  
10 ΕΤΣΟΟΥΝ·  
ΠΧΟΕΙC ΕΥ  
ΝΔΚΤÔ ΕΧῶ  
ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ  
ᾤΤΕΥΔΙΚΑΙ  
15 ΟCΥΝΗ, ᾤΝ  
ΤΕΥΠΙCΤΙC·  
ΠΕΔΠΕΚΖΗΤ  
ᾤΚΑ2 ΖἼΟΥ  
ΖΩΒ, Ἡ ΔΙΛΥ  
20 ΠΕΙ ᾤΜΟΚ  
ΕΙCΟΟΥΝ' ΔΝ'  
ᾤΠΒΟΛ ᾤΤΕ  
ΤΟΛἩ ᾤΠΝΟΥ  
ΤΕ· ΕΤΒΕΟΪ  
25 ᾤΠΚΤΑΜΟΪ  
ΔΕ ΕΙΝΔΕΙΜΕ·  
ΔΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ᾤ  
ΤCΟΟΥΝ ΔΝ'  
ᾤΠΕΘΟΥ

ΕΔΙΕΙΡΕ ΝΔΚ·  
ΟΥΤΕ ᾤΤΟΚ·  
ΟΥΤΕ ΒΕ· ᾤ  
ΠΙΔΙΛΔΔΥ ΓΑΡ  
ᾤΒΟΝC· ΟΥ  
ΤΕ ᾤΠΙΤΑΚΕ  
ΛΔΔΥ· ΟΥΔΕ  
ᾤΠΙΤΕCΛΔΔΥ·  
ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΕΤ  
Ô ᾤῶΝΤΡΕ,  
ΔΥΩ ΟΝ' ΝΕ  
CΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
CΟΟΥΝ ᾤΖΩΒ  
ΝΙΜ ᾤΝΩΔ  
ΔΕ ΝΙΜ· ΕΩΩ  
ΠΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΟΥ  
ΡΕΥΧΙ ΝΒΟΝC  
ΕΙΚΩΛΥΕ ᾤ  
ᾤΡΩΜΕ ΕΡ  
ΠΟΥΩΥ' ᾤ  
ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ· ΠΕ  
ΕΚΔΩ ᾤΜΟC  
ΕΤΒΕΝΕΚΩΗ  
ΡΕ· ΝΙΜ ΠΕ  
ΤΑΥΠΩΤ' ᾤ  
CΩΟΥ· ΕΙΜΗ  
ΤΙ ΕΡΟΥ ΜΔΥ  
ΔΔΥ, ΕΤΒΕΝΕΥ  
ΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΘΟΥ·



win your souls<sup>1</sup>." Thus again, "The crown is for those who shall endure"<sup>2</sup>. Can it be<sup>3</sup> that these things are profitable to you? It is you who know. The Lord shall return to every one his righteousness and his faithfulness<sup>4</sup>. If<sup>5</sup> the fact was that your heart was grieved about something or that I pained you unwittingly contrary to the commandment of God, why did you not tell me that I might know? For neither I nor you nor any one else knows any evil that I did you. For I have done no evil nor have I corrupted anybody, nor have I robbed anybody. The Lord is witness and also all the brethren know of every deed and every word. If I am an evil-doer preventing men from doing the will of God, can you<sup>3</sup> say it of your sons?<sup>5</sup> Who pursued them except on their own account, because of their evil works?

<sup>1</sup>Lk.21.19.

<sup>2</sup>Zech.6.14.

<sup>3</sup>For this construction cf. 17r, note 1.

<sup>4</sup>I Kg.26.23.

<sup>5</sup>This passage is difficult, but can perhaps be paraphrased thus: Even if I should be an evil-doer preventing men from doing the will of God, can you say that your sons are so prevented by me?

5 ἀλλὰ ποῦα  
 ποῦα ρωψε·  
 ἀνοκ τοῦα  
 ἀβ εβολ εῦ  
 πεσνοῦ νοῦ  
 ον νιμ· ὑχη  
 γαρ πετνατ  
 εοοῦ ναϊ. †να  
 †εοοῦ ναυ.  
 10 πετνασowy  
 δε. †νατσω  
 ναυ· ετβε  
 Νεκωηρε δε  
 ον' κητ' ερ  
 15 πμεεγε ᾠ  
 πωαξε εντα  
 πδωεις δοοῦ  
 δε πετμε ᾠ  
 ωηρε εῖψε  
 20 ερε εδογε  
 ροϊ. ᾠᾠπωα  
 ᾠμοϊ αν.  
 αῡω πετενῡ  
 ναυι αν ᾠπευ  
 25 ερωτς ᾠου  
 αῡᾠ ᾠωϊ. ᾠᾠ  
 ᾠπωα ᾠμοϊ  
 αν· αῡω  
 ΟΝ δε ερεπρω

με νατζη, ᾠ  
 οῖ, εμωαντ  
 ζη ᾠπκο  
 σωος τηρῡ  
 ᾠᾠοσε δε  
 ᾠτεψυχη.  
 ἡ οῖ πετερε  
 πρωμε νατα  
 αῡ ᾠᾠβειῡ  
 ᾠτεψυχη:  
 ᾠπρμεεεεε  
 ῡ πcon δε οῡ  
 ταῖο νακ πε  
 δε ακαρνα ᾠ  
 τεκεππομο  
 νῡ, ἡ ακκῡ  
 ᾠωκ ᾠτοῡ  
 αῡωγῡ ᾠνεκ  
 εῖοτε, ενταῡ  
 canoyκ ᾠ  
 εῡτς· οῡτε  
 ᾠπκρπμε  
 εῡε ᾠταῖωτ  
 εῡῡ· οῡδε  
 ᾠπκρπμε  
 εῡε ᾠνεκ  
 ωηρε· οῡδε  
 ον ᾠπκρπμε  
 εῡε ᾠπρωμε



Each one is responsible. As for me, I am innocent of the blood of every one<sup>1</sup>. For it is written, "I will honour him who will honour me, but I will despise him who will despise me<sup>2</sup>." But also concerning your sons you ought to remember the word which the Lord spoke, "He who loves son and daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And he who will not take up his cross and follow me is not worthy of me<sup>3</sup>." And again, "What will man profit if he gain the whole world but forfeit his soul? What shall man give in exchange for his soul?"<sup>4</sup> Do not think then, O brother, that it is an honour for you that you have denied your constancy or that you have forsaken the community of your fathers who nurtured you therein. You did not remember my father superior,<sup>5</sup> nor did you remember your sons, nor yet did you remember the men

<sup>1</sup>Acts 20.26.

<sup>2</sup>I Kg.2.30.

<sup>3</sup>Mt.10.37-38.

<sup>4</sup>Mt.16.26, Mk.8.36.

<sup>5</sup>The reference is almost certainly to Shenoute whose influence is still great, though he is dead, and whose memory is revered.

ΕΝΤΑΚΟΓΙΣ  
ΕΧΩΟΥ, ΨΑΝ  
ΤΚΝΤΟΥ ΕΣΟΥ.

ΑΛΛΑ ΕΑΚΡΠΚΕ  
ΠΩΤ' ΕΝΟΥ  
ΖΩΠ' ΝΘΕ Ν  
ΟΥΡΕΥΔΙΟΥΕ.

ΕΚΜΕΕΥΕΒΕ  
ΔΕ ΕΚΝΔΤΖΗΥ  
ΝΤΕΙΖΕ.

ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΕ  
ΓΑΡ ΔΩ ΛΥΜΟC  
ΕΧΕΠΔΙΝΟΥ  
ΝΝΕΤΝΔΔΕΚ

ΤΕΥΖΥΠΟΜΟ  
ΝΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ  
ΟΥΛΥΝΤΔΩΩ  
ΡΕ, ΔΕ ΜΑΡΝ  
ΑΜΔΣΤΕ ΝΘΟ

ΜΟΛΟΓΙΔ ΝΘΕΛ  
ΠΙC, ΔΔΝΡΙΚΕ.  
ΟΥΠΙCΤΟC

ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΕΝ  
ΤΑΦΕΡΗΤ' Ν  
ΤΝΔΩΩΤ Ν  
CΑΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ

ΕΥΠΑΡΟΞΥ  
CΜΟC ΝΔΓΑ  
ΠΗ ΜΝΖΕΝ

ΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΝΔΝΟΥ  
ΟΥ. ΕΜΠΝΚΩ  
ΝCΩΝ ΝΤΕΝ  
CΥΝΔΓΩΓΗ, Ν  
ΘΕ ΕΠCΩΝΤ  
ΝΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΠΕ.

ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΕΤΝ  
ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ,  
ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ

ΝΖΟΥΟ ΝΘΕ Ε  
ΤΕΤΝΝΔΥ ΕΠΕ  
ΖΟΥ ΕΥΖΩΝ

ΕΣΟΥΝ. ΕΝΡ  
ΝΟΒΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΕ  
ΒΟΜ ΜΝΝCΑ  
ΤΡΕΝΔΙ ΛΥΠCΟ  
ΟΥΝ ΝΤΜΕ.

ΛΥΝΘΥCΔΕ  
ΝΔΩΩΔΗ ΖΑ  
ΝΟΒΕ. ΟΥ

ΖΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΠΕ  
ΒΩΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΖΗΤC ΝΤΕΚΡΙ

CΙC ΜΝΠΚΩΖ  
ΝΤCΑΤΕ, ΕΤ  
ΝΔΟΥΩΜ ΝΝ

ΔΔΧΕ. ΔΥΩ  
ΟΝ ΔΕ ΟΥΖΟ  
ΤΕ ΠΕ ΖΕ ΕΣΡΑΙ

for whom you prayed until you brought them in. Do you suppose, then, that you can thus derive profit, even after having run away secretly like a thief? The apostle says, in commending those who shall vigorously perfect their constancy, "Let us hold fast the confession of hope undeviating, for he is faithful who promised. And let us look to one another for an encouragement to love and good works, not forsaking our assembly as the custom of some is, but exhorting, and all the more so, as you see the day approaching. For if we sin wilfully after receiving knowledge of the truth there will no more remain sacrifice for sin. But it is a fearful thing to expect the judgement and the fierceness<sup>1</sup> of the fire which will devour the adversaries<sup>2</sup>." And again, "It is a fearful thing to fall into

<sup>1</sup>This agrees with the Greek ζῆλος against all other Sah. authorities which read κωστ, an obvious corruption, cf. p. 77, 80.

<sup>2</sup>Heb. 10.23-27.



ΕΝΘΙΣ ἈΠΝΟΥ

ΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΣ:

ΔΥΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΝ  
ΔΕ ΔΡΙΠΜΕΥΕ  
ΝΝΕΣΟΥ Ν

5

ΩΟΡΠ ΕΝΤΑ

ΤΕΤΝΔΙΟΥ

ΕΙΝ ΝΣΗΟΥ

ΕΔΤΕΤΝΣΥ

10

ΠΩΜΝΕ ΣΝΟΥ

ΝΟΣ, ΝΑΘΛΗΣΙΣ.

ἈΜΠΤΡΕΥΩΠ

ΣΙΣΕ. ΠΑΙ ΜΕ

ΕΥΣΩΒΕ ΝΩ

15

ΤΝ ΣΝΣΕΝΝΟΣ

ΝΕΣ; ἈΝΣΕΝ

ΘΛΙΨΕΙΣ. ΠΕΙ

ΚΕΤ' ΔΕ ΟΝ Ε

ΔΤΕΤΝΡΚΟΙ

20

ΝΩΝΟΣ ΝΝΕΤ

ΩΟΟΠ' ΣΙΝΔΙ.

ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΔΤΕ

ΤΝΩΠΣΙΣΕ

ἈΝΝΕΤΜΗΡ.

25

ΔΥΩ ΠΤΩΡΠ

ΝΝΕΤΝΣΥΓΑΡ

ΧΟΝΤΑ ΔΤΕ

ΤΝΩΟΠΥ ΕΡΩ

ΤΝ ΣΝΟΥΡΩΣΕ.

ΕΤΕΤΝΕΙΜΕ

ΔΕ ΟΥΝΤΗΤΗΝ

ἈΜΔΥ, ΝΟΥΜΝΤ

ΡῶΜΔΟ ΕCCO

ΤΠ ΕCΜΗΝ' Ε

ΒΟΛ. ἈΠΡΝΥ

ΔΕΒΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ν

ΤΕΤΝΠΔΡΡΗ

CΙΔ. ΤΑΙ ΕΤΕ

ΟΥΝΤΣ ΟΥΝΟΣ

ΝΤΟΥΕΙΟ ΝΒΕ

ΚΕ. ΕΤΕΤΝΡ

ΧΡΕΙΔ ΓΑΡ ΝΟΥ

ΣΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ.

ΔΕΚΔC ΕΔΤΕ

ΤΝΡΠΟΥΩΩ

ἈΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

ΝΤΕΤΝΔΙ Ἀ

ΠΕΡΗΤ':

ΚΝΑΥΒΕ ΠΕ  
ΩΒΗΡ ΔΥΩ

ΠCΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΕ

ΤΝΔΡΠΟΥΩΩ

ἈΠΝΟΥΤΕ

ΔΥΩ ΝΥΔΕΚ

ΤΕΥΣΥΠΟΩ

ΝΗ ΕΒΟΛ. ΝΤΟΥ

ΠΕΤΝΔΙ Ἀ

ΠΕΡΗΤ'.

the hands of the living God!" And he also said, "Remember the former days in which you were enlightened, having endured a great conflict of sufferings. So you are on the one hand mocked with reproaches and tribulations and on the other hand also you became partakers with those who are thus<sup>2</sup>. For you even suffered with those who are bound, and the spoiling of your possessions you accepted joyfully, knowing that you have a better possession which abides. Therefore cast not your boldness away, which has great recompense of reward. For you have need of constancy, in order that, having done the will of God, you may receive the promise<sup>3</sup>." You see therefore, friend and brother, that he who will do the will of God and perfect his constancy, shall receive the promise.

<sup>1</sup>Heb.10.31.

<sup>2</sup>I.e. mocked etc.

<sup>3</sup>Heb.10.32-36.



ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΨΩ  
 ὤμος ΝΑΚ  
 ΧΕ ΜΠΡΤΕΤ  
 ΠΕΚΖΗΤ' ΕΡΟΚ  
 5 ΝΤΕΙΖΕ. ΝΤ  
 ΝΑΨΖΗΤ ΑΝ.  
 ΜΠΝΛΑΔΥ ΓΑΡ  
 ΝΙΝΟΥΡΕ Ζῶ  
 ΠΕΤΚΕΙΡΕ  
 10 ὤμος. ΔΝΟΚ  
 ΓΑΡ ΕΪΨΙΡΟ  
 ΟΥΨ ΖΑΡΟΚ  
 ΝΤΕΙΖΕ. ΧΕ  
 ΝΝΕΚΟΥΩ  
 15 ΝΤΡΖΤΗΚ Ζῆ  
 ΤΕΚΖΑΗ.  
 και ΓΑΡ ΠΙΔΟΙC  
 ΨΩ ὤμος Ν  
 ΝΕΤΚΤΟ ὤ  
 20 ΜΟΥ ΕΠΙΔΖΟΥ  
 ΖΝΟΥΖΗΤ' ὤ  
 ΜΠΤΩΜΩ  
 ΧΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΔΙΤΟ  
 ΕΚ ΝΟΥΒΩ Ν  
 25 ΕΛΟΟΛΕ Ν  
 ΥΔΙΟΥΤΑΖ' ΤΗ  
 ΡC ὤμε. ΝΑΩ  
 ΝΖΕ, ΔΡΚΤΟ  
 ΕΥCΙΨΕ ΤΒΩ

ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΕΝ  
 ΤΑCΨῶΜΩ.  
 ΔΥΩ ΟΝΧΕ ΟΥ  
 ΕΡΟΚ ΤΕ ΤΕ  
 ΖΙΗ ΝΚΗΜΕ  
 ΕΤΡΕΚCΩ Ε  
 ΒΟΛ ΖῶΤΜΩ  
 ΟΥ ΝΓΗΩΝ'  
 ΠΑΙ ΕΤΤΗΖ'.  
 ΔΥΩ ΝΙΜ ΕΡΟΚ  
 ΤΕ ΤΕΖΙΗ ΝΑC  
 ΟΥΡ' ΕΤΡΕΚ  
 CΕΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖῆΝΕΥΕΙΕ  
 ΡΩΟΥ. ΕCΕ  
 ΨCΒΩ ΝΑΚ Ν  
 ΕΙΤΕΚΜΠΤΑΤ  
 CΩΤῶ. ΔΥΩ  
 ΕCΕΧΠΙΟΚ  
 ΝΒΙΤΕΚΚΑΚΙΑ.  
 ΕΙΜΕ, ΔΥΩ ΝΤ  
 ΝΑΥ, ΧΕ ΥCΑ  
 ΨΕ ΝΑΚ ΕΤΡΕΚ  
 ΚΑΔΤ' ΝCΩΚ.  
 ΧΕ ΣΙΝΕΝΕΖ  
 ΔΚΟΥΨῶ  
 ΜΠΕΚΝΑΖΒ  
 ΔΥΩ ΔΚΩΛΗ  
 ΝΝΕΚCΝΑΥΖ.

Therefore I say to you, do not persuade yourself thus: you shall not profit, for there is no profit in what you do. I am anxious for you thus, because you will not have repented at your end. Moreover the Lord says of those who turn back in disaffection, "I planted you as a vine all fruitful and genuine. How did you turn to bitterness, vine that became strange?" And again, "What is the way of Egypt to you that you drink of the water of Geon<sup>2</sup> which is turbid<sup>3</sup>; and what is the way of Assyria to you that you drink water from their rivers? Your disobedience will teach you and your wickedness will upbraid you. Know and see that it is bitter for you to forsake me<sup>4</sup>. For of old you broke your yoke and burst your bonds.

<sup>1</sup>Jer.2.21.

<sup>2</sup>I.e. the Nile, cf. J.Hastings, A Dictionary of the Bible, Edinburgh, 1900 ff., II, p.174, and IV, p.498f. The LXX reads Γένον for the Hebrew רִיחֵץ.

<sup>3</sup>The clause "which is turbid" is not extant in the Hebrew or the LXX. It appears to be a gloss on רִיחֵץ, (probably "black" hence "turbid").

<sup>4</sup>Jer.2.18-19.

5 ἀκχοοc δε  
 ᾠτῆναρῶμαλ  
 ἀν· ᾠπῖμε  
 εγε δε εἶμο  
 10 στε ᾠμοκ  
 εἶδῶ ᾠνδῖ.  
 ἀλλὰ εἶμε ᾠ  
 μοκ ᾠτοϋ ᾠ  
 20 γοῖο εἶοϋ  
 10 ωϋ ετρεκ  
 κτοκ επεκ  
 μα ῥνοϋειρη  
 15 νη δε ᾠνεκ  
 †οσε ᾠτεκ  
 15 ψυχῆ ῥντεκ  
 ᾠντνοσ, ᾠρω  
 με· νιμ  
 20 γαρ ῥννενταϋ  
 20 βωκ εβολ ᾠ  
 25 ρητῆν τηροϋ  
 πετεᾠπῖρ  
 25 ρηϋ. δε κνα  
 ῥετηκ ἀν ᾠ  
 30 τοκ· ἡ νιμ  
 πενταϋρηϋ.  
 δε εκναρηϋ  
 35 ᾠτοκ· τῶιν  
 βωκ γαρ εν  
 τακδδc, κοϋ

ᾠνῆ ᾠμοκ  
 εβολ ἀν δε εκ  
 † οϋβενιμ· ἡ  
 εκϋοδνε  
 ᾠννιμ·  
 καλως οτη  
 ἀκχοοc δε  
 ποτᾶ ποτᾶ μα  
 ρεϋερεε ε  
 10 ροϋ επετ21  
 τοϋωϋ. αϋω  
 ᾠπῖκαετη  
 τῆν ενετῆσνηϋ.  
 δε con νιμ  
 ῥνοϋμῆτ21  
 †βc. ϋναδῖ†  
 βc· αϋω ϋβηρ  
 νιμ ναμοο  
 20 ϋε ῥνοϋκρῶ.  
 ποτᾶ ποτᾶ  
 ναcωβε ᾠπεϋ  
 ϋβηρ ᾠσετῶ  
 25 δεμε. δε α  
 πεϋλδc' τcα  
 βῶ εϋαδε ᾠ  
 30 ρενᾠντῆρ.  
 ἡ ᾠτανδooκ  
 ᾠοϋ2ωβ' δε  
 εκναβωκ

You said, 'I will not be a servant'<sup>1</sup>. Do not think that I hate you, saying these things, but know rather that I wish you to return to your monastery in peace, that you may not forfeit your soul in your old age. For who amongst all those who have left us did not regret it, that you should not regret it? Or who benefited, that you should benefit? The act of desertion which you have committed does not disclose whom you contend with or with whom you take counsel. Rightly then it was said, "Let every one beware of his neighbour, and do not trust your brethren, because every brother will utterly supplant<sup>2</sup> and every friend will walk craftily. Every one will mock his friend and they will not speak the truth, because their tongue was taught to speak lies<sup>3</sup>." Did we send you on a mission in order that you might go

<sup>1</sup>Jer.2.20.

<sup>2</sup>Lit. "will, with a tripping, trip up by the heels". The construction can only be explained by reference to the Hebrew  $\text{לִפְּנֵי} \text{לִפְּנֵי}$ , which is followed by the LXX  $\text{πτερνῆ πτερνιῇ}$ . As the Infinitive Absolute in Hebrew serves to strengthen the verb, I have translated "utterly". The Hebrew of Jer. 9.4 would clearly call to mind the story of Jacob's naming (Gen.25.26) which is referred to elsewhere in the O.T. (e.g. Gen.27.36, Hos.12.3), but the pun has been lost in Greek and Coptic alike.

<sup>3</sup>Jer.9.4-5.



$\frac{1}{12\Delta}$   
7

Ν̄ΓCΩΡ̄U Ν̄ΤΕΚ

ΨΥΧΗ· ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ

Ν̄ΤΑΝCΟΤΓ̄Κ

ΖΩC ΡΩΜΕ Ν̄

5

CΠΟΥΔΑΙΟC

ΑΝΔΟΥΚ·

ΕΩΔΕ ΠΕΚ

ΖΗΤ' ΜΟΤ̄N ΔN

ΕΤΡΕΚΒΩΚ·

10

ΕΤΒΕΟῩ Μ̄Γ̄Κ

ΤΑΜΟΝ' ΔΕ Ε

ΝΕΕΙΜΕ, Ν̄Τ̄N

Τ̄ΜΔΟΥΚ·



15

ΠΛΗΝ ΕΙΜΕ Ε

ΠΑΙ' ΔΕ ΔΥΔΟ

ΟC ΔΕ ΔΙCΜ̄Η

ΒΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ, Ν̄

ΤΕΤ̄NΩΤ̄U·

Ν̄ΝΕΥΩΔΕ

20

ΔN Ν̄ΤΕΪΔΕ ΖΑ

ΠΛΩC· Μ̄N

ΛΑΔΥ ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΡΩ

ΜΕ ΕCΜΕΤΑ

ΝΟΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄N

25

ΤΕΥΚΑΚΙΔ ΕΥ

ΔΩ Μ̄ΜΟC ΔΕ

Ο̄Ι ΠΕΝΤΑΙΔ

ΔΥ· ΠΕΤΓΠΗΤ

ΔΥΚΑΤΟΥΤΥ

ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΜΠΕΥ

ΜΑ Μ̄ΠΩΤ' Ν̄

ΘΕ ΝΟΥΖΤΟ

ΕΡΕΤΕΥCΩ

ΤΕ ΖΙΩΩC Ε

ΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΜΠΕΥ

Ζ̄ΜΖ̄U·

Μ̄ΠΩΡ̄ΒΕ ΕΤΡΕΥ

ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΤΕ

ΖΙΗ Ν̄ΤΩΘΕΡΕ

Μ̄ΠΑΛΑΟC Ν̄C

ΩΟΟΓ' ΔN' ΕΥ

CΟΟΥΤ̄N, ΟΥ

ΔΕ ΕΥΤ̄ΒΒΟ·



Η Ν̄CΕΔΟΟC

ΔΕ ΟΥΟ̄Ι Ν̄ΝΕΤ

ΔΩ Μ̄ΜΟC ΔΕ

ΝΑΝΟΥ, Π̄ΠΕ

ΘΟΥ· ΔΥΩ

ΠΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC

ΖΟΥ· ΝΕΤ

ΩΠ' Μ̄ΠΚΑΚΕ

ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ· ΔΥΩ

ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Ν̄ΚΑ

ΚΕ· ΝΕΤΔΩ

Μ̄ΜΟC ΔΕ ΠΕΤ

CΑΥΕ, ΖΟΛΔ·

ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤΖΟ

Λ̄Δ CΑΥΕ·

X



and lose your soul? For we in fact chose you as an earnest man, and sent you. If your mind was not at rest about your going, why did you not tell us that we might know and not send you? Nevertheless, know that it was said, "Hearken therefore now and hear; but they were not speaking thus openly, for no man is repenting of his wickedness saying, 'What have I done?'. The runner has ceased from his course like a horse with his sweat on him from his neighing<sup>1</sup>." Do not therefore let it be said, "The way of the daughter of my people is not towards uprightness nor towards purity<sup>2</sup>." And do not let it be said, "Woe unto them who call evil good and good evil, who count darkness for light and light for darkness, who say that bitter is sweet and sweet is bitter<sup>3</sup>."

<sup>1</sup>Jer.8.6.

<sup>2</sup>Jer.4.11.

<sup>3</sup>Is.5.20.

5 ΟΥΟΙ ΝΙΝΕΤΟ  
 ΝCΑΒΕ ΝΑΥ  
 ΜΑΥΔΔΥ, ΔΥΩ  
 ΕΥΟ ΝΡΩΝΖΗΤ  
 ΜΠΕΥΑΤΟ Ε  
 ΒΟΛ.  
 ΜΠΩΡΕΕ ΓΑ  
 CON ΕCΟΡΜΕΚ  
 ΜΑΥΔΔΚ· ΔΥΩ  
 10 ΤΩΟΥΝ ΝΓΜΟΥ  
 ΩΤ ΝCΩΚ' Ν  
 ΘΕ ΝΤΕCΖΙΜΕ  
 ΕΝΤΑΤΕCΑ  
 ΤΕΕΡΕ CΩΡΩ  
 15 ΕΔCCEΕΡΓΕC  
 ΗΙ ΕCΜΟΥΩΤ  
 Η ΕCΚΩΤΕ  
 ΩΑΝΤCΕ Ε  
 ΡΟC, ΕΔCΜΟΥ  
 20 ΤΕ ΕΝΕCΩΒΕ  
 ΕΡΕ, ΜΝΝΕΤ  
 ΖΙΤΟΥC ΕC  
 ΔΩ ΜΜΟC· ΔΕ  
 ΡΑCΥΕ ΝΜΜΑΙ  
 25 ΔΕ ΔΙΖΕ' ΕΤΑ  
 ΒΙΚΚΙΤΕ, ΕΝ  
 ΤΑΪCΟΡΜΕC·

ΟΥΝΖΑΖ ΓΑΡ ΖΑ  
 ΤΗΝ ΖΝΝΕCΝΗΥ

ΕΔΝΕΥΩΗΡΕ  
 ΔΥΩ ΝΕΥCΝΗΥ  
 ΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ν  
 ΖΗΤΝ, ΜΠΟΥ  
 ΚΙΜ' ΖΝΤΕΥΖΥ  
 ΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΕΥ  
 CΟΟΥΝ ΔΕ Ν  
 CΕΝΔΟΝΩΗΡΕ  
 ΔΝ' ΕΡΟΥ. Η  
 ΩΕΕΡΕ. Η ΝΕΤ  
 ΗΓ' ΕΡΟΥ ΚΑ  
 ΤΑCΑΡΞ ΜΠΝΔΥ  
 ΝΤΕΥΑΝΑΓΚΗ·  
 ΕΥΩΔΝΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ  
 ΕΝΟΙΔ ΜΠΕΧC·  
 ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΓΑΘΟ  
 ΕΤΕΡΕΠΟΥΔ  
 ΠΟΥΔ ΝΑΔΔΥ.  
 ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕΤΩ  
 ΝΔΟΝΤΩ ΕΡΟΥ  
 ΜΠΝΔΥ ΕΤΩ  
 ΜΔΥ· ΜΜΝ  
 ΤΕΙΩΤ' ΓΑΡ ΝΑ  
 ΜΟΥ, ΖΑΩΗΡΕ·  
 ΔΥΩ ΩΗΡΕ. ΖΑ  
 ΕΙΩΤ'. Η CΟΝ.  
 ΖΑCΟΝ· ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΠΟΥΔ ΠΟΥΔ

Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes and prudent in their own sight<sup>1</sup>." Do not therefore, my brother, lead yourself astray. Arise and search yourself like the woman who, having lost her coin<sup>2</sup>, swept her house, searching and looking around until she found it, and called her friends and neighbours saying, "Rejoice with me because I have found my penny<sup>3</sup> which I lost"<sup>4</sup>. For many of the brethren amongst us did not waver in their constancy towards God when their sons and their brothers departed from us, since they knew that they would not find a son beside them or a daughter or any of those related to them by the flesh, in the time of their need, when they come into the hands of Christ. But it is the good that each one will have done that he will find beside him at that time. For father will not die for son, nor son for father, nor brother for brother, but every one

<sup>1</sup>Is.5.21.

<sup>2</sup>Lit. "stater" which equals four drachmas. But when the coin is found it is called σικκίτε which is one drachma. It may therefore be assumed that the writer was not aware of the actual value of the coins and uses κατέρεπε to mean "coin" or "drachma".

<sup>3</sup>Lit. "drachma".

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Lk.15.8-9.



1  
435  
7

ΕΥΝΑΜΟΥ ΖΑ  
ΠΕΥΝΟΒΕ ὤ  
ΜΙΝ ὤΜΟΥ.

5 ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤΝΑΟΥ  
ΕΜΕΛΕΛΖῶΞ.

ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕΤΕ  
ΡΕΝΕΥΝΑΔΕ  
ΝΑΝΟΥΩΣ Ν

10 ΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕΤΕ  
ΓΡΑΦῆ ΔΩ ὤΜΕ.

ΕΡΩΑΝΟΥΟΝ  
ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΜΕΕΥΕ

ΕΠΑΪ ΕΤΡΕΥ  
ΔΙ ΝΑΪ ΝΟΥΖΗΤ'

15 ὤΜΝΤΩῤῥῶ  
ΖΝΟΥΜΝΤΩΒ

ΝΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΚΑ

ΔΣ· ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤ

ΝΔΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΑ

20 ΤῆΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ.

Ἡ ΕΝΕῤῥΠΕΝΕ

ΕΙΟΤΕ ΜΟΥΝ

ΕΒΟΛ ΖῆΤΕΥ

ΖΥΠΟΜΟΝῆ.

25 ΝΕΝΝΑΔῶΝΤΟΥ

ΤΩΝ ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕ

ΒΟΪΛΕ ΕΡΟΥ;

ΤΕΝΟΥΘΕ ΔΝΕ

ΕΙΟΤΕ ΔΕΚ'

ΤΕΥΖΥΠΟΜΟ

Νῆ ΕΒΟΛ· ΕΔΥ

ΒΩΚ ΕΡΑΤῤ ὤ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

ΔΝΟΝ ΖΩΩΝ

ΕΝΥΑΝΤῆΝΤΩ

ΝῆΝ ΕΡΟΥ. ΟΥ

ΝΖΔΖ ΝΔΤΖΗΥ

ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟ

Τῆ· ΕΝΥΑΝ

ΚΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΓΔ

ΖΟΥ, ΝΤῆΝΑΡΝΔ

ΝΤΕΝΖΥΠΟ

ΜΟΝῆ. ΟΥΝΖΔΖ

ΝΔΤΟΘΕ ΕΤΒΗ

Τῆ, ΔΥΩ ΝΘΕ

ΣΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΕ:

ΕΤΒΕΠΑΪ ΤῆΠΑ  
ΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ὤΚ

ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤῤ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜῆΝ

ΠΕΝΔΟΕΙΣ ΙΣ

ΝΓΚΤΟΚ' ΕΒΟΥ

ΕΠΕΚΥΔ· ΔΕ

ΚΔΣ ΕΡΕΠΕΚ

ΖΗΤ' ΝΔῤΤΟΝ

ΝΓΤΖΗΥ ὤΜΟΚ·

ΝΓΤῤΩΤῤ

ΝΔΝΕΤΣΥΜ



shall die for his own sin, and it is the teeth of him ~~that~~ eats sour grapes that shall be set on edge<sup>1</sup>, as the scripture says. For if every one thinks thus, weakly to become estranged as you did, who will live with his fellows? Unless our fathers had persevered in their constancy, where were we to find them that we might dwell with them? But now our fathers perfected their constancy and went to God. If we ourselves are like them many will profit through us, but if we turn back and renounce our constancy, many will be lost because of us<sup>2</sup> and stumble. Therefore we exhort you through God and our Lord Jesus that you return to your monastery in order that your mind may be at rest and that you may profit and not obey those who

<sup>1</sup>Jer.38.30.

<sup>2</sup>Note ETBH<sup>̄</sup>TN̄ (the Achm. and Fay. form) for the normal Sah. ETBHHTN̄, cf. Crum, Dict., p.61a.

ΒΟΥΛΕΥΕ ΝΑΚ  
 ΕΚΑΠΕΚΥΔ Ν  
 ΣΩΚ. ΝΙΣΕΝΔΩ  
 †ΛΟΓΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΔΝ  
 5 ΣΑΡΟΚ ΑΠΝΔΥ  
 ΝΤΕΚΑΝΑΓΚΗ:

10 ΒΗCĀ ΠΕΤCΔĀ  
 ΝΑΝΤΙΝΟΪ.  
 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΙΔΟΥ  
 ΝΕ' ΝΟΥCΟΠ'  
 ΔΥΩ CΝΔΥ, ΔΕ  
 15 ΥΠΕΪΜΝΤΑΘΗΤ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΑΜΩ, ΔΥΩ  
 ΝΤΕ†CΩ ΕΠΟΥ  
 ΛΑC ΝΡΕΥΔΕ  
 ΝΟC, ΝΨΑΔΕ.  
 20 ΔΥΩ ΝΟΥCΠΟ  
 ΤΟΥ ΕΤΥΔΩ  
 ΑΠΕΤΕΝΨΩ  
 ΟΠ' ΔΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΕ  
 CΟΟΥΝ ΑΜΟΥ  
 25 ΔΝ. ΕΙCΓΗΗ  
 ΤΕΒΕ ΑΠΕΓΩ  
 ΕΡΩ, ΟΥΤΕ Α  
 ΠΕ†CΩ ΨΑΓΟΥ  
 ΕΤΕΝΟΥ. ΔΛ

ΛΑ ΔΡΟΥΩ2 Ε  
 ΤΟΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΟΥ  
 ΑΝΤΡΕΥCΩΥ  
 ΝΖΟΥΩ. ΠΕΤ  
 CΩΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΠΕΤ  
 ΖΙΤΟΥΩΥ. ΕΥ  
 CΩΥ ΑΜΟΥ  
 ΑΜΗΝ ΑΜΟΥ.  
 ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤΒΑΙΟ  
 ΑΠΤΕΥCΟΝ, Η  
 ΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΥΩΥ.  
 ΕΥΒΑΙΩ ΑΜΟΥ  
 ΜΑΥΔΑΥ. ΔΥΩ  
 ΕΥΡΝΟΒΕ ΕΤΕΥ  
 ΨΥΧΗ ΑΜΗΝ Α  
 ΜΟΥ. ΝΕΤΡ  
 ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΩ Α  
 ΠΧΟΕΙC. ΨΑΥ  
 †CΩ ΕΡΩΟΥ  
 ΔΥΩ ΜΕΥΝΟC  
 ΝΕC, ΝΝΕΥ  
 CΝΗΥ. Η ΝΕΤ  
 ΖΗΝ' ΕΡΟΥ.  
 ΑΛΛΑ ΕΨΑΥΤΑ  
 ΙΟΥ ΝΤΟΥ Ν  
 ΖΟΥΩ. ΔΥΩ Ν  
 CΕ†ΕΟΥ ΝΔΥ.  
 ΕΥCΟΟΥΝ ΔΕ  
 ΠΕΤΔΡΕ2 Ε

advise you to forsake your monastery. For they will not be able to speak for you at the time of your need.

Besa writes to Antinoe.<sup>1</sup> Although I have told you more than once to put this foolishness from you and restrain your boastful tongue and your lips, that they do not speak of things which are not so or which you do not know, nevertheless<sup>2</sup> you have not ceased nor left off up till now, but even added more in your scorn. He who despises his neighbour despises himself, and he who condemns his brother or his neighbour condemns himself and sins against his own soul. Those who fear the Lord restrain their mouth and do not reproach their brethren or their neighbours, but rather honour them the more and give them glory, knowing that he who guards

<sup>1</sup>A Greek name with the ending -ῖς abbreviated to -ῖ, cf. Heuser, Personennamen, p.89. - Part of another letter to an Antinoe (possibly the same nun) is contained in Zoega CCIV, fols. CN - CNB, cf. p.20f.

<sup>2</sup>Lit. "yet behold".



$\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}H}$

5 ρωή μῆπευ  
 λας. εὐχαρεε  
 ετεψυχῆ.  
 ετβετᾱϊ ἴσυ  
 10 βοῦλετε νε'  
 ζωc con' ετρε  
 λὸ ζῆτεῖμῆτ  
 ζητῶνμ. ετε  
 νατζη, ερος  
 15 αν. μῆτεῖμῆτ  
 ρεψωυ επδῖ  
 δῆ ετεμῆνο  
 υρε ἡζητς. μῆ  
 ποτε ἡτερ  
 20 ζητῆ ζῶπερο  
 ου ετερετα  
 πρὸ νῆμ να  
 τωμῆ ἡτῆνω  
 πε τηρῆν θα  
 25 πταπ' ἡτῆνοῦ  
 τε. αἰδοος  
 γαρ δε οὐκῆν  
 εταδε, εἰὸ ἡθε  
 ἡθενχηε εἰ  
 30 κωνε. εταρε  
 ἡλας' δε ἡτσο  
 φος ταλδῶ.  
 ατρὸ ερεψωυ  
 ἡτοψωνε

αἰω ερενος  
 νεος, ἡμος.  
 μῆ εσψανβωκ  
 ετβηητε. ἡ  
 ἡτοψαφομῆ  
 ποτῆτ ναῦ  
 τον. μῆ ἡτε  
 ναλυπει αν.  
 ἡ ἡτεῦκαδ ἡ  
 5 ζητ'. ερακρι  
 νε εεῖνε εραῖ  
 εδω ἡτῶδε  
 ετχηζ' δε τρεψ  
 βετῆρωμε  
 10 εβολ. ερψαν  
 σωcc. ερ  
 σωμῆ ἡμὸ μῆ  
 ατε. αἰω ερ  
 ψαντῆδῖος.  
 15 ερτῆδῖο ἡμὸ  
 ἡμῆν ἡμὸ.  
 εσωπε ερ  
 ψαννοῖ ἡῆ  
 20 εντολῆ ἡτσο  
 εἰς ἡς, αἰω ἡ  
 τετζητῆ ερο  
 ου. τεῆαννοῖ  
 ἡτετεψωε.  
 25 πωοδνε, ετ



his mouth and his tongue, guards his soul<sup>1</sup>. So, therefore I advise you as a brother to cease from this petulance by which you will not profit, and this pointless contempt in which there is no advantage, lest you regret on the day when every mouth will be shut and we shall all be under the judgment of God. For it was said, "There are those who speak like piercing swords, but the tongues of the wise heal<sup>2</sup>." Why do you despise your sister and reproach her? Will your heart be at ease if she departs because of you or at your instigation? Will you not grieve or be pained? Will you choose<sup>3</sup> to bring down upon your head the word which is written, "slave-dealer"?<sup>4</sup> If you insult her,<sup>5</sup> you insult yourself, and if you justify her, you justify yourself. If you understand the commandments of the Lord Jesus and heed them you will understand what is seemly. Good counsel

<sup>1</sup>Prov.21.23.

<sup>2</sup>Prov.12.18.

<sup>3</sup>Note εἶπα - for ἐπεὶ -, cf. Stern, para 380.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. I Tim.1.10. It is adapted to the fem. sg. The Greek rendered is ἀνδραποδιστής. Here the meaning seems to be that Antinoe would, by causing a fellow-nun to leave the convent, condemn her from the monastic point of view to slavery.

<sup>5</sup>cowc̄ perhaps for cowc̄, but note that the form recurs on 78v. There may possibly exist the by-form cowc̄ (from cow), cf. cowc̄. For verb formations, perhaps analogical to cowc̄, cf. Stern, para 99.

ΝΑΝΟΥΪ ΝΑΖΑ  
ΡΕΖ ΕΡΩ. ΝΤΕ  
ΠΛΕΕΥΕ ΕΤΟΥ  
ΔΑΒ †ΖΗΥ Ε  
ΡΩ. ΔΕ ΕΥΝΑ  
ΝΑΖΜΕ ΕΣΩΒ  
ΝΙΜ ΕΥΖΟΥ:

† ΠΛΗΝ †ΔΩ Ἰ  
ΜΟΣ ΝΕ' ΔΕ ΕΡ  
ΤῶΥΠΙΖΗΤ  
ΝΣΩΒ, ΕΒΟΛ Ἰ  
ΜΩ. ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕ  
ΚΑΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗ  
ἸΜΩ. †ΝΔΤΡΕ  
ΠΟΥΖΗΤ' ἸΚΑΖ.  
ΔΥΩ Ν†ΝΔΔΝΕ  
ΧΕ ἸΜΩ ΔΝ.

† ΝΤΑΠΔΟΕΙΣ  
ΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ ΕΤΕ  
†ΝΩΔΑΝΜΕΡΕ  
ΝΕ†ΝΕΡΗΥ  
ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ' ΝΔ  
ΕΙΜΕ, ΔΕ ΝΤΕ  
†ΝΝΔΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ.  
ΜΕΤΩΟΣΤΕ  
†ΔΡ ἸΠΕΥΣΩ  
ΕΥΜΟΟΥΕ Σῶ  
ΠΚΑΚΕ, ΕΝῶ  
ΣΟΥΝ ΔΝ' ΔΕ

ΕΥΒΗΚ ΕΤΩΝ  
ΧΕ ΔΠΚΑΚΕ  
ΤΩΜ' ΝΝΕΥΒΑΛ.  
† ΔΥΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΝ  
ΔΕ ΩΔΡΕΟΥΣΑ  
ΒΗ ΝΣΩΜΕ ΚΕΤ  
ΟΥΗΙ. ΤΕΤΝΑ  
ΡΑΘΗΤ ΔΕ ΝΔ  
ΩΡΩΩΡῶ ΕΝ  
ΝΕΣΒΙΔ. ΕΤΕ  
ΠΑΙ' ΠΕ. ΔΕ ΩΔ  
ΡΕΤΩΒΗ ΝΣΩ  
ΜΕ ΚΕΤΤΕΤ  
ΣΙΤΟΥΩΣ ΕΝ  
ΘΟΤΕ ἸΠΝΟΥ  
ΤΕ, ΜῶΤΑΓΑΠΗ  
ΕΤΣΩΠΕΣΖΗΤ  
ΕΣΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΣ  
ΩΝΕ, ΜῶΝΕΣ  
ΩΝΗΥ. ΤΕΤ  
ΝΔΡΑΘΗΤ ΔΕ  
ΝΤΟΥ. ΣΝΔΩΡ  
ΩΩΡΟΥ ΣῶΝΕΣ  
ΩΔΧΕ ΕΤΜΕΣ  
ΝΣΩΥΕ, ΣῶΜ  
ΣΤΕ. ΣΙΠΟΝΗ  
ΡΙΔ. ΣΙΩΩ.  
ΝΘΕ ΕΤΧΕ  
ΔΕ ΟΥΒΕΡΩΒ

shall guard you and holy thought keep you,<sup>1</sup> for it shall deliver you from every evil thing.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless I tell you, if you do not abandon this foolish attitude and get you understanding, I will cause your heart to be grieved and I will no more forbear with you. The Lord said, "If you love each other, every one shall know that you are my disciples.<sup>3</sup> For he who hates his brother walks in darkness, not knowing where he is going because the darkness has closed his eyes."<sup>4</sup> And it was also said, "A wise woman builds a house, but the foolish will destroy it with her hands"<sup>5</sup>, which means that the wise woman encourages<sup>6</sup> her neighbour in the fear of God and the love which is in her heart towards her sister and her sisters. But on the other hand the foolish woman will destroy them by her words full of bitterness, hatred, wickedness, and scorn, even as it is written, "A rod

<sup>1</sup>Prov.2.11.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Prov.2.12.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Jn.13.35.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. I Jn.2.11.

<sup>5</sup>Prov.14.1.

<sup>6</sup>This represents the same Coptic word (KWT) as that translated "builds" in Prov.14.1 above.



5      ἄνω πῆ  
         ζῆτῆταπρὸ ἡ  
         ἡθῆτ'. εἰτε  
         ἡτὸ πε. καὶ  
         γὰρ πετμε ἡ  
         πωνῆ. ἡνατ  
         cō ερω. πῆ  
         τωκς δε ἡτου  
         ἡγενωδε.  
 10     ἡαυδαῖ ἀν.  
         ερεμεεγε; ε  
         οὔ ερὸ ἡτεῖ  
         δε. ἡτερελ  
         πιζε ἀν' εεῖ ε  
 15     εραῖ ενδιδ' ἡ  
         πινουτε. ὡα  
         τεοῦ ὡωπε  
         ερεὸ ἡθῆτ  
         ἡτεῖδε τηρς.  
 20     εντερροτε  
         ἀν ζητῆ ἡτῆ  
         τε. οὔτε ἡτε  
         ὡπε ἀν ζη  
         τῆ ἡρωμε.  
 25     οὔτε ον ἡτε  
         μεεγε ἀν εβολ  
         εποσε ἡτου  
         ψυχῆ. δε ὡα  
         ρεπαθῆτ' πε

ζῆτεωωντ  
 εβολ τηρς.  
 αὖ δε τῆταπρὸ  
 ἡπαθῆτ', οὔ  
 οὔωω ἡαυ  
 τε. αὖ οὔπα  
 ὡα ἡτεωψ  
 χῆ νε νεωσῆ  
 του. ἡτεσο  
 7 οὔν ἀν' δε πῆ  
 σω' ἡπρω  
 με, ετδαῖο ἡ  
 ἡωα. εἰ  
 σω' ἡπινου  
 τε, αὖ εἰκα  
 ταφρонеῖ ἡ  
 ἡωα. καὶ γὰρ  
 ἡταυταμε  
 πρωμε εἰν  
 θεικων' ἡ  
 πινουτε. αὖ  
 νεῖσβηγε ἡ  
 τεῖδε ἡαπδα  
 δε νε ἡδιδβο  
 λος ετφθο  
 νεῖ ερον. εἰ  
 †ἡωοτ' ἡζητ  
 ἡαν εζογν' ε  
 νενερηγ



of scorn is in the mouth of the foolish"<sup>1</sup>, and that means you. For he who loves life will restrain his mouth<sup>2</sup>, but he who goads with words shall not be saved<sup>3</sup>. Why do you think thus? Do you not hope to come into the hands of God? How long are you continuing to be so very foolish? You do not fear God, nor do you respect man<sup>4</sup>, nor do you consider the forfeiting of your soul. "The foolish pours out all his wrath"<sup>5</sup> and, "The mouth of the foolish is ruin to him, and his lips are a snare to his soul<sup>6</sup>." Do you not know that he who despises man to the extent of condemning him<sup>7</sup>, despises God and scorns him? For man was made in the image of God<sup>8</sup> and such things are of the devilish enemy who envies us, hardening our hearts towards one another

<sup>1</sup>Prov.14.3.

<sup>2</sup>Prov.16.17.

<sup>3</sup>Prov.19.4.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Lk.18.2.

<sup>5</sup>Prov.29.11.

<sup>6</sup>Prov.18.7.

<sup>7</sup>For ἀνθρώπου read ἄνθρωπος.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Gen.1.26-27.

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ΜΝΟΥΜΝΤΑΔ  
 CΙΖΗΤ' ΕΝΝΑ  
 †ΖΗΥ ΕΡΟΣ ΔΝ.  
 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΥΔΟ  
 ΟC ΔΕ ΤΜΝΤ  
 ΔΑCΙΖΗΤ', ΟΥ  
 ΒΟΤΕ ΤΕ ΝΝΑ  
 ΖΡΩΠΝΟΥΤΕ.  
 ΔΥΩ ΠΝΔΥΤ  
 ΜΕ ΜΝΠΒΔ  
 ΒΕΡΩΜΕ. ΠΛΟΙ  
 ΜΟC ΡΝΤΥ:  
 ΖΩΠΑΙ ΓΑΡ Ν  
 ΤΑΥΔΟΟC ΝΟΙ  
 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΥ  
 ΤΕ ΔΓΑ ΔΝΤΩ  
 ΝΙΟC, ΔΕ ΕΝ  
 ΖΜΟΟC ΜΑΥΔ  
 ΔΝ. ΩΔΥΤΡΕ  
 †ΖΑΠ' ΕΝΕΝΕ  
 ΡΗΥ, ΕΝCΕΖΔ  
 Χ ΤΗΝ ΡΩ ΔΝ.  
 ΜΝΝΕΥΜΝΤ  
 ΡΕΥCΩΥ Ε  
 ΤΟΥΝΟΥΔΕ Μ  
 ΜΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ  
 ΕΠΕΝΖΗΤ' ΖΝ  
 ΟΥΜΝΤΑΔCΙ  
 ΖΗΤ. ΕΝΟ Ν

ΝΔΥΤΖΗΤ.  
 ΔΥΩ ΕΝCΩΥ,  
 ΝΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ.  
 ΕΝΟ ΝΩΟΥ  
 ΩΟ ΜΝΝΕΝ  
 ΕΡΗΥ, ΖΩΠΕΝ  
 ΩΔΕ ΕΤΝΑ  
 ΩΤ. ΕΝΜΟΚΕ  
 ΝΖΗΤ' ΝΝΔΥ  
 ΝΙΜ. ΕΝΟΝΑ  
 ΡΙΚΕ ΕΝΕΝΕ  
 ΡΗΥ. ΔΥΩ ΕΡΟ  
 ΜΝΝ ΜΩΟΝ.  
 ΔΝ. ΕΝΜΕΕΥΕ  
 ΔΕ ΕΡΕΠΖΙCΕ  
 ΩΟΟΠ' ΝΔΝ Ε  
 ΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝΝΕ  
 ΕΡΗΥ. ΕΝΟ Ν  
 ΡΕΥ†ΖΑΠ' ΕΝΕ  
 ΤΟΥΟΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ.  
 ΕΡΕΠCΟΟΝΕ  
 ΤΗΡΩ ΩΟΟΠ  
 ΖΙΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΗ.  
 ΜΝΖΕΝ†ΤΩ.  
 ΜΝΖΕΝΖΑΙΡΕ  
 CΙC, ΕΝ† ΜΝ  
 ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ Ν  
 ΖΗΤΟΥ, ΩΔΝ  
 ΤΝΤΑΖΕΠΕΝ

with pride by which we shall not profit, since it has been said, "Pride is an abomination in the sight of God"<sup>1</sup>, and, "As for the presumptuous and the boastful, Pestilence is his name<sup>2</sup>." On this matter the man of God, Apa Antonius, said<sup>3</sup>, "While we are alone, they<sup>4</sup> make us sit in judgment on one another, even in their absence from us. With their slanders which they arrogantly plant<sup>5</sup> in our hearts, we are hard of heart and we decry one another, we are boastful to each other with our hard words, we are always troubled at heart, we blame one another and not ourselves, we think that our trouble comes through our<sup>6</sup> neighbours, we are judges of those that are shown up while the arch-robber<sup>7</sup> is inside the house; with quarrels and factions we fight each other,<sup>8</sup> until we establish our

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Lk.16.15.

<sup>2</sup>Prov.21.24.

<sup>3</sup>For the following quotation cf. Migne, PG, 40, 983B f., also 40, 1012B f. It is also part of a longer Antony quotation on 72v-73v. For the relationship between the various versions, cf. G.Garitte, A propos des lettres de S.Antoine l'Ermite, Mus.LII, p.11ff.

<sup>4</sup>Probably demons.

<sup>5</sup>For ΕΤΟΥΝΟΥΔΕ ἄνθρωποι the quotation on 72v has ΕΤΕΥΔΑΥΤΑΔΥ

<sup>6</sup>For ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ the quotation on 73r has wrongly ΝΕΤΝΕΡΗΥ .

<sup>7</sup>Probably the Devil.

<sup>8</sup>There follows ΝΕΗΤΟΥ which, when translated, seems redundant. It is omitted in the quotation on 73r.



5      ὡςδε ἐρατῇ.  
 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΪ †20  
 ΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΝΕ΄  
 ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΛ  
 ΜΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ  
 ΕΩΩΠΕ ΝΤΕ  
 ΝΑCΑ2Ω ΔΝ Ε  
 ΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΪΜΝΤ  
 ΡΕCΩC. ΤΕ  
 10      ΝΑCΕΪ 2ΩΩΤΕ  
 ΜΠΟΥΜΚΑ2  
 Ν2ΗΤ. ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ  
 ΕΪCΠΡΟΥC  
 2ΑΡΩ ΝΤΕΪ2Ε.  
 15      ΕΪΟΥCΩ ΔΝ Ε  
 ΤΡΕΝCΩΤῪ  
 ΕΠΟΥΠΕΘ8Υ  
 ΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΡΕΥ  
 ΤΑΥΕΠΟΥΡΑΝ  
 20      ΚΑΚΩC. ΔΥΩ  
 ΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΙΝΕΟΥ  
 ΟCΕ ΩΩΠΕ  
 ΝΕ:  
 25      ΤΕΝΟΥΒΕ †ΠΟΥ  
 2ΗΤ' ΕΤΕCΒΩ.  
 ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕCΟΒ  
 ΤΕ ΝΝΟΥΜΑΔ  
 ΔΕ ΕΝΩΔΕ  
 ΝΤΑΙCΘΗCΙC.

ΔΕΚΑC ΕΡΕΟΥ  
 ΤΩΚ' Ν2ΗΤ' ΩΩ  
 ΓΕ ΝΕ' ΕΔΜΠΙ  
 ΤΕ. ΔΥΩ ΜΑΡΕ  
 ΝΟΥΒΑΛ ΘΩCΤ  
 ΕΝΕCΟΥΤΩ.  
 ΝΤΕΝΟΥΒΟΥ  
 2Ε ΕΙΩΡῪ ΕΝ  
 ΜΝΤΜΕ. ΤΑΡΕ  
 ΕΙΜΕ ΕΠΕΤΕ  
 ΩΩΕ. ΔΥΩ Ν  
 ΤΕΝΟΪ ΔΕ ΟΥ  
 CΑΒΕ ΠΕ ΠΕΤ  
 †CΩ ΕΝΕΔΟΥ  
 ΩΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕC  
 ΝΑCῪ. ΟΥCΑ  
 ΒΕ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΠΡΩ  
 ΜΕ Ν2ΑΡΩ2ΗΤ.  
 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΪ CΙΤΕΪ  
 ΜΝΤΡΕC†Ω  
 ΝΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΩ.  
 ΜΝΤΕΪΜΝΤ  
 2ΗΤ'ΩΗΜ. ΔΥΩ  
 ΤΕΪΜΝΤΡΕC  
 CΩC. ΔΕ ΔΥ  
 ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΝΕ  
 CΠΟΤΟΥ Μ  
 ΠΑΘΗΤ' ΝΑΝ  
 ΤῪ Ε2ΕΝΠΕΤ



word". Therefore I declare to you before God that if you will not turn away from this insulting behaviour, you too will be filled with grief. For I am so anxious for you that I do not wish that we may hear of your wickedness, or that your name may be evilly spoken of, or that harm may befall you. Now therefore pay heed to teaching and prepare your ears for the words of knowledge<sup>1</sup>, that you may have confidence in God<sup>2</sup>. And let your eyes look at things that are upright and your eyelids open wide<sup>3</sup> to the truths<sup>4</sup> in order that you may learn what is fitting, and that you may understand that he who refrains from uttering a hard word is wise, and the patient man is wise<sup>5</sup>. So put this provocation to anger from you, and this petulance, and this insulting behaviour, for it was said, "The lips of the fool shall bring him into

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Prov.23.12.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Prov.22.19.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. 50v, note 2.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Prov.4.25.

<sup>5</sup>Prov.17.27.

200Y· ΕΡΕΤΕΥ  
ΤΑΠΡΩ ΔΕ ΕΤ  
ΝΑΥΤ ΕΠΙΚΑ  
ΛΕΙ ΜΠΜΟΥ·  
5 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΜΠΡ  
ΩΩΠΕ ΝΑΘΗΤ·  
ΑΛΛΑ ΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ  
ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΟΥΩΩ  
ΜΠΔΟΕΙC· ΑΥΩ  
10 ΝΤΕΝΔΥ ΔΕ ΔΥ  
ΤΕ ΤΕΖΙΗ ΕΤ  
ΝΑΝΟΥC, ΝΤΕ  
ΜΟΟΩΕ ΝΖΗ  
ΤC· ΔΕΚΑC Ε  
15 ΡΑΘΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΤΒ  
ΒΟ ΝΤΟΥΨΥ  
ΧΗ· ΑΥΔΟΟC  
ΓΑΡ ΔΕ ΠΛΑC  
ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΜΜΕ  
20 ΛΟC ΠΕ, ΑΥΩ  
ΑΔΕΪΝΟC, ΝΩΑ  
ΔΕ· ΑΥΩ ΔΕ  
ΩΑΡΕΟΥΚΟΥΙ  
ΝΚΩGΤ ΔΕΡΕ  
25 ΟΥΝΟC, ΝΖΥ  
ΛΗ· ΠΛΑC' ΖΩ  
ΩΩ ΟΥΚΩGΤ  
ΠΕ· ΠΑΙ ΕΤΔΩ  
ΖΩ ΜΠCΩΜΑ

ΤΗΡΥ· ΑΥΩ ΕΤ  
ΤΜΩΟ ΜΠΤΕΤΡΟ  
ΧΟC ΜΠΕΔΠΟ·  
ΠΑΙ ΕΤΩΤΡ  
ΤΩΡ ΕΘΟΟΥ  
ΕΤΜΕΖ' ΜΜΑ  
ΤΟΥ, ΝΡΕCΜΟΥ  
ΟΥΤ· ΖΡΑΙ Ν  
ΕΗΤΥ ΤΝCΩΙ  
ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΙ  
ΩΤ'· ΑΥΩ ΖΡΑΙ  
ΝΖΗΤΥ ΤΝCΑ  
ΖΟΥ, ΝΝΡΩΜΕ·  
ΝΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑ  
ΜΟΟΥ, ΚΑΤΑ  
ΠΕΙΝΕ, ΜΠΤΥ  
ΤΕ· ΑΥΤΑΜΩ  
ΔΕ ΝΩΩΕ ΑΝ  
ΕΤΡΕΝΑΙ ΩΩ  
ΠΕ ΝΤΕΪΖΕ·  
ΑΥΩ ΔΕ ΜΗΤΙ  
ΩΑΡΕΖΟΒΝΕ  
ΤΑΥΟ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΝ  
ΤΕΪΜΟΥΜΕ Ν  
ΟΥΩΤ' ΜΠΜΟ  
ΟΥ ΕΤΖΟΛC  
ΜΝΠΕΤΜΟΛC·  
Η ΔΕ ΜΗ ΟΥΝ  
ΒΟΜ' ΕΤΡΕΟΥ

evils and his stubborn mouth calls for death<sup>1</sup>." So do not be foolish, but learn what the will of the Lord is, and see which is the good way, and walk in it, that you may find<sup>2</sup> purification for your soul<sup>3</sup>. For it has been said, "The tongue is a little member and speaks great words"<sup>4</sup>; and "A little fire sets much wood alight. The tongue also is a fire which defiles the whole body and sets on fire the cycle of generation<sup>5</sup>, and which is restless, evil, and full of deadly poison. With it we bless God the Father, and with it we curse men who were made in God's likeness"<sup>6</sup>. We have been told, "These things ought not to be so<sup>7</sup>," and, "Does a fountain<sup>8</sup> send forth fresh and salty water from the same well?"<sup>9</sup> And, "Can a

<sup>1</sup>Prov.18.6.

<sup>2</sup>Note Epa - for EPENA -, cf. Stern, para 380.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Jer.6.16.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Jam.3.5.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Jam.3.5-6.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Jam.3.8-9.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Jam.3.10.

<sup>8</sup>For 208NE read 20N8E .

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Jam.3.11.



$\frac{1}{\gamma\delta\Delta}$   
7

ΒΩ ΝΚΝΤΕ' ΤΑΥΕ'  
ΔΟΕΙΤ, ΕΒΟΛ.  
Η ΝΤΕΟΥΒΩ  
ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ,  
5 ΤΑΥΕΚΝΤΕ, Ε  
ΒΟΛ· ΟΥΤΕ  
ΝΝΕΥ' ΜΛΣ, Ρ  
ΜΟΟΥ ΕΥΣΟ  
ΛΘ· ΕΥΔΩ  
10 ΜΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΣΩΝΤ  
ΝΙΜ' ΕΝΤΑΠΝ  
ΤΕ ΤΑΜΟΟΥ  
ΜΕΥΩΙΒΕ Μ  
ΠΕΥΣΜΟΤ' Ν  
15 ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΥΣΟ  
ΤΟΥ ΜΩΟ.  
ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ Ν  
ΤΟΥ ΥΠΩΩ  
ΝΕ ΚΑΤΑΧΥ  
20 ΔΥΩ ΚΑΤΑΚΑΙ  
ΡΟΟ' ΕΒΟΛ ΣΜ  
ΠΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΥ.  
ΕΠΠΕΘΟΥ.  
ΧΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΒΟΛ  
25 ΜΠΟΥΕΣΑ  
ΣΝΕ, ΜΠΝΟΥ  
ΤΕ ΕΝΤΑΥΣΩ  
ΜΩΟΥ ΕΤΟΟ  
Χ ΤΥ· ΔΥΩ ΥΨΙ

ΒΕ ΝΤΕΥΦΥ  
ΣΙΣ, ΠΑΡΑΘΕ  
ΕΝΤΑΠΔΟΕΙΣ  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΟ  
ΥΨΙ ΜΩΟ.  
ΠΣΩΝΤ ΤΗΡΥ  
ΣΥΠΟΤΑΣΣΕ  
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ·  
ΕΙΤΕ ΝΤΟΥ.  
ΜΝΝΣΙΒΤ·  
ΕΙΤΕ ΘΑΛΑΑΑ·  
ΜΝΝΙΕΡΩΟΥ·  
ΔΥΩ ΠΚΑΣ' ΜΝ  
ΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ·  
ΔΥΩ ΣΜΠΕΥ  
ΩΔΕ, ΝΤΑΜ  
ΠΗΥΕ ΤΑΧΡΟ·  
ΔΥΩ ΝΕΥΒΟΜ  
ΤΗΡΟΥ, ΣΜΠΕ  
ΠΝΑ ΝΡΩΥ· Μ  
ΠΟΥΡΠΒΟΛ Ν  
ΝΕΥΤΟΥ·  
ΔΥΩ ΠΡΑ ΜΝ  
ΠΟΟΣ' ΜΝΝ  
ΣΙΟΥ, ΜΠΟΥ  
ΩΙΒΕ ΝΘΕ ΕΝ  
ΤΑΥΤΟΥΟΥ  
ΜΩΟ· ΑΛΛΑ  
ΣΕΔΩΚ' ΕΒΟΛ



fig tree bring forth olives or a vine bring forth figs, or shall salt be able to produce sweet water?"<sup>1</sup> It is meant by this that all creatures which God created do not change the likeness wherein he created them. But man, time and again, turns from the good to the evil, acting contrary to the command of God which he laid upon him, and he changes his nature contrary to the manner which the Lord God ordained for him. All creation is subject to God, whether mountains and hills or the sea and the rivers, or the earth and the inhabited world. And by his word he established the heavens, and all their hosts by the breath of his mouth<sup>2</sup>. They did not escape their bounds, and the sun, the moon, and the stars did not change from the way which he ordained for them, but they perform

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Jam.3.12.

<sup>2</sup>Ps.32.6.

ΝΤΕΥΛΙΤΟΥΡ  
ΓΕΙΔ ΕΥΡΟΥΟ  
ΕΙΝ ΕΠΩΝΤ  
ΤΗΡΥ.

5 ΔΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΙΕ  
ΒΙΗΝ, ΔΥΩ ΝΙ  
ΤΑΛΔΙΠΩΡΟC  
ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΡΕΥ  
ΡΝΟΒΕ. ΤΝΠΩ  
10 ΩΝΕ, ΔΥΩ ΤΝ  
ΡΠΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΝ  
ΤΟΥ. ΔΥΩ ΤΝ  
ΚΩ ΝΩΝ Α  
ΠΝΟΜΟC Α

15 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΝ  
ΝΕΥΕΝΤΟΛΗ  
ΕΝΤΑΥΩΝ  
ΑΜΟΥ ΕΤΟΟ  
ΤΝ. ΕΝΠΑΡΑΒΑ  
20 ΑΜΟΥ, ΖΝΟΥ  
ΑΝΤΑΤΖΟΤΕ.

ΑΝΟΥΑΝΤΑΤ  
ΩΠΕ. ΝΘΕ ΕΤ  
25 ΧΗ' ΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ  
ΠΕΚΝΩΟΤ' ΔΕ  
ΑΝΠΕΚΖΗΤ'  
ΕΤΕΝΩΜΕΤΑ  
ΝΟΕΙ ΔΝ, ΕΚ  
ΩΟΥΖ' ΝΔΚ' Ε

ΖΟΥΝ ΝΟΥΟΡ  
ΓΗ ΖΩΠΕΖΟΥ  
ΝΤΟΡΓΗ ΑΝ  
ΠΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΑΠΖΑΓ' ΑΜΕ  
ΑΠΠΟΥΤΕ, ΠΔΙ  
ΕΤΝΑΤΩΩΒΕ  
ΑΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ  
ΚΑΤΑΝΕΥΖΒΗ

ΟΥΕ:

ΕΤΒΕΡΤΑΙΓΕ ΡΟ  
ΕΙC, ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕ  
CΑΖΩ ΕΒΟΛ Ν  
ΝΙΛΜΥΕ, ΑΝ  
ΝΙΤΩΝ. ΝCΕ  
†ΖΗΥ ΓΑΡ ΔΝ'  
ΔΥΩ CΕΥΟΥΕΙΤ.  
ΖΕΝΟCΕ ΔΕ ΝΕ  
ΔΥΩ ΖΕΝΟΥΟΡ  
ΩΡ ΝΕ ΝΙΝΕΨΥ  
ΧΗ ΝΝΕΤΟΥ  
ΕΩΠΕΥΟΥΔΑΙ.  
ΔΥΩ ΕΤΜΕ' Α  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΝ  
ΠΕΝΔΟΕΙC ΙC.  
ΠΔΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑ  
ΔΗ ΝΩΤΕ ΖΔ  
ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΛ' ΔΥΩ  
ΔΥΜΟΥ, ΕΤΒΗ

their service by giving light to the whole creation. We, on the other hand, miserable, wretched, sinful men that we are, turn and escape from our bounds, and forsake the law of God and his commandments which he laid upon us, irreverently and shamelessly transgressing them, as it is written, "Because of your hardness and your impenitent heart you treasure up for yourself wrath in the day of wrath and the revelation of the just judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his works!" For this reason then be vigilant, and turn away from feuds and quarrels, for they are useless and trivial. They are harmful and destructive for the souls of those who desire their salvation and who love God and our Lord Jesus who gave himself a ransom for every one<sup>2</sup> and died for

<sup>1</sup>Rom.2.5-6.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. I Tim.2.6.



$\frac{1}{105}$   
7

HTN. ΔΕΚΑΣ  
ΕΥΕCOTN ΕΒΛ  
ΖΝΑΝΟΜΑ ΝΙΛ.  
ΔΥΩ ΝΥΤΒΒΟΝ  
ΝΔΥ ΝΟΥΛΔΟΣ.  
ΕΥΤΟΥΗΤ. Ν  
ΡΕΥΚΩΖ' ΕΖΕ  
ΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΝΔΑΝΟΥ  
ΟΥ. ΝΔΙ ΕΝΤΑ  
ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ CBTW  
ΤΟΥ, ΔΕΚΑΣ Ε  
ΝΕΜΩΟΥΕ

ΖΡΔΙ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ:

ΕΤΒΕΠΔΙ ΔΥΩ  
ΝΙΖΕ ΕΡΩ. ΕΥ  
ΠΑΤΕΜΟΥ.

ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΟΕΙC  
ΕΠΟΥΖΙCΕ ΝΕ'  
ΕΤΥΤΑΚΟΥ

ΕΥΠΑΤΩΕΙ Ν  
ΒΙΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΤΔΙ  
ΕΤΟΥΝΔΑΤΩ  
ΚΩ ΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ  
ΛΥΤΟΥΔ ΠΟΥΔ.

ΕΖΡΔΙ ΝΖΗΤΥ.

ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΓΑΡ Ν  
ΤΑΥΔΟC ΔΕ  
CΒΤΕΝΕΚΖΒΗ  
ΟΥΕ, ΕΤΕΖΙΗ.

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ΕΤΕΠΔΙ ΠΕ ΔΕ  
CΒΤΕΝΕΚΖΒΗ  
ΟΥΕ, ΕΤΕΚΩΙΝ  
ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝCΩ

ΛΔ: ΠΔΟΙC

ΕΥΕΤΘΕ ΝΕ ~  
ΔΥΩ ΝΥΤΔΔC ΝΔ

ΤΗΡΗΝ ΖΙΟΥCΟΠ'  
ΕΤΡΕΝCΑΖΩΝ  
ΕΒΟΛ ΛΥΠΠΕΤ  
ΖΟΥ; ΝΤΝΕΙ  
ΡΕ ΛΥΠΠΕΤΝΑ

ΝΟΥ. ΕΛΠΔ  
ΤΥΕΙ ΝΟΙΠΚΔΙ  
ΡΟC, ΕΥΩΔΕ  
ΕΥΔΩΚ' ΕΒΟΛ  
ΔΥΩ ΕΥΩΩΩΤ

ΠΕΤΕΡΕΠΝΥ  
ΤΕ ΝΔΔΔΥ ΖΙΔΩ

ΠΚΔΖ. ΕΥΝΔ  
ΚΡΙΝΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΟΙ  
ΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΖΝ

ΟΥΔΙΚΔΙΟΥC  
ΝΗ. ΔΥΩ ΝΛΔ

ΟC ΖΝΟΥCΟΟΥ  
ΤΝ. ΝΕΝΤΔΥ  
ΕΙΡΕ ΝΛΠΠΕΤ

ΝΔΝΟΥ. ΕΥ  
ΑΝΔCΤΑCΙC Ν



us, that he might redeem us from all lawlessness, and purify us for himself a people specially his own<sup>1</sup>, zealous for good works<sup>2</sup> which God has prepared in order that we should walk in them<sup>3</sup>. Therefore strive with yourself before you die, and watch over your struggle with yourself so as not to invalidate it before the hour comes when the soul of every one will be plucked out from him. For thus it was said, "Prepare your works for the way"<sup>4</sup>; which means, prepare your works for your departure out of the body. The Lord will give to you the chance, yea to all of us together, to put evil away from us and do good<sup>5</sup> before the time comes, for it is a sentence, completing and cutting short, which the Lord will execute upon the earth<sup>6</sup>. For he will judge the world in righteousness and the peoples<sup>7</sup> in uprightness<sup>8</sup>; those who did good things unto a resurrection of

<sup>1</sup>See the Detached Note on the next page.

<sup>2</sup>Tit.2.14.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Eph.2.16.

<sup>4</sup>Prov.24.42.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Ps.36.27.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Rom.9.28.

<sup>7</sup>For ΝΑΔΟC read probably ΝΝΑΔΟC agreeing with the Sah. text of Ps.9.9, of. Budge, Ps., and also with the LXX.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Ps.9.9.

Detached Note to follow 70v.

TOYHT stands for the N.T. Greek περισσός meaning 1) "having more than enough", "wealthy"; 2) "especial", "peculiar". It may be noted that in the LXX περισσός stands for the Hebrew נכס "property", "wealth", (e.g. Deut.7.6, 14.2). The Biblical meaning is therefore clearly "a people for God's own peculiar possession".

The Coptic form TOYHT presents difficulties. According to Crum, Dict., p.447b it is the qual. of TOOTE "to gather", "to collect", or perhaps of TOYO (p.443b) "to show", "to teach", "to send".

The ancient Egyptian equivalent of TOOTE is twt. But two more ancient Egyptian words of the same form (twt) are relevant: 1) "to be like", "to be similar", "to correspond"; hence, "to be fit", "to be meet", "to be due", "to be suited to", (cf. the Coptic noun TOYWT "idol", p.447a). 2) "to be perfect", "to be beautiful", "to be completely equipped", "to be provided with". The fact that TOYHT is paraphrased in Crum's examples by COTI, TAEIHY, CEBTWT, CAONT may be an indication that this qual. form is a relic of one of the old words twt or a conflation of them.

(For the ancient Egyptian material, I am indebted to Dr. M.F.L. Macadam).

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ΩΝΕ. ΝΕΝΤΑΥ

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✿ ΝΑΜΕ ΚΑΤΑΠΥΔ

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ΔΕ ΑΥΤΑΠΟ

CΤOC, †ΡΩΠΗ

ΡΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ

ΕΝΟΥΒΕΠΗ,

ΤΕΠΩΩΝΕ Ν

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ΤΩΠΕΝΤΑΥ

ΤΑΖΜΕ ΕΩΠΕ

ΕΜΟΤ' ΝΙC ΠΕ

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ΤΕ. ΔΕ ΝΑΥ Ν

ΖΕ, ΑΡΚΑΠΜΑ

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ΑΥΤΙΔΙΒΟΛΟC

ΕΤΡΕΥΠΟΟ

ΝΕ ΤΑΧΥ ΕΒΟΛ

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ΕΥΕ ΕΘΟΥ.

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ΘΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ.

ΕΠΜΕΕΥΕ Ν

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ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝ

ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΑΥΤ

ΡΗΝΗ. ΕΖΟΥΝ

ΕΠΜΟCΤΕ, ΑΥΝ

ΠΗΤΩΝ. ΝΤΕ

CΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΔΕ

ΠCΑΤΑΝC, ΟΥ

ΜΑCΤΠΕΤΝΑ

ΝΟΥC ΠΕ, ΕΥ

ΦΘΟΝΕΙ ΝΟΥ

ΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ ΕΝΕ

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ΑΥΤΟΝΗΡΙΑ Α

ΠΔΔΕ, ΕΤΜΟ

CΤΕ ΝΝΕΤΜΕ

ΑΥΤΙΝΟΥΤΕ,

ΝΔΙ ΕΝΤΑΥ†

life, those who did evil things unto a resurrection of judgment.<sup>1</sup>

Besa the most humble writes to Herai.<sup>2</sup> Truly according to the word of the apostle<sup>3</sup>, I marvel that you so quickly turn from him who called you in the grace of Jesus Christ<sup>4</sup> unto a good hope to be a firstfruit of God, and how you have given place to the devil that he might turn you speedily from the good thought unto the evil thought, and from constancy to the attitude of disaffection, and from love and peace to hatred and quarrelling. Do you not know that Satan is a hater of good, always envying those who desire their salvation? For on this said our holy father, Apa Antonius, who knew the wickedness of the enemy who hates those who love God, those who

<sup>1</sup>Jn.5.29.

<sup>2</sup>The name comes from the Greek Ἡραῖς, the final s being omitted. Heuser, Personennamen, mentions this Greek name in various Coptic forms but not as it is here 2HPAI. For part of another letter to a Herai (probably the same nun), see 78v-86v, cf. p.16.

<sup>3</sup>For ἀποστός read ἀποστόλος.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Gal.1.6.



ΠΕΥΟΥΟΙ ΕΡΟΥ  
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 ΘΒΒΙΟ ΜΎΤΕ  
 ΟΙΝΡΙΚΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
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 ΛΑ ΝΚΕΔΓΓΕ  
 ΛΟΣ, ΝΕΥΟΥ  
 ΟΠ' ΝΔΥ, ΝΟΥΖΙ  
 15 ΟΕ, ΜΎΝΝΕΤΟΥ  
 ΔΔΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΎ  
 ΠΕΧΣ ΙΟ:

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 ΒΙΟ, ΨΑΥΤΎ  
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 ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΠΕ  
 ΟΥΔΔΙ ΜΎΠΕ  
 ΨΟΥΨΟΥ, ΨΑΥ  
 25 ΨΟΥΝΟΥ ΔΥΩ  
 ΝΎΤΎΤΟΝ ΝΔΥ  
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 ΠΔΙ ΡΎ ΟΕΚΩ  
 ΤΕ ΝῪΩΝ ΝΧΥ

ΝΙΜ· ΚΑΤΑΘΕ  
 ΕΤΧΖ ΔΕ ΨΑΡΕ  
 ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΎΠΟ  
 ΕΙΟ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΝΕΤ  
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 ΝΎΝΔΖΜΟΥ·

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 ΖΩΒ ΕΥΤΑΖΟ  
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 ΤΕΧΑΡΧΎ·  
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 ΨΠΕΥΟΥΟΙ Ε  
 ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡ  
 ΕΎΖΑΛ ΝΔΥ ΕΎ  
 ΠΕΥΖΗΤ' ΤΗΡΎ·  
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 ΟΥΝΟΕ, ΝῪΟΜ  
 ΝΔΥ ΜΎΝΟΥΝΟΕ  
 ΝΡΑΨΕ, ΖΩΣΤΕ  
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advanced to him with all their heart', "Truly, my beloved, our carelessness and our humiliation and our perversion have not been hurtful to us alone, but they have also been painful to the angels and to all the saints in Christ Jesus. Truly also, my sons, our humiliation gives pain to them all, whereas our salvation and our glory give joy and rest to them all. Therefore indeed they seek us always, as it is written, 'The angel of the Lord surrounds those who fear him and delivers them.'<sup>2</sup>" Again he says<sup>3</sup>, "But I shall tell you another thing that touches man from his beginning. If man advances to God to serve him with all his heart, God gives him great power and great joy so that every work of God is sweeter to him than honey and the honeycomb<sup>4</sup>, and all the pains of

<sup>1</sup>For the following quotation, cf. Migne, PG, 40, 986D f. For this and the two subsequent Antony quotations, cf. also G.Garitte, A propos des lettres de S.Antoine l'Ermite, Mus.LII, p.11ff.

<sup>2</sup>Ps.33.8.

<sup>3</sup>For the following Antony quotation, cf. Migne, PG, 40, 1050D f.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Ps.18.11.

5 ΠΙΩΜΑ ΖΛΟΘ  
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 ΤΕ ΖΛΟΘ, ΝΤΟ  
 ΟΤΥ. ΜΝΝΙΝΑ  
 10 ΝΔΙ ΔΕ, ΨΑΥΔΟ  
 ΤΥ ΖΝΝΔΙ. ΖΩ  
 ΟΤΕ ΝΤΥΒΕΙΩ  
 ΝΟΥΖΜΟΜ.  
 ΝΟΥΔΡΟΥ.  
 15 ΝΤΥΒΕΙΩ Ν  
 ΟΥΔΑΔΙ. ΝΟΥ  
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ΧΗ. ΝΤΕΙ  
 ΖΕ ΟΝ ΝΤΑΥΔΟ  
 ΟΣ ΝΟΙΠΕΛΛΟ



the body are sweet to him, and the exercises and vigils and the whole yoke of godliness are sweet to him. But afterwards he is tested by these things, so that there is coldness for warmth, heaviness for lightness, grief and weariness for joy, hatred for love, bitterness for sweetness. All these things come upon the man that seeks after God until he<sup>1</sup> helps him and he<sup>2</sup> overcomes them. And when he overcomes them, the Spirit of God is always with him, giving him power not to fear again any evil thing,<sup>3</sup> or contempt of man, or fear of demon." For this has been said, "Be sober and vigilant, because your adversary the devil goes, roaring as the lions, seeking to devour your souls"<sup>4</sup>. Thus also said the good abbot,

<sup>1</sup>I.e. God.

<sup>2</sup>I.e. the man that seeks after God.

<sup>3</sup>Here our text ceases to correspond to that of Migne, but it is impossible to say where the Antony quotation ended for Besa - here, after "demon", or at the end of I Pet.5.8.

<sup>4</sup>I Pet.5.8.



ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥ  
ΑΠΑ ΑΝΤΩΝΙ  
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10 ΖΗΤ'. ΜΗΝΕΥ  
ΚΑΚΙΑ ΕΤΩΟ  
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ΠΗΔ ΕΤΟ ΝΡΕΥ  
ΣΩΡΩ. ΜΗΝΕΥ  
15 ΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΔΙ  
ΟΥΔ. ΜΗΝΕΥ  
ΜΗΤΑΠΙΣΤΟΣ  
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ΜΟΥ ΕΞΡΑΪ Ε  
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ΤΗΝ ΡΩ ΔΝ.  
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ΡΕΥΣΩΥ ΕΤΕ  
ΩΔΥΤΑΥ Ε  
ΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΕΝΖΗΤ

Apa Antonius<sup>1</sup>, "Truly my sons, they<sup>2</sup> always bear ill-will towards you in their wicked counsel, and their secret persecution and their subtle evils and their spirits that lead astray, and their blasphemous thoughts and their unbeliefs which they sow in our heart daily, and their hardenings of heart and their perplexities, and their many sorrows which they bring upon us always, and their despondencies with which they cause our heart to be plagued daily, and all their rages and their calumnies which they teach us one towards another, and their self-justification in what they do, and their condemnation which they cast into our heart. And while we are alone, they make us sit in judgment on one another even in their absence from us. With their slanders which they arrogantly put<sup>3</sup> into our hearts,

<sup>1</sup>For the following quotation, cf. Migne, PG, 40, 983B ff., and also 40, 1012B ff. Part of this quotation occurs also on 68r.

<sup>2</sup>Probably demons.

<sup>3</sup>For ΕΤΕΥΑΥΤΑΥ the quotation on 68r has ΕΤΟΥΝΟΥΔΕ ΑΥΟΥΥ.

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2̄ΜΠΕΝΩΔΕ

ΕΤΝΔΩΤ.

10 ENΜΟΚ2̄ ̄Ν2HT

̄ΝΔΥ ΝΙΜ.

ENŌΔΡΙΚΕ Ε

NENERHY, ΔΥΩ

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Μ̄Ν2ΕΝ†Ω.

Μ̄Ν2ΕΝ2ΔΙΡΕ

CIC. EN† Μ̄Ν

NENERHY, ΩΔ̄

Τ̄ΝΤΔ2ΕΠΕΝ

ΩΔΔΕ ΕΡΑΤΥ.

ΔΕΚΔC ΕΝΕΟΥ

ΩΝ2̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝ

ΤΜΔİHY, Μ̄ΠΕΜ

ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄Π2Ō

̄ΝNENERHY.

ΕΥΘΥΡΟΤ' ΝΔ̄

ΕΝΕ2ΒΗΥΕ ΕΤΕ

Μ̄ΝΔΟΜ Μ̄ΜΟΝ

ΕΔΔΥ. ΔΥΩ ΕΜ

ΠCHY, ΡΩ̄ ΔΝ ΠΕ.

ΕΥΤΡŌ Μ̄ΜΟΝ

Ε2ΛΟΠΛΕΠ' Ε

ΠΔİ ΕΤ̄ΝΩΟ

ΟΠ' ̄Ν2HTŪ

ΔΥΩ ΕΤŌ ̄Ν2HY

ΝΔΝ. ΕΤΒΕ

ΠΔİ ΡΩ̄ ΩΔΥ

ΤΡΕΝCΩΒΕ 2̄Μ

ΠCHY; ̄ΝΡΙΜΕ.

ΔΥΩ ΩΔΥΤΡΕ

ΡΙΜΕ, 2̄ΜΠCHY,

̄ΝCΩΒΕ. 2Δ

ΠΔ2̄ 2ΔΠΛΩC

ΕΥΠΩΩΝΕ

Μ̄ΜΟΝ ̄ΝCHY

ΝΙΜ̄ ΕΒΟΛ 2̄Μ

ΠΜΟΕΙΤ, ΕΤ



we are hard of heart and we decry one another, we are boastful to each other with our hard words, we are always troubled at heart, we blame one another and not ourselves, we think that our trouble comes through our'neighbours, we are judges of those that are shown up while the arch-robber<sup>1</sup> is inside the house; with quarrels and factions we fight each other<sup>3</sup>, until we establish our word, in order that we may appear justified before each other. They incite us to things which we cannot do, and at the wrong time. They cause us to be weary of our lot, which is in fact profitable for us. So they also make us laugh when it is time to weep, and weep when it is time to laugh. In short, they always turn us away from the straight path

<sup>1</sup>For NETNEPHY the quotation on 68r has correctly NENEPHY .

<sup>2</sup>Probably the Devil.

<sup>3</sup>The quotation on 68r adds here N2HTOY .



ὑπα  
Τ

COYTWN' M̄N  
ZENKEIMH  
WE N̄APATH  
EYEIPE M̄MON  
N̄ZUZAŁ N̄AY  
N̄ZHTOY, EU  
PEYCHY, AN PE  
TENOU, EOYON  
ZOY EBOŁ THPOY.

20 TAN ΔΕ ΕΥ  
ΩΑΝΜΕΖΠΕ  
ΖΗΤ' ΕΒΟΛ Δ̄N  
N̄ai. ΔΥΩ N̄T̄N  
MOONE N̄ZH  
TOY. ΔΥΩ N̄CE  
P̄ZPE' N̄AN. TO  
TE ΩAPEM̄N̄Y  
TE OYNT̄ EPŌ:

ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙΘΕ M̄  
ΠΡΕΓΚΑΚΕΙ  
ΕΤΕΤ̄N̄T̄WB̄Z  
N̄T̄M̄NTAΓAΘE  
M̄ΠEIOY.

APHY N̄TEOY  
BOHΘEIA N̄TO  
OT̄Y EĪ EBOŁ  
N̄M̄M̄HT̄N. E  
TPETĒT̄NTCA  
BETHYT̄N, E

COȲN̄ΠETE  
ΩΩE Z̄NOYME:  
TENOUCE M̄TWP  
ETPEΠΔAΔE  
TAKO M̄POY  
ZHΤ' ETN̄AN̄YU  
PAĪ ENTAP̄  
MOYOYĪ EP̄N̄Y  
TE N̄ZH̄T̄Y. ΔΛ  
ΛA ΩΩΠE N̄TOY  
EPETAΔPHY.

ENTEΠΩΩNE  
ΔN. N̄ΘE EN  
TAYΔOOC ΔE  
AN̄OYΠE ΓAP  
EPEX̄C. EΩΩ  
ΠE ENΩANA  
MAZTE N̄TAP  
XH M̄TAYΔPO  
ECTAΔPHY ΩA

BOŁ. Z̄NTE  
T̄N̄ZYΓTOMO  
N̄H ΓAP ΠEΔAY  
N̄OIΠΔOEIC.

ETETNEΔ̄ΠO  
N̄HT̄N N̄NET̄N  
ΨYXH. ΔΥΩ  
ON ΔE ΠET  
N̄AZYΓOMINE

with many other deceptions by which they make us their slaves, and all of which it is not now the time to reveal. But whenever they fill our heart with these things and we feed on them and they provide sustenance for us, then God is angry with us. Therefore do not be remiss in craving the goodness of the Father; perhaps help for you will come from him, that you may teach yourselves to know what is in truth fitting." So on no account let the enemy<sup>1</sup> destroy your good purpose in which you advanced<sup>2</sup> towards God, but be firm and do not alter, as it was said, "For we have become partakers of Christ if we hold fast the beginning of the confidence firm unto the end<sup>3</sup>." "For in your constancy", said the Lord, "you shall win your souls<sup>4</sup>." And again, "He who will endure

<sup>1</sup>The reference is to the devil or the demons.

<sup>2</sup>For πονηροῖ read πονηροῖ .

<sup>3</sup>Heb.3.14.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Lk.21.19.



ψαβολ· παϊ πε

τῆς αὐτοῦ δαϊ:

εὐωρὶς δε οὐ

νοῦον νῆμ

αὐτῶ εὐταδρο

αὐτοῦ. ψαχ

δοος δε ἀρι

πῆεεεε νῆθι

με νῆλωτ· αὐ

πῆκετῆθ

τῆς ἐπαροῦ ν

θε νῆνετῶμα

ταῖς ἐντασκο

τῆς ἐπαροῦ, ἀς

ψαπτε νῆοῦο

οεῖτ νῆμοῦ.

δεκάς ἐρεοῦ

οὐ νῆμ· νῆξι

σβῶ ἐβολ ζι

τοῦτ· αὐτῆ

δοος δε ἀς

ψαπτε νῆοῦο

οεῖτ, νῆωνε.

ἀλλὰ νῆοῦο

εῖτ, νῆμοῦ.

ἐπεὶ δὴ πε

ζμοῦ δοκῆ.

δε ἐρενετ

νοῖ τῆροῦ

αὐτῶ νῆτεοῦν

ζητ· αὐτοῦ.

νατῆθ, ἐπε

ταχῶπτε αὐ

μος· αὐτῶ

δε ἐκτὸ ἐπαροῦ

νῆθε νῆτεῦ

μα. νῆτεο

σε αὐπενταρ

ζιτοῦτε, ἐροῦ.

μῆ γὰρ τεπεῖ

θε, ἡ τεοῦω

ἐτρεῖψτε

ἐβολ αὐτοῦ

ρὰν ζῶπιδω

με αὐτῶν

αὐνῆσῶρε

αὐτῶ. ἡ αὐνῆ

σῶρεψιδῆπτε

αὐτῶ αὐνῆ

οῦαδ· αὐτῶ

νῆσεοπε ἐτε

στρεῖδα ν

τῆ. αὐτῶ ἐ

αὐτῶν· αὐ

μὸ ζῶοῦπ

στις, ἐαροῦν

πῆοεῖς.

τῶκε νῆζη

to the end, he shall be saved<sup>1</sup>." And again, encouraging all men and assuring them, he says, "Remember Lot's wife<sup>2</sup>." Do not turn back like her who turned back and became a pillar of salt<sup>3</sup>, so that every one might take a lesson from her. For it was not said that she became a pillar of stone, but a pillar of salt, since salt is seasoned, that all those who know and understand may give heed to what happened to her. Do not therefore turn back like her, or endanger that which you began. Are you persuaded and do you wish that your name should be blotted out of the book of life<sup>4</sup> after it has been written, after you have been numbered with the saints and counted among the host of heaven, though you have been promised in faith and have known the Lord? Accordingly take courage,

<sup>1</sup>Mt.10.22, 24.13, Mk.13.13.

<sup>2</sup>Lk.17.32.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Gen.19.26.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Ps.68.29.



ΥΠΔ  
7

5 X ὑπὲρ κότε ἐ  
παροῦ, ἔνοι  
μῆτωβ· δε  
αυδοοc δε ὡα  
ρεπρωμε ἐτ  
οὐεὐῆτωρδ  
ἐνευβεερ  
ῶινε ἵκαοῦ  
λοιθε· οὐτε  
10 ὑπὲρθε ἵνε  
ταγε' ἐχῆντε  
τρα· αὐω ἵτει  
νοῦ, αὐτοῦ  
δε μῆταρ ἵκαρ  
15 παροῦ· πρῆ  
δε ἵτερεῦ  
ῶα· αὐρκαῖ  
μα· αὐω ἐβολ  
δε μῆνοῦνε  
20 ἰμοῦ, οὐτε  
ατβεc, αὐω  
οὐε· ἐτεπαι  
τε δε ὡαπτι  
στεγε, ἵτει  
25 νοῦ, παροῦ  
οὐοειῶ· ἔν  
οὐοοειῶ  
δε ὑπερδμε  
ὡακοτοῦ

ἐβολ ἵθε ἐν  
ταπδοεic δο  
οc· ἀλλὰ ἀμ  
στε ὑππτε  
ἵανοῦ· αὐω  
ἵτεροεic ἵ  
θε ἵνενταῖ  
ζε' ἐχῆντα  
ἐτῆανοῦ  
αὐκαρποc  
ἔνοῦεγπομο  
ἵα ἵγε ἵκωβ·

8 ἔωωπε γαρ  
8 ἐρωανκτο  
ἐπαροῦ· οὐν  
ταρ παρῶε  
ἰμο· αὐω ἵ  
σεωβε ἵκω  
ἔννετωcτε  
ἰμο· αὐω  
ον οὐνοῦμη  
ἵγε παλῆπει  
αὐω ἵσεῦκα  
ἵετῆ ἔε  
νετῆροτε  
ετῆ ὑπνοῦ  
τε· ἵα ἐτοῦ  
ἐωποῦταῖο·  
ὑπποῦcμ

do not weakly turn back, for it has been said, "The man who wishes to part from his friends seeks an excuse"<sup>1</sup>. And do not be like those who fell upon the rock and immediately sprouted because there was not much earth under them, and who were scorched when the sun rose and withered because they had neither root nor moisture<sup>2</sup>; that is to say they immediately believe for a while, but in a time of temptation they turn away<sup>3</sup>, as the Lord said. But lay hold on the good and be vigilant like those who fell on the good ground and bore fruit in constancy a hundredfold<sup>4</sup>. For if you turn back, many of those who hate you will deride you and mock you, and many of us, too, who fear God and desire your honour, position, and establishment, will sorrow and grieve.

<sup>1</sup>Prov.18.1.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Mt.13.5-6 and Lk.8.6.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Lk.8.13.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Lk.8.15.

ΝΕ. ΔΥΩ ΠΟΥ  
 COOZE.  
 ΤΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ ΘΕ  
 ΕΝΤΑΠΔΟΕΙC  
 5 ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΝΙΜ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤ  
 ΤΗΥΤΗΝ ΕΜΟΥ  
 ΩΥ ΕΚΩΤ' Ν  
 ΟΥΠΥΡΓΟC.  
 10 ΜΗ ΝΥΝΑΖΜΟ  
 ΟC ΔΝ ΝΨΟΡΨ  
 ΝΥΨΙΠΩΓ' Ν  
 ΤΕΨΔΑΠΑΝΗ  
 ΔΕ ΝΕΟΥΝΤΑΥ  
 15 ΕΔΟΚΥ ΕΒΟΛ.  
 ΔΕΚΑC ΕΝΝΕΥ  
 CΛΥΝCΝΤΕ ΝΥ  
 ΤΥΒΥΔΟΜ Ε  
 ΔΟΚΥ ΕΒΟΛ.  
 20 ΝΤΕΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ  
 ΕΤΝΔΥ ΕΡΟΥ  
 CΩΒΕ ΝCΩΥ  
 ΕΥΔΩ ΛΥΜΟC  
 ΔΕ. ΑΠΙΡΩΜΕ  
 25 ΑΡΧΕΙ ΝΚΩΤ'.  
 ΛΥΠΥΕΨΩ  
 ΒΟΜ ΕΔΟΚΥ  
 ΕΒΟΛ.  
 ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΡΕ

ΠΔΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕ  
 ΧC ΤCΑΒΟ Λ  
 ΜΟΝ' ΔΝ ΕΚΕΤ'  
 ΠΥΡΓΟC. ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΕΨΤCΑΒΟ ΛΥΜΟ  
 ΕΤΡΕΝCΟΟΥ  
 ΤΗ ΝΤΕΝΖΙΗ  
 ΜΝΠΕΝΖΗΤ  
 ΕΖΡΑΙ' ΕΤΠΕ.  
 3 ΝΘΕ ΟΝ ΕΝΤΑΥ  
 ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΜΕ  
 ΡΕΛΔΔΥ ΤΑΛΕ'  
 ΤΟΟΤΥ ΕΔΝΟΥ  
 ΖΒΒΕ ΕΨΩΨΤ  
 ΕΠΔΖΟΥ, ΝΥCΟ  
 ΟΥΤΗΝ ΝΤΛΥΝΤ  
 ΕΡΟ ΛΥΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ. ΕΤΕΠΕΙ  
 ΩΔΕ ΟΝ ΠΕ.  
 ΕΨΤΑΜΟ ΛΥΜΟ  
 ΕΤΥΤΡΕΝΚΤΟ  
 ΕΠΔΖΟΥ, ΖΗΤΕ  
 ΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ.  
 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ' Λ  
 ΠΡΤΡΕΝΨΩ  
 ΠΕ ΝΑΘΗΤ. ΑΛ  
 ΛΑ ΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΥ  
 ΠΕ ΠΟΥΨΩ  
 ΛΥΠΔΟΕΙC.

For thus the Lord said, "Who amongst you, wishing to build a tower, will not first sit down and count its cost, to see whether he has enough to complete it, lest he lay the foundation and be unable to finish it, and all who see him mock him saying, 'This man started building but was not able to complete it'?"<sup>1</sup> Truly the Lord Jesus Christ does not teach us to build a tower but rather teaches us to direct our way and our heart towards heaven, as he said, "No one can put his hand on the plough, and look back, and yet be fit for the kingdom of God"<sup>2</sup>, and by this saying he tells us not to turn back from our constancy. Therefore do not be foolish, but know what the will of the Lord is

<sup>1</sup>Lk.14.28-30.

<sup>2</sup>Lk.9.62.



1  
ΥΠ5  
7

ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕΜΕ  
ΣΤΕΠΠΕΘΟ  
ΟΥ, ΕΤΕΠΖΗΤ  
ΠΕ ΜΩΝΤΩΜ  
5 ΜΩ. ΝΤΕΜΕ  
ΡΕΠΠΕΤΝΑ  
ΝΟΥ. ΕΤΕΘΥ  
ΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΤΕ  
ΕΤΔΗΚ' ΕΒΟΛ.

10 ΝΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΥ  
ΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ ΘΥ  
ΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΔΕ.  
ΜΑΡΕCΩΩ  
ΠΕ ΕΟΥΝΤΑΣ  
15 ΜΩΔΥ, ΝΟΥΖΩΒ  
ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ.

ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΪΨΙΡΟ  
ΟΥΩ ΖΑΡΟ Ν  
ΤΕΪΖΕ, ΔΥΩ  
20 ΕΪCΥΜΒΟΥ  
ΛΕΥΕ ΝΕ' ΕΤΩ  
ΕΓΚΑΚΕΙ ΖΝ  
ΟΥΘΛΙΨΙC ΤΑΙ  
ΕΤΕΡΕΤΕΝ  
25 ΠΡΟΚΟΠΗ  
ΩΟΟΠ' ΕΒΟΛ  
ΝΖΗΤC. ΔΥΔΟ  
ΟC ΓΑΡ ΔΕ ΕΡΕ  
ΠΤΕΝΟΥΔΑΪ,

8 ΖΝΟΥΟΥΟΕΙΩ  
ΝΘΛΙΨΙC. ΕΥ  
ΩΔΝCΩΩΕ ΓΑΡ  
ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕΥΙ Ε  
ΡΩ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΔΟ  
ΕΙC, ΕΝΤΑΥ  
ΕΡΟΥ ΕΥCΩΩ  
ΜΩΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΕΥ  
ΝΟCΝΕC, ΜΩΟΥ.  
ΕΡΑΔΙΚΕΤΑ  
ΕΙΩ ΝΖΟΥΩ.  
ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕΔΙΕ  
ΟΥ, ΕΒΟΛ Ζ  
ΤΩΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΜΩΝΩΡΩΜΕ:

8 ΝΘΕ ΟΝ ΕΝΤΑΥ  
ΔΟΟC ΖΝΤΕΥ  
ΤΑΠΡΩ ΜΩΕ  
ΔΕ CΜΟΥ, ΕΝΕΤ  
CΑΖΟΥ, ΜΩΩ  
ΤΩ. ΩΛΗΛ Ε  
ΔΩΝΝΕΤΠΗΤ  
ΝCΑΤΗΥΤΩ.  
ΔΥΩ ΔΕ ΠΕΤ  
ΝΑΡΑΖΤΚ Ε  
ΔΩΝΤΕΚΟΥΟ  
ΟΒΕ. ΚΤΩ Ε  
ΡΟΥ ΝΤΕΚΚΕ  
ΟΥΕΙ.

and hate the evil which is disaffection, and love the good<sup>1</sup> which is constancy perfected, as it was said, "And let constancy have a perfect work"<sup>2</sup>. So I am concerned for you, and I counsel you not to behave remissly in tribulation, for therein our progress lies. It has been said, "Our salvation is in the time of tribulation"<sup>3</sup>. For if they despise you and you bear it as the Lord bore it when they despised him and mocked him, all the more will you receive<sup>4</sup> honour and glory from God and men. As he said with his truthful mouth, "Bless them that curse you, pray for them that persecute you"<sup>5</sup>, and, "He who will smite you on your cheek, to him turn your other one"<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Amos 5.15.

<sup>2</sup>Jam.1.4.

<sup>3</sup>Is.33.2.

<sup>4</sup>Note ερα - for επενδ -, cf. Stern, para 380.

<sup>5</sup>Lk.6.28.

<sup>6</sup>Lk.6.29.



5 ἄνω ὅν ἄμε'  
 εἰωκῆς ἡγῆτ  
 ἐτβῆντε· εἰ  
 οὕτως ἂν ἐτρε  
 10 ἵοσε ἡτοῦ  
 ψυχῇ ἐτεῦ  
 πικρὸς τῇ  
 ῥῇ ἡπῶα ἡ  
 μος ἂν· ἄνω  
 15 ἐτῶτρεβω  
 τῇ ἡτοῦ ἡ  
 γενῶαδε ἡ  
 ρωμε· ἡ ἡσε  
 τὰκὸ ἡποῦ  
 20 ἡγῆτ' ἐτῶαῖ  
 ἡτῶτρεβῶν  
 ἀφορμῇ ἡγεῖ  
 ῶαδε εἰῶῆγῆ  
 ἡγῆτοῦ· ἡθε  
 25 ἡτῆς' δε ῶα  
 ῥενῶαδε ε  
 θοοῦ, τὰκε  
 ἡγῆτ' ἐτῶα  
 νοῦοῦ· ἡαῖ  
 30 γὰρ γενῶο  
 εἰῶ' νε, ἄνω  
 γενῶαδε νε  
 ἡῶαῖῥῆνῆτ  
 με' ἡπῆνοῦτε

ἡῶαῖῥῆνῆτ· ἡαῖ  
 εἰῶαῖοῦ ἡῶαῖ.  
 εἰῶαῖοῦ.  
 εἰῶαῖοῦ,  
 νεῶαῖοῦ ἂν,  
 πε· ἂνον ῶα  
 3 ὡν πετεῶαδε  
 ἐρον πε ἐτρε  
 τῆτωνῆν ἐροῦ.  
 ἡαῖ ἐτῶαῖ  
 ἡῶα ἡοῦοῦ  
 δεκάς ἐνεοῦ  
 ἂν ἡῶαῖ  
 ῶοοῦ· δε ε  
 νεῶαῖ ἡῶα  
 ἡαῖ ἡῶαῖ  
 ῶοοῦ.  
 ἄνω ἡῶα  
 4 τοῦοῦ ῶαῖ  
 ἐρὸ ἡῶαῖ:  
 ἐτῶαῖ ἄνω  
 ἡῶα ἐρὸ εἰ  
 ἡαῖ ἡῶα  
 5 καῖος ἐποῦ  
 ῶα ἡαῖ  
 ἡῶαῖ ἡῶα  
 ῶα δε ἐτῶα  
 οῦ γὰρ νεῶα  
 ἄνω, ἂν, πε

Concerning you, too, I am indeed grieved, for I do not wish you to forfeit your soul, which the whole world is not worth<sup>1</sup>, or to be overcome by words of man, or for your good behaviour to be destroyed because occasion has been found for unprofitable talk, as it is written, "Evil communications corrupt good manners."<sup>2</sup> For these things are dust, and they are nothing in the sight of those who love God and his Christ, who, when he was cursed, did not curse<sup>3</sup>, and when he suffered, was not provoked<sup>4</sup>. For it is fitting that we should be like him who has set us an example in order that we may follow his ways<sup>5</sup> and be fellow-heirs<sup>6</sup> and partners<sup>6</sup> with him in the kingdom of heaven. Therefore strive with yourself before a time comes when each one shall break his heart saying, "Why did I not want them

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Mt.16.26, Mk.8.36.

<sup>2</sup>I Cor.15.33. - Lit. "Evil words destroy good hearts." The Greek so rendered is φθείρουσιν ἢ ἢ χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί. St. Paul is using a line from Menander's comedy 'Thais', which has become proverbial.

<sup>3</sup>For ΕΜΠΙΣΤΟΥ read (Ε)ΜΠΙΣΤΟΥ .

<sup>4</sup>I Pet.2.23.

<sup>5</sup>I Pet.2.21.

<sup>6</sup>For the combination of the two words ΣΥΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ and ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΟΣ, cf. Eph.3.6.



<sup>1</sup>  
ΥΠΗ  
7

5 ΕΥΨΩ ΝΔΙ·  
ΔΥΩ ΑΠΑΖΗΤ  
ΡΙΚΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ν  
ΝΕΔΠΙΟ· ΕΡ  
ΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΜΕ  
ΕΥΕ ΜΠΕΝΤΑΥ  
ΔΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ  
ΝΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΔΕ  
ΔΥΝΔΥ ΕΝΕΡΗΤ  
10 ΕΤΖΕΝΤΑΥΤΕ  
ΡΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ·  
ΔΥΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ  
ΔΕ ΔΝΟΝ ΖΕΝ  
ΩΜΜΟ, ΔΥΩ  
ΔΝΟΝ ΖΕΝΡΜ  
15 ΝΒΟΙΛΕ ΖΙΔΜ  
ΠΚΑΖ ΝΕΤΔΩ  
ΓΑΡ ΝΝΔΙ ΝΤΕΙ  
ΖΕ. ΕΥΟΥΩΝΖ  
20 ΜΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΔΕ ΕΥΩΙΝΕ Ν  
ΣΑΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ·  
ΕΝΕΥΡΠΜΕΥΕ  
ΔΕ ΝΤΕΝΤΑΥ  
25 ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΣ·  
ΝΕΔΥΡΤΕ ΓΕ  
ΝΚΟΤΟΥ ΕΡΟΣ·  
ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΥ  
ΟΥΕΨΤΕΤΣΟ

ΤΠ ΕΤΕΤΑΤΠΕ  
ΤΕ· ΕΤΒΕΠΔΙ  
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ +  
ΩΠΠΕ ΝΔΥ ΔΝ  
ΕΤΡΕΥΕΠΙΚΑ  
ΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΝΥ  
ΤΕ ΕΔΩΟΥ· ΔΥ  
ΣΟΒΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΔΥ  
ΝΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ·

Τ ΝΤΟ ΝΖΩΩΤΕ  
ΕΡΕΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΜΕ  
ΕΥΕ ΝΝΔΙ· ΜΠΡ  
ΚΤΟ ΕΠΑΖΟΥ  
ΖΜΠΟΥΕΡΗΤ'  
ΕΝΤΑΡΕΡΗΤ'  
ΜΜΟΥ· ΝΘΕ  
ΝΙΝΕΝΤΑΥΔΟ  
ΟΣ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ  
ΔΕ ΔΥΖΙΩΝΕ  
ΕΡΟΥ· ΔΥΟΥ  
ΔΣΤΟΥ· ΔΥΜΟΥ  
ΖΝΟΥΖΩΤΒ  
ΝΣΗΥΕ· ΔΥΖΑ  
ΤΟΥ, ΜΠΟΥ  
ΩΩΠ' ΕΡΟΥ  
ΜΠΩΤΕ Μ  
ΠΕΥΣΩΜΔ· ΔΕ  
ΕΥΕΔΙ ΝΤΑΝΔ  
ΣΤΑΙΣ ΕΤΣΟ

to teach me, and my heart turn away from reproofs?" You remember what was said concerning the saints, "They saw the promises which are in the kingdom of God. They confessed saying, 'We are strangers and sojourners on the earth'<sup>2</sup>. For they who say such things make it manifest that they seek a city, and if they remembered the one they came from, they would have opportunity to return to it. But now they wish for the better one, that is to say the heavenly. Therefore God is not ashamed for them to invoke him as God over them. For he has prepared a city for them.<sup>3</sup>" You yourself<sup>4</sup> remember these things. Do not go back on your promise which you made, like those concerning whom it was said, "They were stoned, they were sawn apart, they died by the sword<sup>5</sup>; they were beaten, they did not accept the deliverance of their body,<sup>6</sup> that they might receive the more excellent resurrection.<sup>7</sup>"

<sup>1</sup>Prov.5.12.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Heb.11.13.

<sup>3</sup>Heb.11.14-16.

<sup>4</sup>For ἡμεῖς read ὑμεῖς .

<sup>5</sup>Heb.11.37.

<sup>6</sup>There is no equivalent for ἀνέγκωμα in the Greek text of Heb.11.35.

<sup>7</sup>Heb.11.35.

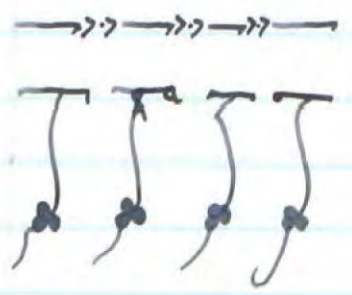


τῇ· οὐ δὲ πε  
 δε ὑποχωρητῇ  
 εροῦ ὑπὸ  
 τε ὑπεύσω  
 μα· εἰρητι δε  
 ὑποχωρη  
 ἐκτοῦ ἐνε  
 ὅθεν ὑμῶν  
 κοσμικόν·

ἀλλὰ ἐποχω  
 ἔπωλε ε  
 βολ· ἐτρε  
 ῶντε ὑμῶν

τε· πῶς  
 ἐχέου· νε  
 αὐτῶν ὑμῶν  
 τῶν ἐν  
 νῆμ ἐνανοῦ·  
 ἐτρεῖτο

ὑμῶν ὑ  
 πῶς ὑ  
 εἰς νῆμ· ἐρ  
 σοῦν δε πῶ  
 ὅς ἐστι  
 ἀν ὑμῶν:



βῆκα πῆλαχιστος  
 ἐτρενενταῖον  
 τεύχονον  
 βωκ ἐβολ ὑμῶν:

ἐνεῖτε ἐτ  
 οῦδαν δῖντε  
 2004· ἐνταῖ  
 σεῖς· ἐντοῖ  
 ἐσῶν· ὑπο  
 ὅς ὑμῶν  
 με ἐσῶν ὑμῶν  
 νῆμ ὑμῶν.

οὔτε ὑπο  
 ἀναγκάζε· ὑ  
 λαδῶν ὑμῶν  
 ἐτρενενταῖον  
 αὐ· οὔτε ἀν  
 ὅς ὑμῶν ὑ  
 πῶν· ὑμῶν  
 κεχέρωμε  
 γὰρ ἀν ἐτρε

τῇ· ἀλλὰ ἀν  
 ἐῖτε καὶ  
 νόμος ὑμῶν  
 ὑμῶν ὑμῶν  
 νῆμ ὑμῶν  
 πῶν·  
 αὐτῶν ἐτρε

What does 'they did not accept the deliverance of their body' mean, unless that they did not wish to turn to the works of worldliness, but wished to turn away and be with God? The Lord will give you strength and will confirm you in every good work<sup>1</sup>, that you may excel in the work of the Lord always. You know that in the Lord your suffering is not vain<sup>2</sup>.

Besa the most humble on those who have renounced their constancy by leaving us.

Our holy fathers since the day when they gathered together these monasteries have not sent for a man to make him a monk by force, nor have they compelled any man in the matter of<sup>3</sup> his property, nor have we ourselves done so either. For they used not to compel man<sup>4</sup> to virtue, but our fathers appointed laws<sup>5</sup> for us in their communities concerning our confirmation and concerning the

<sup>1</sup>Cf. II Thes.2.17.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. I Cor.15.58.

<sup>3</sup>See the Detached Note on the next page.

<sup>4</sup>An exception to the rule that durative tenses must take an 'Oblique' Object, cf. Plumley, para 328ff.

<sup>5</sup>Note the apparently misplaced accent after 2' in ΚΑΘΕΝΝΟΜΟΣ, cf. p.11.



Detached Note to follow 77r.

etbe could equally well mean "on account of". If the translation "in the matter of" be accepted, there are two possible meanings of the passage: 1) Though on becoming a monk a man had to renounce his property, the fact that no one was compelled to become a monk meant that he was also free "in the matter of his property". 2) Besa claims that the superiors did not interfere with the manner in which a man disposed of his property on becoming a monk. (This interpretation is supported by Shenoute's practice, cf. Leipoldt, Shenute, p.107, but seems to be contradicted by Besa's own words on 77v.)

If, on the other hand, the translation "on account of" be accepted, the meaning would be that Besa defends himself and his fathers against the charge that they compelled men to become monks because they wanted to get their property. For a further discussion of Besa's views on the renunciation of property, cf. p.125ff

20 ΕΡΑΤῤ ἸΝΕ  
 ΟΝΗΥ. ΔΕΚΔΟ  
 ΕΥΕΩΩΠΕ  
 ἸΑΠΡΟΥΩ  
 5 ἸΟΕΘῆ Ἰ  
 ΩῤΩΕ ἸΠΔΟ  
 ΕΙΟ ἸΝΟΥΤΑ  
 ἸΟ ἸΝΟΥΘΙΝ  
 ΔΕΡΑΤΟΥ Ε  
 10 ΠΔΟΕΙΟ ΚΑΛΩΟ  
 ΔΔἸΠΡΟΥΩ  
 ΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΧΗ  
 ΔΕ ΝΕΡΕἸΚΑ  
 ΝΙΩ ΩΟΠῆ  
 15 ΝΔΥ, ἸΟΥΟΠῆ.  
 ΔΥΩ ΝΕῤῥΑ  
 ΔΥ ΔΩ ἸΩΟΟ  
 ΕΝΕΤΩΟΠῆ  
 ΝΔΥ ΔΕ ΝΟΥῆ  
 20 ΝΕ. ΔΥΩ ΤΑῆ  
 ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑ  
 ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ  
 ΚΔΔΟ ΝΔΝ ΕΔΡΑῆ  
 ΔΕ ΠΕΤΝΗΥ ΕΔΟΥῆ  
 25 ΕΡῤΟΝΑΧΟΟ  
 ΔΑΤΗΝ. ΕΥΝΑ  
 ΔΠΟΤΑΟΕ Ἰ  
 ΩΟΠῆ ἸἸΚΑ  
 ΝΙΩ ΕΤΩΟΠῆ

ΝΔΥ ΝῤΟΔΑῆ  
 ΟΟΥ ΕΤΚΟΙΝΩ  
 ΝΙΔ ἸΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ἸΝΤΑΔΑΚΟ  
 ΝΙΔ ἸἸΖΗΚΕ.  
 ΔΥΩ ἸΝΕΘΕΩ  
 ΚΤΟΥ ΕΩΙΝΕ  
 ἸΟΔΑΔΔΥ. ΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ἸΤΟΥ. ΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΕΥ  
 ΗΓῆ ΕΡΟΥ ΚΔ  
 ΤΑΘΕ ΕΝΤΑ  
 ΠΟΥΔ ΠΟΥΔ  
 ΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ  
 ἸΠΤΕΩΩΔΕ.

ΤΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΔΕ  
 ΩΑΡΕἸΝΕΟΝΗΥ  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΟΔΑῆ Ἰ  
 ΘΕ ΕΤῤΩΔΥ  
 ΔΙΝΠΚΟΥῆ ΩΔ  
 ΠΝΟΟ. ΑΛΛΑ  
 ΝΕΝΚΕΕΙΟΤΕ  
 ΟΝῆ ΕΝΤΑΥΟῤ  
 ΟΝΤΕ ἸΝΕῆΤΟ  
 ΠΟΟ ΔΥΡΩΠῆ  
 ἸΟΔΑῆ ΖΩΟΥ  
 ἸΘΕ ΕΤῤΩΔΥ.

ΚΑΙ ΜΗΝῆ ΔΝΕῆ  
 ΕΙΟΤΕ ΟΔΑῆ

establishment of the brethren, in order that they might be free from care and find means of serving the Lord in propriety and of standing before the Lord virtuously and without care, as it is written, "All things belonged to them in common, and there was not one who said of the things which he had that they were his own<sup>1</sup>." And our fathers laid it down for us in this manner namely, that whoever comes in to be a monk with us shall from the first renounce everything which he has and make it over to the fellowship of God and the service of the poor; and that neither he nor any man related to him shall be able to go back and ask for anything, inasmuch as each one has pledged his word. Not only all the brethren, from the least to the greatest, always subscribe in that way, but also our fathers who laid the foundation of these monasteries themselves began by subscribing thus. Moreover our fathers wrote,

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Acts 4.32.



ΧΕ ΕΪΨΑΝΟΥ  
 ΨΥ ΕΒΩΚ.  
 ΕΪΝΔΜΟΡΤ Ν  
 ΟΥΡΑΣΤΟΥ Ν  
 ΤΑΒΩΚ. ΝΝΕΙ  
 ΕΨΚΤΟΪ ΕΨΙ  
 ΝΕ ΝΪΑΛΔΔΥ.

Ταῖ τε τκοινω

ΝΙΔ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ

ΕΛΪΝΟΥΘΝ ΔΙ

ΛΪΠΕΨΛΤΟΝ.

ΕΨΚΩ ΝΟΥΟ

ΔΙΝΟΥΝΟΒ

ΨΔΟΥΚΟΥΪ.

ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΨΩΨ

ΝΟΥΩΤ' ΠΕΤ

ΨΟΟΠ' ΝΔΥ

ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΙΟΥ

ΣΟΠ'. ΔΙΝΛ

ΠΕΙΩΤ' ΕΤΧΙ

ΡΟΥΨ ΨΔ

ΖΡΔΪ ΕΠΚΟΥΪ

ΨΗΜ ΕΤΣΟΒΚ.

ΚΑΙ ΜΗΝ' ΕΥΧΙ

ΛΪΠΡΟΥΨ.

ΛΪΠΚΟΥΪ ΕΤΣΟ

ΒΚ ΝΖΟΥΟ:

ΝΔΪ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΕΝΤΑΥ

ΑΡΝΔ ΝΤΕΥΖΥ

ΠΟΜΟΝΗ, ΔΥΩ

ΕΤΨΙΨΕ ΛΪΝ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΣΕ

ΣΟΟΥΝ ΖΩΟΥ

ΛΠΝΟΜΟΣ ΕΤ

ΚΗ ΝΔΝ' ΕΖΡΔΪ

ΔΙΝΠΕΖΟΥ

ΕΝΤΑΨΕΪ ΕΡΜΟ

ΝΔΧΟΣ. ΣΕΠΕΙ

ΘΕ ΔΝ ΕΡΟΥ.

ΝΙΛ ΠΕΝΤΑΥ

ΑΝΔΓΚΔΖΕ Λ

ΜΟΥ. ΕΤΒΕ

ΟΥ ΛΪΠΟΥΒΩΚ

ΕΠΜΔ ΕΝΤΑΥ

ΕΪ ΛΪΔΑΥ ΕΜΠΑ

ΤΟΥΔΠΟΤΑΣ

ΣΕ, ΔΥΩ ΕΜΠΑ

ΤΟΥΣΔΔΪ.

ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΪΝΟ

ΜΟΣ ΝΪΝΕΚ

ΚΛΗΣΙΑ. ΔΥΩ

ΝΪΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΛ

ΜΟΝΔΣΤΗΡΙ

ΟΝ. ΕΥΗΓ' ΕΨΩ

ΠΕ ΖΪΝΟΥΝΟΒ

ΝΩΡΣ. ΜΔΛΙ

ΣΤΔ ΝΚΟΙΝΟ

ΒΙΟΣ.



"If I want to depart, I shall gird myself with a cowl<sup>1</sup> and go: I shall not be able to go back and ask for anything." This is the holy fellowship, where no one from the greatest to the least takes his ease and neglects another, but the same equality is for them all together, from the abbot who is in charge down to the very humblest - indeed the humblest are taken greater care of. These now who have renounced their constancy and oppose God have themselves, since the day they came to become monks, known the law laid down for us. Yet they do not obey it. Who compelled them? Why did they not depart to the place whence they had come before renouncing and resigning their belongings? For the laws of the churches and the laws of the monasteries are accounted to be quite inflexible especially concerning the common life.

<sup>1</sup>The meaning of *παρτοϋ* is doubtful, it is possibly an apron or some other part of the monks' dress, cf. Crum, Dict., p.312b.

$\frac{1}{\gamma\psi\beta}$   
7

5 **Τ**Ε ΤΒΕΠΔΙ ΔΝΕ  
ΕΙΟΤΕ ΔΙΚΕ  
ΘΕΙΟΝ ΓΡΑΜ  
ΜΑ ΕΤΒΕΠΕΙ  
20 Β. ΔΕ ΠΕΝ  
ΤΑΥΤ ΝΕΥ2ΝΔ  
ΔΥ, ΕΙΤΕ ΕΓΓΡΑ  
ΦΟΣ. ΕΙΤΕ Δ  
ΓΡΑΦΟΣ. ΝΗΕΥ  
10 ΚΤΟΥ ΕΨΙ  
ΝΕ ΝΩΟΥ  
ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΝΝΕΥ  
ΘΛΙΒΕ ΝΗΕ  
CННΥ. ΝΔΙ 2Ε  
15 ΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΝΩ  
Ν2 ΝΕ ΝΑΤΒΟ  
ΛΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ:

20

**Β**ΗCΑ ΠΕΤC2ΔΙ  
Ν2ΗΡΔΙ ΤΕΝ  
ΤΑCΑΡΝΔ ΝΤΠΙ  
CΤΙC ΝΤΕC  
2ΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ  
25 ΔΥ ΤΕΝΤΑC  
ΚΩ ΝΩC Ν  
ΤΠΗΓΗ ΛΜΟΥ  
ΩΝ2. ΔCΨΙΚΕ  
ΝΔC Ν2ΕΝCΨΗΙ

$\frac{1}{\lambda\alpha}$   
7

ΕΥΟΥΟΒΠ. ΕΝ  
CΕΝΔCΨΑΜΔ2ΤΕ  
ΔΝ ΛΠΜΟΥ.

**Τ**Ε ΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΡCΩ  
ΤΠ ΝΕ ΛΠΜΟΥ  
Ν2ΟΥ ΕΠΩ  
Ν2. ΤΨΕΕΡΕ  
ΕΤCΗΨ ΔΥ  
ΤΕΝΤΑΥCΩΨΕ.  
ΔΡΜΕΡΕΠCΑ  
2ΟΥ, Ν2ΟΥ  
ΕΠΤΕCΜΟΥ.  
ΔΥ ΔΡΜΕΡΕ  
ΠΚΑΚΕ. Ε2ΟΥ  
ΕΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ.  
ΔΡΩΓΙΠΕΤ  
CΑΨΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ  
ΔΕ Η2ΟΛ2.  
ΔΥ ΠΕΤ2ΟΛ2  
ΔΕ ΗCΑΨΕ.

**Ε**ΝΔCΨΟC  
ΝΕ ΔΙΚΑΙΩC  
ΔΕ ΒΩΚ ΕΠΕ  
CΗΤ' 2ΜΟC  
2ΨΠΚΑ2 ΤΠΔΡ  
ΘΕΝΟC ΤΨΕ  
ΕΡΕ ΝΤΒΑΒΥ  
ΛΩΝ. 2Μ2C  
2ΨΠΟΥCΨΥ

Therefore our fathers received another<sup>1</sup> divine law concerning this matter, namely that whosoever has given up his belongings, whether by written or unwritten agreement<sup>2</sup>, shall not return and ask for them, lest he cause the brethren hardship. These are commandments of life which cannot be undone.

Besa writes to Herai<sup>3</sup> who broke the pledge of her constancy and forsook the fountain of living water and dug for herself broken cisterns which will not be able to hold water<sup>4</sup>. Since you have chosen for yourself death rather than life<sup>5</sup>, despised and abominated<sup>6</sup> daughter, loved the curse rather than the blessing<sup>7</sup> and loved the darkness rather than the light<sup>8</sup>, and also reckoned<sup>9</sup> the bitter sweet and the sweet bitter<sup>10</sup>, they shall rightly say of you, "Get down, sit on the ground, virgin daughter of Babylon, sit in your dishonour,

<sup>1</sup>See 77v where the law is laid down that a monk must renounce his property and that neither he nor his relatives have any claim on it ever again. The latter point here receives elaboration.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. p.126.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. 71r, note 2.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Jer.2.13.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Jer.8.3, cf. also Deut.30.19.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. 66v, note 5.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Ps.108.17, cf. also Deut.30.19.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Jn.3.19.

<sup>9</sup>Note the Achm. construct form ωη- instead of the Sah. εν-.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Is.5.20.



ΤΒΑΒΥΛΩΝ ΤΥΕ  
 ΕΡΕ ΝΝΕΧΔΛ  
 ΔΔΙΟC· ΝCΕ  
 ΝΔΚΟΤΟΥ ΔΗ  
 5 ΕΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΩ  
 ΔΕ ΤΕΤΘΗΝ'  
 ΔΥΩ ΤΕΤΛΗΚ·  
 ΘΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ Ν  
 ΤΟΥΘΟΟΛΕC·  
 10 ΘΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ Ν  
 ΝΟΥCΚΙΛ· ΘΩ  
 ΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝCΗ  
 ΒΕ ΝΡΑΤΕ·  
 ΔΙΟΟΡ' ΝΖΕΝ  
 15 ΕΙΕΡΩΟΥ·  
 ΠΟΥΩΠΕ ΝΔ  
 ΘΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ·  
 ΝΟΥΝΟΘΝΕC  
 ΝΔΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΛ·  
 20 †ΝΔΔΙ ΝΤΛΥΝΤ  
 ΜΕ', ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗ  
 ΤΕ'. ΝΝΔΤΑΔΤΕ  
 ΝΡΩΜΕ ΔΙΝΤΕ  
 ΝΟΥ, ΕΤΡΕΥ  
 25 †CΒΩ ΝΕ· ΔΛ  
 ΛΔ ΖΜΟC ΕΡΕ  
 ΜΟΚΖ ΝΖΗΤ·  
 ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΠΚΑΚΕ ΤΥΕ

ΕΡΕ ΝΝΕΧΔΛ  
 ΔΔΙΟC· ΝΝΕΥ  
 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΩ  
 ΔΙΝΤΕΝΟΥ, ΔΕ  
 ΤΘΟΛ ΝΤΛΥΝΤ  
 ΕΡΩ· ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ  
 ΔΡΜΕΡΕΓΙCΔΖΟΥ·  
 ΔΥΕΙ ΝΕ· ΛΠΤΕ  
 ΟΥΕΩΠΕCΜΟΥ·  
 ΔΥΠΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΛΜΟ· ΔΥΩ ΔΡ  
 ΓΙCΔΖΟΥ ΖΙΩΩ  
 ΤΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΖΟ  
 ΕΙΤΕ· ΔΥΒΩΚ  
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΟΥ  
 ΜΔΖΤ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥ  
 ΜΟΥ· ΔΥΩ Ν  
 ΘΕ ΝΟΥΝΕΖ' ΖΝ  
 ΝΟΥΚΕΕC·  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΠΛΔ  
 ΕΝΤΑΥΩΠΕ  
 ΕΡΟΥ ΝΖΗΤΥ·  
 ΔΥΩ ΔΥΕΟΥ  
 ΝΕ· ΔΡCΩΥ·  
 ΕΡΕΔΩ ΛΜΟC  
 ΔΕ ΘΙΛΗΜ Ν  
 ΤΠΕ, ΤΕ ΤΕΤΝ  
 ΖΕΝΕΕΤΗ· ΝΔ  
 ΜΕ ΘΙΛΗΜ Ν



Babylon, daughter of the Chaldeans. You shall not again be called tender and soft. Uncover your veil, uncover your grey hairs, uncover the shins, cross the rivers. Your shame shall be revealed, your reproaches shall be manifest. I shall exact from you what is just. From henceforth I will not hand you over to man to teach you<sup>1</sup>. Sit you in grief, go into the darkness, daughter of the Chaldeans: they will no more call you the power of the kingdom<sup>2</sup>. Forasmuch as you loved the curse, it came upon you; you did not desire the blessing, it fled from you, and you put on the curse like a garment. It went like water into your bowels and like oil into your bones<sup>3</sup>. For the convent into which you were received and where they gave you glory you insulted, saying, "Your monastery is the heavenly Jerusalem, truly it is the heavenly Jerusalem,

<sup>1</sup>Is.47.1-3. - The phrase "to teach you" has no equivalent in the LXX.

<sup>2</sup>Is.47.5.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Ps.108.17-18.

5 ΤΠΕ ΤΕ· ΔΥΩ  
 ΠΤΟΥ ΠΕ ΕΝ  
 ΤΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ·  
 ΝΤΟ ΔΕ ΑΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΣΟΥΕ; ΔΥΩ  
 ΔΥΤΑΙΟ· ΔΥ  
 ΜΕΣΤΩ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΟΥΤΕΝΕΣΝΗΥ  
 10 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΟΥ  
 ΔΑΒ ΔΥΩ ΕΤΡ  
 ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΥ Α  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΥ  
 ΗΖ ΖΝΝΕΥΜΑ  
 15 ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ· ΠΜΑ  
 ΕΝΤΑΡΣΟΥ  
 ΖΝΤΟΥΜΝΤ  
 ΔΑΚΙΣΗΤ' ΜΝ  
 ΤΟΥΜΝΤΒΑΒΕ  
 20 ΡΩΜΕ· ΤΥΕ  
 ΕΡΕ ΝΚΡΟΥ  
 ΔΥΩ ΝΑΠΟΣΤΑ  
 ΤΗΣ· ΔΥΩ ΤΥΕ  
 ΕΡΕ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΚ  
 25 ΠΕΠΡΟΔΟΤΗΣ·  
 ΝΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΔΡΣΟ  
 ΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΝΟΚ  
 ΠΕ ΔΥΩ ΜΝΚΕ  
 ΟΥΕΙ· ΕΤΒΕ

ΓΑΙ ΠΤΑΚΟ ΝΗΥ  
 ΕΔΩ ΝΤΕΤΜ  
 ΕΙΜΕ· ΔΥΩ ΤΜΝΤ  
 ΧΗΡΑ ΜΝΤΜΝΤ  
 ΔΤΩΗΡΕ ΝΗΥ  
 ΖΝΟΥΩΣΝΕ  
 ΕΔΩ ΖΡΑΙ ΖΝ  
 ΤΟΥΜΝΤΡΕΥ  
 ΡΙΤΑΖΡΕ ΜΝ  
 ΤΣΟΜ ΝΝΟΥ  
 ΡΕΥΜΟΥΤΕ  
 ΝΖΟΥΟ ΝΘΕΛ  
 ΠΙΣ ΝΤΟΥΠΟ  
 ΝΗΡΙΔ· ΕΙΜΕ  
 ΔΕ ΤΟΥΜΝΤ  
 ΡΕΥΚΑΤΑΦΡΟ  
 ΝΕΙ, ΔΥΩ ΤΟΥ  
 ΠΟΡΝΕΙΔ ΝΑ  
 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΕ Ν  
 ΨΙΠΕ· ΔΕ Ν  
 ΘΕ ΝΟΥΜΟΥΙ  
 ΕΥΖΩΠΤΑ Ν  
 ΨΗΝ· ΤΑΙ ΤΕ  
 ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΡΟΥ  
 ΩΝ ΝΡΩ ΔΡ  
 ΣΩΥ ΜΝΤΑ  
 ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ Α  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ·  
 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΖΩ

and it is the mount God blessed<sup>1</sup>." But you God has despised and condemned. He hated you alone out of all the holy and god-fearing sisters who are in his holy monasteries, the place which you insulted in your arrogance and boastfulness, deceitful and rebellious daughter and daughter of Judas the traitor.<sup>2</sup> For you have said, "I and no one else"<sup>3</sup>. For this reason destruction is coming upon you unawares,<sup>4</sup> and widowhood and childlessness is coming upon you suddenly in your witchcraft and the power of your magic spells exceedingly,<sup>5</sup> for the confidence in your wickedness.<sup>6</sup> Know that your contempt and your fornication shall become your shame, because you, like a lion in the forest, opened the mouth, and insulted the holy monastery of God. That is why

<sup>1</sup>This saying attributed to Herai is difficult. Does Besa accuse her of having uttered it in arrogant complacency? Or did she behave abominably in spite of having acknowledged the sanctity of the monastery? Or again, were her words meant scornfully, implying that she alone was free from complacency? The term "heavenly Jerusalem" is known to have been applied to the White Monastery in Shenoute's day, cf. Leipoldt, Shenute, p.161.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Lk.6.16.

<sup>3</sup>Is.47.8 and 47.10.

<sup>4</sup>Is.47.11.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Is.47.9.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Is.47.10.



ωϥ ἀμυστῶ·

ἀϥω ἀμνοῦε,

εβολ ἑμπεϥ

μα ετοϥδαβ·

5

ἦθε ενταϥ

δοοϥ, δε τῆα

νοδοϥ εβολ

ἑμπαῆ· ἦτ

ναοϥωζ' ἀν ε

10

τοοτ' εμερι

τοϥ· ἀρπω

ωνε γαρ ᾤ

πῆαπ' εϥχολῆ

ἀϥω πκαρπε

15

ἦταδικαιοϥ

νη εοϥσιωε

επειδῆ ἀποϥ

ζητ' τακῶ·

ἀρωτ' πκακε

20

γαρ ἦοϥοειν

ἀϥω ποϥοειτ'

ἦκακε· ετβε

παῖ ταῖ τεθε

ενταρδο· ἦζε

25

σοϥῶ· ἀρωζῶ

ἦζενωοντε·

ἦθε γαρ εν

ταρμερεππε

θοοϥ· ἀρμε

στεππετῆα

νοϥα· ετβε

παῖ ἀπνοϥτε

ωρωωρε ωα

βολ· ἀμφοβε

ἀϥω ἀμποονε

εβολ ἑμποϥ

μα ἦωωπε·

ἀϥω τοϥνε ε

βολ ἑμπαζ

ἦνετονζ·

σενανδϥ ερῶ

ἦβῖἦδικαῖοϥ

ετρζοτε ζη

τῆ ᾤπεχῶ· ἦ

σεδοοϥ δε εῖς

οϥςζιμε εμ

πῶκαπνοϥτε

ναϥ ἦβοηθος·

ἀλλὰ ἀςζελπι

ζε εἰμπαωαῖ

ἦτεσῶντῶα

σιζητ· ᾤντεϥ

ᾤντρεϥκα

ζηηϥ ερῶϥ

μαγδαϥ· ἦθε

ενταϥδοοϥ

δε ἑἶνναῖ τη

ροϥ ᾤτῶκο



he has hated you and cast you out of his holy monastery, even as he said, "I will cast them out of my house, I will not love them any more<sup>1</sup>." For you turned judgment into gall<sup>2</sup>, and the fruit of righteousness into bitterness<sup>3</sup>, because your heart was corrupted, for you counted<sup>4</sup> darkness for light and light for darkness<sup>5</sup>. Thus, therefore, you sowed wheat and reaped thorns<sup>6</sup>. For inasmuch as you loved the evil you hated the good<sup>7</sup>. So God has overthrown you utterly, he has plucked you up, he has removed you from your dwelling, and your root<sup>8</sup> from the land of the living. The righteous who fear Christ will see you and say, "Behold a woman who did not make God her helper, but hoped on the abundance of her arrogance and her confidence in herself"<sup>9</sup>, even as it was said, "In all these things

<sup>1</sup>Hos.9.15.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. 49r, note 3.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Amos 6.12.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. 78v, note 9.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Is.5.20.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Jer.12.13.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Ps.51.5 and also Mic.3.2.

<sup>8</sup>For TOYNE read TOYNOYNE .

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Ps.51.7-9.

$\frac{1}{745}$   
7

5      Τ̄C ΕΡΟΪ Ζ̄ΥΠ̄Ξ  
         ΖΗΤ' ΤΗΡ̄Υ Ν̄  
         ΒΙΤΑΘΗΤ' Ν̄ΤΕ  
         ΙΟΥΔΑ· ΑΛΛΑ  
         ΕΞΡΑΪ ΕΔ̄ΝΟΥ  
         Μ̄ΝΤΝΟΥΔ·  
         ΕCΕΓCBΩ ΝΕ  
         Ν̄ΘΙΤΟΥΜ̄ΝΤ  
         ΔΤCΩΤ̄Υ ΔΥΩ  
10      ΕCΕΔΠΙΘ̄ Ν̄ΘΙ  
         ΤΟΥΚΑΚΙΔ·  
         ΕΙΜΕ ΔΥΩ Ν̄ΤΕ  
         ΝΔΥ, ΔΕ ΥCΑΥΕ  
         ΝΕ' ΕΤΡΕΚΩ̄  
15      Ν̄CΩ Μ̄ΠΧΟ  
         ΕΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ·  
         ΕΡΜΕΕΥΕ ΓΑΡ  
         ΔΕ ΕΡΩΑΝΟΥΕ  
         Μ̄ΜΟΙ', ΕΡΔΘ̄Ν  
20      ΟΥΖΟΥΟ· ΔΡ  
         ΜΕΡΕΝΕΤ̄Ν  
         ΚΟΤΚ Ν̄ΜΜΕ  
         ΕΤΕΝ̄ΔΔΙΜΩ̄  
         ΝΕ· ΔΥΩ ΔΡΤΑ  
25      ΩΟ Ν̄ΤΟΥΠΟΡ  
         ΝΕΙΔ Ν̄ΜΜΔΥ  
         Ζ̄ΥΠΟΥΖΗΤ'  
         ΕΤ̄Ο Ν̄ΚΔΚΕ  
         Μ̄ΝΝΟΥΜΕ

ΕΥΕ Ν̄ΚΡΟΥ·  
ΔΥΩ ΔΡΚΩ̄ Ν̄  
ΝΟΥΡ̄ΠΜΕΕΥΕ  
ΖΙΠΔΖΟΥ Ν̄Ν  
ΟΥΕΒΡΟ Μ̄ΠΟΥ  
Ρ̄Ο· ΩΔΝΤΕ  
ΚΟΤΕ ΕΠΚΔΞ  
ΕΤΜΩΛ̄Ξ ΕΝ  
ΤΑΥΔΙΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ·  
Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Υ· ΔΕ Ν̄  
Τ̄Ο ΟΥΚΔΞ· ΔΡ  
ΚΟΤΕ ΟΝ Ε  
ΠΚΔΞ· ΕΒΟΛ  
ΔΕ ΔΡΕΕΪ ΜΕ̄  
Ζ̄ΝΟΥCΟΥ  
Τ̄Ν· Μ̄ΠΕΔΩΚ  
ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΝΟΥ  
CΟΥΤ̄Ν· ΔΛ  
ΛΔ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕΪ Ζ̄Ν  
ΟΥΚΡΟΥ· ΔΡ  
ΒΩΚ ΟΝ Ζ̄ΝΟΥ  
Μ̄ΝΤΝΟΥΔ·  
ΕΤΒΕΓΔΑΪ ΠCΔ  
ΖΟΥ ΝΔΟΥΩΜ  
Ν̄CΩ Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄Μ  
ΝΟΥΝΕ CΕΕ  
ΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΗ  
ΤΕ, ΟΥΤΕ ΩΛ̄Ξ·  
Ν̄ΤΑΡΕΪ Ζ̄ΝΟΥ

foolish<sup>1</sup> Judah<sup>2</sup> did not turn to me with all her heart, but with falsehood<sup>3</sup>." Your disobedience will teach you and your wickedness will upbraid you. Know and see that it is bitter for you to forsake the Lord God<sup>4</sup>. For you think that if you are away from me you will<sup>5</sup> profit. You have loved those who sleep with you<sup>6</sup> who are the demons, you have multiplied your fornication with them<sup>7</sup> in your darkened heart and your deceitful thoughts, and you have placed your remembrances behind the posts of your door<sup>8</sup> until you return to the salty<sup>9</sup> earth out of which you were taken: for you are earth and to earth you have returned<sup>10</sup>. Though you came in uprightness, you did not finish in uprightness. Or rather you came in deceit and also departed in falsehood. Therefore the curse shall devour you and neither root nor branch shall be left of you<sup>11</sup>. You came in

<sup>1</sup>The LXX reads ἡσυχία . Our reading ἀθῆτα may possibly have arisen out of a confusion between ἡσυχία and ἡσυχία .

<sup>2</sup>Note the irregular use of ΝΤΕ - for Ν-.

<sup>3</sup>Jer.3.10.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Jer.2.19.

<sup>5</sup>Note ἐπα - for ἐπενα-, cf. Stern, para 380.

<sup>6</sup>Is.57.8.

<sup>7</sup>Is.57.9.

<sup>8</sup>Is.57.8. - The reference in the O.T. seems to be to some form of idolatry. Here Besa uses the passage to underline that Herai, by her behaviour, has brought herself into communion with demons.

<sup>9</sup>I.e. barren, unfruitful earth, cf. e.g. Deut.29.23, Jer. 17.6.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Gen.3.19.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. Mal.4.1.



ΠΕΤΩΟΥΕΙΤ'

ΑΡΒΩΚ ΟΝ Ζῆ

ΟΥΠΕΤΩΟΥ

ΕΙΤ' ΔΕΚΑΔ Ε

5 ΡΕΠΟΥΡΑΝ ΝΑ

ΖΩΒῚ ΖῆΤΚΑ

ΚΕ. ΔΕ ΝΤΕΟΥ

ΚΑΚΕ ΖῆΟΥ

ΖΒΗΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ

10 ΔΥΩ ΠΩΩ

ΝΑΖΩΒῚ ΕΒΟΛ

ΕΔῶ. ΕΒΟΛ

ΔΕ ΑΡΚῶ ΝΩῶ

ΝΤΕΝΤΟΛῆ.

15 ΑΡΩΤῆ ΝΕ' ᾤ

ΠΤΑΚῶ. ᾤΠΕ

ΝΟΙ ΓΑΡ. ΟΥΤΕ

ᾤΠΕΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΕΥ

20 ΚΟΜΩῆ ΟΥ

ΤΕ ΜΕΥΚΑΤΑ

ΦΡΟΝΕΙ ᾤΜΟΥ.

ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕ

ΤΑΥΚΟΜΩΕ.

25 ΝΤῶ ΔΥΩ ΔΥ

ΣΟΥΥΕ ΝΘΕ

ΝΟΥΜΟΥ ΕΥ

ΣΩΚ. ΕΤΒΕ

ΓΑΙ' ΝΘΕ ᾤΠΩ

ΠΕ ΝΟΥΡΕΥΔΙ

ΟΥΕ ΕΥΩΑΝΤΑ

ΖΟΥ. ΤΑΙ' ΤΕ ΘΕ

ΕΝΤΑΡΔΙΩ

ΠΕ ᾤΜΟΣ ΔΕ

ΔΥΒΟΠΕ. ΕΒΟΛ

ΔΕ ΑΡΤῚΤῶ Ε

ΒΟΛ ᾤΠΩΔΕ

ᾤΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

ΔΥΩ ΝΘΕ ΕΝ

ΤΑΠΔΟΕΙΣ ΔΟ

ΟΣ ΕΤΒΕΤΠΟ

ΛΙΣ ΝΝΕΣΝΩ

ΩΥ. ΔΕ ΔΙΔΑΓ'

ΟΥΒΗΣ, ΔΥΩ

ΝΓΟΥΩΝῚ ΝΑΔ

ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΣΔ

ΝΟΜΙΔ ΤΗΡΟΥ.

ΤΑΙ' ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΟΥ

ΝΑΔΙΔΑΓ' ΖΩ

ΟΥ, ΟΥΒῆ, ἢ Νῶ

ΜΕ ΔΥΩ ΝΣΕ

ΣΩΛῆ ΝΕ' ΕΒΟΛ

ΝΝΟΥΔΝΟΜΙΔ

ΤΗΡΟΥ, ΕΥΔΩ

ᾤΜΟΣ ΔΕ ὦ

ΤΙΤΟΛΙΣ ΕΤΠΕ

ΖῚΣΝΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ

ΖῆΤΕΣΩΗΤΕ



vanity and in vanity you departed, so your name shall be covered in darkness<sup>1</sup>, for you yourself are darkness in all your affairs<sup>2</sup>, and shame shall cover you, because you forsook the commandment and chose destruction for yourself. For you did not know and you did not ascertain that God is not mocked<sup>3</sup> nor is he despised. Rather it is he who has mocked you, and it is you he has despised like flowing water. Therefore even as the shame of a thief when arrested, so were you ashamed at being caught because you rejected the word of God<sup>4</sup>, and as the Lord said concerning the bloody city, "Give judgment against her and make manifest to her all her iniquities"<sup>5</sup>, so also they shall condemn you, adjudge you, and reveal to you all your iniquities, saying, "O city that sheds blood in her midst,

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Eccles.6.4.

<sup>2</sup>For 2N0Y2BHYE read 2NN0Y2BHYE .

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Gal.6.7.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Jer.8.9.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Ez.22.2.

!.  
ΥΗΗ  
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ΕΤΡΕΠΕCΟΥ

ΟΕΙΩ ΕΙ· ΕΤΒΕ

ΔΕ ΔΡCΚΑΝΔΑ

ΛΙΖΕ· ΔΥΩ ΔΡ

5

ΩΩΠΕ ΝΔΡΠ'

ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΠΕΥ

ΟΥΟΕΙ ΕΠΙΝΥ

ΤΕ· ΝΘΕ ΕΤ

CΗ2 ΔΕ ΠΕΤ

10

ΝΔCΚΑΝΔΑΛΙ

ΖΕ ΝΟΥΔ̄ ΝΝΙ

ΚΟΥΕΙ ΕΤΠΙ

CΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΙ·

CΡΝΟΥΡΕ ΝΔΥ

15

ΔΕΚΔC ΕΥΕ

ΛΟΥΡ' ΝΟΥΩ

ΝΕ ΝCΙΚΕ, Ε

ΠΕΥΜΑΚ̄2 Ν

CΕΟΜCΥ ΖΡΔΙ

20

ΖΩΠΠΕΛΑΓΟC

ΝΘΑΛΑCΔΑ·

ΝΖΟΥΘ̄ ΕΤΡΕΥ

CΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΕ

ΝΟΥΔ̄ ΝΝΙΚΟΥΙ

25

ΕΤΠΙCΤΕΥΕ

ΕΡΟΙ· ΕΤΕΝ

ΤΘ ΠΕ· ΔΕ ΔΡ

ΩΩΠΕ ΝCΛΔ

ΔΤΕ ΝΟΥΜΗ

ΗΩΕ· ΔΥΩ ΔΡ

ΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΕΝΟΥ

ΩΩ ΝΖΗΤ' ΕΥ

+ ΟΥΒΗ ΕΤΡΕ

ΔΩΖΩ ΖΝΝΕ

CΝΩΩΥ ΕΝ

ΤΑΡΠΟΟΝΟΥ

ΕΒΟΛ· ΔΡ2Ε

ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ· ΔΥΩ

ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΝΕ

ΕΙΡΕ ΛΜΟΥ

ΔΔΩΖΩ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ.

ΔΡΤΡΕΝΕ20

ΟΥ, ΖΩΝ ΕΖΟΥ·

ΔΡΕΙΝΕ ΛΠΟΥ

ΟΕΙΩ ΝΝΟΥ

ΡΩΠΤΟΥΕ·

ΕΤΒΕΓΤΔΙ ΔΠΔΟ

ΕΙC ΤΑΔΤΕ ΕΥ

ΝΟ6ΝΕ6 ΛΝ

ΟΥCΩΒΕ Ν

ΝΕΤΖΗΝ' ΕΡΘ

ΛΝΝΕΤΟΥΗΥ

ΛΜΟ· ΤΑΚΔ

ΘΑΡΤΟC ΤΕΤ

Θ̄ ΝCΟΕΙΤ.

ΤΕΤΟΥ ΖΝΝΕ

ΔΝΟΜΔ· ΔΥ

ΔΟΟC ΟΝ ΖΝ

that her time may come"<sup>1</sup>. For you became an offence and a stumbling-block to those who advanced towards God, as it is written, "He who will offend one of these little ones who believe in me, it is better for him that a millstone should be tied to his neck and he be sunk in the depth of the sea<sup>2</sup> rather than that he should offend one of these little ones who believe in me<sup>3</sup>." This refers to you, for you have become a stumbling to many and have formed such desires as go against you and make you defiled in the blood you have shed. You have fallen by the way, and in the deeds you have been doing<sup>4</sup> you have been unclean<sup>5</sup>. You have caused the days to approach, you have brought on the time of your years. So the Lord has made you to be a reproach and a jest both for those who are near to you and those who are far from you, you who are notoriously foul in your numerous iniquities<sup>6</sup>. He<sup>7</sup> also said,

<sup>1</sup>Ez.22.3.

<sup>2</sup>Mt.18.6.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Lk.17.2.

<sup>4</sup>Note ΕΝΕΕΙΡΕ for ΕΝΕΡΕΕΙΡΕ .

<sup>5</sup>Note ΑΧΩΣΤΩ for ΑΡ(Ε)ΧΩΣΤΩ.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Ez.22.3-5.

<sup>7</sup>I.e. Ezekiel.



5 ΟΥΑΠΕΙΛΗ ΔΕ  
ΔΩΚ' ΕΒΟΛ Ν  
ΘΑΗ ΝΤΟΥΚΑ  
ΚΙΔ ΖΝΟΥΔΙ Ν  
60ΝC· ΔΝΟΚ  
ΔΕ ΔΡΠΑΩΒΩ  
ΠΕΔΕΠΔΟΙC·  
ΕΪΩΔΑΝΔΑΖΔΖ  
ΔΕ ΝΝΑΒΙΔ Ε  
10 ΔΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ·  
ΕΔΝΝΕΦΝΑ  
ΝΤΟΥ ΕΔΩ ΖΑ  
ΝΕΝΤΑΔΔΥ, Ε  
ΩΩΠΕ ΕΡΕ  
15 ΠΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΔΩ  
ΥΙ· Η ΝΟΥΒΙΔ  
ΝΔΩΔΑΔΖΤΕ  
ΖΩΠΕΖΟΥ  
ΕΦΝΑΡΝΑΪ ΝΕ·  
20 ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔΟΙC  
ΔΪΩΔΞΕ, †ΝΑ  
ΔΔΥ· ΔΥΩ ΤΕ  
ΝΔΩΩΠΕ Ν  
ΔΔΙΕ, ΔΕ ΔΡΚΑ  
25 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΩ  
ΠΟΥCΩΤΗΡ·  
ΔΥΩ ΜΠΕΡ  
ΠΜΕΕΥΕ Μ  
ΠΟΥΔΟΕΙC·

ΕΤΒΕΓΔΑΪ ΤΕ  
ΝΔΤΩΒΕ ΝΟΥ  
ΤΩΒΕ ΝΑΠΙCΤΟ·  
ΔΥΩ ΟΥCΠΕΡ  
ΜΑ ΝΑΤΝΑΖΤΕ·  
ΤΕΝΑΠΛΑΝΑ  
ΔΕ ΖΩΠΕΖΟΥ  
ΕΤΕΝΑΤΟΒΥ·  
ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΟΥ  
ΟΪ ΝΕ, ΔΕ ΔΡΑ  
ΚΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ Μ  
ΜΟΪ· ΟΥΝΟΥ  
ΜΝΤΕΒΙΗΝ ΝΑ  
ΤΑΖΟ· ΔΕ ΔΡ  
ΩΔΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΪ·  
ΔΥΩ ΔΕ ΝΟΥ  
ΖΙΟΥΕ ΜΝ  
ΝΟΥΖΒΗΥΕ ΔΥ  
ΡΝΔΪ ΝΕ· ΤΔΪ  
ΤΕ ΤΟΥΚΑΚΙΔ  
ΔΕ CΔΔΥΕ ΔΕ  
ΔCΠΩΖ' ΩΔΖΟΥ  
ΕΠΟΥΖΗΤ·  
ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΩΔΥ  
ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΔΕ ΔΡΠΑΩΒΩ  
ΔΥΩ ΔΡΝΟΔΤ  
ΖΙΓΔΖΟΥ Μ  
ΠΟΥCΩΜΑ



as a threat, "'You have perfected' the end of your wickedness in violence, but me you have forgotten'<sup>1</sup>, says the Lord. 'If I clap my hands together over the things which I shall bring upon you for what you have done'<sup>2</sup>, will your heart endure or your hands be able to prevail on the day on which I shall do these things to you? I, the Lord, have spoken and will do it'<sup>3</sup>." And you shall be desolate because you forsook God your saviour and did not remember your Lord. Therefore you shall plant an unfaithful plant and an unbelieving seed, and you shall go astray on the day when you shall plant it'<sup>4</sup>. Again, "Woe to you because you turned<sup>5</sup> away from me. Misery shall overtake you because you did iniquity<sup>7</sup> against me"<sup>6</sup>, and, "Your ways and your works did these things to you; this is your wickedness, for it is bitter, because it reached unto your heart<sup>9</sup>." Again it is said, "Because you forgot<sup>10</sup> me and put me behind you"

<sup>1</sup>Note ἀλκωκ for ἀρ(ε)λκωκ .

<sup>2</sup>Note ἀπῆλκωβω for ἀπῆλκωβω .

<sup>3</sup>Note ΝΕΝΤααδγ for ΝΕΝΤαπαδγ .

<sup>4</sup>Ez.22.12-14.

<sup>5</sup>Is.17.9-11.

<sup>6</sup>Note ἀπακτε for ἀππακτε .

<sup>7</sup>Note ἀρῳακτε for ἀπῆρῳακτε .

<sup>8</sup>Hos.7.13.

<sup>9</sup>Jer.4.18.

<sup>10</sup>Note ἀπῆλκωβω for ἀπῆλκωβω .

<sup>11</sup>Ez.23.35.

5 ΔΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΤΝΑ  
 ΝΟΞΕ, ΝΤΕΤΜ  
 ΠΑΒΑΛ ΤCÔ Ε  
 ΡΟ· ΔΥΩ ΝΤ  
 ΝΑΝΑ ΝΕ ΔΝ·  
 CΩΤΜ ΟΝ ΕΠΥ  
 CΩΥ' ΜΝΠΟΥ  
 ΥΠΕ· ΠΕΧΑΥ  
 ΔΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΔΙΤΟ  
 10 ΒΕ ΝΟΥΒΩ Ν  
 ΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΝΥΔΙ  
 ΟΥΤΑΖ' ΤΗΡC  
 ΜΕ· ΝΑΥ Ν  
 ΖΕ ΑΡΚΤÔ ΕΥ  
 15 CΙΥΕ ΤΒΩ Ν  
 ΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΕΝ  
 ΤΑCΡΩΜΜΩ·  
 ΝΑΝΟΥC ΓΑΡ  
 ΝΕ' ΕΝΕΜΠΕ  
 20 ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝ  
 CΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ  
 ΜΠΔΟΕΙC·  
 ΕΖΟΥΕΡΟC Ε  
 ΤΡΕΑΡΝΑ ΝΤΟΥ  
 25 ΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ·  
 ΜΝΤΕΝΤΟΛΗ  
 ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΕΝ  
 ΤΑΥΤΑC ΕΤΟ  
 ΟΤΕ· ΑΡΖΕ'

ΓΑΡ ΕΧΩΠΟΥ  
 ΖΟ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΟΥ  
 ΕΙΩΤ' ΙΟΥΔΑC  
 ΠΕΠΡΟΔΟΤΗC  
 ΑΡΓΩΥ' ΖΗΤΟΥ  
 ΜΗΤΕ, ΔΝΕΤΜ  
 ΠΟΥΖΟΥΝ ΤΗ  
 ΡΟΥ, ΠΩΝ ΕΒΛ  
 ΔΕ ΝΤÔ ΟΥΚΡΟΥ  
 ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΤΜ  
 ΜΑΥ· ΕΝΕΝ  
 ΤΑΡΡΓΤΜΕΕΥΕ  
 ΓΑΡ ΝΘΕ ΕΤΟΥ  
 ΝΑΚΟΛΔΖΕ Μ  
 ΜÔ ΜΜΟC ΖΡΑΙ  
 ΖΗΔΑΜΗΤΕ· Η Ε  
 ΝΕΝΤΑΡΡΓΤΜΕ  
 ΕΥΕ ΝΜΑ Ν  
 ΜΤΟΝ ΕΤΕΝ  
 ΤΜΝΤΕΡÔ ΝΜ  
 ΠΗΥΕ· ΝΕΡΑ  
 ΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙ  
 ΔΝ ΠΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ  
 ΤΗΡC, ΕΤΡΕΚΩ  
 ΝCΩ ΝΤΟΥΖΥ  
 ΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΜΝ  
 ΠΕΡΗΤ' ΕΝΤΑΡ  
 ΕΡΗΤ' ΜΜΟΥ·  
 ΤΡΕΥCΩΥ

I will cast you away, my eye will not spare you, and I will have no mercy on you.<sup>1</sup> Listen again to your disgrace and shame. He<sup>2</sup> says, "I planted you as a vine all fruitful and genuine. How did you turn to bitterness, vine that became strange?"<sup>3</sup> For it were better for you that you had not come into the communities of the Lord than that you should have denied your constancy and the holy commandment which was given to you. For you have fallen upon your face like your father Judas the traitor, you have burst asunder and all your bowels have gushed out<sup>4</sup>; because you are deceitful like that man. For if you had remembered how you would be punished in Amente and if you had remembered the resting-places which are in the kingdom of heaven, you would not have been<sup>5</sup> so contemptuous as to betray your constancy and the promise which you made. Repudiator

<sup>1</sup>Ez.5.11, cf. also Ez. passim.

<sup>2</sup>I.e. God.

<sup>3</sup>Jer.2.21.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Acts 1.18.

<sup>5</sup>Note NEpa - for NEpENa -.



5 ἸΝΕCΩΠΤΩ  
 ΡΕ· ΔΥΩ ΤΡΕΥ  
 ΔΙΟΥΔ' ΕΝΕΝ  
 ΤΑΥΩΟΠΕ ΕΡΟ  
 ΟΥ, ΕΡΕΤΟΛῪ  
 ΖῪΠΟΥCΝΟΥ·  
 ΠΟΥΕΙΩΤ' ΟΥ  
 ΑΜΟΡΡΑΙΟC ΠΕ·  
 ΔΥΩ ΤΟΥΜΑΔΥ  
 10 ΟΥΧΕΤΑΙΔ ΤΕ·  
 ΠΟΥΔΠὸ ΖῪ  
 ΠΕΖΟΥ ΕΝΤΑΥ  
 ΔΠὸ ἸΖΗΤῪ·  
 ῪΠΟΥΜΟΥΡ  
 15 ἸΝΕΕΚΙΒΕ·  
 ΔΥΩ ῪΠΟΥΔΟ  
 ΚΜΕ ΖἸΟΥΜΟ  
 ΟΥ· ΟΥΤΕ ῪΠῪ  
 ΜΟΛΑΕ ΖἸΟΥ  
 20 ΖΜΟΥ· ΔΥΩ Ὺ  
 ΠΟΥCΟΥΛΩΛΕ  
 ἸΖΕΝΤΟΠ·  
 ΕΤΕΠΔῪ ΠΕ· ΔΕ  
 ῪΠΟΥ†CΒῪ  
 25 ΝΕ' ΕΝΕΖ ΕΠῪΠΕ  
 ΤΝΑΝΟΥ· ΔΥΩ  
 ΝΕΡΕCΟΥΝ  
 ΔΝ ΠΕ ἸΤΕΝΤΟ  
 ΛῪ· ΟΥΤΕ Ὺ

ΠΟΥΤCΑΒὸ Ε  
 ΤΡΕΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΡὸ  
 ΕΠΠΕΘΟΥ·  
 ΔΥΩ ῪΠΕΠΔΟ  
 ΕΙC ἸC †Cὸ ΕΡΟ  
 ΕΕΙΡΕ ΝΕ' ἸΟΥΔ  
 ἸΝΔῪ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΕΤΡΕΥῪΝΖΤΗΥ  
 ΖΑΡὸ· ΑΛΛΑ ΔΥ  
 ΕῪ ΕΖΡΑῪ ΕΧῪ  
 ΔΥΝΔΥ, ΕΡὸ ΕΡΕ  
 ΤΟΛῪ ΖῪΠΟΥ  
 CΝΟΥ· ΔΥΔΟ  
 ΟC ΝΕ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖῪΠΟΥCΝΟΥ·  
 ΔΥΔῪ ΖῪΠΩ  
 ΝΖ· ἸΤὸ ΔΕ ΝΕ  
 ΡΕΚΗ ΚΑΖΗΥ  
 ΠΕ, ΔΥΩ ΝΕΡΕ  
 ΔCΧΗΜΟΝΕΙ·  
 ΔΥΩ ΔΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΡῪΠΟΥΜΕ  
 ΕΥΕ ΖῪΠΟΥ  
 ΘΒΒΙὸ, ῪΝ  
 ΝΟΥΑΝΟΜΑ·  
 ΔΥΓΩΡῪ Ἰ  
 ΝΕΥΤῪΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΕΧῪ ΔΥΖΩ  
 ΒC ἸΤΟΥΔCΧΗ



of pledges and denouncer of those who took you in, you are defiled in your blood. Your father is an Amorite and your mother a Hittite. As for your birth - on the day on which you were born, they did not bind the breasts or wash you with water or salt you with salt, and they did not wrap you in swaddling-clothes<sup>1</sup>. This means that you were never taught virtue, you did not know the commandment, and you were not taught to beware of evil. The Lord Jesus had no pity on you to do any of these things for you and have mercy on you. But he came upon you and saw you defiled in your blood, and said to you, "Out of your blood, increase in life<sup>2</sup>." You were naked and unseemly and God remembered you in your humiliation and your iniquities. He spread out his wings over you, he covered your unseemliness,

<sup>1</sup>Ez.16.3-4.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Ez.16.5-7.

ΜΟCYNH· ΔΥΩ  
 ΔΥΩΡΚ ΝΕ ΔΥ  
 ΕΙ ΕΞΟΥΝ Ν̄Μ  
 ΜΕ Ζ̄ΝΟΥΔΙΔΘΗ  
 5 ΚΗ· ΔΥΩ ΔΡΕ  
 ΩΩΠΕ ΝΔΥ·  
 ΔΥΔΟΚΜΕ Ζ̄Ν  
 ΟΥΜΟΥ· ΔΥΩ  
 ΔΥΕΙΩ ΕΒΟΛ  
 10 Λ̄ΜΩ Λ̄ΠΟΥ  
 CNOY· ΔΥΩ  
 ΔΥΤΑΖCΕ ΝΟΥ  
 ΝΕΖ· ΕΤΕΠΑΙ  
 ΠΕ ΔΕ ΔΥΩ  
 15 ΠΕ, ΕΡΟΥ Ζ̄Ν  
 ΤΕΥΜ̄ΝΤΙΔΙ  
 ΡΩΜΕ· ΔΥΩ  
 ΔΥΤCΒ̄Ω ΝΕ·  
 Ζ̄ΝΤΕΥΜ̄ΝΤ  
 20 ΑΓΑΘΟC· ΔΥΩ  
 ΔΥΠΩΡ̄Ω Λ̄  
 ΠΕΥΝΔ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΕΔ̄Ω Ζ̄ΝΤΕΥ  
 Μ̄ΝΤΩΔΑΝΖΤΗΥ·  
 25 ΔΕ ΔΡΑ ΤΕΝΔ  
 CΜΙΝΕ, ΔΥΩ  
 ΝΤΕΡΖΟΤΕ  
 ΖΗΤ̄Υ Λ̄ΠΖΟ  
 ΕΙC· ΝΤΩ ΔΕ

ΔΡΤΑΡΑΙΤΕΙ Ν̄  
 ΝΔΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ·  
 ΔΡΚΤΩ ΕΓΔ  
 ΖΟΥ Ζ̄ΝΟΥΜ̄ΝΤ  
 ΕΩΒ· ΔΥΩ ΔΡ  
 ΝΔ ΝΤΟΥΖΥΠΟ  
 ΠΟΜΟΝΗ·  
 3 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΖΩ  
 ΩΙ ΥΝΔΔΟΟC  
 ΝΕ Ζ̄ΝΟΥCΩΝΤ  
 Μ̄ΝΟΥΟΡΓΗ ΔΕ  
 Ν̄ΝΕΕΙΔΕ ΕΖΟΥ·  
 ΟΥΔΕ Ν̄ΝΕC  
 ΩΩΠΕ· ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΔΕ ΔΥΩΩΠΕ  
 Ν̄ΖΗΤΕ Ν̄ΒΙΖΕ  
 ΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΥΒΟ  
 ΟΜΕ· ΔΥΩ Λ̄  
 ΠΕΡ̄ΠΜΕΕΥΕ  
 ΝΤΟΥΜ̄ΝΤ  
 ΚΟΥΙ, Λ̄ΠΕΖΟ  
 ΟΥ ΕΡΕΚΗ ΚΔ  
 ΖΗΥ, ΔΥΩ ΕΡΕ  
 ΔCΧΗΜΟΝΕΙ·  
 ΕΡΕΤΟΛ̄Μ Ζ̄Μ  
 ΠΟΥCNOY·  
 ΔΡΕΩΝΖ·  
 — ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ CΕ  
 ΝΔΔΟΟC ΝΕ

and he swore to you, he entered into a covenant with you, and you became his. He washed you with water, and he washed your blood from you, and he anointed you with oil<sup>1</sup>, that is to say he received you to himself in his loving-kindness, he taught you in his goodness, and he spread out his mercy upon you in his pity that you might perhaps be set right and fear the Lord. But you rejected all these things, you feebly turned back and you denied<sup>2</sup> your constancy<sup>3</sup>. So he will say to you in anger and wrath, "Therefore you shall not enter, nor shall it be so<sup>4</sup> because there have been perverse works in you, and you did not call to mind your infancy, the day when you were naked and unseemly and lived defiled in your blood"<sup>5</sup>. So therefore it shall be said concerning you

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Ez.16.8-9.

<sup>2</sup>For ἀρνα read ἀπαρνα .

<sup>3</sup>For ἀπποπομονη read ἀππομονη .

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Ez.16.8. The passage may therefore be paraphrased: you shall not enter into a covenant with me. The second phrase may perhaps also be dependent on Ez.16.8 and therefore mean: nor shall she (you) become mine.

<sup>5</sup>Ez.16.22.



5 ΖΩΩΤΕ ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΠΟΥΛΠΥΔ·  
 ΔΕ Ω ΤΕΤΚΩ  
 ΝCWC ΝNEZI  
 ΟΟΥΕ ΕΤCΟΥ  
 ΤΩΝ· ΕΤCΩΤ̄Π  
 ΝΑΣ ΝNEZIO  
 ΟΥΕ ΝΚΔΚΕ·  
 ΕΤΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ  
 10 ΕΔ̄Ν̄ΠΡΕῩΡΠΕ  
 ΘΟΥ· ΕΤCΩ  
 ΒΕ ΕΔ̄ΝNEΘΟ  
 ΟΥ· ΝΔ̄Ι ΕΡΕ  
 ΝΕΥΖΙΟΟΥΕ  
 15 ΒΟΥΕ· ΔΥΩ  
 ΕΡΕΝΕΥΔΑ Ὢ  
 ΜΟΥΕ ΔΗΥ  
 ΝΚΟΤ̄· ΕΤΡΕΚ  
 ΟΥΕ, ΔΥΩ ΕΔ  
 20 ΔΚ ΝΨ̄ΜΩ  
 ΕΤΕΓΝΩΜΗ  
 Ν̄ΝΔΙΚΔΙΟΣ·  
 ΔΥΩ ΟΝ CENΔ  
 ΔΟΥC ΝΕ ΔΕ  
 25 ΕΓΚΕΙΔ̄Η ΔΙΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΕΡ̄Ο· ὪΠΕ  
 CΩΤ̄Μ ΕΡΟΙ·  
 ΔΥΩ ΔΙΠ̄ΡΥ  
 ΝΔΨΔΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ·

ΤΕΤΖΤΗ·  
 ΛΔ ΔΡΕΤ̄CΤΟ  
 ΟΛ ΝΝΔΨΔ  
 ΔΥΩ ΔΡ̄Ρ  
 CΩΤ̄Μ ΝCΔ  
 ΔΠΙΟ·  
 ΖΕΠΔ̄Ι ΖΩ  
 ΔCΩΒΕ ΝCΔ  
 Χ ΥΤΔΚ̄Ο †  
 ΡΔΨΕ ΔΕ Ὢ  
 ΕΡΨΔΝ  
 ΔΚ̄Ο ΕΙ ΕΔ̄Ω·  
 Ὢ ΕΡΨΔΝ  
 ΨΤΟΡ̄ΤΡ  
 Δ̄Ο Ζ̄ΝΟΥC̄  
 ΝΤΕΠ̄ῩΡ  
 ΕΙ ΕΔ̄Ω Ν  
 ΝΟΥΖΔΤΗ·  
 ΕΡΨΔΝΠΤΔ  
 ΕΙ ΕΔ̄Ω·  
 Ὢ ΕΡΨΔΝ  
 ΔΙΨΙC ΕΙ  
 Μ̄ΝΟΥΚΤΟ  
 CΝΔΨΩ  
 ΓΑΡ ΝΤΕ  
 ΜΤΕ ΕΖΡΔ̄Ι  
 ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΝΨ  
 CΩΤ̄Μ ΕΡ̄Ο·  
 ΕCΤΕΤ̄CΟ



as you deserve, "O forsaker of straight ways, who chooses for herself the ways of darkness<sup>1</sup>, who takes pleasure in them that do evil and who rejoices at the wicked, whose<sup>2</sup> ways are twisted, and whose paths are so devious that you become remote and estrange yourself from the purpose of the righteous<sup>3</sup>." And again it shall be said concerning you, "When I called you, you did not hear me, I spread abroad my words: you paid no heed. But you rejected my words and you disobeyed my upbraidings. Therefore I will also mock at your perdition and I will deride you when perdition comes upon you, when trouble befalls you suddenly and overthrow comes upon you like a whirlwind, when perdition comes upon you, and when tribulation comes to you and you are in straits<sup>4</sup>. It shall come to pass that you call upon God and he will not hear you<sup>5</sup>, for you hated

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Prov.2.13.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. 41r, note 2.

<sup>3</sup>Prov.2.14-16.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. 27r, note 2.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Prov.1.24-28.

5 ΦΙΔ ΓΑΡ. ΔΥΩ ὤ  
 ΠΕCΩΠΠ ΝΕ  
 ΝΤΩΠΤΑΔΙ  
 ΝΟΥΤΕ. ΔΥΩ  
 ὤΠΕΟΥΩΩ  
 ΕΨΤΗ ΕΝΩΟ  
 ΔΝΕ ὤΠΙΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ. ΑΛΛΑ ΔΡΕ  
 10 ΩΛΚΩΔ ΝΩΔ  
 ΝΕΥΔΠΙΟ.  
 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙΔΕ  
 ΤΕΝΔΟΥΩΩ  
 ΝΝΚΑΡΠΟΣ  
 ΝΤΟΥΖΙΗ, ΔΥΩ  
 15 ΝΤΕCΙ ΝΝΟΥ  
 ΜΠΤΩΔΗΤΕ.  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ὤ  
 ΠΕΠΙΤΕΥΕ  
 ὤΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ.  
 20 ΟΥΤΕ ὤΠΕΖΕΛ  
 ΠΙΖΕ ΕΠΕΥ  
 ΟΥΔΑΙ ΕΝΤΩ  
 ΔΑΥ ΝΩΜΕ.  
 25 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ CΕ  
 ΝΑΔΩ ὤΠΕΙ  
 ΤΟΕΙΤ ΕΖΡΑΙ  
 ΕΔΩ ΔΕ ΔCΔΑ  
 ΔΤΕ ΔCΖΕ' Ν  
 ΒΙΤΕΪΠΑΡΘΕ

ΝΟC ΝCΟC, ΝC  
 ΝΑΟΥΩΖΕ  
 ΔΝ ΕΤΟΟΤC  
 ΕΤΩΟΥΝ. ΔC  
 CΔΔΤΕ ΔCΖΕ'  
 ΕΔΩΠΚΑΖ' ΔΥΩ  
 ΝΩΩΟΠ' ΔΝ'  
 ΝΒΙΠΕΤΝΔ  
 ΤΟΟΤC. ΔΡΜΕ  
 CΤΕΝΕΔΠΙΟ  
 ΓΑΡ ΖΝΩΠΥΛΗ.  
 ΕΤΕΠΗΙ ὤΠΝΥ  
 ΤΕ ΓΕ. ΔΥΩ Ν  
 ΩΔΕ ΕΤΟΥΔ  
 ΔΒ ΔΡΥΟΤΟΥ.  
 ΔΡΕΙ ΜΕΝ' ΕΖΟΥ  
 ΖΩΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ  
 ὤΠΕΖΟΥ,  
 ΖΝΟΥΠΑΡΡΗ  
 CΙΔ. ΔΡΟΥΩ  
 ΤΒ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΙΚΕCΑ ΝΤΕΥ  
 ΩΗ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥ  
 ΡΕΥΔΙΟΥΕ.  
 ΔΥΩ ΟΥΛΗCΤΗC  
 ΔΕ ΕΡΑΩΩΛ  
 ὤΩ ὤΜΙΝ ὤ  
 ΜΟ. ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΠΑΙ ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ

wisdom and did not choose for yourself the love of God. You preferred not to pay heed to the counsels<sup>1</sup> of God and sneered at his upbraidings. So therefore you shall eat the fruits of your way of life and be filled<sup>a</sup> with your own iniquities.<sup>2</sup>" For you did not believe<sup>3b</sup> God<sup>c</sup> or hope for his salvation which he wrought with you. Therefore this lament shall be spoken over you, "This foolish virgin stumbled, she fell, she shall no more rise. She stumbled, she fell upon the earth and there is no one to help her<sup>4</sup>." For you hated the reproofs at the gates,<sup>5d</sup> which are the house of God, and you obliterated the holy words. You entered openly in the light of the day but you passed over by another side in the night like a thief and a robber<sup>6</sup> to despoil<sup>7</sup> yourself. So God

<sup>1</sup>Munier 9292 (cf. p.30) contains a text parallel to 84v, col.I, line 6, beginning ΕΝΩΘΩΝΕ - 85v, col.I, line 5, ending 2ΝΝΔΙ. Variants between the two texts will be noted.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Prov.1.29-31.

<sup>3</sup>For ΠΙΤΕΥΕ read ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ with Munier 9292.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Amos 5.1-2.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Amos 5.10.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Jn.10.1.

<sup>7</sup>Note ΕΡΑ - for ΕΡΕΝΑ -, cf. Stern, para 380.

<sup>a</sup>For ΝΤΕCΙ Munier 9292 reads ΝΤΕCΕΙ

<sup>b</sup>For ΠΙΤΕΥΕ Munier 9292 reads ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ

<sup>c</sup>For ΑΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ Munier 9292 reads ΑΠΙΝΙΤΕ

<sup>d</sup>For ΠΥΛΗ Munier 9292 reads ΠΥΛΗΛΗ



ΝΑΒΩΛΙΤ ΕΒΟΛ

ΝΝΑΠΟΥΠΑ

204. ΝΥΝΤΟΥ

ΝΝΑ2ΡΕ. ΔΕ

5

ΚΔC ΕΥΕΟΥΩ

Ν2 ΕΒΟΛ Ν61

ΠΟΥCΩΥ ΜΝ

ΙΜΝΤΩΜΩ

ΝΤΟΥΠΟΡΝΙΔ.

10

ΔΥΩ ΠΟΥΔΙ Ν

60ΝC ΜΝΠΟΥ

2Μ2Μ. ΕΒΟΛ

ΔΕ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΔΡΕΔ2  
ΕΡΑΤΕ 2ΝΟΥ  
ΜΝΤΑΤΒΑΛ ΕΡ

15

ΩΙΝΕ ΝCΑΠΕ

ΤΑΡΤΑΔΥ ΜΠΔΟ

ΕΙC ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ

ΕΔΡΕΡΗΤ ΜΜ

20

2ΑΤΟΥΨΥΧΗ

ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΔΘΟ

ΤΕ ΜΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ

ΟΥΕ ΜΜΩ. ΔΥΩ

ΜΠΕΡΓΜΕΕΥΕ

25

ΝΤΟΥ2ΔΗ.

ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΝΘΕ

ΕΝΤΑΥΔΟΟC

ΔΕ ΤCΑΜΑΡΙΑ

ΝΑΤΑΚΩ, ΔΕ ΔC

Δ2ΕΡΑΤC ΕΠΕC

ΝΟΥΤΕ. ΤΑΙ

ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΕΝΔ

ΤΑΚΩ 2ΩΩΤΕ

ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕΤΜ

ΟΥΔΑΙ ΩΩΠΕ

ΝΕ, ΕΤΒΕΔΕ

ΔΡΑ2ΕΡΑΤΕ Ε

ΠΟΥΝΟΥΤΕ

ΔΡCΑ2Ω ΕΒΟΛ

ΜΜΟΥ 2ΝΤΟΥ

ΜΝΤΑΤΩΙΠΕ.

ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΠΠΑ

ΩΥ ΜΠΒΕΡΗC

2ΙΔΝΝΟΥ2ΙΟ

ΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ.

ΕΤΕΠΔΙΔΒΟ

ΛΟC ΠΕ. ΔΥΩ

ΔΡΚΤΩ ΝΤΟΥ

ΔΙCΕ ΕΡΟΥ.

ΜΠΟΥ2Ω ΔΝ.

ΜΠΕΜΕΚΜΟΥ

ΚΕ ΓΑΡ. ΟΥΔΕ

ΜΠΕΜΟΥΤΕ

ΔΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΡΕ

ΡΗΤ' ΜΜΟΥ

ΜΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ. Ν

ΝΕΥΗΠ' ΕΡΟ

ΔΝ ΔΙΝΠΕΙΝΔΥ



will uncover the things appertaining to your hinder parts and bring them before you, that your shame may be revealed and the strangeness of your fornication<sup>a</sup>; your iniquity, and your noisy behaviour<sup>1</sup>; and also because you impertinently stood up to demand that which you had given the Lord God<sup>b</sup>, having promised it for your soul, because the fear of God is far from you and you took no thought for your end. So, as it was said, "Samaria shall be destroyed because she stood up against her God"<sup>2</sup>, and you too shall be destroyed and you shall not obtain salvation, because you stood up against your God, you departed from him in your impudence, since the snare of the hunter, that is to say the devil, is upon all your ways<sup>3</sup>, and you turned your back and not your face to him. For you did not consider nor did you reflect that the things you promised to God were from then on no longer yours

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Jer.13.26-27. - רוֹעַ רוֹעַ lit. "roar", "neigh", cf. Crum, Dict., p.682b.

<sup>2</sup>Hos.14.1.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Hos.9.8.

<sup>a</sup>For πορνεία Munier 9292 reads [πο]ρνεία

<sup>b</sup>For πνοῦτε Munier 9292 reads πνῆτε

5 ἀλλὰ εὐηπ' ε  
 πνούτε· ε  
 ψωπεθε ερ  
 ψανχι εβολ  
 10 ζῆνδαϊ· ἦνε  
 ρεὸ ἀν ἦθε  
 ὑπετχι ζῆνε  
 ἰενοῦ· ἀλλὰ  
 ερεὸ ἦθε ἦ  
 15 νετσυλα ὑ  
 περπε ὑπιδο  
 εἰς· πεῖζωβ  
 δε δε ερητ  
 ἦνευπηε' ἀν  
 20 ψαχρημα ὑμα  
 τε· ἀλλὰ ψα  
 ζραῖ εογψα  
 δε ὑμνοῦμρο  
 ζαιρεσις·  
 25 ἦτοβε ἀρε  
 ρητ'· ἀγω σε  
 ερὸ ἦβινε  
 ρητ, ζωστε  
 τανδγκη τε  
 30 ετρεταδγ·  
 εἰςζηητε ἀρ  
 παραιτεῖ ἦ  
 35 ναῖ τηροῦ·  
 μῆ ππαρδι

γμα ενταχ  
 ψωπε ἦανδ  
 νιδε ὑμναπ  
 περα· ὑνα  
 ψωπε ὑμὸ  
 ἀν ἦτὸ· ἦθε  
 ενταερητ  
 ἦτασοῦ, ὑ  
 πδωμ' ἀγζω  
 ὑτ δε εβολ ζῆ  
 πενταερητ  
 ὑμοῦ· ετβε  
 παῖ ἀγταροῦ  
 ζῆνοῦψωστ  
 εβολ ἦβιοῦ  
 μοῦ, εγζοῦ·  
 ἦβινιπαρανο  
 μος· ενεῦ  
 πεερητ' γαρ·  
 νεῦἠνοβε  
 ναψωπε ζι  
 δῶ· ἀλλὰ εν  
 εοcon ἀρερητ,  
 ἀγω ἀρρζτη  
 ετβεπαῖ οὔ  
 νος πε ποῦ  
 νοβε· ἀγω  
 σμοκῆ ετρε  
 πνούτε κῶ

but God's. So if you were to withdraw some of these things you would not be like people taking their own goods, but you would resemble those who rob the temple of the Lord. And this thing, namely the promise, did not extend to belongings only, but even to words and intentions. Now you have promised, and the promises are binding<sup>2</sup>, so you must keep them. Instead<sup>3</sup> you have begged to be let off all these things. Will you suffer the lesson which befell Ananias and Sapphira<sup>4</sup> when they promised the price of the property, but stole some of what they had promised, so that an evil death shortly overtook those transgressors? If you had not promised there would have been no sin to your charge, but inasmuch as you made a promise and went back on it, therefore your sin is great and it is hard for God to forgive

<sup>1</sup>More correctly this clause should run either  $\bar{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \bar{\zeta}\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \nu\omicron\gamma\alpha$ , or  $\bar{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \bar{\zeta}\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \nu\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$ . In the above translation I have assumed that  $\nu\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$  should be read for  $\nu\omicron\gamma$ , but it is possible that Besa, confusing the persons, has used  $\nu\omicron\gamma$  i.e. 2 pers. fem. sg.

<sup>2</sup>For this translation, cf. Crum, Dict., p.51a under f.(c).

<sup>3</sup>Lit. "behold", but the meaning "instead" seems to be required by the context, cf. also on 90v.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Acts 5.1ff.



5 ΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ· ΝΘΕ  
 ΕΝΤΑΠΔΟΙC  
 ΔΟΟC ΝΙΝΕΥ  
 ΜΑΘΗΤΗC· ΔΕ  
 CΜΟΤ̄Ν ΕΤΡΕ  
 ΟΥΔΑΜΟΥΛ ΕΙ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄ΝΤΟΥ  
 ΑΤΥΕ ΝΟΥΔΑ  
 Μ̄ΝΤΩΠ'· ΝΖΟΥΕ  
 10 ΤΡΕΟΥΡ̄ΜΑΘ̄  
 ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΝΤΕΡΟ  
 Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ·  
 15 ΓΙΛΗΝ ΝΘΕ Ν  
 ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΕΥΔC  
 ΑΘΕΤΕΙ Μ̄ΠΕC  
 ΖΔΙ· ΤΔΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ  
 ΖΩΩΤΕ ΕΝΤΑΡ  
 ΑΘΕΤΕΙ ΝΤΔΙ  
 20 ΑΘΗΚΗ ΕΝΤΑΡ  
 C̄Μ̄ΝΤC̄ Μ̄ΠΝΙ  
 ΤΕ· ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ Ν  
 ΤΟ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ  
 ΕCΒΟΟΜΕ ΕC  
 25 Τ̄ΝΟΥC̄C, ΕΜ  
 ΠΕΠΕCΠ̄ΝΔ  
 ΤΔΝΖΟΥΤ̄  
 Μ̄ΝΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΑΡ̄ΠΩΒ̄Υ ΓΑΡ

ΝΤΑΙΔΘΗΚΗ  
 Μ̄ΠΔΟΕΙC  
 ΔΥΩ Μ̄ΠΕΟΥ  
 ΩΥ ΕΜΟΟΥΕ  
 ΖΙΝΕΥΖΙΟΥΕ·  
 ΑΛΛΑ ΑΡΡΑΚΤΕ  
 ΤΑΧΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν  
 ΤΕΖΙΗ ΕΝΤΑΡ  
 ΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ  
 Μ̄ΜΟC Μ̄ΠΕΥ  
 ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΔΟ  
 ΕΙC ΙC· Μ̄ΠΡ  
 ΜΕΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΕΙ  
 ΔΩ Ν̄ΝΔΙ ΕΙΜΟ  
 CΤΕ Μ̄ΜΟ· ΔΙ  
 ΛΔ ΝΔΜΕ' ΕΙΜΟ  
 Κ̄Ζ Ν̄ΖΗΤ' ΕΣ̄Μ  
 ΠΤΩ̄ Μ̄ΖΗΤ  
 ΕΝΤΑΥΩΩΤΕ  
 Μ̄ΜΟ· ΟΝΤΩC  
 30 Τ̄ΠΔΙ ΠΕ ΠΟΥ  
 ΩΩΩΔΕ ΔΥΩ  
 ΑΥΤΑΖΟ· ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΔΕ ΑΠΟΥΟΕΙ  
 Ρ̄ΚΑΚΕ ΕΡΟ  
 ΩΔΝΤΕΑΡΝΔ  
 ΝΤΟΥΖΥΠΟ  
 ΜΟΝΗ· Η ΔΕ  
 ΑΡΚΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ



you. As the Lord said to his disciples, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God<sup>1</sup>." Moreover as a woman rejects her husband so you rejected the covenant which you established with God, because you are a perverse woman, provoking to anger, whose spirit has not trusted in God. For you neglected<sup>2</sup> the covenant of the Lord, and you did not want to walk in his ways, but you turned away quickly from the way which you agreed to before the Lord Jesus. Do not think that I say these things in hatred, but truly I am grieved at the hardness of heart which has come over you. Really, this is your own injury, and it has come upon you because the light grew dark in you until you denied your constancy and forsook God

<sup>1</sup>Mt.19.24, cf. also Mk.10.25 and Lk.18.25.

<sup>2</sup>Note ἀπῆλθεν for ἀρῆλθεν.

Ἰσὼ ποιῶ

τηρ· εἰβε

παῖ τὰι τε θε

ενταυδοο

5 . εἰβῶ.

δε ἀρσιε, αὖ

ὑπεδοο

δε †νακατο

οτ' εβολ· τε

10 . νοῦ εἰδῶσω

δε αἰερε ἦ

ναῖ· εἰβε

παῖ ἦτὼ ὑπε

ῥιταμεεε.

15 . οὔτε ὑπεκα

ατ' νε' ἑννοῦ

μεεε. οὔτε

ἑνποῦζητ.

ἀνοκ ζω εἰ

20 . ὡανναῦ ἐρῶ.

†ναοβῶτ.

αὖ ὑπερῶ

τε ζητ· ἀνοκ

ζω †ναδῶ

25 . ἦταδικαῖος

νη· αὖ νοῦ

πεθοο, ναῖ

εἰεῖνσενδ†

ζητ ὡδὸ ἀν.

ἐρῶανῶ' ε

εἰβῶ οὐβη

μαροῦτοῦδῶ

ἑντοῦθλι

ψι· ναῖ γαρ

τηροῦ, πτη

ναῖτοῦ· αὖ

οὔνοῦεατη

ναθλοοῦ ἐβῶ.

ἀρπῶβῶ γαρ

ὑπνοῦτε, εἰ

νοῦεῦ ὡδ.

παῖ ἐνταῦν

τε εβολ ἑντε

εἰῶ ὑπτενι

πε, εἰεπκο

σμος πε· αὖ

ἀρκτὸ εἰβῶ

εἰβῶ. ἦ ἐροῦ.

ἦκεσοτ· δε

καε ἐραβωκ

εἰβῶ εἰομε

εἰμοῦδῶ εἰ

τωε'. ἦτε†

τοοτε ἦκα

οὔτωβε. ἦτε

οὔκατε οὔο

με ὑπῶα εἰῶ

μαῦ. νῶ γαρ

your saviour. Consequently it was said concerning you thus, "You wearied yourself and yet did not say, 'I will now stop being strong because I did these things'. Therefore you did not remember me and you did not put me in your thoughts or in your heart. I also, when I see you, will ignore you, and you feared me not. I also shall proclaim my righteousness and your wickednesses which shall not profit you. If you cry unto them, let them deliver you from your tribulation. All these the wind shall take and the whirlwind shall scatter<sup>1</sup>." For you forgot<sup>2</sup> God who saves you, who brought you out of the iron furnace<sup>3</sup>, which is the world, and you turned thither, and to it again, that you may<sup>4</sup> go down into the clay mixed with chaff and strengthen the brick, and a fire will devour you there<sup>5</sup>. For who<sup>6</sup>.....

<sup>1</sup>Is.57.10-13.

<sup>2</sup>Note ἀπῆλθον for ἀπῆλθεν.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Deut.4.20, Jer.11.4, III Kg.8.51.

<sup>4</sup>Note εἰς - for ἐπὶ, cf. Stern, para 380.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Nah.3.14-15.

<sup>6</sup>Here the letter to Heraclitus breaks off, cf. p.16.



ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΠCΩ  
 N̄T THP̄U CE  
 NαTαZΟΥ ΕΡα  
 TŪ ΕΚΡΙΝΕ Ū  
 5 ΜΟΥ ΕΤΒΕZΩB  
 ΝΙΜ ΕΔΥΟB  
 ΨΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ.  
 ΕΙΤΕ ΕΤΒΕΟΥ  
 ΑΓΑΘΟΝ. ΕΙΤΕ  
 10 ΕΤΒΕΟΥΠΟ  
 ΝΗΡΟΝ:

ΜΑΡΕΝΕΝΒΑΛ  
 ΚΑΤΑΝΕΓΡΑ  
 ΦΗ ΒΩΨΤ Ε  
 15 ΝΕΤCΟΥΤΩ.  
 N̄TENENBOY  
 ZE, ΕΙΩΡ̄U EN  
 Μ̄NTME.

ΟΥΠΕΤΨΟΥ  
 20 ΕΙΤ' N̄UΠΕΤ  
 ΨΟΥΕΙΤ' ΠΕΤ  
 ΨΟΟΓ' ΠΕΞΕ  
 ΠΕΚΚΛΗCΙ  
 ΑCΤΗC. ZΩB  
 25 ΝΙΜ' ΠΕΤΨΥ  
 ΕΙΤ' ΠΕΤ̄NEN

ΤΟΥ:  
 Μ̄Π̄ΡΜΕΕΥΕ

ΝΕCΝΗΥ, ΔΥΩ  
 N̄ΡΩΜΕ N̄ΘΕ  
 ΕΤΟΥΘ ŪΜΟC  
 ΔΕ ΕΝΚΑΤΕΧΕ  
 Μ̄ΠΕΪΚΟΥΪΩΗΜ  
 ΨΑΠΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ  
 ZENENΔΔΥ, ΕΥ  
 NαTαKŌ. Η Ε  
 10 ΕΤΒΕZENΓΡΑ  
 ΓΥΔ N̄ΘΕ EN  
 TANCWTŪ ΔΕ  
 ΔZΔZ ΔΟΟC.

ΨΩ ŪΜΟC  
 15 ΝΗΤ̄N, ΔΥΩ +  
 ZΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ  
 Μ̄ΠΕΜΤΟ Ε  
 ΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ Μ̄NΠΕΝΔΟ  
 ΕΙC IC, ΔΕ Μ̄N  
 ZΩB N̄TEIZE  
 ZŪΠΔZHT. ΔΛ  
 ΛΑ ΕΙΡZΟΤΕ  
 ZHTŪ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΕΤΒΕΠΚΟΥΪ  
 ΩΗΜ NαTNO  
 ΒΕ ΔΕ N̄NEY  
 COKŪ ΕΠΤΔ  
 KŌ ΔΥΩ ΔΕ



.....<sup>1</sup>says, "For every creature shall be arraigned in judgment concerning everything that was overlooked, be it good or bad<sup>2</sup>." "Let our eyes", according to the scriptures, "look at things that are upright and our eyelids open wide<sup>3</sup> to the truths<sup>4</sup>." "Vanity of vanities it is", says the preacher, "everything that is in them is vanity<sup>5</sup>." Do not think, brethren and men such as they are, that we have kept this little one until to-day because of things that will perish or because of matters such as we have heard that many have said. I tell you, and I declare before God and our Lord Jesus, that there is no such thing in my heart; but I fear God for the little innocent's sake lest he be dragged to perdition, and

<sup>1</sup>One folio, the first of quire  $\overline{\lambda r}$ , immediately preceding this page, is missing. It must have contained the beginning of this letter. Owing to the lacuna some references in the following are obscure.

<sup>2</sup>Eccles.12.14.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. 50v, note 2.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Prov.4.25.

<sup>5</sup>Eccles.12.8.

! /  
φ'β  
7

ἸΝΕΟΥΝΟΒΕ

ΩΩΠΕ ΖΙΔΩ

ἈΠΕΜΤΟ Ε

ΒΟΛ ἈΠΤΝΟΥ

5 ΤΕ. ΔΕ ΔΝΟΒ

ΩῆΝ ΕΥΨΥΧῆ

ἸΔΑΤΝΟΒΕ.

ΔΥΩ ΕΝΔΩ Ἀ

ΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΕΥ

10 ΩΔΑΝΘΩΠΕΥ

ΖΗΤ' ΝῆΣΟΥῆΝ

ΠΠΕΤΝΑΝῆΥ

Ἡ ΠΠΕΘΟΥ.

ΥΡΩΨΕ. ἈῆΝ

15 ΝΟΒΕ ΝΔΩΩ

ΠΕ. ἸΤΑΥΤΑ

ΔΥ ΓΑΡ ἈΠΤΝῆ

ΤΕ. ΕΤΒΕΠΔῆ

ΑΝΔΓΩΝΙΖΕ

20 ΕΔΩΥ. ἸΡΩ

ΜΕ ΔΕ ΕΤΩῆΡ

ΤΩΡ ΔΥΩ ἈΠΟ

ΝΗΡΟΣ, ΝΔῆ ΕΝ

ΤΑΥΠΡΟΚΟ

25 ΠΤΕ ΕΠΠΕ

ΘΟΥ, ΝΔῆ ΕΤ

ΣΩῆΜ ΔΥΩ ΕΥ

ΣΩῆΜ ἸΖΕΝ

ΚΟΥΕ, ΣΕΡΩ

ΩΕ ΔΕ ΔΥΔΑΡ

ΓΑΖΕ ἈΜΟΥ

ἸΔΝΔΖ ΓΑΡΑ

ΠΟΥΩΩ Ἀ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΔΥΩ

ΠΑΡΑΓΙΕΝΟΥ

ΩΩ. ΠΕΥΣΝῆ

ΕΔῆΝΤΕΥΔΠΕ.

ΔΥΩ ΠΕΥΔΙ Ν

ΒΟΝῆ ΝΗΥ Ε

ΔῆΝΤΩΗΤΕ

ἸΔΩΟΥ. ΤῆΝ

ΝΗΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΞΡΔῆ

ΕΝΒΙΔ ἈΠΤΝΟΥ

ΤΕ ΤΗΡῆ ἸΤΕ

ΠΟΥΔ ΠΟΥΔ

†ΛΟΓΟΣ ΖΑΝΕ

ΤῆΕΙΡΕ ἈΜΟ

ΟΥ. ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ

ΔΥΣΩῆΝ, Ἡ ΔΥ

ΕΠΗΡΕΔΖΕ

ἸῆΝΣΝΗΥ. ΜΑ

ΡῆΝἈΠΤΩΔ Ρῆ

ἸΤΡΕΥΣΩῆΝ

ΕΔῆΠΡΑΝ Ἀ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΥΩ

ΕΤΒΕΠΕΧῆ

lest sin before God be on our heads because we neglected a sinless soul, and we say that when he learns wisdom and knows good and evil, he is responsible, and there shall be no sin. He was given to God, and for that reason we have striven for him. But restless and wicked men who promote evil, who have erred and who lead others astray, are responsible because they seized him by force against the will of God and against our will. Their blood is upon their head<sup>1</sup> and their iniquity is coming down upon their pate<sup>2</sup>. For we are all coming into the hands of God<sup>3</sup> and each one shall give account for what he does<sup>4</sup>. They have despised us and insulted the brethren. Let us indeed be worthy that they should despise us for the sake of God's name and for Christ,

<sup>1</sup>Cf. O.T. passim.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Ps.7.17.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Heb.10.31.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Rom.14.12.

5 ΔΕ ΔΝΥΙ ΖΔΟΥ  
 ΖΙΣΕ, ΕΤΒΕ  
 ΠΕΥΡΑΝ· ΔΥ  
 ΣΕΥΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΓΑΡ ΔΥΩ ΔΥΣΦΟΥ  
 ΜΟΥ ΕΠΜΟΥ  
 ΜΗΝΕΥΑΠΟ  
 ΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΕΤΟΥ  
 ΔΔΒ ΔΥΩ ΝΕΝ  
 10 ΕΙΟΤΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΕΝΤΑΥΙ ΖΔ  
 ΟΥΝΟΒΝΕΒ  
 ΕΤΒΕΠΕΥΡΑ·  
 15 ΝΕΤΜΕΕΥΕ  
 ΔΕ ΕΖΕΝΠΕ  
 ΘΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ  
 ΕΝΤΟΠΟΣ Μ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΥΩ  
 ΕΤΑΙΔ ΕΥΔΩ  
 20 ΝΖΕΝΒΛΔΦΗ  
 ΜΔ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε  
 ΝΕΥΣΥΝΔΓΩ  
 ΓΗ ΕΥΔΩ ΜΩ  
 ΔΕ ΔΤΕΤΝΜΟΥ  
 25 ΟΥΤ, ΝΖΕΝΡΩ  
 ΜΕ· ΔΝΟΝ  
 ΜΕΝ' ΟΥΤΕ  
 ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ

ΕΤΟΥΔΜΔΔΤ·  
 ΜΠΤΝΜΕΥΤ  
 ΡΩΜΕ ΕΝΕΖ·  
 ΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΝΣΟ  
 ΟΥΝ ΔΝ' ΕΖΩΒ  
 ΝΤΕΪΜΝΕ·  
 ΔΛΛΔ ΝΕΤΖΩ  
 ΤΒ ΝΔΜΕ· ΣΕΟΥ  
 ΟΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ·  
 ΕΤΒΕΓΔΪ ΝΕΤ  
 ΔΩ ΝΝΔΪ, ΕΥΕ  
 ΩΩΠΕ ΕΥΣΟΥ  
 ΟΡΤ ΖΝΝΕΥ  
 ΖΒΗΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΔΕ  
 ΔΥΔΩ ΝΖΕΝΒΟΛ  
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΥ  
 ΜΔ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ·  
 3 ΝΘΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΤΑΥ  
 ΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ ΜΠΡ  
 ΚΑΡΩΚ' ΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ, ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΡ  
 ΒΩ ΔΕ ΕΙΣ ΝΕΚ  
 ΔΙΔΕΕΥ, ΔΥΩΩ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΥΩ ΝΕΤ  
 ΜΟΣΤΕ ΜΩΟΚ  
 ΔΥΔΙΣΕ ΝΤΕΥ



for because of his name we have suffered. They despised God and crucified him unto death, and his holy apostles and all our fathers bore<sup>1</sup> reproaches because of his name. But as for people who plot evil things against the monasteries of God, and who slanderously and blasphemously say against his communities, "You have put men to death", (I say) neither we nor our blessed fathers ever killed a man, nor do we know of such a thing. But the real murderers are plain to see. So they who say these things shall be cursed in all their works before God, because they have lied about his holy monasteries. For even thus was it said, "Be not silent, O God, and be not still<sup>2</sup>, for, behold, your enemies have cried out and they who hate you have lifted up their

<sup>1</sup>In the above translation I have assumed that ENTAYQI stands for NTAYQI. If however a relative clause was intended, the meaning is: ...and (they despised) his holy apostles and all our fathers who bore reproaches because of his name.

<sup>2</sup>Ps.82.2.

!  
ΦΙΑ  
/

απε', αλδωο  
λνε ευροοι  
εροιν επεκ  
λδος, ατω ατ  
μεεγε εροτ  
ενεκπετογ

ααβ· ταϊ ον

Τε θε ενταλδο

ος εωπεινδ

νεσ, δε πνογ

τε απρκαρκ

επαουογ, δε

τταπρδ απρεν

ρνοβε μντα

πεκρογ ατ

οτων' εραϊ

εχωϊ, ατωα

δε εροϊ ενογ

λδς νκρογ·

αγκωτε εροϊ

ενηενωδε

μωστε· ατ

† νωμδϊ επδτ

δη· επμα νσε

μεριτ' αλδιδ

βαλλε μωϊ·

ανοκ δε νει

ωληλ πε·

αγκωινε νζε

πεθοοι εροϊ·

επμα νθεν

πετνδνογ·

ατω ομωστε

επμα απταμε·

ετβεπαϊ αλδο

ος εωπειδω

ντ· δε κδθικα

απρενρνοβε

εχωογ μν

νετςνεγ

δοκει νωμδγ·

μαρεπιδιδο

λδς αερατγ

ειογνδμ μω

ογ· εωπτρεγ

διδπ· μαρογ

ει εβολ εγδα

ιηγ· μαρεπτεγ

ωληλ' ωωπε

νδγ, εγνοβε·

ντενεγρογ

σβοκ· μαρε

νεγωηρε ρ

ορφανος·

ατω νεγρο

με νχηρδ·

heads. They have taken evil counsel against your people, and schemed against your saints!'" Thus also it was said to rebuke them, "O God, be not silent concerning my praise, for the mouths of the sinner and the deceitful have opened against me; they have spoken against me with a deceitful tongue. They compassed me with words of hatred and fought against me without a cause. Instead of loving me they slandered me, but I was praying. They set up for me evil for good and hatred for my love?" So it was said in anger, "Set the sinner against them and those who approve of them. Let the devil stand at their right hand. When they receive judgment let them come forth condemned. Let their prayer become sin unto them, and their days be few. Let their children be orphans and their wives widows<sup>3</sup>.....

<sup>1</sup>Ps.82.3-4.

<sup>2</sup>Ps.108.1-5.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Ps.108.6-9. - Here the letter breaks off.



5 ΠΔΟΕΙC 2̄ΝΟΥ  
 ἄκα2 ̄Ν2ΗΤ'  
 ΕΥΔΩ ἄμοC  
 ΔΕ CΩΤῒ ΕΡΟΐ  
 ΠΔΟΕΙC · CΩ  
 Τῒ ΕΤΕCΜῒ  
 ἄΠΑΤΜΔΙΘ.  
 ΕΥΔΕ ΨΑΥΤ'  
 ̄Ν2ΕΝΠΕΘΟ  
 10 ΟΥ, ΕΠΜΔ ̄Ν2Ε<sup>-</sup>  
 ΠΕΤΝΔΝΟΥΟΥ.  
 ΔΕ ΔΥΔΩ ̄Ν2Ε<sup>-</sup>  
 ΨΑΔΕ 2ΔΤΑΨΥ  
 ΧΗ· ΔΥΩ ΔΥ  
 15 2ΩΠ' ΕΡΟΐ ̄Ν  
 ΤΕΥΚΟΛΔCΙC.  
 ΔΡΙΓΜΕΕΥΕ  
 ΒΕ ἄΠΕ2ΟΥ  
 ΕΝΤΔΐΔ2ΕΡΑΤ  
 20 ἄΠΕΚῶΤΟ Ε  
 ΒΟΛ ΕΐΨΑΔΕ  
 2ΔΡΟΥ ̄Ν2Ε<sup>-</sup>  
 ΠΕΤΝΔΝΟΥ  
 ΟΥ, ΕΤΡΕΚΚΤΟ  
 25 ἄΠΕΚΩΝΤ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ἄΜΟΥ.  
 ΕΤΒΕΠΔΐ ΓΕ  
 ΔΔΥ. † ̄ΝΕΥ

ΨΗΡΕ ΕΥ2ΚΘ.  
 ΔΥΩ ̄ΝΓCΟΥ  
 2ΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΤC  
 ̄ΝΤCΗΕ· ΜΔ  
 ΡΕΟΥΔΨΚΔΚ  
 ΨΩΠΕ 2̄ΝΝΕΥ  
 Ηΐ· 2̄ΝΟΥΨCΝΕ  
 ΕΚΕΕΙΝΕ, Ε  
 2ΡΔΐ ΕΔΩΟΥ  
 ̄Ν2ΕΝCΟΥΝΕ.  
 ΔΕ ΔΥ2ΙΤΟΥ  
 ΤΟΥ ΕΥΨΑΔΕ  
 ΕΤΡΕΥΔΜΔ2ΤΕ  
 ἄΜΟΐ· ΔΥΩ ΔΥ  
 2ΩΠ' ΕΡΟΐ ̄Ν  
 2ΕΝΠΑΨ.  
 ̄ΝΤΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΔΟ  
 ΕΙC ΔΚΕΙΝΕ  
 ΕΠΕΥΨΟΔΝΕ  
 ΤΗΡΥ. ΠΕΝΤΑΥ  
 ΔΔΥ ΕΡΟΐ ΨΔ  
 2ΡΔΐ ΕΠΜΟΥ.  
 ἄΠΡΤΒΒΟ ̄Ν  
 ΝΕΥΔΙ ΝΘΟΝC.  
 ΔΥΩ ̄ΝΝΟΒΕ  
 ̄ΝΝΕΥΕΙΟΤΕ  
 ἄΠΡΜΟΤΟΥ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ἄΠΕΚ



.....the Lord in grief saying, "Hear me, Lord, hear the voice of my justification. Do men repay evil for good? For they have spoken words against my soul, and they have hidden their punishment from me. Remember then the day when I stood before you speaking on their behalf, that you might turn your wrath from them. Therefore", he<sup>2</sup> said, "deliver up their sons to famine and gather them to the sword. Let there be a cry in their houses; suddenly you shall bring robbers upon them, for they have attempted to seize me and have hidden snares for me<sup>3</sup>. But you, Lord, have known all their counsel which they have taken against me even unto death. Do not cleanse their iniquities and do not blot out from before you the sins of their fathers.

<sup>1</sup>The two preceding folios are lost. It is impossible to say with any certainty whether the two following folios (89r-90v) are part of the letter which breaks off on 88v or not. The affinity of subject-matter - Besa encounters hostility and defends himself against accusations - may suggest that 87r-90v are all part of the same letter.

<sup>2</sup>I.e. Jeremiah.

<sup>3</sup>Jer.18.19-22.

5

10

15

20

25

ὤτο εβολ· μαρε  
 πεγυνε ωω  
 πε ὑπεκῶτο  
 εβολ· ζῶπεου  
 οειω ὑπεκῶ  
 ντ. εκεειρε ζραι  
 νζητου. ου μο  
 νον δε αλλα α  
 δοος ον' δε †  
 ναι, πδοεις.  
 οἱ πετκνατα  
 α ναι. † ναι ν  
 οοοτε ναι  
 ωηρε. αω γε  
 εκιβε ευωου  
 ωου. ντω  
 τῆν δε ὦ νεσνη  
 ετοαδβ ὑμε  
 τοχος ὑπτω  
 ζῶ ντπε τῆν  
 σοογν ετετῆν  
 αγαπη νθε ετε  
 τῆν ψληλ ὑμος  
 ζαταμῆτεβιη.  
 ου μονον δε ν  
 τωτῆν· αλλα νκε  
 ρωμε τηρου  
 ψληλ ετρενου

δαι εβολ ζῶπτω  
 νε· ναι δε ντο  
 ου νθε νιογδαδ  
 ενταυπροδι  
 δοου ὑπδοεις  
 ετεπεγυνε  
 πε ζῶπτρεγ  
 σῶντς νῶμα  
 ε† ναι νγενε  
 μτ. ται τε θε  
 ενταυδαδ νβι  
 ναι τενου εα  
 †τοοτου νθε  
 χρημα δεκαδ  
 ευναμογογ  
 ὑμων, η νσε  
 θῶκον. ετβε  
 παι νθε ενταυ  
 δοος δε υσγ  
 ορτ νβιπρωμε  
 ετερετεγελ  
 πικ ωοοπ ζιρω  
 με· αω νῆτα  
 δρο ντσαρῆ ὑ  
 πεγβοῖ εδω  
 νῆτρεπεγζη  
 ρικε εβολ ὑ  
 πδοεις. παι ε

Let their infirmity come before you. You shall deal with them in the time of your anger<sup>1</sup>." And not only this, but it was also said, "Give them Lord: what will you give them? Give them a barren womb and dry breasts<sup>2</sup>." But you, O holy brethren, partakers of a heavenly calling<sup>3</sup>, we know your love. Even as you pray it<sup>4</sup> for my wretchedness - not only you but all others too - pray<sup>5</sup> that we may recover from the infirmity<sup>6</sup>. But these men, just as Judas betrayed the Lord, that is to say his life, by letting himself be covenanted with in order to receive money<sup>7</sup>, so now have these men done by grasping at money in order to kill us or maltreat us. Therefore, as it was said, "Cursed is the man who puts his hope on man and sets the flesh of his arm upon him and lets his heart turn away from the Lord<sup>8</sup>. He

<sup>1</sup>Jer.18.23.

<sup>2</sup>Hos.9.14.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Heb.3.1.

<sup>4</sup>The significance of "it" is obscure. Perhaps it refers forward to εἰπεν ὁ Χρῆστος, and may be paraphrased thus: Even as you pray for my wretched self that I may recover..... It may be noted that ὡς here seems to be used transitively, a usage not listed in Crum, Dict.

<sup>5</sup>In the above translation I have assumed that ὡς here is an imperative. It is however possible to take it as indicative with the subject "not only you but all others too".

<sup>6</sup>Probably metaphorical, as in the quotation of Jer.18.23 above, cf. p.45.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Lk.22.5.

<sup>8</sup>Jer.17.5.



5 ΜΕΨΩΠΕ ΝΘΕ Ν  
 ΟΥΕΕΙΩ ΝΖΟΥΤ  
 ΖΙΠΔΑΙΕ· ΥΝΑΝΔΥ  
 ΔΝ ΕΞΕΝΔΓΑΘΟ  
 ΕΥΩΑΝΕΙ· ΑΛΛΑ  
 10 ΥΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΖΝΖΕ  
 ΜΑ ΕΥΩΟΥΩΟΥ  
 ΖΡΑΙ ΖΨΠΔΑΙΕ, ΕΟΥ  
 ΚΑΖ ΕΥΜΟΛΖ Ε  
 ΜΕΨΩΠΕ ΝΖΗ  
 ΤΥ· ΥΣΑΔΑ  
 ΔΤ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΥ ΝΒΙ  
 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΝΤΑΥ  
 ΚΑΖΤΗΥ ΕΠΔΟ  
 15 ΕΙC, ΔΥΩ ΠΔΟΙC  
 ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΥ Ν  
 ΖΕΛΠΙC· ΥΝΔΡ  
 ΘΕ ΝΟΥΨΗΝ ΕΥ  
 ΡΟΥΤ ΖΙΔΝΟΥ  
 ΜΟΥ· ΔΥΩ ΥΝΔ  
 20 ΝΟΥΔΕ ΝΠΕΥ  
 ΝΟΥΝΕ ΖΙΔΝΟΥ  
 ΔΤΒΕC· ΝΥΝΔΡ  
 ΖΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΔΝ ΕΥ  
 25 ΨΑΝΕΙ ΕΔΩΥ Ν  
 ΒΙΟΥΨΑΡΒΑ· CΕ  
 ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΖΙΔΩΥ  
 ΝΒΙΖΕΝΨΑΥ, ΕΥ

ΟΥ ΝΩΒΕ· ΝΥ  
 ΝΔΡΖΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΔΝ  
 ΕΡΨΑΝΤΨΠΖΟΥΜ  
 ΠΕ ΕΙ ΝΟΥΡΟΥ  
 ΠΕ· ΔΥΩ ΝΠΕΥ  
 ΩΔΝ ΕΥΤΑΥΕΚΑΡ  
 ΠΟC ΕΒΟΛ· ΟΥ  
 ΨΠΗΡΕ ΠΕ ΠΕΥ  
 ΖΗΤ' ΠΑΡΑΟΥΟΝ  
 ΝΙΜ· ΔΥΩ ΟΥΡΩ  
 ΜΕ ΠΕ· ΝΙΜΒΕ  
 ΠΕΤΝΑCΟΥΩΝΥ:  
 ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΔΟΙC  
 ΕΤΖΟΤΖΤ ΝΝ  
 ΖΗΤ' ΔΥΩ ΕΤΔΟ  
 ΚΙΜΔΖΕ ΝΝΕΒΛΟ  
 ΟΤΕ; ΕΤΡΑΤ Ψ  
 ΠΟΥΔ ΠΟΥΔ ΚΑ  
 ΤΑΝΕΥΖΙΟΥCΕ  
 ΔΥΩ ΚΑΤΑΠΚΑΡ  
 ΠΟC ΝΠΕΥΖΒΗΥΕ·  
 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΤΝΤΟ  
 ΕΤΟΥΤΥ ΨΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΨΠΠΕΥΧC  
 ΔΥΩ ΠΕΝΡΟΥ[Ψ]  
 ΤΗΚ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΥ  
 ΝΔΖΨΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ  
 ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΘΟΥ·



shall be like a wild ass<sup>1</sup> in the desert. He shall not see good things when they come, but he shall be in dry places in the wilderness, in a salty, uninhabited land. But blessed is the man who trusts in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord shall be. He shall be like a tree flourishing by the water and he shall throw out his roots to moisture, and he shall not fear when heat comes upon him. Branches with many leaves shall be upon him, and he shall not fear if one year the rain does not come, and he shall not fail to bring forth fruit. His heart is a miracle beyond everything, and it is man. Who then is he that will know him? It is I, the Lord, who tries the hearts and proves the reins, to give to every one according to his ways and according to the fruit of his works<sup>2</sup>." Therefore we are in the hands of God and his Christ, and our care<sup>3</sup> is cast on him<sup>4</sup>, that he may deliver us from every evil thing<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>1</sup>The LXX here reads ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρήνου "tamarisk".

<sup>2</sup>Jer.17.6-10.

<sup>3</sup>There is a small tear in the MS at this point. The last letter of ποσὶς is lost, and the penultimate is damaged.

<sup>4</sup>Perhaps cf. I Pet.5.7, but the phrase could alternatively be translated, "our concern is fixed on him".

<sup>5</sup>Cf. II Tim.4.18.

!  
ΦΚΒ  
7

αὐτῷ νῦτοῦχοι  
εὐολ ζιτῆνῶ  
με ἐτωῖρτωρ  
αὐτῷ ὑπονηρῶ:

5

Τ αὐτῷ πῶοις ἐχε  
κτὸ ἐχῶποῦα  
ποῦα ἡτεῦδι  
καίοςυνη ὑν  
τεῦπistic.

10

Τ ἡτῶτῆν δε ὑμερᾶ  
τε ἡσνῆ ἐτῶ  
ζοτε ζητῶ ὑπῶ

τε ὡλῆλ τηρ  
τῆν δεκάς ἐρε

15

πνοῦτε ναῖα  
ρεῖ ἐρον εὐολ  
ζῶπεθοοῦ νιμ.

αὐτῷ νῦτοῦχοι  
εὐολ ζῶπεῖδι

20

ων ὑπονηρῶ.

ὑνῆκινδῦνος

ἡνεσνῆ ἡνῖδ:

Τ οὐῖοι μεν ὑ  
μον ἐταμῶτῆν

25

ἐθε τηρῶ ἐνταῦ

αῖς ἡβινετῶμα.

ἀλλὰ τενοῦ ρῶ

εἰςζηῆτε ἀνῶ

ἐνκῶ ὑπῶ ὑ

πνοῦτε. νετῶ

μαῦ δε ζωοῦ, ἐ

ωῶτε πεῖζητ

ναῦτον. ἡ σε

ναῖτωτ ἡζητ.

σερωῦε ὑνπῶ

τε. ἀνοκ μεν

Τ κατὰ μῆττα

λαίτωρος. ἡ

τῶα, ἀν, ἐπεθο

οῦ ἐδῖερε ἡρω

με. ἀλλὰ ὑχε

δε πετῶτ ἡ

ζενπεθοοῦ

εῖμα ἡζενπε

τῶατοῦ. ὑ

πεθοοῦ νακῶ

ἀν ζῶπεχῆ:

»»»» — »»»» — »»»» — »»»»

Τ αῖα βῆα

»»»» — »»»» — »»»» — »»»»

and save us from restless and wicked men. The Lord shall return to every one his righteousness and his faithfulness! But you, beloved brethren who fear God, pray you all that God may guard us from every evil and save us from this evil age and the dangers of false brethren<sup>2</sup> It is possible for us to tell you fully how those men acted, but now instead<sup>3</sup> we have desisted, giving place to God, and those men too, if their heart is to be at ease or if they are to have satisfaction must settle it with God. I, according to my wretchedness, do not see any evil that I did to man. But it is written, "He who shall recompense evil for good, evil will not stir from his house<sup>4</sup>."

Apa Besa.

<sup>1</sup>I Kg.26.23.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. II Cor.11.26.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. 85v, note 3.

<sup>4</sup>Prov.17.13.

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