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

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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 Fragments of other writings by Besa are extant, most of which are unpublished.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);
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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 IVe 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. τ̄οη - τ̄πθ."

In C42, p.216-218, under No.46 De ecclesiarum sanctitate. It is described as "A = codex Curzonianus 109, pars prior, pag. τ̄πθ - τ̄ϕβ."

In C42, p.67-69, under No.21 De Aethi-
opum invasionibus II. It is described as "B = codex Curzonianus 109, pars prior, pag. τ̄ϕβ et τ̄ϕγ."

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.
$\overline{\kappa\Delta}$	$\overline{\tau\zeta\epsilon}$	15r.
$\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$	$\overline{\tau\pi\alpha}$	23r.
$\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$	$\overline{\tau\upsilon\zeta}$	31r.
$\overline{\kappa\zeta}$	$\overline{\tau\iota\Gamma}$	39r.
$\overline{\kappa\eta}$	$\overline{\gamma\kappa\theta}$	47r.
$\overline{\kappa\theta}$	$\overline{\gamma\mu\epsilon}$	55r.
$\overline{\lambda}$	$\overline{\gamma\zeta\alpha}$	63r.
$\overline{\lambda\alpha}$	$\overline{\gamma\omicron\zeta}$	71r.
$\overline{\lambda\beta}$	$\overline{\gamma\upsilon\Gamma}$	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 $\tau\bar{1}\nu$) ; $\tau\bar{1}\nu\alpha - \tau\bar{1}\nu\alpha$; $\tau\bar{1}\nu\alpha$ (for $\tau\bar{1}\nu\beta$) ; $\tau\bar{1}\nu\beta$ (for $\tau\bar{1}\nu\gamma$) ; $\tau\bar{1}\nu\Delta - \phi\bar{3}$; $[\phi\bar{H}]$; 1 fol. missing ; $\phi\bar{1}\alpha - \phi\bar{1}\Delta$; 2 fols. missing ; $\phi\bar{1}\theta - \phi\bar{1}\beta$.

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	} HM 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-scription 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-scription 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. ἀνα 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. λ' , π' , τ' , ζ' . The Greek particle H is always written with a thick dot over it, thus $\dot{\text{H}}$. The I with two dots over it may also be noticed in such forms as $\pi\dot{\alpha}\dot{\iota}$, $\pi\epsilon\dot{\iota}$, $\omicron\gamma\dot{o}\dot{\iota}$, $\rho\dot{\alpha}\dot{\iota}$, $\chi\dot{o}\dot{\iota}\text{C}$. The following punctuation marks may be distinguished: two dots ($\cdot\cdot$) 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. $-\epsilon'$, $-\epsilon\cdot$, $-\epsilon\cdot\cdot$. 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 $\pi\eta^{\circ}-\tau\epsilon$, $\epsilon\beta\lambda$, $\text{co}\phi\epsilon^{\circ}$, $\text{z}\iota\omicron\kappa\alpha$. At the end of a line the final N is indicated by a stroke, e.g. $\epsilon\rho\bar{\circ}$. 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. $\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$, $\bar{\chi}\bar{\varsigma}$, $\bar{\iota}\bar{\eta}\bar{\lambda}$, $\bar{\theta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}$, $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$.

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'Ermitte, 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 Hyvernat, Check List). In Hyvernat, 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 ἔγω ἄμωσ . 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 ΠΑΥΛΗΤ 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 130⁵, 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 $\overline{\mu\theta}$ - $\overline{\nu\varsigma}$, $\overline{\xi\alpha}$ - $\overline{\xi\beta}$, $\overline{\rho\epsilon}$ - $\overline{\rho\eta}$, $\overline{\sigma\zeta}$ - $\overline{\sigma\eta}$.

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 - $\overline{\tau\zeta\delta}$, col.I, line 11. To monks. The end of one letter demanding repentance. On $\overline{\rho\tau\sigma}$ 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 $\overline{c\tau\zeta}$, col.II, line 20 - $\overline{c\tau\theta}$, col.II, line 18, see Zoega CCVI, $\overline{\gamma\zeta\theta}$ - $\overline{\gamma\theta}$. 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 $\overline{\rho\mu}$. 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, $\overline{\rho\iota\epsilon}$ - $\overline{\rho\iota\eta}$. 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, $\overline{\rho\iota\epsilon}$ - $\overline{\rho\iota\eta}$ 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 $\overline{\gamma\zeta\theta}$ - $\overline{\gamma\omicron}$, $\overline{\phi\eta\gamma}$ - $\overline{\phi\zeta\beta}$, $\overline{\phi\zeta\epsilon}$ - $\overline{\phi\omicron\varsigma}$, $[\overline{\phi\pi\alpha}]$ - $\overline{\phi\upsilon\delta}$.

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

Fragment $\overline{\phi\eta\gamma}$ - $\overline{\phi\zeta\beta}$. End of a section referring to suffering caused by a famine. A prayer to God to spare the monastic communities follows. On $\overline{\phi\eta\gamma}$ 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 $\overline{\phi\zeta\epsilon}$ - $\overline{\phi\omicron\varsigma}$. 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 [$\overline{\Phi\pi\Delta}$] - $\overline{\Phi\psi\Delta}$. 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 $\overline{\Phi\psi\beta}$ 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 $\overline{\rho\iota\Gamma}$ - $\overline{\rho\iota\Delta}$, the pagination of the second folio is lost. A parallel text to that of $\overline{\rho\iota\Gamma}$ - $\overline{\rho\iota\Delta}$ is found in BM175, $\overline{C\kappa 5}$, col.I, line 8 - $\overline{C\kappa 3}$, col.II, line 24. The text of the second folio is paralleled in BM175, $\overline{C\lambda\beta}$, 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 $\overline{\text{C}\kappa\alpha}$ - $\overline{\text{C}\lambda\Delta}$. For text parallels with Zoega CCXXXVI see above. Also, BM176 is parallel with BM175, $\overline{\text{C}\kappa\eta}$, col.II, line 17 - $\overline{\text{C}\kappa\theta}$, 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 Pgol, 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 $\overline{\text{C}\lambda\alpha}$ 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.

BML76. 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 130⁵, 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 130⁵, 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 130¹, 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 130⁵, fol.42. Pagination lost. It is the first folio of a quire ($\bar{\eta}$?). 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 130⁵, 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 130⁵, 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 ($\pi\rho\nu\nu\omicron\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$), 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 $\text{NETN}\alpha$ $\text{TO}\lambda\mu\alpha$ $\text{2}\rho\alpha\iota$ $\bar{\text{N}}\text{2HT}\bar{\text{N}}$ $\bar{\text{N}}\text{OYOEI}\omega$ $\text{NI}\mu$ $\text{E}\bar{\rho}\text{2}\omega\text{B}$ $\bar{\text{N}}\text{TEI}\text{ZE}$ $\text{EKET}\text{OY}\mu\alpha$ $\text{ENEY}\text{C}\omega\mu\alpha$ as $\text{NETN}\alpha\text{TO..2}$ $\text{2}\rho\alpha\iota$ N2HTN $\text{NOYOEI}\omega$ $\text{NI}\mu$ $\text{EP2}\omega\text{B}$ NTO2 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 (TNH) for which Shenoute's authorship is not doubted. Leipoldt, Shenute, 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"(TN3). 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 (ἘΠΟΙΚΛΟΝ), at the time when they began to contend together, (wherein) he admonisheth them not to fight with one another'(Paris 130⁵, 128)". Crum clearly refers to Paris 130⁵, 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 $\overline{C\frac{1}{2}3}$ - $\overline{C\frac{1}{2}H}$, 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 $\overline{\text{C}\Gamma} - \overline{\text{C}\Delta}$. 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 (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 $\phi\overline{\text{N}\Theta} - \phi\overline{\frac{3}{2}}$. 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 Schenute 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 $\overline{C}\overline{V}\overline{I} - \overline{\tau}$, $\overline{\tau}\overline{\tau} - \overline{\tau}\overline{\Delta}$, $\overline{\tau}\overline{\Theta} - \overline{\tau}\overline{I}\overline{S}$, $\overline{\gamma}\overline{K}\overline{\Delta} - \overline{\gamma}\overline{K}\overline{H}$. 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, *Schenute*, 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, *Schenute*, 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 130⁵, fol.42 (cf. p.28f) also belongs to the same MS. As far as can be seen from a study of photostats 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 $\bar{\alpha}3 - \bar{\lambda}H$ (for $\bar{\alpha}H$). Part of the last folio of quire $\bar{\Gamma}$. 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 $\bar{\lambda}H$ there is the heading $KANWN IWANNHN$ 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 $\bar{\lambda}H$ does not seem to support Besa authorship. The text itself is too short and too fragmentary for conclusions to be drawn.

Ryl.71. Pagination $[\bar{\alpha}\alpha] - [\bar{\alpha}\beta]$, $\bar{\alpha}\Gamma - \bar{\alpha}\Delta$. 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, Ḥ)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, $\phi\bar{\nu}\Delta$, 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 Tkoou (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 131⁷, 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, κοινοβίος, 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?" (Εἰψανθοὺς δε χαίρε. τενου ρῶ εϋτων ἱτραγε). This play on words hinges on the writer's knowledge not only that χαίρε 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 χαίρε 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, $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\Delta}$, Besa writes to Aphthonia. There he says, "You are indeed called by your name Aphthonia, but you bear malice against yourself" (CE-
ΜΟΙΤΕ ΜΕΝ ΕΡΩ̄ Ε̄ΜΠΟΙΡΑΝ ΔΕ ΑΦΘΟΝΙΑ· ΤΕΦΘΟΝΕΙ ΔΕ ΕΡΩ̄
ΜΑΙΔΑΤΕ).

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, $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{r}}$) 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 ensamples 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 EP̄RAI EX̄WY N̄CEX̄OOC X̄E
 EIC OYCW̄ME EM̄T̄K̄A ΠINOYTE
 N̄AY N̄BOH̄ΘOC.
 ἀλλὰ ἀφελπιζε ἐχ̄μ
 παπαὶ ἡτεμ̄ντρ̄μ̄δο.
 ἀγ̄ω ἀφ̄ω̄δου EP̄RAI EX̄M̄
 ΠEYΠEYOCYET.

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

CENANAY EP̄O N̄BI N̄DIKAIOC ET̄P̄ZOTE
 ZHT̄Y ἄΠEΧ̄C. N̄CEX̄OOC X̄E
 EIC OYCW̄ME EM̄T̄K̄A ΠINOYTE
 N̄AC N̄BOH̄ΘOC.
 ἀλλὰ ἀφελπιζε ἐχ̄μ
 παπαὶ ἡτεμ̄ντ̄δ̄ασιζητ̄.
 ἡντεμ̄ντ̄ρεyκαζητ̄c 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 [ΛΠΝΟΥ]ΤΕ]ΛΠΔΟΕΙC

1.24-27 (84r) adapted but note:

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

v.27 ΕΡΑΝ]^{SIC}ΕΡΩΑΝ 225

2.13-16 (41r) ΝCΩΟΥ]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]^{SIC}ΕΡΕΥΜΑ

2.16-20 v.18 ΔΥΩ ΕΡΕΝΕΥΜΑ]ΔΥΩ ΠΕΥΜΑ

v.19 ΡΟΥΠΤΕ]ΝΡΟΥΠΤΕ 225 Leyd.

v.20 ΕΝΕΝΤΑΥΜΟΥΕ]^{SIC}ΕΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΜΟΥΕ
^{SIC}ΔΙΟΣ]ΔΙΚΔΙΟΣ 225 Leyd.

- 3.34 (bis) Nat]t
υNat]yt
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:
^{SIC}
ΟΥΖΕ]ΒΟΥΖΕ BMC951
Thus also on 50v and 87r where the verse is again adapted.
- ΕΜΜΥΝΤΥΕ]ΕΝΜΥΝΤΥΕ
Thus also on 87r where the verse is again adapted.
- 5.12 (bis) W
- 5.13 ΝΓΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΙCΩΤΜ]ΕΤΒΕΟΥ ΜΠΙCΩΤΜ
ΕΠΕΤCΑΒΟ]ΜΠΕΤΤCΑΒΟ
- 6.23 ΡΕΥΡΟΥΟΙΝ]ΡΕΥΡΟΥΟΕΙΝ
ΤΝΤΟΛΗ]ΤΕΝΤΟΛΗ
- 10.19 W
- 11.8 W
- 12.18 ΝΝΕΤΚΩΝC ΕΝ ΟΥCΗΥΕ]ΝΖΕΝCΗΥΕ ΕΥΚΩΝC BMC951
- 12.24 ΔΕ]om.
- 13.1 ΕΙΩΤ]ΙΩΤ
ΕΡΕΟΥΩΗΡΕ]ΕΡΕΠΩΗΡΕ
- 13.13 adapted but note:
ΡΖΟΤΕ]ΖΑΡΕΖ

- 14.1 perhaps adapted but note:
Ἰαβη]ογδαβη
ζενηῖ]ογηῖ
- 14.3 βερωυ]βερωβ
- 14.14 W
- 16.17 (bis) δε] om.
- 16.27 W
- 16.28 αγο φαυπωρ̄ξ]αγω φαυπωρ̄ξ
Since Worrell has not commented, is the W
reading perhaps a printing error?
Ἰζενωβηρ]Ἰζενωβεερ Ἰνζενρ̄ωνηῖ
- 17.13 (ter) ^{sic} νακι]νακιμ
- 17.20 δε νατωμ̄ντ]νατωμ̄τ
- 17.27 W
- 18.1 W
- 18.6 πεθου]πετρου
επικαλι]επικαλει
- 18.7 ^{sic} ογωω̄]ογογωω̄
παω]παω̄
- 18.21 Ἰπλας]Ἰ^{sic}πλας
νεταμαστε]πεταμαστε
ναογωμ]νασει
- 19.4 δε ἸἸωαδε]δε Ἰτου Ἰζενωαδε
- 19.23 W

- 19.24 ΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΕΥΚΩ] ΠΩΗΡΕ ΕΤΚΩ
ΥΝΑΖΑΡΕΖ] ΥΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΡΑΙ
- 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 ΕΡ̄ΝΤῪ] Ρ̄ΝΤῪ (ΡΑΝΤῪ Z24)
- 23.12 (42v) adapted but note:
C̄BTE] ΠΙΚΕ
But on 21v, 50v, and 68v, where the verse
is again adapted, BM Or.8810 reads COBTE
- 24.8-10 (46r) ΤΩΛῪΤ] ΤΩΛῪΤ
Thus also on 34v.
^{sic} ΕΤΝΑΤCΒΩ] ΕΝΑΤCΒΩ Z24
Thus also on 34v.
- v.9 ΠΑΘΗΤ] ΝΑCΕΒΗC
On 34v the clause ΠΑΘΗΤ ΖΕΝΝΟΒΕ
is omitted.
^{sic} ΕΡΩΜΕ] ΕΥΡΩΜΕ Z24
- 24.22 ΕΠΕΘΟΟΥ] ΕΠ̄ΠΕΘΟΟΥ Z24
ΥΝΑΛΥΠΙ] ΥΝΑΤΑΚΟ Z24
- 24.42 ΖΒΗΥΕ] ΖΒΗΟΥΕ
ΕΤΕΚΖΙΗ] ΕΤΕΖΙΗ Z24

28.24 (36r)	ΠΕΤΧΙ...ΝΒΟΝΙΣ]ΠΕΤΧΩΩ	
(51v)	W	
29.8	W	
29.11	W	
29.24-25	ΝΤΕΥΨΥΧΗ]ΝΤΕΥΨΥΧΗ ΜΑΥΑΔΥ	
v.25	Ν ^{SIC} CE ΝCEΧΙΩΠΕ]ΝCEΧΙΩΠΕ	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 -, ΜΑΥΑΔΥ , 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 ἈΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ; 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 $\omega\sigma\chi\eta\epsilon$ for the LXX βουλή , while on 84r $\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ 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, C̄3 .

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

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

19.24. May the BM Or.8810 reading ($\gamma\mu\alpha\sigma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\sigma\pi\alpha\iota$) 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 $\mu\epsilon\tau\chi\iota$... $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}$, apparently translating $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ (LXX mg.). On 36r the verb is changed to $\mu\epsilon\tau\sigma\omega\psi$ apparently in agreement with the LXX reading $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$

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
	Μ̄ΝΤΟΥ]Μ̄ΝΤΑΥ ... μ̄μαΥ
62.11 (62.10)36v	ἸΒΑΩΟΡ]ἸἸΒΑΩΟΡ
108.2 (108.2)	ἸἸΠΡΕΥῤῥΝΟΒΕ]ἸἸΠΡΕΥῤῥΝΟΒΕ
108.4 (108.4)	ἸἸCΕΜΕΡΙΤῤ]ἸἸCΕΜΕΡΙΤ
	ΔΙΑΒΑΛΕ]ΔΙΑΒΑΛΛΕ

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
ΔΥΝΟΔΥ ΜΥΝ-]ΔΥΤΝΤΩΝΥ 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.

ΔΥΩ ΕΡΕ-]ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕ-

ΖΥΠΚΑΣ]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]ΠΤΩΝΤ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΤΑΡΟΥ]ΣΕΝΑΤΑΡΟΥ

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]ΑΡΑΚΤΕ^{SIC}

Mic.7.1-2

ΟΥΟΙ]ΟΥΟΕΙ

v.2

ΠΡΕΥΡ̄ΝΟΒΕ]ΠΡΕΥΡ̄ΖΟΤΕ
LXX ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ , LXX mg. εὐλαβής

ΕΝΥΨΟΟΠ ΔΝ]ΝΥΨΟΟΠ ΔΝ

Is.17.9-10

In 17.9 BM Or.8810 agrees with Ciasca in reading ΤΕΝΔΨΩΠΕ against the LXX reading ἔσοντα and the Coptic CΕΝΔΨΩΠΕ 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 ΔΝΖΕΝCαΒΕ]ΔΑΝΟΝ 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 ὰΠΜΟΥ]ὰΠΟΥ

ΣΥΝΕΥΔΟΚΙ]ΣΥΝΕΥΔΟΚΕΙ

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 ὰΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC]ὰΠΧΟΕΙC

16.19 T

16.20 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ]ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ

ΝΔΟΥΩΨῶ]ΕΦΕΟΥΩΨῶ

I Cor.

3.17 ὰΠῤΠΕ]ὰΠΕΡΠΕ

(I Cor.)

6.8 ΝΕΤΔΙ]ΕΤΔΙ M

15.33 T

16.13-14 T

II Cor.

8.15 ΚΑΤΑΘΕ]ΝΘΕ

10.18 ἈΠΕΤΝΔCYNZICTA]ΠΕΤΝΔCYNZICTA

ΔΟΕΙC]ΔΟΙC

11.19-20 ΔΘΚΤ^{sic}]ΔΘΗΤ

ΝΤΕΤΝ̄]ΕΝΤΕΤΝ̄-

v.20 ἈΠΕΤΚΚΤΟ]ἈΠΕΤΚΤΟ M

11.21 T

12.10 ἈΝΖΕΝΛΩΔ̄2]2̄ΝΖΕΝΛΩΔ̄2 H
(ΖΕΝΖΕΝΛΩΔ̄2 M)

12.20 bis (17v,20v) ΤΑΕΙ]ΝΤΑΕΙ

ΤΑΖΕ]ΝΤΑΖΕ

(20v) ΕΡΟΙ]ΕΡΟΙ ΖΩ

13.2 T

Gal.

1.6-7 ΝΤΕΕΙΖΕ]ΝΤΕΙΖΕ

5.13 T

6.2 allusion but note:

ἈΠΝΟΥΤΕ]ἈΠΕΧ̄C H N

6.7 T

Eph.

1.21

T

5.6

T

5.19

ἄπνευματικόν] ἄπνικόν

6.4

T

Phil.

2.12-16 v.12 (ter) T

v.13 (bis) ἐνεργί] ἐνεργεί

ἠζητῆν] ἠζητητῆν H N

v.14 (31r,48v) T

v.15 (bis) δεκάδας] δεκάς

ἐτετνεύωπε] ἐτετνεύωπε

v.16 ἐπεζού] ἐπιπεζού

3.2

νεύζοορ] νιούζοορ

Col.

3.8-10

δε] σε

τινῶν τρεχιδίου] om.

v.9

ἄπρωμε ἦδς] ἄπρωῖν ἦδς

3.20

κατασμοτ] ἐνσμοτ

δοεῖς] δοεῖς

I Thes.

2.15

ἠσενδεσκε] ἐνσενδεσκε

(I Thes.)

5.4-10 ΝΕΤΕΤ̄Ν-]Ν̄ΝΕΤΕΤ̄Ν-
v.5 ΟΥΔΕ]ΟΥΤΕ
v.7 (bis) T
v.10 ΔΕΚΔΔC]ΔΕΚΔC
5.11 Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄ΝΚΩΤ]ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΚΩΤ
5.12-13 T
5.21-22 T
5.23 ΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΥΧΗ]ΤΕΤ̄ΨΥΧΗ
ΠΑΡΟΥCΙΑ]ΠΑΡΟΥCΙΑ

II Thes.

1.11 Ν̄ΥΔΕΚΤΗΥΤ̄Ν]ΕΥΝΔΔΕΚΤΗΥΤ̄Ν
Ζ̄ΝΟΥΩΩ]Ν̄ΟΥΩΩ H
3.5 T
3.6 ΔΕ] om.
ΝΕCΝΗΥ] om.
ΕΝΤΑΤΕΤ̄ΝΔΙΤ̄C]ΕΝΤΑΥΔΙΤ̄C
(Ν̄ΤΑΤΕΤ̄Ν- H; ΝΤΑΥ- M)
3.11 ΓΑΡ] om.
ΖΟΙΝΕ]ΖΟΕΙΝΕ
Ν̄CΕΡ̄-]ΕΝCΕΡ̄-

I Tim.

5.15 ΖΟΙΝΕ]ΖΟΕΙΝΕ

Tit.		
2.14	δεκαδς]δεκαδς	
3.3	T	
Heb.		
3.1	T	
3.14	T	
10.23-27 v.25	ζοϊνε]ζοεινε ντεειζε]ντεϊζε	
v.26	μῆθησια]μῆθησια	
v.27	εσωψτ]σωψτ H κωστ]κωz N	
10.31-36	δε] om. H M N	
v.32	δε] om.	
v.33	νεγσωβε]εγσωβε M θλιψις]θλιψεις κε]κετ	
v.35	παρρησια]παρρησια	
v.36	χρηδ]χρηδ δεκαδς]δεκαδς	
11.13-16 v.13a	allusion	
v.13b	αν (bis)]ανον (bis)	
v.14	ντεειζε]ντεϊζε	
v.15	ννεγρ-]ενεγρ- H	
11.35	T	

(Heb.)

11.37

ΔΥΟΥΔΑΚΤΟΥ ΔΥΖΙΩΝΕ ΕΡΘΟΥ] ΔΥΖΙΩΝΕ ΕΡΘΟΥ
ΔΥΟΥΔΑΚΤΟΥ

13.17

NETO]CEO H
NETŪΨΥXH]NETŪΨΥXH

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 (γαρ , ΔΕ , ἮΤΟΥ , ΟΥΤΕ , ΖΩ , ΕΕ) -
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
- ΕΤΕΡΡΕ]ΝΤΕΡΡΕ cf. H apparatus.
- v.16 - ΔΕ] om. cf. H apparatus.
- ΝΔΥ.ΟΥ]ΝΔΥ ΝΤΕΠΩΜΑ.ΟΥ cf. H apparatus.
- I Pet.4.3 Though only an allusion note:
Horner, Sah. ΜΝΝΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ] om.
- ΜΝΝΩΩΩ]ΜΝΝΩ cf. p.61.
- I Pet.4.7 - ΔΕ] om.

I Pet.5.1 Horner, Sah. $\alpha\gamma\omega \bar{\nu}\kappa\omicron\iota\kappa\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$] $\alpha\gamma\omega \zeta\omega\varsigma \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$
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, $\phi\overline{\text{O}}\lambda$.) 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 Thesalonica 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 Herai.

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 (ἄντα διακρίνε) 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, p̄15). 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 $\Phi\bar{N}5$ 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 ($\Phi\bar{Z}$). 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 $\bar{\mu}$ $\bar{\Delta}$). 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, $\overline{\text{N5}}$, 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. Herai 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 Herai is spoken of as having broken "the pledge of her constancy" (ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΝΤΕΣΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ).

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^{NA} ; Lk.12.33 on Zoega CCIV, C^{NB}). 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 Herai 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 Antinoe (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, $\overline{C\Upsilon E}$). 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 $\overline{\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\phi\omicron\rho\alpha}$ (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, $\overline{C\kappa\Gamma}$). 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 130⁵, 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 (ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ , ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ).

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, $\bar{\epsilon}\lambda\beta$ ($\mu\omicron\delta\delta\gamma \epsilon\alpha\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\theta\eta\gamma\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu} \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\eta\gamma \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\omega}\bar{\epsilon}$). 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, Sche-nute, 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: *Præcepta 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 130¹, 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 $\overline{\text{C}\alpha\Delta}$. 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, $\overline{C\lambda\theta}$ - $\overline{C\alpha\beta}$, 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 $\chi\omega\tau\mu$ 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, $\phi\bar{o}\beta$, $\phi\bar{o}\varsigma$, and Zoega CCIV, $c\bar{\lambda}\alpha$), and the washing of face or feet for beautification (Zoega CCIV, $c\bar{\lambda}\alpha$). The nun Aphthonia's gift of perfume to a young nun which caused so much scandal may also be mentioned here (Zoega CCIV, $c\bar{\mu}\zeta$).

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, $c\bar{\kappa}\Gamma$). Besa naturally takes a very serious view of the theft of the loaves for the Eucharist ($\pi\rho\sigma\phi\omicron\rho\alpha$, Zoega CCIV, $c\bar{\epsilon}$). 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, $\overline{\text{C}\lambda\text{S}}$ - $\overline{\text{C}\lambda\text{H}}$, 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 ($\overline{\text{ΠΑΤΣΕΚΩΤ}}$), sack-weavers, linen-weavers, basket-makers, tailors, scribes, and bookbinders. The list of products includes shoes, girdles, straps, soles of sandals, ?pouches ($\overline{\text{ΤΗΗΒΕ}}$), pincers to extract thorns, nails, sickles, spades (or picks), ?agricultural implements ($\overline{\text{Καλληρε}}$, but cf. Crum, Dict., p.103b), pegs, points of ?agricultural implements. Another reference to work can be found in Paris 130¹, 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 CNΔY) 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 CNΔY (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', 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, $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\Gamma}$, $\overline{\text{CK}}\overline{3}$; K.965, $\overline{\rho\lambda\epsilon}$). 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 ΕΓΓΩ ἄΠΡΙ
 CE ΤΗΡΥ· ΓΩ
 ἄΠΡΙΜΕ ἄΝ
 ΠΩΔΩΣ ἄΝΩΒ
 2Ε· ΕΤΒΕΧΕ
 ΔΝΚΩ ἄΝΩΝ
 ἄΝΕΥΧΑΧΕ
 ἄΝΝΕΥΕΝΤΟ
 ΛΗ ΕΝΤΑΧΟ
 10 ΝΟΥ ΕΤΟΟΤΝ
 2ΝΟΥΡΙΜΕ
 ἄΝΟΥΔΩΔΩ
 ἄΝΖΕΝΝΟΣ
 ἄΝΖΙΣΕ·

15 ΔΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΓΓΩ
 ἄΝΤΥΩΠΕ
 ΝΑΥ ἄΝΟΛΑ
 2ἄΠΩ ΕΤῸ
 ΜΑΥ ἄΝΟΥΤΩΤ
 20 ἄΝΖΗΤ' ἄΠΕΜ
 ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ἄΠΤΥ
 ΤΕ ΧΕ ΔΝΜΟ
 ΟΥΕ 2ΝΟΥ
 ΤΩΔΝΩ ΔΥΩ
 25 ΚΑΤΑΓΑΞΙΣ·
 ΔΝΚΑΤΑΦΡΟ
 ΝΕΙ, ΕΔΝΥΙΒΕ
 ἄΠΤΕΝΟΜΟΤ'
 ΕΚΕΣΟΜΟΤ·

ΔΥΩ ΔΝΤΑΚΩ
 ἄΝΤΕΝΖΙΗ ἄ
 ΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ
 ἄΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ·
 ΕΝΜΟΟΥΕ
 2ΝΟΥΚΑΚΙΔ·
 ἄΝΟΥΜΟΣΤΕ·
 ἄΝΟΥΤΩΝ
 ἄΝΟΥΔΙΟΥΕ
 ἄΝΟΥΒΟΛ·
 ἄΝΟΥΜῆΤ
 ΔΑΚΙΖΗΤ·
 ἄΝΖΕΝΧΩΣῸ·
 ἄΝΖΕΝΩΩΥ
 ΧΕΚΑΚ ΕΡΕ
 ΠΩΧΕ ΕΤΧΕ
 ΝΑΒῆΝΑΡΙΚΕ Ε
 ΡΟΝ ΧΕ ΤΠΟΡ
 ΝΕΙΔ ΕΝΤΑΧ
 ΔΣ 2ΝΚΗΜΕ
 ἄΠΤΚΑΔΣ ἄ
 ΩΩ· ΕΤΕῆ
 ΝΟΒΕ ΝΕ ΕΤῆ
 ΕΙΡΕ ἄΜΟΟΥ
 2ἄΠΤΚΟΟΜΟΣ
 ΕΔΝῆΖΟΥ
 ΧΟΚΟΥ ΟΝ Ε
 ΒΟΛ 2ΝῸ
 ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ἄ

...to the place of all suffering, the place of weeping and gnashing of teeth² because we forsook his³ 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 there⁴ 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"⁵, which means the sins which we have done in the world we have the more perfected still in the holy places⁶ of

¹The beginning is missing.

²Cf. Mt.8.12 etc.

³The reference seems to be to some earlier monastic authority, possibly Shenoute.

⁴Refers perhaps to heaven, or else to the monastery.

⁵Ez.23.8.

⁶I.e. the monasteries.

5 ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ· Ν̄
ΝΕΪΥΑΧΕ ΔΝ
ΕΝΕCΝΗΥ ΤΗ
ΡΟΥ ΕΤΡ̄20
ΤΕ ΖΗΤῦ ᾤ
ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ· ΔΥΩ
ΕΤΖΑΡΕΖ' Ε
ΝΕΥΕΝΤΟΛΗ̄.
ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΟῙ ΝΔ̄

10 ΝΕΤΠΑΡΑΒΑ
Ν̄Ν̄ΕΝΤΟΛΗ̄.

Ν̄Ν̄ΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ:

15 ΕΤΒΕΠΑῙ †ΔΩ
ᾤΜΟC ΝΗΤ̄Ν
Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν· ΜΑ
ΡΙΑ ΤΜΑΔῩ Ν̄
ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC

20 Μ̄ΝΤΑΛΟῩ
ΤΜΑΔῩ ᾤΜΑΚΑ
ΡΙΟC, ΔΥΩ ΝΕΥ
ΚΕΥΕΕΡΕ

Ν̄CΟB, ΔΥΩ
ΝΔΤCΒΩ̄ ΕΤΕ
Μ̄ΝΖΜΟῩ ᾤ

25 ΜΟΥ. ΔΕ Ε
ΩΥΠΕ Ν̄ΤΕ
Τ̄ΝΔΚΔΕΠΙ
CΤΗΜΗ ᾤΜΩ
Τ̄Ν ΔΝ Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄Ν

ΖΡΟΚ ᾤΜΩΤ̄Ν
Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄ΝΛ̄Ο Ν̄
ΤΕΪΖΕ ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν
ΤΩΖ' ᾤΠΜᾹ Ε
Π̄ΔΙΝΔΗ̄. ΕΤΕ
Τ̄ΝΠΗΤ' ΕΖΡΑῙ
ΕΔ̄Ν̄Ν̄CΟΒ̄Τ
ΔΥΩ ΕΠΜᾹ ᾤ
ΠΡ̄Ο ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν
ΔΙΥΚΑΚ' ΕΒΟΛ
ΔΕ ΛΩΟΥ, ΛΩ
ΟΥ, Ν̄Τ̄ΝΝΑΖΜΟ
ΟC ΔΝ Ζ̄ΝΤΕῙ
ΖΕΝΕΕΤΗ ΕΤ
ΜΕΖ' Ν̄ΔΙ Ν60
Ν̄C. Η ΔΕ ᾤΠΟΥ
Ρ̄ΠΕΝΖΑΠ'.

ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΔΙ ᾤ
ΜΩΤ̄Ν Ν̄60Ν̄C.
ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΕΡΩ
Τ̄Ν ΜΑΥΑΤΤΗΥ
Τ̄Ν. ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν
ΔΙ Ν̄ΤΜΕ ᾤ
ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ Ν̄60
Ν̄C Ζ̄ΝΤΕΤ̄Ν
Μ̄ΝΤΔCΙCΙΖΗΤ.
Μ̄ΝΤΕΤ̄ΝΜ̄ΝΤ
ΒΔΒΕΡΩΜΕ.
ΔΥΩ ΤΕΤ̄ΝΜ̄ΝΤ

God. I was not speaking of all the sisters¹ 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 Talou², mother of Macarius, and also their foolish daughters and the ignorant who have no salt³; 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, indeed⁴ we shall not stay in this iniquitous convent", or, "Our case has not been judged"⁵. Who ill-treats you, except you yourselves? You do violence to the truth of God by your pride and your boastfulness and your

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

²Name 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.

³Cf. Mk.9.50.

⁴Cf. Crum, Dict., p.147b, for this rare word.

⁵Besa has left this sentence grammatically incomplete.

ρεϥκαταφρο
 νει· μ̄ντε
 τ̄νμ̄ντρεϥ
 σω̄ μ̄νετ̄ν
 5 ειοτε επ̄δι
 δ̄η̄ ε̄μ̄ποϥρ̄
 λ̄αδ̄ μ̄πεθο
 οῡ νη̄τ̄ν· ἡ̄
 θε̄ εν̄τατα
 10 λοϥ̄ ρ̄αν̄ω̄
 δε̄ μ̄επ̄εν
 τᾱμ̄ντ̄τεῖ
 ζ̄ε̄νε̄ε̄τη̄ †
 νᾱζ̄μο̄ο̄ς̄ αν̄·
 15 ἡ̄νᾱτ̄σ̄β̄ω̄ δ̄ω̄
 ἡ̄κο̄ο̄β̄· ε̄τε̄μ̄ν
 νε̄ζ̄' ζ̄ἡ̄νεϥ
 ᾱγγῑον· ε̄τε
 20 ἡ̄αῖ̄ ἡ̄τε̄ δε̄ μ̄ν
 μ̄ν̄τρ̄μ̄ν̄ζ̄η̄τ̄' ἡ̄ζ̄η̄τ̄
 τη̄η̄τ̄ν· οῡτε
 σο̄ο̄υν· οῡτε
 25 ζ̄ο̄τε̄ ἡ̄τε̄π̄η̄
 τε̄· ᾱλλᾱ ε̄τε
 τ̄ν̄ο̄ ἡ̄θε̄ ἡ̄νι
 ζ̄το̄ μ̄ν̄νῑμ̄ε̄ς̄
 πο̄ρ̄κ̄ ε̄τε
 30 μ̄ν̄τᾱ μ̄ν̄τ̄
 σᾱβε̄ μ̄μ̄ᾱι·

X

Naï ετσκριτα
 αω̄ εϥτβηρ
 εζοϥν̄ ζἡ̄νεϥ
 ερη̄γ· τ̄αῖ̄ ζω̄τ
 τη̄η̄τ̄ν̄ τε̄ τε̄
 τ̄ν̄ζε̄, ε̄τε̄τ̄ν̄
 †τω̄ν̄ αω̄ ε̄
 τε̄τ̄ν̄μ̄ω̄ε̄ ε̄
 ζοϥν̄ ε̄ρ̄ῖ̄νε̄
 τ̄ν̄ε̄ιο̄τε̄ ζἡ̄
 ζ̄ε̄ν̄βᾱλ̄ ἡ̄νᾱτ̄
 ω̄ἡ̄πε̄ μ̄ν̄τε̄
 τ̄ν̄μ̄ν̄τ̄νᾱω̄τ̄
 μ̄μ̄ε̄, μ̄ν̄πε̄
 τ̄ν̄μ̄ο̄σ̄τε̄· ε̄
 βο̄λ̄ δε̄ ἡ̄τε̄
 τ̄ν̄δ̄η̄κ̄' ε̄βο̄λ̄
 αν̄ ζἡ̄τᾱγᾱπη̄
 μ̄π̄νο̄ῡτε̄·
 οῡτε̄ ἡ̄θο̄τε̄
 μ̄π̄τε̄χ̄ς̄ μ̄π̄τε̄μ̄
 το̄ ἡ̄νε̄τ̄ν̄βᾱλ̄
 ε̄βο̄λ̄ αν̄·
 ἡ̄ ε̄ω̄δε̄ ε̄ρε̄
 τ̄σ̄ῡνᾱγ̄ω̄γη̄
 μ̄π̄νο̄ῡτε̄
 με̄ζ̄' ἡ̄ξῑ ἡ̄σο̄
 ἡ̄ν̄ς̄ ἡ̄θε̄ εν̄τα
 τε̄τ̄ν̄δ̄ο̄ο̄ς̄

scorn and your baseless contempt for your fathers, though they have done you no evil. Even as Talou swore by him¹ who founded this convent, "I will not stay." Ignorant and foolish ones who have no oil in their vessels², which means there is no understanding in you neither knowledge nor fear of³ God, but you are like the horses and the mules which have no wisdom⁴, 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 before⁵ your eyes⁶. If the community of God is full of iniquity as you have said

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

²Cf. Mt.25.1ff.

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

⁴Cf. Ps.31.9.

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

⁶Cf. Ps.13.3, Rom.3.18 and Ps.35.2.

5 ΖΝΤΕΤΝΤΑ
 ΠΡΟ ΕΤΜΕΖ
 ΝΥΟΡΥΡ ΖΙ
 ΣΚΑΝΔΑΛΟΝ.
 ΕΙΕ ΝΤΩΤΝ
 ΠΕΝΤΑΤΕΤΝ
 ΝΤΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε
 ΜΑΥ. ΝΘΕ ΕΤ
 10 ΣΗΖ ΔΕ ΑΛΛΑ
 ΝΤΩΤΝ ΕΤ
 ΔΙ ΝΘΟΝΣ, ΔΥΩ
 ΕΤΥΩΘΕ. ΟΥ
 ΜΟΝΟΝ ΔΕ Ν
 ΝΕΤΝΣΝΗΥ.
 15 ΑΛΛΑ ΝΝΕΤΝ
 ΚΕΕΙΟΤΕ ΟΝ.
 Και γαρ ΔΙΝΕ
 ΝΕΖ ΜΠΝΣΩ
 ΤΥ ΔΕ ΔΕΝΤΟ
 20 ΠΟΣ ΔΙΡΩΜΕ
 ΝΘΟΝΣ. ΑΛΛΑ
 ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΟΥ
 ΝΑΘΗΤ ΝΕΓ
 ΩΤΟΡΤΡ ΝΝ
 25 ΤΟΠΟΣ ΜΠΝ
 ΤΕ, ΖΡΑΙ ΖΜ
 ΠΜΙΥΕ. ΜΝ
 ΠΗΤΩΝ.
 ΜΝΓΜΟΣΤΕ.

Και

ΜΝΤΚΑΤΑΛΑ
 ΛΙΑ ΜΝΝΚΕ
 ΠΕΘΟΥ ΤΗ
 ΡΟΥ. ΕΤΒΕ
 5 ΓΑΙ †ΖΟΜΟΛΟ
 ΓΕΙ ΝΗΤΝ Μ
 ΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΜΝΠΕΥΧΣ ΔΕ
 ΕΩΩΠΕ ΕΤΕ
 ΤΝΤΥΣΔΖΩ
 ΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΙ
 ΖΒΗΥΕ ΝΤΕΙ
 ΜΙΝΕ. ΔΥΩ Ν
 ΤΕΤΝΒΩΚ Ε
 ΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΤΝ
 ΗΙ ΝΤΕΤΝΣΡΑ
 ΖΤ ΜΜΩΤΝ
 ΖΝΟΥΕΠΙΣΤΗ
 ΜΗ. †ΝΑΤΡΕ
 ΠΕΤΝΖΗΤ
 ΜΚΑΖ. ΔΥΩ †
 ΝΑΤΡΕΥΕΙΡΕ
 ΝΗΤΝ ΚΑΤΑ
 ΠΕΤΕΝΤΕΤΝ
 ΟΥΔΥΩ ΔΝ.
 5 Η ΜΜΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΤΩΝ ΖΩΩΥ
 ΔΕ ΕΥΝΑΣΩ

Γ

Η

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.

5 τῦ ἐνετῆνωα
 δε ἄβολ εἰ
 πκοσμος.
 ἠ δε ερεῖκο
 σμικον ναι
 με ἐνετῆσβη
 ογε ἄσυν
 εἰπετῆμα.
 10 πενεῖσβηγε
 ἄτεῖσε ῥωα
 ἄητῆ. ἄτω
 τῆ ετσοογν.
 ογκογν τετ
 ναιτεῖμῆτ
 15 ατσω μῆτεῖ
 μῆταθῆτ' ε
 βολ ἄητῆ
 τῆ αν. ωαν
 20 τεοῖε ωω
 γε ἐνεῖπεῖ
 σωβ ἠ νεῖ
 σβηγε ἄπο
 ἄηρον. εμ
 25 πῆτῆββον ε
 τρενοαῖν
 ἄαπσοεῖς
 πεννογτε

πεχς.
 ἄληθως τμο

κῆ ἄητ' εαροῖ
 ἄμῆητῆ. δε
 τετῆτακῶ ἄ
 τετῆψυχῆ ε
 τεῖπκοσε
 τηρῆ μῆωα
 ἄμος αν ετβε
 εεεεεε ε
 μῆηη ἄη
 τογ ἄακρῆ
 μα ἄητῆ εῖο
 σε. ετβεπῆ
 ωῆηηη' εα
 ρον μαααν.
 μῆτῆρενῆ
 εεεεε εγ
 κῆβ' εεραῖ ε
 σω. τῆνα
 ογῶ ἄτῆρ
 εηη εῖπε
 εοογ μῆη
 βῆηηηηη.
 ἄτῆτῆββηηη
 τῆαβηηηη ε
 ρον εῖπηη
 εῖηηηη. μα
 λῆηη εαῖρ
 πῆηηηηη
 αῖω μῆηηηη
 τῆ.

your words be listened to in the world outside, or those of the world know your doings inside your dwelling? Can it be that¹ 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, yea² 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 worth³, 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 visitation⁴ and shall find nought⁵ to help us there; especially as it was also told us and we did not listen.

¹The prefix $\tau\epsilon$ - may be either interrogative or conditional, expressing doubt, cf. Crum, Dict., p.260a.

²H may stand for either the Greek η "or", or else for η "in truth", "of a surety". Here the latter seems best.

³Cf. Mt.16.26 and Mk.8.36.

⁴The meaning of this difficult phrase seems to be that the chances of repentance are over when the Last Judgment Day comes. Cf. 63v. $\sigma\omega$ followed by the conjunctive is rare, cf. Crum, Dict., p.473b.

⁵For "nought" read perhaps "none".

δύω ν̄τωτ̄ν
τηρ̄τ̄ν ω̄ νε
cnyy apzote
zht̄y μ̄π̄νοy
5 τε, δύω ν̄τε
τ̄νcazwt̄n ε
βολ̄ ν̄zwb·

5

ν̄ιμ̄ ετ̄μ̄ο
cτε μ̄μοoy·

10

ν̄τετ̄νειρε
μ̄πετ̄ραν̄α
μ̄π̄νοyτε·

κατ̄θε̄ ετ̄
cηz δε̄ z̄noy

15

zote μ̄noy
ctwt' apzwb
επετ̄noyχ̄ai·

δύω ον̄ ν̄τε
τ̄νzγποτ̄ac

20

ce ν̄νετ̄νει
οτε z̄noote
μ̄πεχ̄c δ̄x̄n
κ̄p̄p̄u z̄m̄ok

μεκ̄ εχ̄zooy:

25

π̄λην̄ †ταμ̄o
μ̄ωτ̄n δε̄ ε
τετ̄nτ̄μ̄ειμ̄ε
δε̄ ετετ̄nō
ν̄δ̄ω ν̄ze· δύω

ν̄τετοyεi
τοyεi μ̄ωω
τ̄n cazwc' ε
βολ̄ ν̄νιzβhye
μ̄πονηp̄on·

εp̄yανπ̄noy
τε τ̄ωy' †na
εi yapwt̄n

ν̄τ̄νειρε̄ ν̄h
τ̄n κατ̄θε̄ ε
τερεπ̄noyτε

νατοȳc· δύω
ν̄τεπετ̄n̄zht
μ̄καz ν̄zoyō·

δύω †p̄zote

ν̄θε̄ εν̄ταπο
στολοc δε̄
οc δε̄ μηπο
τε ν̄ταεῑ ya

pwt̄n ν̄ταze
epwt̄n ν̄θε̄
εν̄foyaȳc

an· δύω ν̄τε
τ̄n̄ze' epoī n̄
θε̄ εν̄τετ̄n

oyaȳt̄ μ̄μ̄e
an· μηποτε
zen†tw̄n ne·

μ̄nzenkwz

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"¹, and be subject to your fathers in the fear of Christ without murmuring and evil thought.² 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 apostle³ 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,

¹Phil.2.12.

²Cf. Phil.2.14.

³Read ΕΝΤΑΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC for ΕΝΤΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC .

Μ̄ΝΖΕΝΩΩΝΤ̄

Μ̄ΝΖΕΝΔΟΚ

Δ̄Κ· Μ̄ΝΖΕΝΚΑ

Ταλαλια·

5 Μ̄ΝΖΕΝΚΑΔΚ̄Σ·

Μ̄ΝΖΕΝΔΙΣΕ

Ν̄ΖΗΤ· Μ̄ΝΖΕ̄

ΩΤΟΡ̄ΤΡ̄·

Και γαρ Ν̄ταῑ

10 ΣΖᾹΙΝΔᾹΙ Ζ̄ΝΟΥ

ΝΟΣ Ν̄ΚΑΔ

Ν̄ΖΗΤ Μ̄ΝΟΥ

ΛΥΠΗ ΕΝΔΩΩΣ·

ΔΕΚΑΣ Ν̄ΝΔΕ̄Ι

15 Ν̄ΤΑΛΥΠΕΙ Ν̄

ΤΟΟΤΟΥ Ν̄ΝΕ

ΤΕΩΩΕ' ΕΤΡΑ

ΡΑΩΕ ΕΒΟΛ

ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ.

20 ΕΠΕΙΔ̄ Η̄ ΩΔ

ΤΕΝΟΥ Μ̄ΠΑ

Τ̄ΝΝΔΥ ΕΛΑΔΥ

Ν̄ΤΩΤ' Ν̄ΖΗΤ

ΕΥΣΜΟΝΤ̄·

25 ΤΟΥΣΟΝ ΓΑΡ

Η̄ ΖΕΝΟΝΗΥ

ΕΥΔΙΔΑΠ' Μ̄Ν

ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ· ΝΔᾹΙ

ΖΕΝΑΠΙΣΤΟΣ
ΝΕ·

ΓΛΗΝ ΕΙΟ ΝΕΝ
ΕΙΟΤΕ, ΔΥΩ

ΝΕΝΟΝΗΥ ΔΝ

ΔΟΟΥΣΟΥ Ε

ΤΡΕΥΣΩΤ̄Υ

ΕΝΕΤ̄ΝΩΔΕ

Μ̄ΝΝΕΤ̄ΝΖΒΗ

ΟΥΕ, Ν̄ΟΕΤΑ

ΜΟΝ· ΖΑΡΕΖ

Ν̄ΤΟΥ Μ̄ΠΡΩ̄

ΝΟΥΕΥ Ν̄ΤΑ

ΜΟΥ ΕΣΩΒ

ΝΙΜ· ΔΥΩ ΟΝ

Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄ΝΤΑΜΟ

ΟΥ, ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ

ΤΩΝ· Η̄ ΖΙΤ̄Ν

ΟΥ, ΔΝΙΜΩΕ

Μ̄ΝΝΙΗ̄ΤΩΝ

ΝΕΖΕ Ν̄ΖΗΤ

ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν· Μ̄Η

ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΩΩ

Μ̄ΜΩΤ̄Ν ΔΝ

Ν̄ΤΕΙΖΕ Μ̄ΔΥ

ΑΤΤΗΥΤ̄Ν,

ΔΥΩ ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΤ

ΩΠΕ Ν̄ΝΕΤΕ

Μ̄ΝΤΑΥ·

ΔΥΩ Ν̄ΤΟ Μ̄ΑΡΙΑ
ΤΜΑΔΥ Ν̄ΙΩΖᾹ

wraths, provocations, evil-speakings, whisperings, vanities and disturbances.¹ 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".² 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.³ Nevertheless, here⁴ 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 stop⁵ without telling them everything, and also tell them whence or through what⁶ 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,

¹II Cor.12.20.

²Cf. II Cor.2.3.

³Cf. I Cor.6.6.

⁴εἰς probably introducing the bearers of this epistle, cf. Crum, Dict., p.85a.

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

⁶For "what" perhaps "whom".

5 ΝΗC Μ̄ΝΤΑ
 ΛΟΥ ΤΜΔΔΥ
 Μ̄ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC
 Μ̄ΝΝΕΥΚΕ
 ΨΕΕΡΕ ΕΨΥ
 ΔΕ ΟΥΝ̄ΤΗΤ̄Ν
 ΨΑΔΕ Μ̄ΜΔΥ·
 Μ̄Π̄Ρ̄Θ̄Ω̄ ΝΟΥ
 ΕΨΥ Ν̄ΔΟΥ·
 10 Μ̄Π̄Ρ̄Θ̄Ν̄ΔΡΙΚΕ
 ΟΥΤΕ Μ̄Π̄Ρ̄
 Κ̄Ρ̄Μ̄Ρ̄Μ̄ ΕΠ̄Δ̄Ι
 Δ̄Η· ΟΥΤΕ Μ̄
 Π̄Ρ̄ΤΕΖ̄ΤCΥΝ
 15 ΔΓΩΓ̄Η Μ̄Π̄Ν̄Υ
 ΤΕ Ζ̄ΝΖΕΝΨΑ
 ΔΕ Ν̄CΚΑΝΔΑ
 ΛΟΝ· Ν̄ΤΕΜ̄Ε̄
 ΖΗΤ' Μ̄ΚΔΖ' Ε
 20 ΡΩΤ̄Ν ΕΠΕ
 ΖΟΥΘ̄· ΚΑΙ
 ΓΑΡ ΨCΗΖ' ΔΕ
 ΠΕΤΝΑCΚΑΝ
 ΔΑΛΙΖΕ ΝΟΥΔ̄
 25 Ν̄ΝΙΚΟΥΕΙ
 ΕΤΠΙCΤΕΥΕ
 ΕΡΟΙ· C̄Ρ̄ΝΟ
 ΨΡΕ ΝΔΥ ΔΕ
 ΚΑC ΕΥΕΜΟΥΡ

ΝΟΥΩΝΕ Ν̄CΙ
 ΚΕ, ΕΠΕΨΜΑ
 Κ̄Ζ Ν̄CΕΟΜ̄CΥ
 ΖΡΔΙ Ζ̄Μ̄ΠΠΕ
 ΛΑΓΟC Ν̄ΘΑΛΑC
 CΔ· Ν̄ΖΟΥΘ̄ Ε
 ΤΡΕΨCΚΑΝΔΑ
 ΛΙΖΕ ΝΟΥΔ̄ Ν̄
 ΝΙΚΟΥΕΙ ΕΤ
 ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΙ·
 ΤΗ Μ̄ΜΟΝ ΤΕΤ̄Ν
 ΨΑΔΤ' Ν̄CΚΔ̄
 ΔΑΛΙΖΕ Ν̄ΖΔΖ
 Ν̄ΤΕΙΖΕ ΖΙΤ̄Ν
 ΝΕΝΤΑΤΕΤ̄Ν
 ΔΔΥ Μ̄ΝΝΕΝ
 ΤΑΤΕΤ̄ΝΔΟΥ
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΖΡ̄Ν
 ΝΕΤ̄ΝΕΙΟΤΕ·
 ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤΡΕ
 Τ̄ΝΨ Μ̄ΜΟΥ·
 ΔΡΗΥ Ρ̄Ω ΤΕ
 ΤΝΔΔΙΖΕΝ
 ΨΒΑΤΕ ΕΡΩ
 Τ̄Ν, Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄ΝΖΙ
 ΟΥΕ Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ·
 ΝΑΤCΒ̄Ω ΕΤΕ
 ΖΕΝCΑΒΕΕΥΕ
 ΔΝ ΝΕ· Η Μ̄ΜΟ̄

ΤΗ
 ↙

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 ones¹ 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 sea²; rather than that he should offend one of these little ones who believe in me"³. 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

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

²Mt.18.6.

³Cf. Lk.17.2.

5 ΕΡΕΪΝΧΗΕ
 Μ̄Ν Μ̄ΜΕΡΕΖ̄
 ΖΟΥΥ, ΕΖΟΥΕ
 ΠΛΑΔ Ν̄ΡΕϣΜ
 ΨΕ, Μ̄Ν̄ΡΕϣ
 ϣΩ. ῡΧΗΖ
 ΓΑΡ ΔΕ Ν̄ΝΑΔΖΕ
 Ν̄Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ Ν̄Ν̄
 ΡΩΜΕ. ΖΕΝΖΟ
 10 ΠΛΟΝ ΝΕ ΖΙΟ
 ΤΕ. ΔΥΩ ΠΕΥ
 ΛΑΔ' ΟΥΧΗΕ
 ΤΕ ΕΣΤΗΜ.
 ΕΤΒΕΓΑΪ ΖΑΡΕΖ
 15 ΕΡΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ
 Ζ̄ΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ' Ε
 ΘΟΥΥ. ΔΕ Ν̄
 ΝΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΒΩΝΤ̄ ΕΡΟΝ.
 20 Ν̄ΥΚΤΕΠΕϣ
 Ζ̄Ο ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΜΟ̄.
 ΔΥΩ ΔΕ Ν̄ΝΕ
 Ν̄ΑΖΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΕΝΤΑΠΕΝΕΙ
 25 ΩΤ' ΔΟΥΥ, ΕΪ
 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΔΩΝ'
 Ζ̄ΜΠΤΡΕΠΕϣ
 ΖΗΤ' Μ̄ΚΑΖ' ΕΡΟ̄
 Ζ̄ΜΠΜΑ ΕΤ̄Υ

Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Υ· ΑΛΛΑ
 ΜΑΡ̄ΝΣΠΟΥ
 ΔΑΖΕ ΤΗΡ̄Ν ΖΙ
 ΟΥΣΟΠ' ΕΤΡΕ
 ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΥ
 ΦΡΑΝΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ
 ΕΔΩΝ Μ̄ΝΠΕϣ
 Χ̄Σ· ΔΥΩ Ν̄ΤΕ
 ΠΖΗΤ' Ν̄ΝΕΝ
 ΕΙΟΤΕ Μ̄ΤΟΝ.
 ΔΕΚΑΔ ΖΩΩ̄
 ΕΡΕΠΕΝΖΗΤ'
 ΝΑΜ̄ΤΟΝ· ΟΥ
 ΜΟΝΟΝ Ζ̄ΜΠΕΪ
 Μ̄Α· ΑΛΛΑ Ζ̄Μ
 ΠΜΑ ΕΤ̄ΝΝΑ
 ΒΩΚ ΕΡΟΥ·
 ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΨΑΥ
 ΡΑΨΕ ΕΔ̄Ν̄Ν̄
 ΑΓΑΘΟΝ. Ν̄ΣΕ
 ΛΥΠΕΙ ΕΔ̄Ν̄Μ
 ΠΕΘΟΥΥ:

ἀγα ΒΗσα
 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΑΝΩ
 Τ̄Μ ΔΕ ΟῩΝΖΟ
 ΕΙΝΕ ΕΙΡΕ Ν̄
 ΖΕΝΨΟΡΤ̄Ρ
 ΖΑΤΕΤΗΥΤ̄Ν

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"¹. 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 father² spoke come upon us and make his heart sad concerning us in the place³ 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 good⁴ and grief over the wicked.

Apa Besa.

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

¹Ps.56.5.

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

³No doubt this is a reference to heaven.

⁴Read ἀγαθόν for ἀγαθόν .

5



ΜΝΖΕΝ ΜΙΨΕ
ΕΠΔΙΝΔΗ ΕΥΝ
ΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ
ΖΗΥ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ.
ΕΤΒΕΠΔΙ †ΖΟ
ΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΝΗ
ΤΗΝ ΤΗΡΤΗΝ Μ
ΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ

10

ΜΝΠΕΧΣ ΙΣ
ΠΕΝΔΟΕΙΣ
ΔΕ ΕΨΩΠΕ Ν
ΤΕΤΝΑΡΖΟΤΕ
ΔΝ ΖΗΤΥ Μ

15

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΕ
ΤΗΝΨΙΝΙΜΩΤ
ΣΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ Μ
ΜΩΤΗ ΜΝΤΕΙ
ΜΝΤΝΑΨΤ

20

ΖΗΤ. ΝΤΕΤΗ
ΣΩΤΗ ΝΣΑΝΕ
ΤΗΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΜΝ
ΝΕΤΗΝΖΛΛΟΕΙ
ΕΤΗΙ ΜΠΕΤΗΝ

25

ΡΟΟΥΨ. †ΝΔ
ΤΡΕΤΗΝΚΩΤΕ
ΝΣΑΤΟΥΕΙ
ΤΟΥΕΙ ΜΩ
ΤΗΝ ΝΤΕΤΗΤΗ



ΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΙ ΠΕ
ΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ Μ
ΜΟΥ. ΜΗ Ν
ΤΕΤΝΑΡΖΟΤΕ
ΔΝ ΖΗΤΥ ΜΠΔΟ
ΕΙΣ. Η ΝΤΕΤ
ΝΑΨΛΔΖ' ΔΝ Μ
ΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ.
ΜΗ ΝΤΑΤΟΥΕΙ
ΤΟΥΕΙ ΜΩΤΗΝ
ΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΔ Ε
ΜΙΨΕ. Η ΕΨΩ.
Η ΕΟΥΩΖΗ.
Η ΕΚΡΨΗ
Η ΕΡΑΤΣΩΤΗ.
Η ΕΔΙΟΥΕ.
Η ΕΔΙΒΟΛ.
Η ΕΨΝΟΥΣ
ΜΠΨΑΔΕ Μ
ΠΔΟΕΙΣ. ΝΤΑ
ΕΙ ΔΝ ΤΗΡΗΝ Ε
ΤΡΕΝΜΕΤΑ
ΝΟΕΙ ΕΔΗΝΕ
ΠΕΘΟΥ ΕΝ
ΤΑΝΔΑΥ ΜΠΕΜ
ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΔΟ
ΕΙΣ ΙΣ. ΔΨΩ
ΝΤΗΝΨΙΠΡΟ
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 seeking¹ 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

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

ῤ̄ΝΟΒΕ ῤ̄ΚΕ
 СОП' ῤ̄ΠΕϰῤ̄
 ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ· Νῤ̄Ω
 Ν̄Τ ΕΡΟΝ Ν̄ΖΟΥḶ.

5 ῤ̄Η ΤΕΤΝḶ
 ϰΙ ΖΑΠΩΝ̄Τ
 ῤ̄ΟΥΡΩΜΕ.
 ΖΕ ΕΤΕΤΝḶ
 ΖΑΠΩΝ̄Τ ῤ̄
 10 ΠΔΟΕΙϰ· †ΜΕ
 ΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΝΙΖΒΗΥΕ
 ῤ̄ΤΕΪΖΕ ΕΤΕ
 ῤ̄ΝΕΙΡΕ ῤ̄ΜΟ
 ΟΥ· ῤ̄ϰΕῤ̄ΥḶ
 15 ΝΗΤ̄Ν ḶΝ· ΟΥ
 ΤΕ ῤ̄ΤΕΤΝḶ
 ΖΗΥ ḶΝ ΕΡΟΥ.
 ΟΥΤΕ ΕΝϰΟ
 ΟΥΖ' ḶΝ ΕΖΟῩ
 20 ΕΠΕΪΜḶ Εῤ̄ΖΕ̄
 ΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΜΕ
 ΨΥΕ· ΜḶΛΙ
 ϰῤḶ· ΔΩΖῤ̄·
 ΖΙΔΙΟΥΕ·
 25 ΖΙΒΟΛ· ΖΙΜΙΥΕ·
 ΖΙ†ΤΩΝ·
 ΖΙΚΩΖ·
 ΖΙΜΟΥΕ·
 ΕΡΕΤΟΥΓΗ ΓḶΡ

ῤ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΗΥ
 ΕΤΒΕΝḶ ΕΣ̄Ν
 ΝΨΗΡΕ ῤ̄Τῤ̄Ν̄Τ
 ḶΤΝḶΖΤΕ, ΕΤΕ
 ῤ̄ΜḶ†ΠΕΘΟΥ
 ΝΕ:

ΕΤΒΕΓḶΔΙΔΕ ΝΕ
 ϰΝΗΥ ῤ̄Πῤῤῤῤῤῤ
 ΜΕΡΕΓῤῤῤῤῤ
 ΟΥ· ΜΗΠΟΤΕ
 ῤ̄Τ̄ΝΤḶΚḶ·
 ΜḶΡ̄ΝΟΥΩΝ
 ΔΕ ῤ̄ΝΕΝΒḶΛ
 ῤ̄Τ̄ΝΩΩῩΤ Ε
 ΝΕΤϰΟΥΤῤ̄·
 ΜΗΠΩϰ ῤ̄Τ̄Ν
 ῤ̄ΖΤΗΝ Ζ̄ΝΤΕ̄
 ΖḶΗ· Μ̄Ν̄ΝϰΩϰ
 ῤ̄Τ̄Νῤ̄ΚḶΖ ῤ̄
 ΖΗΤ' ΕΔΩΝ
 ΜḶΥḶḶΝ' ῤ̄Τ̄Ν
 ΔΟΥϰ ΕΝΡΙΜΕ
 Ζ̄ΝΟΥΛΥΓΗ
 Μ̄ΝΟΥḶΨḶΖῤ̄
 ΖΕ ΕΤΒΕΟῩ
 ΓḶΡ ΝΕΪΟΥḶ
 ΨΟΥ ḶΝ ΠΕ ΕΥ
 †ϰΒῤ̄ ΝḶḶ· ḶΥῤ̄
 ḶΠḶΖΗΤ' ΡΙΚΕ

X

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 unbelief¹ 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 upright² 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

¹Eph.5.6.

²Cf. Prov.4.25.

5 ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΝΕΧΠΙΘ.
 ΕΤΒΕΟΪ Μ̄ΠΙ
 ΣΩΤ̄Α ΕΠΕΣΡΟ
 ΟΥ Μ̄ΠΕΤΤ
 ΣΒΩ̄ ΝΔΙ. ΔΥΩ
 Μ̄ΠΙΡΙΚΕ Μ̄
 ΠΑΜΔΑΧΕ Μ̄
 ΠΕΤΤΣΑΒΘ̄
 Μ̄ΜΟΙ. ΚΑΙ
 10 ΓΑΡ ΠΥΗΡΕ
 ΕΤΚΩ̄ Ν̄ΣΩΥ
 Ν̄ΤΕΣΒΩ̄. ΥΝΑ
 ΖΕ ΕΣΡΑῙ ΕΣΕ̄
 ΠΕΘΟΥ.
 15 ΥΝΑΜΕΛΕΤΑ
 ΔΕ Ν̄ΖΕΝΩΥ
 ΔΕ ΕΥΒΟΟΝΕ:
 ΤΕΝΟΥΘΕ ΜΑ
 20 Ρ̄ΝΔΑΖΩΝ Ε
 ΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΠΕ
 ΘΟΥ. Ν̄Τ̄Ν
 ΝΑΡ̄ΖΟΤΕ ΔΝ.
 ΔΥΩ Μ̄ΝΣΤΩΤ
 ΝΑΖΩΝ' ΕΡΟ̄.
 25 ΕΥΩΠΕ ΕΤΕ
 Τ̄ΝΥΑΝΤ̄ΥΣΑ
 ΖΩΤ̄Ν ΕΒΟΛ
 Ν̄ΝΙΖΒΗΥΕ
 ΕΤΕΡΕΠΝΟΥ

ΤΕ ΜΟΣΤΕ Μ̄
 ΜΟΥ. Ν̄ΤΕ
 ΤΝΔΒ̄ΜΠΝΔΥ
 ΔΝ ΕΤΝΔΕΙ ΥΔ
 ΡΩΤ̄Ν Ν̄ΤΔΕΙ
 ΡΕ Ν̄ΤΟΥΕΙ ΤΟΥΕΙ
 Μ̄ΜΩΤ̄Ν ΚΑΤΑ
 ΠΕΣ̄ΜΠΥΑ.
 ΚΑΤΑΠΥΑΧΕ
 ΕΝΤΑΠΔΠΟ
 ΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΔΟ
 ΟΥ ΔΕ ΜΗΠΟ
 ΤΕ Ν̄ΤΔΕΙ ΥΔ
 ΡΩΤ̄Ν Ν̄ΤΔΖΕ
 ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν Ν̄ΘΕ
 ΕΝΤΟΥΔΩΣ
 ΔΝ. ΔΥΩ Ν̄ΤΕ
 Τ̄ΝΖΕ' ΕΡΟῙ ΖΩ
 Ν̄ΘΕ ΕΝΤΕ
 Τ̄ΝΟΥΔΩΥΤ Μ̄
 ΜΟΣ ΔΝ. ΜΗ
 ΠΟΤΕ ΖΕΝΤ
 ΤΩΝ ΝΕ.
 Μ̄ΝΖΕΝΚΩΣ.
 Μ̄ΝΖΕΝΩΝΤ.
 Μ̄ΝΖΕΝΔΟΚΔΚ.
 Μ̄ΝΖΕΝΚΑΤΑ
 ΛΑΛΙΑ.
 Μ̄ΝΖΕΝΚΑΔΚ̄.

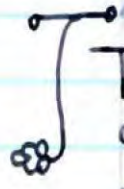
from reproofs? Why did I not listen to the voice of him who teaches me, and did not incline my ear to him who instructs me?"¹ For indeed the son who forsakes instruction will fall upon evils and will practise evil things.² Now therefore, let us remove ourselves from wickedness. We shall not be afraid 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,

¹Prov.5.12-13.

²Cf. Prov.19.24.

5 Μ̄ΝΖΕΝΔΙΣΕ
 Ν̄ΖΗΤ. Μ̄ΝΖΕ̄
 УТОРТ̄Р. Ε
 ΤΒΕΠΔῙ ΔΥΔΟ
 ΟΣ Ζ̄ΝΟΥΨΥ
 ΩΤ' ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ
 ΕΪΨΑΝΕΪ Ν̄ΚΕ
 СОП', Ν̄†ΝΔ†
 С̄Ο ΔΝ.
 10 Μ̄Η Μ̄ΝСОНТЕ
 ΒΕ ΨΟΟΠ' Ζ̄Ν
 ΓΑΛΑΔΔ. Η Μ̄Ν
 СΔΕΙΝ Ζ̄ΨΠΔ
 ΕΤ̄ΨΔΔΥ. ΕΤΒΕ
 15 ΟΥ Μ̄Π̄ΨΕΪ Ε
 ΖΡΑΪ Ν̄ΟΙΠΤΑΛ
 Β̄Ο Ν̄ΤΨΕΕΡΕ
 Μ̄ΠΑΛΑΟΣ. ΕΤΕ
 ΠΔΪ ΠΕ. ΔΕ ΜΗ
 20 Τ̄ΝΨΔΔ† ΕΤΡΕΥ
 †СΒΩ ΝΔΝ Ν̄
 ΒΙΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ.
 Η Ν̄СЕТСΔΒΕ
 ΕΙΔΤ̄Ν ΕΒΟΛ
 25 Ζ̄ΝΝΕΓΡΑΦ̄Η.
 Μ̄ΝΝ̄ΕΧΑΓΓΕ
 ΛΙΟΝ Μ̄ΠΕΝΔΟ
 ΕΙC ῙC ΠΕΧ̄C.
 ΕΤΒΕΟῩ Μ̄Π̄Υ

ΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ν̄ΟΙΠΤΑΛ
 Β̄Ο Ν̄Μ̄ΠΔΡΑΠΤΩ
 ΜΔ. Η ΕΤΒΕΟῩ
 Μ̄Π̄ΝСΔΖΩΝ' Ε
 ΒΟΛ Ν̄Μ̄ΠΕΘΟ
 ΟΥ. ΔΖΡΟΝ' ΕΝ
 СΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ε
 ΔΩΝ Μ̄ΜΙΝ Μ̄
 ΜΟΝ Μ̄ΠСΔΖΟΥ
 Ν̄ΝΕΓΡΑΦ̄Η
 Μ̄ΝΠΕΩΝΤ̄ Μ̄
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ
 ΠΕΝΤΩΜ Ν̄
 ΖΗΤ. Μ̄ΝΤΕΝ
 Μ̄ΝΤΝΔΨΤ̄Μ̄
 ΜΕ.
 ΤΕΝΟΥΒΕ ΝΕ
 СΝΗΥ ΜΔΡ̄Ν
 ΚΩ Ν̄СΩΝ Ν̄
 ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ Μ̄
 ΠΚΑΚΕ. Ν̄Τ̄Ν
 † ΔΕ ΖΙΩΩΝ
 Ν̄ΝΖΟΠΛΟΝ
 Μ̄ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ.
 ΤΕΤ̄Ν̄СООΥΝ
 ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ
 Μ̄ΠΚΑΚΕ. ΔΕ
 ΟῩ ΝΕ. ΔΥΩ
 ΔΕ ΟΥ ΝΕ ΝΕ



vanities and disturbances.¹ Therefore he said sharply, "If I come again I shall not spare"². Is there no balm in Gilead or is there no physician there? Why did the healing of the daughter of my people not come up³; which means, do we lack teaching from our fathers or that they instruct⁴ 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.⁵ For you know the works of darkness, what they are; and what

¹II Cor.12.20.

²II Cor.13.2.

³Jer.8.22.

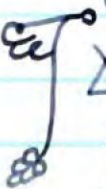
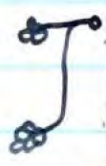
⁴Lit. "teach our eye", cf. Crum, Dict., p.73b.

⁵Rom.13.12.

5 2ΒΗΥΕ Μ̄ΠΟΥ
 ΟΕΙΝ· ΟΥΟΝ
 ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕΙ
 ΡΕ Μ̄ΠΠΕΤ
 ΝΑΝΟΥΥ· ΟΥ
 ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΜΠΝ̄Υ
 ΤΕ ΠΕ· ΠΕΤ
 ΕΙΡΕ ΔΕ ΖΩ
 10 ΩΥ Μ̄ΠΠΕΘΟ
 ΟΥ· ΟΥΕΒΟΛ
 Ζ̄ΜΠΔΙΔΒΟΛ̄Ε
 ΠΕ· ΔΥΩ Ν̄Υ
 CΟΟΥΝ ΔΝ Μ̄
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΜΑ
 15 Ρ̄Ν̄Ρ̄ΖΟΤΕΒΕ
 ΖΩΩΝ ΜΗΠΩC
 Ν̄CΕΔΟΟC ΝΔ̄
 Ζ̄ΝΟΥΔΑΠΕΙΛ̄Η
 ΔΕ Μ̄Η ΠΔΟ
 20 ΕΙC ΨΟΟΠ̄ ΔΝ
 Ζ̄ΝCΙΩΝ· Η
 Μ̄Ν̄Ρ̄ΡΟ ΨΟ
 ΟΠ̄ Μ̄ΜΑΥ· Ε
 ΤΒΕΟῩ ΔΤΕΤ̄Ν
 25 †ΘΩΝΤ̄ ΝΔ̄Ι ,
 Ζ̄ΝΝΕΤ̄ΝΓΛΥ
 ΠΤΟΝ Μ̄ΝΝΙ
 ΠΕΤΨΟΥΕΙΤ·
 Ν̄Ψ̄Μ̄Ο·

X

αλλά μαρού
 ΔοοC ΝΔΝ Ν̄
 ΤΟΥ Ζ̄ΝΟΥΤΩΤ
 Ν̄ΖΗΤ· ΔΕ ΜΗ
 ΠΑΛΔΟC ΔΝ ΝΕ
 ΝΔΨΗΡΕ· Ν̄
 ΝΕΥΔΘΕΤΕΙ·
 ΤΕΝΟΥΒΕ Ω̄
 Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕ
 ΡΕΠΕΥΖΗΤ
 CΟΡ̄Μ ΕΤΟΥ
 ΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΤΔΙ
 ΚΔΙΟCΥΝΗ·
 †ΠΕΤ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤ
 ΕΤΕCΒ̄Ω, Ν̄ΤΕ
 Τ̄ΝCΟΒΤΕ Ν̄
 ΝΕΤ̄ΜΔΔΔΧΕ
 ΕΝΨΔΧΕ Ν̄ΤΔΙ
 CΘΗCΙC· ΕΨ
 ΔΕ ΥΔΩ Μ̄ΜΟC
 ΔΕ ΕΨΧΕ ΜΟ
 ΓΙC ΕΡΕΠΔΙΚΔΙ
 ΟC ΝΔΟΥΔΔ̄Ι·
 ΕΙΕ ΕΡΕΠΔCΕ
 ΒΗC Μ̄ΝΠΡΕΥ
 ΡΝΟΒΕ ΝΔΟΥ
 ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΤΩΝ· ΕΙΕ Ν̄
 ΔΥ Ν̄ΖΕ ΔΝΟ̄



the works of light are. For everyone who does good is of God but he who does evil is of the devil¹ 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?"² But let it rather be said of us with confidence, "Are they not my people, my children? They shall not deal treacherously."³ Now therefore, O people, whose heart is far astray from righteousness, pay heed to teaching and prepare your ears for the words of knowledge⁴. If it is said, "If the righteous will scarcely be saved then where will the ungodly and the sinner appear"⁵, then how shall we

¹Cf. I Jn.3.8.

²Cf. Jer.8.19.

³Is. 63.8.

⁴Cf. Prov.23.12.

⁵I Pet.4.18.

τῆν ἀρβὸλ ἐν
 ψάνα μελεῖ
 ἐπειὶνος ἦ
 κεφαλαιὸν
 5 ἀὺ πείου
 δαῖ ἦτεῖσοτ
 ἐντάνει ἐσοῦ
 ἐροῦ ἀνον
 ἦδθῆτ ἀὺ
 10 ἦδτσβῶ. πῆ
 δαῦ γὰρ δὲ πᾶ
 θῆτ'. μῆπᾶτ
 σβῶ νᾶτακο
 ζιοῦσοτ'.
 15 εὐδὲ ἠδὺ
 δὲ οἷ μῶο
 δὲ πῆνοῦτε
 † οἴβεῖδᾶσι
 20 ζῆτ. ἠ δὲ
 ἦοῦζμοτ' ἦ
 νῆτῶββῆνῃ.
 εἶε ἀρρον' ἐν
 σῶκ' ἐρᾶι ε
 δῶν μᾶγᾶτ
 25 ἠπῶορῶρ
 ἦτενψῦχῃ.
 ἐντῆδᾶιθᾶ
 νῆ ἀν' ἐπῆν
 τῶδᾶῖο ἐτβε

τῆν μῆτβᾶβε
 ρῶμε, μῆπῆ
 ῶοτ' ἠπῆν
 20 ζῆτ. σολο
 μῶν δὲ οἷ δῶ
 ἠμοο δὲ ῶα
 ρεοῦψῆρε
 ἦδᾶβε σῶτῃ
 ἦδᾶπῆϵῖῶτ.
 ἐρεπῶψῆρε
 δὲ ἦδᾶσῶτῃ
 ζῆπῆτᾶκῶ.
 25 ἀνον δὲ τῆν
 νῆ ἐρᾶι ἐδῶ
 ἠπῆντᾶκῶ
 ἠμῶν ἠμον.
 ἐτβετῆν μῆτ
 ἀτῶτῃ εἰ
 πῆνῶπῆρε ἐτρε
 σῶτῆ νᾶν' ἠ
 πῶνῆ ἐσοῦε
 πῶο. οἴτε
 ἠπῆνῶψῆρε
 ἦρῆμῆζῆτ' ε
 τρενδᾶπῶ νᾶ
 ἦοῦρῆμῆε.

τοῦ αὐτοῦ

ἦτῶ δὲ ζῶψῆρε

escape if we neglect this great principle and this so great salvation¹ into which we foolish and ignorant ones entered? For it has been said, "The foolish and the ignorant shall perish together"². But if it is also said, "God resists the proud but gives grace to the humble"³, 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"⁴. But we bring our own perdition upon us. Because of our disobedience we were not ashamed to choose for ourselves life rather than death⁵, and we were not wise to acquire for ourselves guidance.⁶

By the Same.

But you

¹Cf. Heb.2.3.

²Ps.48.11.

³Prov.3.34; I Pet.5.5; Jam.4.6.

⁴Prov.13.1.

⁵This 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 ΠΩΝ² and ΠΛΟΥ.

⁶Cf. Prov.1.5.

μαρτα τσωνε
 μματδαι· τε
 ναυτεϊμντ
 ναυτρητ' αν'
 5 ΕΒΟΛ μμο μν
 τεϊμντδαι
 ρητ, ετενδτ
 ρητ εροσ αν·
 ντεσωτμ αν
 10 δε πναυτρητ
 νασει ννευ
 ριοογε μαγα
 αυ· αυω ον
 δε πναυτ
 15 ρητ' νατμντ
 αν επετνα
 νουγ· αυω
 ον δε επετρω
 με νδθρητ' ωι
 20 κε ναυ νρεν
 πεθοογ· εγ
 σωγρ δε ε
 ρογν νογκω
 ρτ ρινευρητο
 25 του· ετβε
 παι†δω μμοσ
 νε' τατβω.
 δε ευωπε
 τεναυτεϊ

μντατβαλ αν
 εβολ μμο †
 νατρεπουρητ
 ακαδ· μη ογ
 κογι' νε' πε †
 αγω ννρω
 με· αυω ναυ
 νρε επεταγω
 μπδοεισ ρμ
 πουμμε
 μνπουττω·
 μντομντ
 ατσωτμ· επ
 βωωρε μτνα
 μπνουτε ε
 βολ μμο· αυω
 ερωω ντογ
 ψυχη μμν μ
 μο ρντομντ
 ρευκωμω
 μνπουρμω
 εδνηετνει
 οτε ετιρο
 ογυ ραρωτν
 νναυ νμ· αυω
 ετ†νακε ρα
 νετμψυχη·
 δε αρα πνογ
 τε να† ναυ ν

Mary, sister of Matai¹, 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 ways²; and again, the hard of heart will meet with no good³; and again, the foolish man digs for himself evils and gathers up a fire on his lips?⁴ 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 ranting⁵ at your fathers who take care of you at all times and who are in travail for your souls that God may give them⁶

¹For this name cf. Crum, Dict., p.190b. Heuser, Personennamen, only gives: ΜΑΤΟΪ masc. and ΤΑΜΑΤΟΪ fem. The root meaning is "soldier".

²Prov.14.14.

³Prov.17.20.

⁴Prov.16.27.

⁵Lit. "roaring", "neighing", cf. Crum, Dict., p.682b.

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

ΟΥΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΔ
 ΕΠΙΣΤΡΟΥΝ Ν
 ΤΜΕ. ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕ
 ΤΝΝΗΦΕ ΕΒΟΛ
 5 ΖΝΝΒΟΡΒΣ Μ
 ΠΔΙΔΒΟΛΟΣ.
 ΔΥΩΣΕ ΜΠΤΝ
 ΔΙΟΘΑΝΕ.
 Η ΕΝΕΟΥΝΕ
 10 ΓΙΣΤΗΜΗ Μ
 ΜΩ. ΝΕΡΑΩΩ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΤΜΗ
 ΤΕ ΝΝΕΣΝΗΥ
 ΣΕ ΛΩΟΥ, ΛΩ
 15 ΟΥ ΕΙΝΔΒΩΚ
 ΕΠΜΑ ΝΝΔΩΗ
 ΡΕ, ΖΝΤΟΥΜΤ
 ΝΑΩΤΜΑΚΣ
 ΜΝΤΟΥΜΤ
 20 ΒΑΒΕΡΩΜΕ.
 ΣΕ ΝΤΝΔ' ΔΝ
 ΕΠΜΑ ΜΠΡΟ
 ΕΧΙΕΠΙΤΙΜΙΑ.
 Η ΝΤΑΡΡΑΤΩ
 25 ΤΜ ΔΝ ΝΩΠΕ
 ΩΔΣΕ ΝΤΕΙΣΕ.
 ΔΝΟΝ' ΔΝ' ΠΕΝ
 ΤΑΝΔΟΟΣ ΣΕ
 ΜΑΡΟΥΒΩΚ

ΕΠΜΑ ΜΠΡΟ
 ΝΣΕΣΙΕΠΙΤΙ
 ΜΑ. ΜΗ ΓΑΡ
 ΝΤΑΝΔΑΟ' ΔΝ'
 ΕΟΥΣΗΥ ΝΗΤΝ.
 ΤΑΡΕΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΚΩ ΝΗΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΝΥΩΕΠΤΕΤΝ
 ΩΛΗ' ΕΡΟΥ
 ΣΕ ΔΝΟΝ ΖΕΝ
 ΤΑΛΑΙΓΤΩΡΟΣ.
 ΝΤΝΣΟΟΥΝ
 ΔΝ ΣΕ ΕΝΝΗΥ
 ΕΣΡΑΙ' ΕΝΘΙΣ
 ΜΠΤΝΟΥΤΕ Ν
 ΔΥ ΝΣΕ.
 ΕΝΕΝΤΕΟΥΔ
 ΘΗΤ' ΓΑΡ ΔΝ ΠΕ.
 ΝΕΡΑΔΟΟΣ ΣΕ
 ΕΙΝΔΒΩΚ' ΕΠΜΑ
 ΝΝΔΩΗΡΕ. ΕΥ
 ΤΩΝ ΖΩΩΥ
 ΝΟΥΩΗΡΕ, Ε
 ΝΕΜΠΟΥΡΠΕ
 ΘΟΥ ΓΑΡ, ΝΕΥ
 ΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΠΤΑ
 ΚΩ. ΝΤΟ ΖΩ
 ΩΤΕ ΕΡΕΟΥ
 ΩΩ ΕΒΩΚ' Ε

repentance unto the knowledge of truth, that you may recover yourselves from the snares of the devil?¹ And we therefore did not understand. If you had had any understanding would you have cried out among the sisters, "Indeed,² 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"?³ 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

¹Cf. II Tim.2.25-26.

²Cf. Crum, Dict., p.147b.

³Cf. p. 134ff.

ἰ
τπβ
7

5 ΠΤΑΚὸ ἑτερε
NETUMAY N̄
ZHŦY. EBOL
XE ΘOTE ū
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥ
HY ūMŌ. AYW
N̄TEEIRE AN
ŪΠMEETE N̄
TOYGH̄. MH̄
10 EPKATAΦPO
NEI AN N̄TEĪ
ZE ŪΠTEZMOŦ
ŪΠΠNOYTE.
AYW EPΩWŪ
15 N̄TEΧAPIC EN
TAYXAC N̄ŪME
MAYDATE AN.
ALLA N̄ŪMAN
THP̄N, EAYN̄
20 T̄N EBOL Z̄NTE
ZPŪ ŪΠENI
ΠE ETEΠKO
CMOC ΠE. EAY
COŦN EBOL
25 Z̄NTWHTE Ū
ΠΤAKŌ. AYW
AYN̄T̄N EZOȲ
EYTAIO ENŪ
ΠWΔ ŪMOY AN.

XEKAC EPETWΔ
XE ETCHZ' NA
XOOC NAi N̄Ū
ME, XE ΠETNA
† N̄ZENΠEΘO
OY, EPMA N̄ZĒ
ΠETNANOPYOY.
ŪΠEΘOY NA
KIY AN Z̄ŪΠEY
HI. N̄TEŦN
CWTŪ AN EPXO
EIC ΠNOYTE
EYXW ŪMOC
N̄NŪHPE Ū
ΠIHΛ EYΘ̄NA
PIKE EPOOY
AYW EYCΩWŪ.
ŪMOOY, AYW
EYΔΠIŌ ŪMO
OY. XE N̄TW
T̄N N̄TEŦNOY
XAC N̄NAYŦ
MAK̄Z. BΩWŦ
MHΠWC N̄TA
EINE N̄KEΠΛH
ΓH EZ̄NTHY
T̄N EYET̄THY
T̄N EBOL. AY
CWTŪ N̄OIŪ

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 furnace¹ 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 house²." 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"³.
The children of Israel heard

¹Cf. Jer.11.4; Deut.4.20; III Kg.8.51.

²Prov.17.13.

³Ex.33.5.

ΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΗΛ
ΕΠΕΪΨΑΞΕ ΕΤ
ΝΑΥΤ. ΔΥΡΖΗΒΕ.

5



ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ Τ̄ΝΩ
Τ̄Μ ΕΠΕΝΩΨ
Μ̄ΝΠΕΝΤΒΑΙΩ
ΕΤΒΕΤΕΝΜ̄Τ
ΝΑΥΤΖΗΤ'

10

Μ̄ΝΤΕΝΜ̄Τ
ΒΑΒΕΡΩΜΕ,
ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥ
ΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΛΟΙ
ΜΟΣ. Ν̄Τ̄ΝΑΙ
ΣΘΑΝΕ ΔΝ. ΟΥ

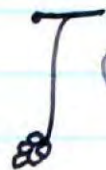
15

ΤΕ Ν̄Τ̄ΝΕΙΡΕ
ΔΝ Ν̄ΖΤΗΝ' Ε
Δ̄ΝΝΕΝΠΕΘΟ
ΟΥ. ΔΕ Ν̄ΝΕ
ΠΔΟΕΙC ΙC ΒΩ

20

Ν̄Τ ΕΡΟΝ Ν̄Υ
ΝΟΔ̄Ν Μ̄ΝΝΕΤ
Ρ̄ΖΩΒ ΕΤΑΝΟ
ΜΙΔ. Η Ν̄Τ̄Ν

25



CΩΤ̄Μ ΔΝ Ν̄ΤΕ
ΡΕΜΑΡΙΖΑΜ
ΚΑΤΑΛΑΛΕΙ,
ΔΥΩ Ν̄ΚΡ̄Μ̄Ρ̄Μ
Ν̄CΑΜΩΪCΗC
ΔΕ Ν̄ΤΑΥΔΟΟC

ΝΔC' ΔΕ ΟΥ Ν̄Τ̄Μ
ΠΔΟΕΙC, ΔΕ Ε
ΝΕΠΕCΕΙΩΤ
ΠΕΝΤΑΥΝΕC'
ΤΑΪ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε
ΖΡΑC' ΝΕCΝΑΥΙ
ΠΕ ΔΝ ΠΕ Ν̄CΑ
ΩΥ Ν̄ΖΟΥ,
ΜΑΡΕCΠΩΡ̄Δ
ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΒΟΛ
Ν̄ΤΠΑΡΕΜΒΟ
ΛΗ Ν̄CΑΩΥ Ν̄
ΖΟΥ. ΕΔCΡ̄
ΠΚΕCΩΒ̄Z.

X

ΕΤΒΕΠΔΙ ΝΕΥ
ΔΩ Μ̄ΜΟΣ ΝΔΥ
Ζ̄ΝΤΕΥΜ̄Τ
ΜΑΪΡΩΜΕ Ν̄CΙ
ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΟΥ
ΔΔΒ ΜΩΪCΗC
ΔΕ †ΖΤΗΚ' Ε
ΡΟΚ ΕΠΖΩΒ
Μ̄ΠCΩΒ̄Z. ΕΤΕ
ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΚΑΤΑ
ΛΑΛΙΑ.



ΑΝΟΝ' ΔΕ ΠCΩ
Β̄Z Ν̄ΝΕΝΠΕ
ΘΟΥ Μ̄ΠΕΝ
Μ̄ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄

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 lawlessness¹. Or do we not hear, when Miriam² had spoken and murmured against Moses,³ - 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,"⁴ for she had even become leprous. So the holy man Moses said to them in his benevolence, "Give heed to the matter of leprosy,"⁵ which is evil-speaking. But the leprosy of our wickednesses is before us at

¹Cf. Ps.124.5.

²Cf. Num.12.1ff.

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

⁴Num.12.14.

⁵Deut.24.8.

ἡ
ΤΠΔ
7

5 ΝΔΥ ΝΙΜ· ΔΥΩ
ΣΕΧΠΙΟ̄ ΜΩ̄
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΩΠΙΣΟ
ΕΙΣ ῙC Ν̄ΖΟΥ
ΝΙΜ· ΔΥΩ Ν̄
Τ̄ΝΩΠΙΤΕ ΔΝ·
ΟΥΔΕ Μ̄ΠΕΝ
ΖΗΤ' Θ̄ΝΔΡΙΚΕ
ΕΡΟΝ' ΔΝ' ΕΤΡΕ̄
10 ΚΤΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ
Ζ̄ΝΝΕΝΖΒΗΥΕ
Μ̄ΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ·
Ν̄Τ̄ΝΕΙΡΕ Μ̄
15 Π̄ΠΕΤΝΔΝΟΥΥ·
ΕΤΒΕΠΔῙ †Δ
Μ̄Ο Μ̄Ο ΔΕ
ΕΨΩΠΕ ΤΕ
ΝΔΜΟΥΥΕ ΔΝ
Ν̄ΤΕΧΙΕΠΙΤΙ
20 ΜΙΔ Ν̄ΘΕ ΕΝ
ΤΑΥΔΟΥC ΝΕ·
†ΜΕΕΥΕ ΔΕ
Π̄ΘΩΝ̄Τ Μ̄Π̄Ν̄
ΤΕ ΝΔΜΟΥΥΕ
25 Ν̄ΥΡΩΒ ΝΕ
Ζ̄ΝΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΩΜ̄
ΜΟ· Μ̄Ν̄CΩC
Ν̄ΤΕΜ̄ΚΔΖ Ν̄
ΖΗΤ' ΕΧΩ ΜΔΥ

ΔΔΤΕ· ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ
Ν̄ΤΕΟΥCΖΙΜΕ
ΕCΘΟΥΜΕ, Ε
ΡΕΕΙΝΕ, ΝΕ' Μ̄
ΠΟΥΤΑΚ̄Ο Μ̄
ΜΙΝ Μ̄Ο Ζ̄Ν
ΤΟΥΤΑΠΡΟ·
ΔΥΩ ΕΡΕCΩΚ
Μ̄ΠCΔΖΟΥ Μ̄
Π̄ΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΞΡΔῙ
ΕΧΩ ΜΔΥΔΔΤΕ:

† ΕΙC ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ
ΔΕ ΟΝ ΔΠΔ ΙCΔ
ΔΚ ΔΝΤ̄ΝΝΟ
ΟΥΥ ΨΑΡΩΤ̄Ν
Μ̄Ν̄ΚΕΖ̄ΛΛΟῙ
ΕΤΡΕΥΜΕΨ̄Τ
ΝΕΤ̄ΝΨΑΔΕ·
ΔΥΩ Μ̄Π̄ΡΖΕΠ̄
ΛΔΔΥ Ν̄ΖΩΒ Ε
ΡΟΥ· ΜΔΡΕΥ
ΕΙ ΨΑΡΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ
ΖΙΤΟΤΗΥΤ̄Ν
Ζ̄ΝΟΥΜ̄ΤΟΝ
Ν̄ΖΗΤ:

† ΠΛΗΝ †ΧΩ Μ̄
ΜΟC ΝΗΤ̄Ν
ΤΗΡΤ̄Ν Ν̄ΤΩ
Τ̄Ν Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ Ν̄

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 strangely¹, 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 here² 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.

³But I speak to you all, you ignorant people

¹Cf. Is.28.21.

²For EIC cf. 18r, note 4.

³New letter begins, cf. Analysis of Contents, p.15.

5 ατςβω̄· αγω
 ΝΕCΝΗΥ Ν̄ΝΨ̄Χ'
 ΕΤΕΛ̄ΠΟΥΚα
 ΘΟΤΕ Λ̄ΠΙΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ Λ̄ΠΕΥΛ̄ΤΟ
 ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΛΛΑ Ε
 ΤΙ ΤΕΤ̄ΝΩΗΝ
 ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΝΝΕΤ̄Ν
 ΔΙΟΥΕ· Μ̄ΝΝΕ
 10 Τ̄ΝΚΡΟΥ· Μ̄Ν
 ΝΕΤ̄ΝΒΟΛ ΕΤ
 ΜΕΖ' Λ̄ΠΙΟΝΗ
 ΡΙΔ ΝΙΜ ΕΜΠΕ
 Τ̄ΝΨΙΠΕ ΕΤΡΕ
 15 Τ̄ΝCαΖΕΤΗΥ
 Τ̄Ν ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΝΙ
 Μ̄ΝΤαCΕΒΗC
 ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΕΙΡΕ
 Μ̄ΜΟΥ, ΕΜ
 20 ΠΕΤ̄ΝΡ̄ΖΟΤΕ
 ΖΗΤ̄Υ Λ̄ΠΙΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ· ΑΥΩ ΕΜΠΕ
 Τ̄ΝΨΙΠΕ ΖΗΤ̄Υ
 Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ· ΕΤΒΕ
 25 ΓΑΙ ΤΕΤ̄ΝCΖΟΥ
 ΟΡ̄Τ ΑΥΩ ΠΕ
 Τ̄ΝΖαΠ' Μ̄ΝΠΕ
 Τ̄ΝΚΡΙΜα ΕΖΡΑΙ
 ΕΔΩΤ̄Ν· ΕΒ̄Χ

ΔΕ ΑΥCΒΩ ΝΗ
 Τ̄Ν Ν̄ΖαΖ Ν̄CΟΠ'
 ΑΥΩ Λ̄ΠΕΤ̄Ν
 †ΖΗΤ̄Ν., ΑΥΩ
 ΕΡΕΝΕΤ̄ΝΜα
 ΑΔΕ ΟΥΗΝ, ΑΥΩ
 Λ̄ΠΕΤ̄ΝCΩΤ̄Υ·
 ΑΠΕΤ̄ΝΖΗΤ ΓΑΡ
 ΤΩΜ' ΑΥΩ ΑΥ
 ΟΥΜΟΤ'. ΕΜ
 ΠΕΤ̄ΝΝΟΙ'. ΟΥ
 ΤΕ Λ̄ΠΕΤ̄ΝΨΩΠ'
 ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν Ν̄ΤΕ
 CΒΩ Μ̄ΝΝ̄ΕΝ
 ΤΟΛ̄Η ΕΝΤΑΝ̄
 ΕΙΟΤΕ ΖΟΝΟΥ
 ΕΤΟΟΤ̄Ν. ΚΑ
 ΤΑΠΕΝΤΑΧΟ
 ΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΠΖΗΤ
 ΓΑΡ Λ̄ΠΤΕΙΛΔΟC
 Ν̄ΨΟΤ'. ΑΥΩ
 ΑΥΩCΚ ΕCΩ
 Τ̄Υ Ζ̄ΝΝΕΥΜα
 ΑΔΕ· ΑΥΩ ΑΥ
 ΨΤΑΜ Ν̄ΝΕΥ
 ΒΑΛ· ΜΗΠΟ
 ΤΕ Ν̄CΕΝΔΥ Ζ̄Ν
 ΝΕΥΒΑΛ· Ν̄CΕ
 CΩΤ̄Υ Ζ̄ΝΝΕΥ

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 man¹. 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

¹Cf. Lk.18.2.

5 ΜΑΔΑΞΕ. Ν̄ΙΣΕΚΟ
 ΤΟΥ Ν̄ΤΑΤΑΛ
 ΒΟΥ, Η̄ Ν̄ΤΑ
 ΝΑ ΝΑΥ. Ω̄
 ΘΕΛΠΙΣ Ν̄ΝΕΤ
 ΕΙΡΕ Ν̄ΝΙΜ̄ΝΤ
 ΔΕΒΗC Ν̄ΤΕΪ
 ΖΕ CΖΟΥΟΡ̄Τ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΔΥCΩ
 10 Ω̄ ὤ ΠΡΑΝ ὤ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ζ̄Ν
 ΝΕΥΖΒΗΥΕ ὤ
 ΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ.
 ΔΥΩ ΔΥΨΙΠΕ
 15 Ν̄ΝΕΤΕΜ̄ΝΤΑΥ.
 ΕΔΥCΩΩ̄
 ΔΕ ΟΝ ὤ ΠΡΑΝ
 Ν̄ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ
 ΕΤCΜΑΜΑΔΤ'
 20 Ζ̄ΝΤΕΥΜ̄ΝΤ
 ΔΤCΒΩ. ΕΤΒΕ
 ΝΕΥΔΙΟΥΕ
 Μ̄ΝΝΕΥΒΟΛ.
 Μ̄ΝΝΕΥΚΡΟΥ.
 25 ΕΔΥΠΩΤ' ΔΥΩ
 ΔΥΒΩΚ ΕΖΕΝ
 ΒΟΟΜ ΕΤΡΕΥ
 ΩΨΛ ΔΥΩ Ν̄
 CΕΔΙΟΥΕ ΕΜ

ΠΟΥΩΙΝΕ. ΔΥΩ
 ΕΜΠΟΥΤΑΜΕ
 ΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΝΑ
 ΒΩΚ. ΕΥCΩΚ
 ΜΠCΑΖΟΥ ὤ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ
 ΕΔΩΟΥ ΜΑΥΑ
 ΔΥ ΕΤΒΕΤΕΥ
 Μ̄ΝΤΑΤΩ
 ΔΝΕ Μ̄ΝΠΙΕΝ
 ΩΟΥ' ὤ ΠΕΥ
 ΖΗΤ'. ΕΜΠΟΥ
 ΜΕΚΜΟΥΚΟΥ
 ΟΥΔΕ ΕΜΠΟΥ
 ΜΩΨΟΥ ΔΕ
 ΖΕΝΝΟΒΕ
 ΩΗΜ' ΔΝ ΝΕ
 ΤΟΥΕΙΡΕ ὤ ΜΟ
 ΟΥ. ΕΥΤΡΕΖΕ̄
 ΚΟΥΕ †ΖΗΥ
 Ζ̄ΝΝΕΥΝΟΒΕ.
 ΕΥΨΩΥ ΔΕ
 ΖΩΩΥ Ν̄ΤΕΥ
 ΨΥΧΗ ὤ ΜΙΝ
 ΜΟΥΟΥ ΕΜ
 ΠΟΥΕΙΜΕ.
 ΕΥΔΙΟΥΕ.
 ΔΥΩ ΕΥΨΩΛ
 ΕΥΤΩΡ̄Π Ζ̄Μ

ears and turn and I may heal them"¹, 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 not²; 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

¹Cf. Is.6.10 and Mt.13.15.

²NETEΛΥNTAY 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.

ΠΙCĀ ΜῆΠΑΪ-
 ΨΑΞΡΑΪ ΕΞΕΝ
 ΨΟΨΟΥ ΝΗΡῆ
 ΜῆΞΕΝΕΛΟΟ
 ΛΕ ΕΥΧΙ ΜῆΟ
 ΟΥ ΝΧΙΟΥΕ· ΖΩ
 CΤΕ ΕΤΡΕΝΕΤ
 ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΔΙ
 ΟΥΔ̄ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΝCΕΧΟΟC ΔΕ
 ΕΝΕΞΕΝΜΟ
 ΝΑΧΟC ΝΕ ΝΑΪ-
 Η ΔΕ ΝΕΝΑΪ ΝΕ
 ἸΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΓΓΑ
 ΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ·
 ΔΥΩ ΔΕ ἸΝΕ
 ΒΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΨΩ
 ΓΤΕ· ΕΝΡΟΥ
 ΔΝΟΝ ΠΑΡΑΡΟ
 ΟΥ· ἸΤΑΥΧΟ
 ΟC ΔΕ ΜΑΡΟΥ
 ΝΑΥ ΕΝΕΤῆ
 ΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΤΝΑ
 ΝΟΥΟΥ· ἸCΕ
 †ΕΟΥ ΜῆΠΕ
 ΤῆΓΙΩΤ' ΕΤ
 ΖἸΜῆΠΗΥΕ·
 ἸΤΩΤῆ ΔΕ Δ
 ΤΕΤῆΨΩΨ

ΝΑΥ ΨΑΝΤΟΥ
 CΨΩ ΜῆΠΡΑΝ
 ἸΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ
 ΕΤΒΕΝΕΤῆ
 ΖΒΗΥΕ ΜῆΠΟ
 ΝΗΡΟΝ·
 ΕΠΜΑ ἸCΕΧΟ
 ΟC ΔΕ ΕΙC ΟΥ
 ΛΑΟC ἸCΟΦῆ
 ΔΥΩ ἸΡῆἸΖΗΤ.
 Η ΔΕ ΕΙC ΟΥ
 CΤΕΡΜΑ ΕΥ
 CΜΑΜΑΔΤ' ΖΙΤῆ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΔΥ
 CΨΩ ΔΕ ΖΩ
 ΨΥ ΜῆΠΡΑΝ Μ
 ΠΕΝΜΑ ΕΤΟΥ
 ΔΔΒ·
 Ω ΤΕΤῆΡΩΥΕ
 ἸΤΩΤῆ ΝΕΤΟΥ
 ΔΩ ἸΝΑΪ ΕΤΒΗ
 ΗΤΟΥ· ΕΒΟΛ
 ΔΕ ΜῆΠΕΤῆΡ
 ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤῆ
 ΜῆΠΕΧ̄C· ΔΥΩ
 ΜῆΠΕΤῆΨῆΠΕ
 ΖΗΤῆ ἸΡΩΜΕ·
 ΕΤΒΕΓΑΪ ΟΥ
 ΟΪ ΝΗΤῆ, ΔΕ

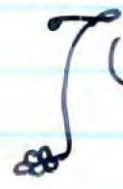
5

10

15

20

25



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 "Are¹ these the people of Apa Shenoute?"² 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 heaven³." 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 man⁴. Therefore woe to you, because

¹Note ΔΕ ΝΕ for ΔΕ ΕΝΕ .

²The 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.

³Cf. Mt.5.16.

⁴Cf. Lk.18.2.

ΔΟΥΚΡΙΤΗΣ
 ΕΥΡΩΤΕ ΔΝ
 ΖΗΤῪ ΜΠΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ, ΔΥΩ ΕΝῪ
 5 ΨΙΠΕ ΔΝ ΖΗ
 ΤῪ ΝΡΩΜΕ Ρ
 ΠΖΑΠ ΝΟΥΧΗ
 ΡΑ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΣ
 ΨΩΠΕ ΕΣΝΗΥ
 10 ΨΑΡΟΥ ΝΖΑΖ
 ΝΣΟΠ' ΕΣΖΙ
 ΣΕ ΝΔΥ· ΕΜ
 ΠΕΤῪΨΙΠΕ
 ΔΕ ΝΤΩΤῪΝ
 15 ΟΥΤΕ ΕΜΠΕ
 ΤῪΝΔΙΣΘΑΝΕ
 ΕΥΝΟΘΝΕΣ
 ΜΜΩΤῪΝ· ΔΥΩ
 ΕΥΣΒῪ ΝΗ
 20 ΤῪΝ ΝΖΑΖ ΝΣΟΠ·
 ΕΤΡΕΤῪΨῪΝ
 ΖΤΗΝ ΖΑΡΩ
 ΤῪΝ ΜΑΧΑΤΤΗΥ
 ΤῪΝ ΝΤΕΤῪΝΛῪ
 25 ΖῪΝΝΕΤῪΝΠΟ
 ΝΗΡΙΑ· ΝΤΕ
 ΤῪΝΔΙΣΒῪ ΕΡ
 ΠΠΕΤΝΟΥΥ·
 ΕΜΠΑΤΕΤῪΝ

ΨΩΠΕ ΝΘΕ Ν
 ΟΥΖΡΗΡΕ ΕΨΑΥ
 ΤΑΚΟ· ΕΜΠΑ
 ΤΣΕΙ ΕΔῪΝΤΗΥ
 ΤῪΝ ΝΒΙΤΟΡΓῪ
 ΜΠΔΟΕΙΣ·
 ΔΥΩ ΕΜΠΑΤΟΥ
 ΤΩΚῪ ΝΤΕΤῪ
 ΨΥΧΗ ΕΣΡΑΙ Ν
 ΖΗΤΤΗΥΤῪΝ
 ΝΤΕΤῪΝΠΩΣ
 ΜΠΕΤῪΝΠῪΔ
 ΖῪΝΖΕΝΡΜΕΙΟ
 ΟΥΕ ΖΡΑΙ ΖῪΔ
 ΜῪΝΤΕ· ΕΜῪΝ
 ΠΕΤΝΔΣΩΤῪ
 ΕΡΩΤῪΝ· ΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΕΜῪΝΠΕΤ
 ΝΔΨῪΝΖΤΗΥ
 ΖΑΡΩΤῪΝ·
 ΕΠΕΙΔῪ ΔΥ
 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΩ
 ΤῪΝ· ΜΠΕΤῪΝ
 ΣΩΤῪ· ΔΥΩ
 ΔΥΠΩΡῪ ΝΕΥ
 ΨΑΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ·
 ΜΠΕΤῪΝΖΤΗ
 ΤῪΝ· ΑΛΛΑ ΔΤΕ
 ΤῪΝΤΣΟ 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 him¹. But you were not ashamed nor did you notice when you were being reproached and frequently told to have pity upon yourselves² and cease from your wickednesses and learn to do good³ 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 Amente⁴, 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 heed⁵. But you rejected⁶

¹Cf. Lk.18.2ff.

²Read 2THTN̄ for 2THN̄ .

³Cf. Is.1.16-17. - Read ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΥ for ΠΕΤΝΟΥΥ .

⁴Hades, 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.

⁵Cf. Prov.1.24.

⁶Read ἄτο for ἄο .

5 ἡνῶσθε ἡ
 πδοεῖς, εἴτε
 τῆμῆτων
 ἡμε. ἄνω δε
 τῆρῶτων
 ἡκαπεπῶ.
 10 εἴτε πῶι εἴ
 ἡ καπεπῶ
 κῶ. ἡκαπεπῶ
 δε ἡμῶτων ἐρ
 ἡκαπεπῶ
 εἴ εἴτε ἡ
 πῶι ἡμῶτων
 15 ἡμῶτων.
 ἄνω ἐρ
 ἡκαπεπῶ
 κῶ ἐρῶτων,
 20 εἴτε εἴτε.
 ἡμῶτων ἡ
 τῆρῶτων.
 εἴτε εἴτε
 τε ἐρῶτων πῶ
 25 ἡμῶτων.
 ἡμῶτων ἐρῶτων.
 εἴτε εἴτε
 ἡμῶτων. δε

τῆρῶτων ἡμῶτων
 ἡμῶτων ἡμῶτων
 το ἐρῶτων. ἄνω
 ἡμῶτων
 ἡμῶτων
 ἡμῶτων
 ἡμῶτων. εἴτε
 10 πῶι ἡμῶτων
 δε εἴτε
 ἡμῶτων ἡμῶτων
 ἡμῶτων.
 ἡμῶτων δε τε
 τῆρῶτων. εἴτε
 εἴτε ἡμῶτων
 ἡμῶτων ἡμῶτων
 ἡμῶτων.
 15 ἡμῶτων
 δε τῆρῶτων
 εἴτε.
 εἴτε
 τε ἡμῶτων ἡμῶτων
 ἡμῶτων ἡμῶτων
 φῶτων. ἡμῶτων
 τῆρῶτων δε τῆρῶτων
 εἴτε.
 εἴτε ἡμῶτων
 ἡμῶτων ἡμῶτων
 ἡμῶτων ἡμῶτων
 20 τῆρῶτων εἴτε
 ἡμῶτων. ἡμῶτων
 τῆρῶτων δε τῆρῶτων
 εἴτε.
 εἴτε ἡμῶτων
 ἡμῶτων ἡμῶτων
 ἡμῶτων ἡμῶτων
 25 εἴτε εἴτε
 εἴτε εἴτε

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 you¹ at the time of your visitation, and when tribulation comes to you and you are in straits² 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.³ Behold they who are servants of mine shall exult with joy, but you shall cry for the sorrow

¹Cf. Prov.1.25-26.

²Cf. 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".

³Is.65.12-13.

ὤπετῆνζητ'
 αὐω τετῆνα
 ωω' εβολ ε
 τβεποϋωωῦ
 5 ὤπετῆνπῆνα.
 ατετῆνκαπρά
 γαρ ὤπετῆ
 χοεic ῆω
 τῆν ετεοϋσει
 10 γε ῆναω
 τῆ. πχοεic
 δε ναμεϋτ
 τητῆν· εβολ
 δε τετῆνμῆ
 15 εβολ ζῆνε
 τῆνκακῆ· μῆ
 νετῆνχοε.
 ετετῆνζωῦτ
 ῆῆζοεicε
 20 ῆνετῆνερη
 ζῆνετῆνμῆτ
 ατβαλ μῆτε
 τῆνμῆτατῆ
 γε· ῆκα
 25 θαρτοc, νετ
 ὀ ῆοεic
 ετοϋ ζῆνε
 τῆνανομῆ
 μῆνετῆνο

BE ETNAUT.
 αὐω ετετῆ
 υἱ ῆῆcotβευ
 ῆνετῆνερη
 ῆχοε; ωα
 ζραῖ ενκεει
 ααυ ετετῆ
 υἱ ῆμοοϋ·
 μη γαρ ῆτα
 ζενρωμε
 εἰ εζοϋν ερο
 αϋϋιτοϋ· αλ
 λα ζενρωμε
 ῆοονε νε
 τῆνζραῖ ῆζη
 τῆν τϋνατω
 γῆ εϋτωρη
 ῆνετοϋνα
 ὀντοϋ· εϋ
 σωκ ῆπτα
 ζοϋ ῆπνοϋ
 τε εζραῖ εζω
 οϋ· εϋρηκε
 ωοϋωοϋ ῆ
 μοοϋ ζῆνεϋ
 ταπρο ῆωοϋ
 τομc μῆπεϋ
 λαc ῆκροϋ
 ῆρεϋζενοc

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"¹, 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 things², even down to the very linen clothes³ 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 up⁴ - and their deceitful, bragging tongues,

¹Is.65.14-15.

²ⲓⲟⲧⲃⲉⲩ lit. "tool", "weapon", cf. Crum, Dict., p.363b.

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

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

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ἄψαδε δε ἄ
 πουταζον
 ζῆλαδὺ ἄζωβ
 ουτε ἄποϋ
 εἰμε ερον' ε
 νετῆειρε ἄμῶ
 ἀνον· ἄποϋ
 εἰμε δε πνοϋ
 τε ναπαζου
 ζιτευμητε
 ἄτεοϋον
 νιμ ναϋ ερο
 ου· ουτε
 ἄποϋδροοϋ
 ζῆτευταπρο
 ετμεε ἄσα
 ζου, ζιციϋε
 δε τοργη ἄ
 πδροειϋ να
 μοϋε' ζῆἄρω
 με ετῆμαϋ
 ψαντυχοτοϋ
 εβολ ζῆνεϋ
 συναγωγη·
 ἄθε ετχηε
 δε εἰϋ οϋκῆ
 τῶ ἡνη εβολ
 ζιτῆπδροῖϋ
 ἄνοϋοργῆ

ζῆνοϋτοϋ
 τῆ εϋκτό ἄ
 μοϋ εϋνηϋ
 εεραῖ εδῆἄ
 ασεβηϋ· ἄϋ
 νακτοῦ ἀν
 ἄσιπῶωντ
 ἄπδροειϋ ελο
 ἄμαϋ ψαντῆ
 εἰρε ἀϋ ἄϋ
 δωκ εβολ ἄ
 πετεενεπεϋ
 ζητ' εραῖ ζῆ
 ἄασεβηϋ ετ
 εἰρε ἄενημῆ
 ασεβηϋ, ἄἄ
 εενδῖοϋε·
 ἄἄενηβολ·
 ἄἄενηκροϋ·
 ἀτπε νεεϋῆϋ
 εδῆμπεῖεζωβ
 ἀϋ ἀπκαε
 ετωτ' εματε
 πεδεπδροειϋ·
 ἀκκατ' ἄσω
 οϋ τπηγη ἄ
 μοϋ ἄωνεε
 ετεεμε τε·
 ἀϋϋικε ναϋ

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,¹ "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"² 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 Lord³. "They forsook me, the fountain of living water", which is the truth, "they dug for themselves

¹Cf. Ps.9.28 and Rom.3.14.

²Jer.23.19-20.

³Jer.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.

1.
ΤΥΒ
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ΝΖΕΝΩΗΙ ΕΥ

ΟΥΟΒ̄Π. ΕΤΕ

ΠΔΙΟΥΕ ΠΕ

Μ̄ΝΠΒΟΛ.

5 Μ̄ΝΠΕΚΡΟΥ.



ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΔΗ

Η ΠΡ̄Μ̄ΜΕ

ΠΕ ΠΕΤΕΥ

ΠΟΥΤΑΖΟΥ

10

Ζ̄ΝΝΕΥΠΕΘΟ

ΟΥ ΖΙΤ̄Ν̄ΡΩ

ΜΕ. ΑΛΛΑ ΠΠΙ

ΣΤΟΣ ΝΔΜΕ

ΔΥΩ ΠΡ̄Μ̄ΜΕ

15

ΠΕ ΠΕΤΕΥ

ΠΟΥΒΟΠ̄Υ.

Η Μ̄ΠΟΥΤΑΖΟΥ

ΖΙΤ̄Μ̄ΠΝΟΥ

ΤΕ. ΠΕΤΝΔ

20

ΣΥΝΖΙΣΤΑ ΓΑΡ

Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΔΗ ΜΔΥ

ΔΔΥ ΠΕ ΠΩ

Τ̄Π. ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕ

ΤΕΡΕΠΔΟΙΣ

25

ΝΔΣΥΝΖΙΣΤΑ

Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΠΕ.

Ζ̄Μ̄ΠΔΙ ΓΑΡ Ν

ΤΑΥΔΟΥΣ ΔΕ

ΓΔΘΗΤ' Μ̄Ν

ΠΑΤΣΒΩ ΝΔ

ΤΑΚΟ ΖΙΟΥΣΗ:



ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΨΔΥ

ΔΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΟΥ

ΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΖ̄Ν

ΟΥΤΔΙΟ ΕΜ

Π̄ΥΕΙΜΕ ΕΡΟΥ.

ΔΥΤ̄ΝΤΩΝΥ

ΕΝΤ̄ΒΝΟΥΕ

ΝΔΤΕΙΜΕ ΔΥ

ΕΙΝΕ Μ̄ΜΟΥ.

ΤΔΙ ΤΕ ΤΕΤ̄Ν

ΖΕ ΖΩΤΤΗΥ

Τ̄Ν ΕΝΤΔΤΕ

Τ̄ΝΩΨΥ Μ̄

ΠΕΖΜΟΤ' Μ̄

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ζ̄Ν

ΤΕΤ̄ΝΜ̄ΝΤΒΔ

ΒΕΡΩΜΕ Μ̄Ν

ΤΕΤ̄ΝΜ̄ΝΤΔΔ

ΣΙΖΗΤ' Ν̄ΝΔ

Ψ̄ΤΖΗΤ' ΔΥΩ

ΝΔΤΣΒΒΕ Ζ̄Μ̄

ΠΕΥΖΗΤ' Μ̄Ν

ΝΕΥΚΕΜΔΔ

ΔΕ. Ν̄ΤΩ



Τ̄Ν ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΕ

ΣΠΕΡΜΔ Ν̄ΝΕ

ΤΑΥΔΟΥΣ 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 commend². For on this it has been said, "The foolish and the ignorant shall perish together"³, and again it is said, "Man that is in honour did not understand, he was likened to ignorant beasts, he resembled them"⁴. 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!⁵ For you are the seed of those about whom it was said,

¹Jer.2.13.

²II Cor.10.18.

³Ps.48.11.

⁴Ps.48.13,21.

⁵Cf. Acts 7.51.

ΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ, ΔΕ

Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΟΥ

ΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ̄ ΕΤΕ

Τ̄Ν† ΟΥΒΕΠΕ

5 Π̄Ν̄Δ̄ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ

Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΕΤ̄Ν̄

ΕΙΟΤΕ ΕΤΕ

ΠΑΙΔΒΟΛΟΣ

ΠΕ Μ̄ΝΝΕΥΔΔΙ

10 ΜΩΝ. ΤΔΪ ΖΩΤ

ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν̄ ΤΕ ΤΕ

Τ̄Ν̄ΖΕ' ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν̄

Ὁ Ν̄ΑΤΣΩΤ̄Μ̄

Ν̄ΣΔ̄Ν̄ΕΝΤΟ

15 Λ̄Η̄ Μ̄ΠΧΟΕΙΣ

Ζ̄ΝΤΕΤ̄Ν̄Μ̄Ν̄Τ̄

ΡΕΥΚΑΤΑΦΡΟ

ΝΕΙ Μ̄ΝΠΕΝ

ΨΟΤ' Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄Ν̄

20 ΖΗΤ' ΕΤὸ Ν̄ΑΤ

ΣΒΩ̄. ΟΥΟΪ

† ΝΗΤ̄Ν̄ ΔΕ ΔΤΕ

Τ̄Ν̄ΤΑΨΕΡΕΥ

ΜΟΥΤ Ζ̄ΝΤΕ

25 Τ̄Ν̄ΚΑΤΑΦΡΟ

ΝΗΣΙΣ, Μ̄ΝΤΕ

Τ̄Ν̄ΔΜΕΛΕΙΔ.

Ν̄ΣΟΒ, ΔΥΩ Ν̄

ΔΘΗΤ. Ν̄ΔΨ

Ν̄ΖΕ ΤΕΤΝΔΡ̄

ΒΟΛ ΕΤΕΚΡΙ

ΣΙΣ Ν̄ΤΓΕΖΕΝ

ΝΔ. ΟΥΟΪ ΝΗ

† Τ̄Ν̄ ΔΕ Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄Ν̄

ΕΙΜΕ ΟΥΤΕ Μ̄

ΠΕΤ̄Ν̄Β̄Μ̄ΠΕ

Τ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤ' ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν̄

ΜΟΥΨΕ Ζ̄Μ̄

ΠΚΑΚΕ Ν̄ΤΕ

Τ̄Ν̄Μ̄Ν̄ΤΑΤΣΩ

Τ̄Μ̄. ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ Δ

ΠΕΤ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤ' Ν̄

ΑΤΣΒΩ̄ Ρ̄ΚΑΚΕ

ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν̄ Ζ̄Μ̄

ΠΔΙΟΥΕ. Μ̄Ν

ΠΕΚΡΟΥ. ΟΥ

† ΟΕΙ ΝΗΤ̄Ν̄ ΕΤΕ

ΤΝΔΡ̄ΟΥ Ζ̄Μ̄ΠΕ

ΖΟΥΥ Μ̄ΠΒ̄Μ̄

ΠΨΙΝΕ. ΤΕ

Τ̄Ν̄ΘΛΙΨΙΣ ΝΗΥ

Μ̄ΠΟΥΕ. ΔΥΩ

ΕΤΕΤΝΔΠΩΤ'

ΕΡΑΤ̄Υ Ν̄ΝΙΜ̄

ΕΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΕΡΩ

Τ̄Ν̄, ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ

Ν̄ΨΑΔΕ Μ̄ΠΧΟ

ΕΙΣ ΔΤΕΤ̄Ν̄ΣΩ

"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 death² 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 darkened³ 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,⁴ because you have despised the words of the Lord

¹Acts 7.51.

²The word περναμοογτ 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".

³Cf. Rom.1.21.

⁴Is.10.3.

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5 40Υ. ΔΥΩ ΝΕΥ
ΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΔΤΕ
Τ̄ΝΔΟΟΡΟΥ Ε
ΒΟΛ. ΤΑΙ ΕΩ
ΩΥ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΕ
ΡΕΠΔΟΕΙC ΝΔ
ΔΕΡΕΤΗΥΤ̄Ν
ΕΒΟΛ. ΔΥΩ ΝΥ
ΕΥCΤΗΥΤ̄Ν
10 2̄ΝΤΕ2ΡΩ̄ Ν̄
CΔΤΕ 2ΡΔΙ 2̄Ν
ΔῩΝΤΕ. ΝΔΚΔ
ΘΑΡΤΟC ΕΤ̄Ο
Ν̄CΟΕΙΤ' ΕΤΟΥ
15 2̄ΝΝΕΥΔΑΝΟ
ΜΔ. ΝΕΤ̄Ν2Ι
ΟΟΥΕ ΓΑΡ ΟΟ
ΜΕ ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΜΟ
ΟΥΕ Ν̄2ΗΤΟΥ.
20 ΔΥΩ Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄Ν
ΕΥΘ̄ΜΒΟΜ
ΕΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΙΤ̄Μ
ΠCΟΥΤ̄Ν.

25 Ν̄ΤΑΥΔΟΟC ΔΕ
Δ̄Ο ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΕΥ
ΔΙΚΔΙΟΥΝΗ.
Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄ΝΩ2C
ΝΟΥΚΑΡΠΟC
Ν̄ΩΝ2. Ν̄ΤΩ

Τ̄Ν ΔΕ ΔΤΕΤ̄ΝΔ̄Ο
ΝΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΩΔΥ
ΤΕ. ΔΥΩ ΔΤΕ
Τ̄ΝΩ2C ΝΟΥ
ΔΝΟΜΙΔ. Ν̄ΤΕΙ
2Ε ΟΝ Ν̄ΤΑΥΔΟ
ΟC ΔΕ Δ̄Ο Ν̄2Ε
CΟῩΟ. Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄Ν
Ω2C Ν̄2ΕΝΩ̄Ο
ΤΕ. ΝΕΥΚΛΗ
ΡΟC ΠΕΔΔΥ
Ν̄CΕΝΔΤ2ΗΥ
ΝΔΥ ΔΝ. ΕΤΕ
ΠΔΙ ΠΕ ΔΕ ΝΕΥ
ΩΛΗΛ Μ̄ΝΝΕΥ
ΝΗCΤΕΙΔ Μ̄Ν
ΝΕΥΜΕΛΕΤΗ.
Ν̄CΕΝΔΤ2ΗΥ
ΕΡΟΥ ΔΝ Ε
ΤΒΕΝΕΥΔΑΝΟ
ΜΔ ΕΝΤΑΥΡ̄
ΩΔΥΤΕ Ν̄2Η
ΤΟΥ. ΔΥΒΩ
ΓΑΡ ΕΠΟΥΟΕΙ.
ΔΠΚΔΚΕ ΩΩ
ΠΕ ΝΔΥ. ΔΥ
2ΥΠΟΜΙΝΕ
ΕΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ.
ΔΥΜΟΟΥΕ 2̄Ν

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"¹ 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"², which means their prayers and their fastings and their religious exercises³ 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

¹Hos.10.12.

²Jer.12.13.

³ΜΕΛΕΤΗ may denote recitations from scripture but may also have a wider meaning.

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 ΝΑΒῪΣΟΜ̄ Ε
 ΤΧ̄Ο ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥ
 ΒΛΛΕ· ΔΥΩ CE
 ΝΑΔΟΠΔ̄Π̄ Ν̄
 ΘΕ ΝΙΝΕΤΕῪΝ
 ΒΑΛ ῪΜΟΥ·
 ΔΥΩ Ν̄CEZE Ὺ
 ΜΕΕΡΕ ΝΘΕ
 10 Ν̄ΝΕΤΖ̄ΝΤΓΔ
 ΨΕ Ν̄ΤΕΥΨ̄Η·
 ΕΤΕΓΔ̄Ι ΓΕ
 ΔΕ ΔΤΕΤ̄ΝΡ̄ΝΟ
 ΒΕ ΝΘΕ Ν̄ΝΕ
 15 ΤΕῪΠΟΥCOY
 Ν̄ΓΡΑΦΗ ΕΝΕΖ·
 ΟΥΤΕ ῪΠΟΥΨ̄
 CBῪ ΝΔΥ ΕΠΤΗ
 ΡῪ· ΝΕΤ̄ΝΖΒΗ
 20 ΟΥΕ ΓΑΡ ΖΕΙΝ
 ΖΩΒ Ν̄ΑΝΟΜΙΔ
 ΝΕ, ΔΥΩ ΕΡΕ
 ΝΕΥΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ
 ΓΗΤ' ΕΥΠΟΝΗ
 25 ΡΙΔ· ΕΥΒΕΓ̄Η
 ΕΠ̄ΝCΝΟῩ Ε
 ΒΟΛ· ΔΥΩ ΝΕ
 Τ̄ΝΜΟΚΜΕΚ
 ΖΕΝΜΟΚΜΕΚ

ΝΑΘΗΤ' ΝΕ·
 ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΜΟΚ
 ΜΕΚ ΕΠΔΙΟΥΕ
 ῪΝΠΟΛ ῪΝ
 ΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ ΝΙΜ·
 ΕΤΒΕΓΔ̄Ι ΤΔ̄Ι
 ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕ
 ΠΤΗΥ ΝΔΥΙΤΗΥ
 Τ̄Ν· ΕΤΕΓΤΩ
 Ν̄Τ ΓΕ Ν̄ΤΟΡ
 Γ̄Η ῪΠΝΟΥΤΕ·
 ΔΕ Ν̄ΝΕΤ̄ΝΘ̄Ν
 ΘΕ ΝῪΤΟΝ Ὺ
 ΜΩΤ̄Ν· ΕΒΟΛ
 ΔΕ ΔΤΕΤ̄ΝΨ̄ΝΨ̄
 Θ̄C ῪΠΝΟΥΤΕ·
 ΔΥΚΤΟῩ ΝΗ
 Τ̄Ν ΕΥῪΝΤΔ̄Δ
 ΔΕ:
 Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν ΔΕ ΝΕ
 CΝΗΥ ΕΤ̄ΡΖΟ
 ΤΕ ΖΗΤῪ ῪΠ̄ΤῪ
 ΤΕ· ΠΔΟΕΙC
 ΕΥΕCΜΟΥ ΕΡΩ
 Τ̄Ν· ΔΥΩ ΝῪΝΕ
 ΖῪΤΗΥΤ̄Ν Ε
 ΝΕΙCΑΖΟΥ ΤΗ
 ΡΟΥ· ΔΥΩ ΝῪ
 ΖΔΡΕΖ ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν



the dark. They will grope¹ 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,² which means you sinned like those who never knew scripture and were entirely untaught. For your works are works of lawlessness and their³ feet run to evil, they hasten to shed blood. And your thoughts are foolish thoughts⁴, you think of thieving and lying and every evil. So therefore the wind will take you⁵, 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.⁶ But you, brethren, who fear God, the Lord will bless you and save you from all these curses and he will guard you

¹Note ἄμαρτον for ἁμαρτία

²Is.59.9-10.

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

⁴Cf. Is.59.6-7.

⁵Cf. Is.64.6.

⁶Cf. Is.63.10. - The verb κτῶ might perhaps be rendered here by the expression "to round on".

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ΚΕ
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ΕΒΟΛ ΖΩΠΕΤ
200Υ ΝΙΜ· ΔΥΩ
ΕΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΝΥ
ΔΕΛΔΔΥ ΔΝ Μ
ΜΕ. ΕΤΕΠΔΙΔ
ΒΟΛΟΣ ΠΕ·

ΤΗΡΤῆΝ ἸΤΕΤῆΝ
ἸΨΗΡΕ ἸΠΟΥ
ΟΕΙΝ, ΔΥΩ Ἰ
ΨΗΡΕ ἸΠΕ20
ΟΥ. ἸΤΕΤῆΝ
ΝΑΤΕΥΨῆ ΔΝ
ΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΠΚΑ

5

ἸΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΔΟ
ΕΙC ἸC ΕΦΕΤΟΥ
ΔΕΤΗΥΤῆΝ Ε
20ΥΝ ΕΤΕΥ
ΜῆΤΕΡῶ ΕΤ
2ῆΤΠΕ· ΔΥΩ
ΕΦΕ2ΑΡΕ2 Ε
ΠΕΤῆΝΠῆΔ ΕΥ
ΟΥΟΔ' ΜῆΤΕ
ΤῆΨΥΧῆ ΜῆΝ
ΠΕΤῆΝCΩΜΑ
ΔΔῆΝΝΟΒΕ 2ῆΝ
ΤΠΑΡΟΥCΙΑ Μ
ΠΕΝΔΟΕΙC ἸC
ΠΕΧC :

7 ΚΕ· ΔΡΑΒΕ Μ
ΠῆΡΤΡΕΝῆΚΟ
ΤῆΚ ἸΘΕ ἸΠΚΕ
CΕΕΠΕ· ΑΛΛΑ
ΜΑΡῆΝΡΟΕΙC
ἸΤῆΝΝΗΦΕ·

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ἸΤΩΤῆΝ ΔΕ ΝΕ
CΝΗΥ ἸΝΕΤΕ
ΤῆΝΖῆΠΚΑΚΕ
ΔΝ ΔΕ ΕΡΕΠΕ
200Υ ΤΑ2Ε
ΤΗΥΤῆΝ ἸΘΕ Ἰ
ΟΥΡΕΥΔΙΟΥΕ·
ἸΤΩΤῆΝ ΓΑΡ

7 ΝΕΤῆΝΚΟΤῆΚ
ΓΑΡ ΕΥῆΝΚΟΤῆΚ
ἸΤΕΥΨῆ· ΔΥΩ
ΝΕΤΤΑ2Ε. ΕΥ
ΤΑ2Ε ἸΤΕΥΨῆ·
ΔΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΔΝῶ
ΝΑΠΕ200Υ
ΜΑΡῆΝΝΗΦΕ,
ΕΔΗΤ ΖΙΩΩ
ΜΠ2ΩΚ' ἸΤΠΙ
CΤΙC ΜῆΤΑΓΑ
ΠΗ ΜῆΤΠΕΡΙ
ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΔ Ἰ
ΘΕΛΠΙC ἸΠῆ
ΔΔΙ. ΔΕ ἸΤΑ
ΠῆΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΑΔ

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from every evil and from one who speaks nothing of truth, which is the devil¹. But the Lord Jesus will save you into his kingdom which is in heaven² and he will keep your spirit sound and your soul and your body without sin at the advent³ of our Lord Jesus Christ⁴. But you, brethren, were not in darkness that the day should overtake you as a thief;⁵ for you are all sons of the light and sons of the day; you are not of the night nor of the darkness⁶. 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.⁷ For God did not appoint us

¹Cf. Jn.8.44.

²Cf. II Tim.4.18.

³The 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.

⁴I Thes.5.23.

⁵I Thes.5.4.

⁶Cf. I Thes.5.5.

⁷I Thes.5.6-8.

5 ΔΝ ΕΤΟΡΓΗ·
 ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥΤΑΝΘΩ
 ΝΟΥΔΑΙ' ΖΙΤΩ
 ΠΕΝΔΘΕΙC ΙC
 ΠΔΙ' ΕΝΤΑΥΟΥ
 ΕΤΒΗΗΤΗΝ· ΔΕ
 ΚΑC ΕΙΤΕ ΤΗΝ
 ΡΘΕΙC, ΕΙΤΕ
 ΤΗΝΚΟΤΚ Ε
 ΝΕΩΝΕ ΝΩ

10 μω:
 ΤΕΝΟΥΘΕ ΝΕ
 CΝΗΥ ΜΠΡ
 ΤΡΕΝΩΠΕ
 15 ΕΝΤΗΝΤΩΝ' Ε
 ΝΕCΝΗΥ Ν
 ΝΟΥΔ' ΕΤΕΡΑΙ
 ΝΖΗΤΗΝ, ΕΤΩ
 ΟΥΕ ΖΗΝΟΥ
 20 ΚΡΟΥ· ΑΛΛΑ
 ΖΗΝΟΥΖΟΤΕ
 ΜΝΟΥCΤΩΓ·
 ΔΡΙΖΩΒ ΕΠΕ
 ΤΗΝΟΥΔΑΙ· ΔΕ
 25 ΚΑC ΕΡΕΠΙΔΟ
 ΕΙC ΙC ΝΔΖΔ
 ΡΕΖ ΕΡΩΤΗΝ
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ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ
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 ΠΔΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ
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 ΖΙΜΟΚΜΕΚ·
 ΔΕΚΑC ΕΤΕΤ
 ΝΔΩΠΕ ΝΔΤ
 ΝΟΒΕ, ΔΥΩ Ν
 ΔΚΕΡΑΙΟC Ν
 ΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΙΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΕΥΟΥΔΑΒ
 ΝΓΗΤΕ ΝΤΓΕ
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 ΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΕ
 ΧC· ΤΑΙΘΕ ΤΕ

unto wrath but unto a preservation¹ of salvation through our Lord Jesus, he who died for us in order that, whether we watch or sleep, we may live with him². 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 trembling³ 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 Christ⁴. So then

¹The 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".

²I Thes.5.9-10.

³Phil.2.12.

⁴Phil.2.13-16.

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ΨΟΥ ὪΨΟΥ
ΕΣΩΝ̄ ΣΔΤῪ
ΠΔΟΕΙC ΕΥΔΩ
ὪΨΟC ΔΕ ΜΗ̄
Ν̄ΝΔῙ ΔΝ ΝΕ ΝΔ

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ΨΗΡΕ. Ν̄ΝΕΥ
ΔΘΕΤΕΙ. ΔΥΩ
ΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΙCΖΗΗ
ΤΕ ΔΝΟΝ ὪΝ̄
Ν̄ΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΥ
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ΕΝΤΔΚΤΔΔΥ
ΝΔΝ. ΕΔΝΨΠ̄
ΣΙCΕ ΕΡΟΥ
ΕΤΒΕΠΕΚΡᾹ.

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†ΘΕ ΝΔΝ ΕΤΡΕ̄
ΡΒΟΛ ΕΝΒΟΡ
Σ̄C ΤΗΡΟΥ Ὢ
ΠΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕ
ΝΟC. Ν̄ΤΝ̄Ρ
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ΣΒΗΥΕ ΕΝΔ
ΝΟΥΟΥ. ΕΨΤΔ
Τ̄ΝΕῙ ΕΣΡΔῙ Ε
ΠΣΔΠ̄ ὪΠΝΟΥ

ΤΕ, Ν̄ΤΝ̄ΡΒΟΛ
ΕΝΚΟΛΔCΙC
ΕΤCΒΤΩΤ'
Ν̄ΝΡΕΥΡ̄ΝΟ
ΒΕ ΕΤΨΗΝ̄ Ε
ΒΟΛ Σ̄ΝΝΕΥ
ΠΕΘΟΥ:

ΤΟΥ ΔΥΤΟΥ

ΝΔΝΟΥC ΝΗΤ̄Ν
ΔΥΩ ΟΥΔΑΘΟ̄
ΠΕ Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΥ
ΧΗ̄ Ν̄ΤΔΔΙΠΩ
ΡΟC, ΕΤΡΕΤΕ
Τ̄ΝΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ Ε
ΤΕΤ̄ΝΤΩΝ.
Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΕΟ
ΟΥ ὪΠΔΟΕΙC
ΠΕΤ̄ΝΝΟΥΤΕ
ΕΨΤΔΤΕΠΚΔ
ΚΕ ΨΨΠΕ.
ΔΥΩ ΕΨΤΔΤΕ
ΝΕΤ̄ΝΟΥΕΡΗ
ΤΕ ΔΙΔΡΟΠ̄
ΣΙΔ̄Ν̄ΝΤΟΥ
Ν̄ΚΔΚΕ. ΤΕ
Τ̄ΝΔCΩΨ̄Τ ΣΗ
ΤῪ ὪΠΟΥΟΕΤ̄.
ΟΥΣΔΙΒΕC 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;² 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 works³ 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

¹Cf. Is.63.8.

²Cf. Is.8.18 and Heb.2.13.

³Cf. I Tim.6.18.

ΤΕΠΙΛΟΥ, ΠΕΤ
 ΥΟΟΠΙ ΛΥΔΑΙ·
 ΔΥΩ ΣΕΝΔΚΑ
 ΔΥ ΕΥΚΑΚΕ·
 5 ΕΥΩΠΕ ΔΕ Ε
 ΤΕΤΝΤΙΩΣΩ
 ΙΤΥ· ΣΤΟΥΣΩΠΙ
 ΣΝΑΡΙΜΕ ΝΒΙ
 ΤΕΤΝΨΥΧΗ̄ ὰ
 10 ΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ
 ὰΠΕΤΝΩΣΩ·
 ΔΥΩ ΝΕΤΝΒΑΛ
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 ΕΙΗ̄ ΕΠΕΧΤ̄
 15 ΕῶΝΠΕΤΝΑ
 ὠΠΕ ΝΤΕΤΝ
 ΡῶΕΙΗ̄ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΣΙΝΕΤΝΒΑΛ·
 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΔΥ
 20 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΩ
 ΤΝ· ΔΥΩ ὰΠΕ
 ΤΝΩΤῶ·
 ΔΥΨΑΔΕ· ΔΥΩ
 ΔΤΕΤΝΕΒῶ
 25 ΤΗΥΤΝ· ΔΤΕ
 ΤΝΕΙΡΕ ὰΠΠΕ
 ΘΟΥ ὰΠΠΕΥ
 ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ὰΠΠΟ
 ΕΙΣ· ΔΥΩ ΔΤΕ

ΤΝΩΤῶ ΝΝΕ
 ΤΕΝΨΟΥΔΩΥ
 ΔΝ· ὠΔΑΝ
 ΤΕΟΥΣΕ ὠΠΠΕ
 ΕΝΩΚ' ΕΣΡΑΙ
 ΕΔΩΝ' ὰΠΠΩ
 ΔΕ ΕΤΧΗ' ΔΕ
 ΔΝΔΣΕΒΗC Ρ̄
 ΠΒΟΛ ὰΠΠῶ·
 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΤΕ
 ΤΝΣΙΟΥΕ·
 ΤΕΤΝΣΙΒΟΛ·
 ΤΕΤΝΟ̄ ΝΔΤ
 ΩΤῶ·
 ΤΕΤΝΡῶΔΑΥΤΕ·
 ΤΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΕΙ·
 ΤΕΤΝΣΙ ΝΒΟ
 ΝC ΝΝΕΝΤΟ
 ΛΗ̄ ὰΠΠΕΧC·
 ΤΕΤΝΤΑΚΟ̄
 ὰΠΠΕΤΝΩΣΩΔ·
 ΤΕΤΝΡΝΟΒΕ
 ΣΙΝΩΒ ΝΙΜ·
 ΚΑΤΑΠΕΝΤΑΥ
 ΔΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΕ
 ΣΙΗ̄ ΝΤΩΕΕ
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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 tears¹ with no one to wipe away your tears from your eyes². 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 wish³. How long then will we draw down upon us the word which is written, "The ungodly passed over the landmark"⁴, 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

¹Jer.13.16-17.

²Cf. perhaps Rev.7.17.

³Cf. Is.65.12.

⁴Job 24.2.

ΟΥΔΕ ΕΥΤΒΒΟ.
 ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΤΑΙ
 ΤΕ ΤΟΥΚΑΚΙΔ
 ΧΕ ΟΑΥΕ ΧΕ
 5 ΔΟΠΩΣ' ΥΔΖΟΥ
 ΕΠΟΥΖΗΤ'.
 3 ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΔΥΔΟΟC
 ΕΥΘΝΑΡΙΚΕ
 ΕΝΑΤCΒΩ ΔΥΩ
 10 ΝΑΘΗΤ' ΕΤΝΖΗ
 ΤΝ ΕΤΕΜΠΟΥ
 ΒΝΠΕΥΖΗΤ.
 ΕΥΜΟΟΥΕ ΖΜ
 ΠΚΑΚΕ ΕΥΔΩ
 15 ΜΜΟC ΔΕ ΜΗ
 ΜΝCΟΝΤΕ ΨΟ
 ΟΠ' ΖΝΓΑΛΑΔΔ.
 Η ΜΝCΘΕΙΝ
 ΖΜΠΜΑ ΕΤΜ
 20 ΜΑΥ. ΕΤΒΕΟΥ
 ΜΠΤΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ
 ΝΒΙΠΤΑΛΘ
 ΝΤΨΕΕΡΕ Μ
 ΠΑΛΔΟC. ΕΤΕ
 25 ΠΑΙ ΠΕ. ΧΕ ΜΝ
 ΓΡΑΦΗCΕ ΨΟ
 ΟΠ' ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗ
 ΤΝ. Η ΜΠΟΥ
 †CΒΩ ΝΑΝ ΖΜ

ΠΝΟΜΟC ΜΠΧΟ
 ΕΙC, ΧΕ ΔΛΩΤΝ
 ΖΝΝΕΤΜΠΟ
 ΝΗΡΙΑ. ΔΙCΒΩ
 ΕΡΠΠΕΤΝΔ
 ΝΟΥC. ΔΥΩΒΕ
 ΜΠΤΝΡΖΟΤΕ.
 ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΤΝΔΙ
 CΘΑΝΕ ΕΤΡΕ
 CΑΖΩΝ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΝΝΕΝΜΠΤΡΕΥ
 †ΝΟΥΘC ΜΠΠ
 ΤΕ ΖΝΝΕΝΖΒΗ
 ΟΥΕ, ΕΘΟΟΥ.
 ΑΛΛΑ ΔΝΚΡΠΝΕ
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 ΕΔΩΝ ΜΠΨΑ
 ΧΕ ΕΤCΗΖ. ΧΕ
 ΚΑΤΑΠΕΚΝ
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 ΠΕΚΖΗΤ ΕΤΕ
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nor towards purity"¹ and again, "This is your wickedness, for it is bitter, because it reached to your heart."² 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?"³ 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?"⁴ 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"⁵

¹Jer.4.11.

²Jer.4.18.

³Jer.8.22.

⁴Is.1.16-17.

⁵Rom.2.5.

TE. ΓΑΙ' ΕΤΝΑ
 ΤΩΩΒΕ ΜΠΥΑ
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 5 ΜΗ ΓΑΡ ΜΠΟΥ
 ΤΑΜΟΝ· Η ΤΗ
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 ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΝ
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 ΡΟΥ ΕΠΠΕΘΟ
 ΟΥ· ΥΝΑΤΑΚΟ
 ΖΝΟΥΨCNE.
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 ΤΜ ΨΑΝΤΕΠΠΟ
 ΝΗΡΟΝ ΔΥΔΙ
 ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΗΝ
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 ΝΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΥ
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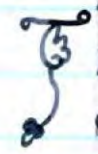
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who will render to every man according to his works!" For were we not told or do we lack teaching² that we should guard ourselves from evil, in accordance with the saying, "He who does not tell his son at the outset to guard himself from evil will perish suddenly"³ 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 turned⁴ to them in enmity⁵" 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 God⁶ and the laws of our fathers. For thus it was said, "But this people has got a disobedient and unbelieving heart:

¹Rom.2.6.

²Note the Boh. form of the conjunctive $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\gamma\ddagger$ instead of the Sah. $\bar{\nu}\text{C}\epsilon\ddagger$.

³Prov.24.22. This clause, though in the Sah., is not in the LXX.

⁴See 30r, note 6.

⁵Is.63.10.

⁶Cf. Jer.2.19.

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5 ΔΥΡΙΚΕ ΕΒΟΛ
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ΤΒΕΝΕΝΕΙΟ
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ΝΑΙ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ
ΔΕ ΔΠΡΕΥΡ
ΖΟΤΕ ΤΑΚΟ
20 ΖΙΔΩΠΚΑΖ.
ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤCΟΥ
ΤΩΝ ΖΝῆΡΩ
ΜΕ ΝΨΟΟΠῆ
ΔΝ. ΑΛΛΑ ΩΔ
25 ΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΚΕ
ΧΡΕΙΔ ΩΗΜ
ΕΤΟΥ† ΛΥΟC
ΝΗΤῆ ΕΤΒΕ
ΠΕΤΩΩΝΕ.

ΔΤΕΤῆΠΟΝΗ
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ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΛΥΤῆ
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ΚΕΓΤΑΡΑΝΟ
ΜΙΔ ΕΝΕΖ.
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ΠΕΖΟΥΟ ἄΝΔ
ΖΡῤΠΝΟΥΤΕ
ΜῆΝῆΡΩΜΕ
ΝΒΙΝΕΤΕΙΡΕ
ἄΝΔΙ. ΕΒΟΛ
ΟΝ ΔΕ ΔΤΕΤῆ
ΡΖΟΥΕΡΑCΕ
ΒΗC. ΕΤΒΕ
ΠΔΙ ΠΕΤῆΝΟ
ΒΕ ΚΗΒ' ΕΡΩ
Τῆ. ΔΕ ΖΕΝΝΟ
ΒΕ ΩΗΜ ΝΕ
ΝΑΙ ΔΝ' ΕΤΕ
ΤῆΕΙΡΕ ΛΥΔΥ.

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,¹" 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 not²." 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.

¹Jer.5.23-24.

²Mic.7.1-2.

ἄπονηρος
 ναυε. ετειρε
 νβεννος, ἄ
 πονηρον. ε
 5 τερετπε μῆν
 πκαε' ναυτορ
 τῖρ εεραϊ' εδω
 ου, αυω νσε
 νεεωλῆ.

10 cenanay nbi
 νδικαιος αυω
 νσνηυ ετμε
 ἄπεχc εῖνου
 με αυω ετ
 15 ctwτ' εητῆ ἄ
 πεφραν' νσε
 ῖροτε νσεδο
 οc, δε ειc εεν
 ρωμε εμτου
 20 κατνουτε
 ναυ νβοηθος.
 αλλα αυεελ
 πιζε εδῶπευ
 πετωουειτ'.

25 μῆνευμανια
 νβολ. ναϊ ετ
 δω ἄμος δε
 μῆρωμε να
 ειμε, ερον' ε

νετνειρε ἄ
 μου νδιοτε.
 3 ουοϊ ναυ, εγ
 ναροϊ ον εῖ
 περοου ετε
 ρεῦμῆτωα
 υτε ἄπουα
 πουα ναουω
 νε εβολ.

4 πεδαυ γαρ δε
 5 πετδῖτο μῆν
 ουρεφδιοτε
 ετεπδιδωλε
 πε εμουτε
 ντεμψυχη
 μαδαυ. εγ
 ωανωμινε δε
 νουανωυ' πε
 δαυ νσετῆου
 ωνε. cenanze
 νσεδιωιπε
 δε αυῖροτε
 εητου νεεν
 ρωμε. ναϊα
 τῆ δε ἄπετῖρ
 20 εοτε εητῆ ἄ
 25 πνουτε:

3 εῖπαι δε ον εν
 ταυδοοc δε

O truly wicked ones, who do great wickednesses over which the heaven and the earth shall be troubled and fearful¹, the righteous and the brethren² 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"³. 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 he⁴ who fears God⁵." But on this it was said,

¹Cf. Jer.2.12.

²Note NCNHY for NECNHY .

³Cf. Ps.51.9 and Ps.39.5.

⁴Lit. "great his eye", cf. Crum, Dict., p.74a.

⁵Prov.29.24-25.

ΠΛΟΥ, ΝΑΤΩ
ΜΤ ΕΝΑΤΣΒΩ.

ΝΑΚΑΘΑΡCΙΑ
ΝΑΤΩΛΤ ΕΥ

5 ΡΩΜΕ ΝΛΟΙ
ΜΟΣ ΖΝΟΥΖΟ

ΟΥ, ΕΥΖΟΥ
ΜΝΟΥΖΟΥ

ΝΘΛΙΨΙC ΨΑΝ

10 ΤΥΩΔΝ. ΟΥ

ΟΕΙ ΝΗΤΝ ΝΕΤ

ΕΙΡΕ ΝΝΔΙ ΜΝ

ΝΙΚΟΥΕ ΝΔΙ

ΟΥΕ ΝΨΟΥΜΕ

15 CΤΩΟΥ, ΔΥΩ

ΕΤΟ ΝΚΡΟΥ

ΖΝΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ.

Ω ΤΕΤΝCΖΟΥ

ΟΡΤ ΖΝΝΕΤΝ

20 ΖΒΗΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ

ΔΕ ΔΤΕΤΝΖΙ

ΤΟΤΤΗΥΤΝ Ε

ΝΙΖΒΗΥΕ ΜΠΑ

ΡΑΝΟΜΟΝ.

25 ΕΔΤΕΤΝCΩΥ

ΜΠΑΝ ΜΠΝΙ

ΤΕ ΖΝΝΕΤΝ

ΚΡΟΥ. ΔΥΩ Δ

ΤΕΤΝΨΥΠΕ

ΝΝΕΤΕΜΝΤΑΥ.

ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΖΩ

ΩΪ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ

ΜΝΠΕΥΧC ΝΔ

ΩΡΩΡΤΗΥΤΝ

ΝΥΤΤΗΥΤΝ Ε

ΤΟΟΤΥ ΜΠΨΙ

ΠΕ ΤΗΡΥ ΜΝ

ΘΛΙΨΙC ΝΙΜ

ΜΝΠΚΩΖΤ

ΕΤΕΜΕΥΔΕΝΔ.

ΜΝΠΥΝΤ ΕΤΕ

ΜΕΥΝΚΟΤΚ

ΖΡΑΙ ΖΝΔΜΝΤΕ.

ΕΒΟΛ ΓΑΡ ΖΝΟΥ

ΝΟC, ΝΘΛΙΨΙC

ΜΝΟΥΜΚΔΖ

ΝΖΗΤ ΕΝΔΨΩΜ

ΕΙΔΩ ΝΝΔΙ. Ε

ΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΜΠΤΝ

CΩΤΥ ΟΝ ΟΥ

ΤΕ ΜΠΤΝΝΑΥ

ΕΠΙΚΕΖΩΒ

ΜΜΠΤΨΑΥΤΕ

ΕΝΕΖ ΔΕ ΔΡΩ

ΜΕ ΨΙΤΕΧΡΕΙΔ

ΝΝΕΤΖΙΤΟΥ

ΩΟΥ ΝΔΙΟΥΕ.

ΔΕΚΑC ΕΡΕ

X

"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.² 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 dies³ down in Amente. For out of great affliction and much grief⁴ I say these things, because we never either heard or saw such an iniquitous thing, that men stole their neighbours' necessities so that

¹Prov.24.8-10.

²For the phrase ΝΕΤΕΥΝΤΑΥ cf. 25v, note 2.

³Cf. Is.66.24 and Mk.9.48.

⁴Cf. II Cor.2.4.

ΠΟΔΟΥ ΝΑΨΩ
ΠΕ ΕΥΚΗΒ' Ε
ΖΡΑΪ ΕΣΩΟΥ.

5

ΧΙΟΥΕ ΜΕΝ ΝΙΜ
ΖΟΥ, ΔΥΩ ΟΕ
ΟΖΟΥΟΡΤ ΝΙΝΑ
ΖΡΩΠΕΝΔΟΙΣ

10

ΙΣ. ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΙ
ΟΝ' ΖΟΥ, ΕΠΕ
ΖΟΥΟ ΝΙΝΑΖΡΩ
ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ
ΝΡΩΜΕ. ΔΥΩ
ΥΖΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΑ
ΝΟΜΙΔ ΝΙΜ ΖΙ

15

ΜΝΤΑΤΨΙΠΕ
ΝΙΜ. ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ
ΥΔΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΥ
ΜΝΤΡΕΥΖΩ

20

ΤΒ. ΕΡΨΑΝ
ΠΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ
ΥΙΤΕΧΡΕΙΔ Μ
ΠΕΤΨΩΝΕ.

25

ΕΥΟ ΝΘΕ Μ
ΠΕΤΜΟΥΟΥΤ
ΜΟΥ. ΝΘΕ
ΝΙΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΣΕ
ΠΔΟΕΙΣ ΝΖΜΔ
ΖΩΠΕΥΕΙΒΕ.
ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΙΝΔΙ

ΖΩΟΥ ΤΕΝΟΥ
ΕΥΜΙ ΝΤΕΧΡΕΙΔ
ΝΝΕΥΟΝΗ
ΕΤΨΩΝΕ ΝΔΙΟΥΕ:

ΠΕΪΝΟΣ ΝΟΔΟΥ
ΔΥΩ ΤΕΪΝΟΣ
ΝΟΡΓΗ ΕΖΡΑΪ

ΕΣΝΝΕΤΕΙΡΕ
ΝΙΝΔΙ ΝΤΕΪΜΙ
ΝΕ. ΕΤΒΕΓΔΙ
ΟΕΡΖΟΥΕΟΖΟΥ
ΟΡΤ. ΔΥΩ ΕΡΕ
ΠΛΑΟΣ ΤΗΡΥ
ΝΔΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ Ε

ΥΕΨΩΠΕ.

ΔΥΩ ΝΘΕ ΕΝ
ΤΑΥΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ
ΥΟΖΟΥΟΡΤ Ν
ΟΙΠΕΤΝΑΠΩ
ΩΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ν
ΝΤΟΥ ΜΠΕΤ
ΖΙΤΟΥΩΥ.

ΔΥΩ ΕΡΕΠΛΑ
ΟΟ ΤΗΡΥ ΝΔΔΟ
ΟΟ ΔΕ ΕΥΕΨΩ
ΠΕ. ΤΑΙ ΟΝ
ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΟΥΝΑ
ΨΩΠΕ ΕΥΟΖΟΥ
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 drink¹, 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"². 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'"³, so shall he come to be cursed who

¹Cf. Mt.27.48 and parallels.

²Deut.27.15 etc.

³Deut.27.17.

5 ταχι, ἡ πετ
 naçi n̄dioye
 εβολ z̄n̄ntō
 n̄netzitoγ
 10 ωoy. ειτε
 τευχρεια. ει
 τε τευδαπα
 n̄h. ειτε τευ
 zoeite. ειτε
 πευπρηω.
 ειτε λαay n̄
 znō n̄tay.
 εβολ δε n̄ce
 yaaτ' an̄ n̄la
 15 ay z̄n̄teυχρεια
 τηp̄c. αλλα ey
 p̄noβε εροoy
 μαyaaγ. ayw
 eycwκ' ūπca
 20 zoy ūπnoy
 τε εzpaī εxw
 oy ūmin ūwo
 oy. ayw πε
 tnaχitootū
 25 zolauc εzpaī
 eneyeioτε
 ετ†cbw̄ naγ
 z̄noyδερωβ.
 ἡ z̄noyτροπī

εγεωωπε ey
 czoγop̄t n̄na
 z̄p̄uπinoτε
 μ̄n̄p̄wμε,
 ayw eyemoγ
 τε εροoy εβολ
 z̄itūπyaxε
 ετchz' δε n̄
 wne n̄dpoπī
 ετziteziā ū
 mooye. n̄θe
 ετchz' δε qī
 n̄eiwne n̄
 dpoπī εβολ z̄i
 teziā ūπαλα
 oc. ayw πε
 tnaχτωνī ε
 πτηp̄ū εzoy
 εzpaγ z̄n̄teγ
 μ̄ntnaωt̄zht
 μ̄nteyμ̄nt
 βαβερωμε
 ayw τεyμ̄nt
 atwιπε. eyε
 zooc εροoy
 δε n̄p̄wμε ετ
 † oyβεπnoy
 τε μ̄nπeαx̄c
 z̄n̄teyμ̄nt

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 blow¹, they shall be cursed in the sight of God and men, and shall be called in the scriptural phrase, "stumbling-blocks"² which are in the way, as it is written, "Take these stumbling-blocks out of the way of my people³." 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

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

²Cf. Is.57.14.

³Is.57.14.

Ναυτμακῆ
μῆπειγῆτ
ετδοσε· δε
καρ ζωωυ ε
5 ΡΕΓΓΙΝΟΥΤΕ
Νατ ΟΥΒΗΥ
ΝῦΝΟΣΟΥ ΜῆΝ
ΝΕΤΡῶΒ' Ε
10 ΤΑΝΟΜΙΔ· ΝῆΘΕ
ΕΤΧΗΖ ΔΕ ΠΕΤ
Cωυ μῆτευ
ΕΙΩΤ' ΜῆΤΕΥ
Μαδυ, ΕΜΕ
ΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΝῆΡῆΝΟ
15 ΒΕ ΔΝ· ΟΥΚΟΙ
ΝΩΝΟΣ ΠΕ
Παῖ ΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ
ΝῆΑCΕΒΗC·



20 Πάλιν ον υδῶ
μῆος, δε πωη
ΡΕ ΕΤCωυ μ
ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ'
ΔΥΩ ΕΤΚῶ Ν
Cωυ Νῆτεμα
25 ΔΥ· υΝαυω
ΠΕ ΖΑΝΟΒΝΕC
ΔΥΩ Νῆδῆωι
ΠΕ· ΔΥΩ ΟΝ
ΔΕ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ

Ναωδῆν ὑπετ
Δεπεθοου
ΝῆαΠεγῆωτ
ΜῆΤΕΥΜαδυ
ΝῆΚΕΚΕ ΝῆΝΕΥ
Βαλ Νανδυ ΕΥ
Κακε· ΝῆΕῖ
20 ΖΕ ΟΝ ΝῆΤΑΥΔΟ
ΟC ΔΕ ΠΝΟΥ
ΤΕ † ΟΥΒΕΝΔα
CΙΖΗΤ'. υ† ΔΕ
ΝΟΥΖΜΟΤ Ν
ΝΕΤΘῆΒΒΗΥ·
ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ Ν
ΤΟΚ ΔΚῆΒΒΙΕ
ΠΔαCΙΖΗΤ' Ν
ΘΕ ΝΟΥΖΩΤῆ
ΕΤΕΠΔΙΔΑΒΟ
ΛΟC ΠΕ ΜῆΝΝΕΤ
ΕΙΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ
ΝῆΝΕΥΖΒΗΥΕ·
ΔΥΩ ΔΕ ΖῆΠΕ
ΕΒΟῖ ΝῆΤΕΚῶ
ΔΚΔωωΡΕ Ε
ΒΟΛ ΝῆΝΕΚΔα
ΔΕ· ΕΤΕΝΡΩ
ΜΕ ΝΕ ΝῆΡΕΥ
ῆΝΟΒΕ ΕΤΕΙ
ΡΕ ΜῆΠΠΟΝΗ



stiffneckedness and their pride', so that God for his part will contend against them, and cast them together with those who work for lawlessness,¹ as it is written, "He who despises his father and his mother thinking, 'I do not sin', is an associate of an ungodly man"². Again it is said, "The son who despises his father and forsakes his mother shall be under reproach and be ashamed³." And again, "The light of him who reviles his father and his mother shall go out, the pupils of his eyes shall see darkness⁴." Thus again it was said, "God resists the proud but gives grace to the humble⁵." 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"⁶, which means the sinners who do wickedness

¹Cf. Ps.124.5.

²Prov.28.24.

³Prov.19.23.

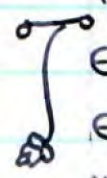
⁴Prov.20.10.

⁵Prov.3.34; I Pet.5.5; Jam.4.6.

⁶Ps.88.11.

5 ΡΟΝ ὑπερῶ
 ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ·
 ΔΥΩ Σῶπαῑ ἦ
 ΤΑΥΔΟΟC ΔΕ
 5 ΣΕΝΔΩΩΠΕ
 ἦΤΟ ἦἦΒαω̄ρ
 ΕΤΕἠΔαιω̄
 ΝΕ ΕΤCΩΚ' ἠ
 ΜΟΥ, ΔΥΩ ΕΤ
 10 ῤΩΒ ΣΡαῑ ἦ
 ΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΔΝΟ
 ΜΙΑ ΝΙΚ·
 15 ἦΘΕΒΕ ΕΝΤΑΥ
 ΔΟΟC ΕΤΒαβυ
 ΛΩΝ ὑΠΙΟΥΟ
 ΕΙΩ ΔΕ Δἠῤῥα
 ΣΡΕ ΕΡΟC ἠ
 ἦCΔιπαΣΡΕ·
 ΜΑῤῥἦΚαC Ε
 20 ΒΟΛ ἦἦἦΒΩΚ
 ΔΕ Δἠῤῥαῖ
 ΠΩΣ' ΩαΣΡαῑ
 ΕΤΠΕ· ΔΥΩ ΔΥ
 ΔΙCΕ ΕΣΡαῑ Ωα
 25 ἦCΙΟΥ· Ταῑ
 ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΟΥ
 ΝΑΚΑΤΗΥἦἦ
 ἦCΩΟΥ ἦCἦἦ
 ΔἠΓΕΛΟC ἠ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ἠἦ
 ΝΕΤCΒῶ ΝΗ
 ἦἦ, ΕΥΔΩ ἠΜΕ
 ΔΕ Δἠῤῥαῖ
 ΝΔΥ· ὑΠΟΥΔΙ
 CΒῶ· ΜΑῤῥἦ
 CαΣΩΝ' ΕΒΟΛ
 ἠΜΟΥ, ΔΕ Δ
 ΠΕΥΣΑἠ' ΠΩΣ'
 ΩαΣΡαῑ ΕΠἦἦ
 ΤΕ ἠἦΠΕΥC
 Παῑ ΕΤΝΑΚΡΙ
 ΝΕ ὑΠΟΥΔ
 ΠΟΥΔ ΚΑΤΑΝΕΥ
 ΣΒΗΥΕ· ἦΤΟΥ
 ΓΑΡ ΕΤCΟΥΝ
 ΕΝΕΤΕΙΡΕ ἠ
 ΠΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ
 ΣἦΟΥΣΩἠ·
 ΔΥΩ ΝῶΒῶ
 Δἠ' Οἠ' ΕΝΕΤ
 ΕΙΡΕ ἠἦἦἦ
 ΘΟΝ ὑΠΕΥῶ
 ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ἠἦ
 ΝΕΤCΤΩἦ' ΖΗ
 ἦἦ ὑΠΕΥΡΑΝ·
 ΕΤΒΕΠαῑ ἦΘΕ
 ΕΝΤΑἠἦC
 ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΕΡΕ



before him. And on this it was said, "They shall be portions for foxes"¹, 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"². 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"³. For it is he who knows⁴ 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,

¹Ps.62.11.

²Cf. Jer.28.9.

³Similar phrases occur many times both in the O.T. and the N.T.

⁴For ΕΤΣΟΟΥΝ the form ΓΕΤΣΟΟΥΝ would be expected, cf. Steindorff, para 533; Plumley, para 367.

"Unless the grain of wheat falls upon the earth and dies it remains alone, but if it die it bears much fruit¹." Thus also unless a man mortifies² his body, he shall be without avail in his works, but if he mortify² himself he shall bear much fruit in good works, as it is written, "He who died³ 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"⁴.

⁵O, 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.⁶ You did not call to mind the apostle's assertion, "He who defiles the temple of God, him will God destroy"⁷. Also you did not remember

¹Jn.12.24.

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

³So 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.

⁴I Pet.4.1-2.

⁵New letter begins, cf. Analysis of Contents, p.15.

⁶Cf. I Cor.3.16-17.

⁷I Cor.3.17.

5 Ἰησοῦ τῆ
 ροῦ ἐνταπε̄
 εἰωτ' ἰσοῦ
 εὐφ' ἰμῶν τῆ
 ῤῥῆ ἐτοοτῆ
 ἰπνοῦτε εὐ
 ἰω ἰμῶς, ἰε
 ἰσοῦοῤῥῆ ἰβι
 10 πετναἰωεῦ
 ἰπεῦσωμα
 καταλαἰτ ἰ
 σωτ. ἰ ἰῦ
 ἰσοῦε ἰῤῥῆ
 ἰεῖνο. ἰῖνοῦ
 15 ἰωσ' ἰῖνοῦ
 ἰωσ. ἰαἰ
 ἰτα ἰοεἰτε
 ἰῖρηῦ ἰ
 κλαῖτ. ἰω
 20 ἰαεῖαι εἰοῦε
 λαἰστον ἰ
 ἰῖνο ἰῖωμ.
 εἰτε εἰολ ἰῖ
 ἰεῖῤῥῆ ἰ
 25 τἰακονἰα ἰ
 ἰῖνοῦτε. εἰ
 τε εἰολ ἰῖ
 τῶ ἰῖεῖῖτοῦ
 ἰωῦ.

Νεἰμεεε με̄
 πε εεἰ ἰωρῶ
 τῆ ἰῖνοῦτωτ
 ἰεῖτ. ἰλλα
 πεῦκαε ἰεῖτ
 ἰῖεῖταῖτ
 σωῖτ ἰῖνοῦ
 τε ἰω ἰῖ
 πεἰ ἰῖεῖῖῖ
 εἰοῦαἰβ. πε̄
 τακῶλε ἰ
 ἰεῖνοῦροτ'.

ἰσοῦν μεῖν
 ἰε ἰαἰῖω
 πε ἰκαε ἰεῖτ
 ἰῖμ. ἰλλα εῖ
 ἰωῖῖῖῖ
 ἰῖῖῖῖῖ
 ἰῖ ἰῖῖῖ. ἰ
 ἰῖῖ ἰωῖῖῖ
 ἰῖῖῖῖῖ.
 ἰῖῖῖῖ ἰῖῖ
 ἰῖῖῖῖ ἰω
 ἰῖῖῖῖῖ
 ἰῖῖῖ, εἰτε
 ἰῖῖῖῖ' ἰῖῖῖῖ
 ἰῖῖῖῖ ἰῖῖῖ
 ἰῖῖῖῖῖ
 ἰῖῖῖ. ἰε ἰῖ

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"¹ - a cord or girdle, more especially garments, cloaks², 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 vessels³; seeing that

¹Perhaps 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".

²Or "mats".

³Cf. Mt.25.1ff.

ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΝΤΕ
 ΤΗΝΚΕΤΗΥ
 ΤΗΝ ΕΠΑΘΟΥ
 ΖΙΝΙΚΩΝΤΡΕΥ
 5 †ΩΝΤ ΜΠΙΝ⁰_Υ
 ΤΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΖΕ
 ΕΣΡΑΙ ΕΤΟΟ
 ΤΣ ΝΤΣΗΕ
 ΜΠΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ
 10 ΠΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΚΟ
 ΝΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΕ
 ΝΗ ΤΗΡΣ ΖΝ
 ΝΕΥΝΟΒΕ
 ΜΝΙΝΕΦΑΝΟ
 15 ΜΙΑ· ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ
 ΔΤΕΤΝΜΕΡΕ
 ΠΔΩΣΜ· ΕΣΟΥΕ
 ΠΤΒΒΟ· ΔΥΩ
 ΔΤΕΤΝΣΩΤΗ
 20 ΝΗΤΗΝ ΜΠΜΟΥ·
 ΕΣΟΥΕΠΩΝΣ·
 ΔΤΕΤΝ†ΝΟΥ
 Ω ΓΑΡ ΜΠΤΕΝ
 ΤΑΥΤΑΜΕΤΗΥ
 25 ΤΗΝ· ΔΥΩ ΔΥΣΑ
 ΝΩΥΤΗΥΤΗ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΥΔ
 ΕΝΕΣ· ΔΤΕ
 ΤΗ†ΜΚΔΣ ΝΖΗΤ

ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΤΕΝ
 ΤΑΣΩΕΠΩΠ
 ΤΗΥΤΗ ΘΙΛΗΜ
 ΕΤΕΤΣΥΝΑΓΩ
 ΓΗ ΤΕ· ΔΥΩ
 ΔΤΕΤΝΖΕ· Μ
 ΜΕΕΡΕ ΝΘΕ
 ΝΝΕΤΖΝΤΠΑ
 ΩΕ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ·
 ΝΘΕ ΕΤΣΗΣ
 ΔΕ ΔΣΣΔΔΤΕ
 ΔΣΣΕ ΝΒΙΤΠΑΡ
 ΘΕΝΟΣ ΜΠΠΗΛ
 ΝΣΝΔΟΥΩΣ
 ΣΕ ΔΝ' ΕΤΟΟΤΣ
 ΕΤΩΟΥΝ·
 ΝΕΤΝΚΟΤΚ
 ΓΑΡ ΠΕΔΔΥ· ΕΥ
 ΝΚΟΤΚ ΝΤΕΥ
 ΩΗ· ΔΥΩ ΝΕΤ
 ΤΔΣΕ· ΕΥΤΔΣΕ
 ΝΤΕΥΩΗ·
 ΝΤΩΤΗΝ ΔΕ Δ
 ΤΕΤΝ†ΣΕ Μ
 ΜΕΕΡΕ ΝΘΕ
 ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥΣΟ
 ΟΣ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ·
 ΔΕ ΝΕΤΤΔΣΕ
 ΔΣΝΗΡΠ·



you turn back again¹ to² 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 life³. For you incited him who made you and nourished you, God, the Eternal, to wrath and you also grieved her who nursed you, Jerusalem⁴, that is to say the community. And you fell at noonday like those at midnight⁵, as it is written, "The virgin of Israel stumbled, she fell, she shall no more rise"⁶. "For those who sleep", it is said, "sleep in the night and those who are drunk are drunk in the night."⁷ But you were drunk at noonday like those about whom it was said, "They are drunk without wine"⁸.

¹For ΠΑΠΑΛΙΝ read ΠΑΛΙΝ .

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

³Cf. Jer.8.3.

⁴Cf. Bar.4.7-8.

⁵Cf. Is.59.10.

⁶Cf. Amos 5.2.

⁷I Thes.5.7.

⁸Cf. Is.29.9 and 51.21.

†
YIB
7

ΔΥΩ ΔΤΕΤΝΩ
 ΡΠ ΜΜΕΡΕ
 ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΤΝ
 ΚΟΤΚ ΝΤΕΥ
 5 ΩΗ· ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ
 ΔΤΕΤΝΚΩ Ν
 ΣΩΤΝ ΝΘΟΤΕ
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ·
 ΕΔΤΕΤΝΜΕΡΕ
 10 ΠΚΑΚΕ· ΕΖΟΥΕ
 ΕΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ·
 ΕΔΤΕΤΝΕΠ
 ΠΕΤΣΑΥΕ ΔΕ
 ΟΝ, ΔΕ ΗΣΟΛΒ·
 15 ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤΣΟΛΒ·
 ΔΕ ΗΣΑΥΕ·
 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΟΥΟΙ
 ΝΗΤΝ ΜΠΟ
 ΝΗΡΟΣ ΔΕ Μ
 20 ΠΕΤΝΡΠΜΕ
 ΕΥΕ ΜΠΣΙΣΕ
 ΤΗΡΥ ΕΝΤΑΠΕ
 ΕΙΩΤ' ΩΟΠΥ
 ΝΜΜΗΤΝ ΤΗΡ
 25 ΤΝ· ΕΔΤΕΤΝ
 ΚΩ ΝΣΩΤΝ
 ΝΝΕΥΣΒΟΥΕ
 ΝΩΝΣ ΜΝΝ
 ΔΝΣΜΕ ΝΝΕ

†
K5
7

ΤΝΕΙΟΤΕ:
 ΠΛΗΝ' ΕΙΣ ΝΣΛ
 ΛΟΕΙ ΜΝΝΕΝ
 ΣΝΗΥ ΔΥΕΙ ΩΔ
 ΡΩΤΝ ΝΚΕΣΠ·
 ΕΝΟΝΣ ΖΝΟΥ
 ΝΟΣ ΝΛΥΠΗ
 ΜΝΟΥΚΑΣ Ν
 ΖΗΤ' ΕΝΔΩΩ·
 ΕΤΡΕΥΕΙΡΕ
 ΝΤΟΥΕΙ ΤΟΥΕΙ
 ΜΩΩΤΝ ΚΑΤΑ
 ΠΕΣΜΠΩ·
 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΔΤΕ
 ΤΝΚΩ ΝΣΩΤΝ
 ΝΤΠΗΓΗ Μ
 ΜΟΥ ΝΩΝΣ· ΕΔ
 ΤΕΤΝΚΙΩΕ
 ΝΗΤΝ ΝΣΕΝ
 ΩΗΙ ΕΥΟΥΘΠ
 ΖΜΠΤΡΕΠΕ
 ΤΝΣΗΤ' ΝΔΤΣΒΩ
 ΡΚΑΚΕ ΕΡΩΤΝ·
 ΕΤΕΤΝΣΩ Μ
 ΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΔΝΟ
 ΖΕΝΣΑΒΕ· ΔΤΕ
 ΤΝΡΣΟΣ· ΕΔΤΕ
 ΤΝΩΙΒΕ ΜΠΕ
 ΟΟΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ

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 light¹, and also reckoned the bitter sweet and the sweet bitter². 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, here³ 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 dug⁴ for yourselves broken cisterns⁵ and when your ignorant hearts were darkened, and you said, "We are wise", you became fools, having exchanged the glory of God⁶

¹Cf. Jn.3.19.

²Cf. Is.5.20.

³For ΕΙC cf. 18r, note 4.

⁴For ΚΙΩΕ read ΩΙΚΕ .

⁵Cf. Jer.2.13.

⁶Cf. Rom.1.21-23.

2̄N2EN2BHYE
 EUWYE. E
 TBEIΔI' ΔITNOY
 TE †THYTN̄ E
 5 2PAI' EZENITΔ
 ΘOC EYCHY
 ETEΠΔIOYE
 TE M̄NΠXWZ̄U
 M̄NΠONHP̄O
 10 NIU. NΔI' ETE
 PETIMWPID
 NIŪ WOOPĪ N̄
 NETEIRE M̄MO
 OY. OY MONŌ
 15 Z̄UPEIDAWN.
 ΔLLΔ Z̄UTKE
 OYΔ':

TOY AYTOY

20 ΠENCΔE AYW
 ΠENΔOEIC IC TE
 X̄C ΠENCWTHP
 YΠAPAGFEILE
 AYW YTCB̄W
 25 NΔN EYΔW M̄
 MOC, ΔE MOO
 WYE ZOCON OY
 N̄THYTN̄ POYO
 EIN, ΔE N̄NE

ΠKΔKE TΔZE
 THYT̄N. AYW
 ΔE PETMOO
 WYE Z̄UPEZO
 OY. MEYΔIDP̄I'
 ΔE YNAY, EPOY
 OEIN M̄PEIKO
 CYOC. PET
 MOOYE Z̄NTEY
 WH̄ WΔYΔIDP̄I'
 ΔE POYO EIN
 WOOPI' ΔN 2PAI'
 N̄ZHT̄C.

ΔNON ΔE ZW̄W
 ENWΔNMOO
 WYE Z̄NN̄NOM̄E
 M̄TNOYTE
 M̄NN̄ENTOLĀ
 N̄NENEIOTE.

T̄N̄NΔYIDPOPI'
 ΔN'. ΔE POYO EI
 WOOPI' 2PAI' N̄

ZHTOY. TE
 ΔAY ΓAP ΔE NEI
 MOOYE Z̄U
 PETMOYO EIN
 Z̄UTKΔKE.

EYWPETE EN
 WΔNPAKT̄N

for unfitting things. Therefore God gave you up to despicable passions,¹ 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.²

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"³. 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 it⁴. 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"⁵. But if we turn ourselves away

¹Cf. Rom.1.26.

²Eph.1.21.

³Jn.12.35.

⁴Jn.11.9-10.

⁵Job 29.3.

ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΝΕΝΤΟ
ΛΗ̄ ὤΠΝΟΥΤΕ
ὤΝΝΕΣΒΟΥΕ
Ν̄ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ

5

ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΥ Ε
ΤΟΟΤ̄Ν. Τ̄ΝΝΑ
ΔΙΔΡΟΠ' ΠΕ, ΔΕ
Ν̄Τ̄ΝΣΟΟΥΝ

10

ΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΝΜΟΟ
ΩΕ ΕΤΩΝ. ΔΕ
ΑΠΚΑΚΕ ΤΩῦ
Ν̄ΝΕΝΒΑΛ. ΑΥΩ
Τ̄ΝΝΑΔΟΠΔ̄Π
Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΕΤΕ

15

ὤΝΒΑΛ ὤΜΟΟΥ.

Τυκῶ γὰρ ὤμος
ΔΕ ΟΥΡΕΨ̄ΡΟΥ
ΟΕΙΝ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ
ΤΕΝΤΟΛΗ̄ ΕΤ

20

ΝΑΝΟΥΣ. ΠΝΟ
ΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΥΟΥ
ΟΕΙΝ ΠΕ Ν̄ΖΙΗ̄:

ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΖΗ
Β̄Σ Ν̄ΝΑΟΥΕ

25

ΡΗΤΕ ΠΕ ΠΕΚ
ΩΔΔΕ, ΑΥΩ Π̄Υ
ΟΕΙΝ ΠΕ Ν̄ΝΑ
ΖΙΟΥΕ.

ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΔ

Γ̄ΝΝΑ ΝΔΨΟΡ
Π̄Υ ΔΙΝΤΕΥΩΗ
ΥΝΔΨΟΡΠ̄Υ
ΩΔΡΟΚ Π̄ΝΟΥ
ΤΕ, ΔΕ ΖΕΝΟΥ
ΟΕΙΝ ΝΕ ΝΕΚ
ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ

3

ΖΙΔΨΠΚΑΔ.
ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΝΟ
ΜΟΣ ὤΠΔΟΙΣ
ΟΥΔΔΒ. ΕΥΚΤ̄Ο
Ν̄ΝΕΨΥΧΗ̄.

ΕΥΚΤ̄Ο ὤΜΟ
ΟΥ, ΕΤΩΝ. ΕΙ
ΜΗΤΙ ΕΒΟΛ
ΖΨΠΠΕΘΟΥ
ΕΠ̄ΠΕΤΝΑΝΨ̄Υ.

ΕΒΟΛ ΖΨΠΚΑ
ΚΕ ΕΠΟΥΟΕΤ̄.

3

ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΕ̄
ΤΟΛΗ̄ ὤΠΔΟ
ΕΙΣ ΟΥΟΥΟΕΤ̄
ΤΕ ΕΣ̄ΡΟΥΟΕΤ̄
ΕΝΒΑΛ Ν̄ΝΚΟΥῙ.

3

ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΕΤ
ΝΑΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΤΕ̄
ΤΟΛΗ̄. Ν̄ΝΑ
ΕΙΜΕ ΑΝ ΕΥΩΔ
ΔΕ ὤΠΟΝΗΡΟ̄.

from the commandments of God and our fathers' teachings which they gave us, we shall stumble, since we know not whither we go¹ because the darkness has shut our eyes, and we shall grope like those who have no eyes². For it is said, "The good commandment is a lamp, and the law is a light for the way³." And again, "Your word is the lamp of my feet and the light of my ways⁴." 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 earth⁵." And again, "The law of the Lord is holy, converting souls⁶." Whither does it turn⁷ 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 young⁸." And again, "He who shall keep the commandment shall know no evil thing⁹."

¹Cf. Jn.12.35.

²Cf. Is.59.10.

³Prov.6.23.

⁴Ps.118.105.

⁵Is.26.9.

⁶Ps.18.8.

⁷I.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.

⁸Ps.18.9.

⁹Eccles.8.5.

5 ἄνω ὄν δε πε
 τναζαρεζ ετε
 τολη. παϊ πετ
 οχοδ. ογκ
 ουν ενψαν
 παραβα ντε
 τολη. ενο ν
 θε μπενταυ
 τακο, ανω αυ
 10 οτωδπ. πε
 τερεναι γαρ
 υοοπ' ναυ αν.
 ογβλλε πε ε
 νυναν εβολ
 15 αν, εαυδι νου
 βυε μπτββο
 ννευωορπ
 ννοβε.
 και γαρ τενμα
 20 αυ τηρν ετε
 τσοφια τε. σ
 σβω νανι εσδω
 μωο, δε πα
 υηρε μπρρε
 25 οτωοδνε εχ
 ζοογ ταζοκ.
 παϊ εκω ν
 σω ντεσβω
 διντεμντ



κογι. ανω ετ
 οβυ ετδιδθη
 κη ετουδαβ.
 αυκαπευηι
 γαρ ζατμπμογ.
 ανω πεψμα μ
 μοουε μνν
 ρωμε ζατνα
 μντε. ννεογ
 ον νιμ ετσο
 ογζ' ερογ κο
 τογ. ανω ννεγ
 ταζενεζιοογε
 μπωνε. αλλα
 σεναρπκερ
 ζηγ. ννεεν
 ρομπε γαρ μ
 πωνε ταζοογ.
 ενενταυτα
 μοουε γαρ ζι
 νεζιοογε ετ
 νανογoy. νεγ
 ναδννεζιο
 ογε ννδικαι
 ος εγλεε
 λωε πε.
 ενψαντζη
 γαρ ενεσβγε
 ννεγραφη ζν



And again, "He who shall keep the commandment is saved"¹. 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 sins². 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*³, because the years of life shall not be attained by them. For if they had walked⁴ on the good paths they would have found the ways of the righteous smooth⁵." If we pay heed to the teachings of the scriptures

¹Cf. Prov.13.13.

²II Pet.1.9.

³*-* This clause is not in the Greek text of Proverbs, but does occur in the Sah., cf. Worrell, Prov.

⁴For ENENTAYTAUOOWE read ENENTAYUOOWE .

⁵Prov.2.16-20.

ⲓ
ϣⲓⲛ
ⲧ

5 ΟΥΩΡ̄Χ ΔΥΩ
Ν̄Τ̄ΝΩΤ̄Μ Ν̄
ΩΟΥ. Τ̄ΝΝΔ
ΔΙΔΡΟΠ̄ ΔΝ ΠΕ·
ΟΥΤΕ Ν̄Τ̄ΝΝΔΚΔ

ΤΔΦΡΟΝΕΙ ΔΝ
ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΝΩΩ
ΠΕ Ζ̄ΜΠΕΘΟ

10 ΟΥ ΝΙΜ· ΔΛΛΔ
Τ̄ΝΝΔΩΤ̄Μ
Ν̄ΩΠΕΤΔΩ

Λ̄ΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΔΜΔ
ΖΤΕ Λ̄Π̄ΠΕΤ
ΝΔΝΟΥΥ. ΩΔ

15 ΖΕΤΗΥΤ̄Ν ΕΒ̄Λ
Ν̄ΩΩΒ ΝΙΜ Ε
ΘΟΥ· ΔΕΚΔΣ
ΕΡΕΖΔΖ' Ν̄ΖῙΗ

Ν̄ΩΝ̄Ω ΩΩΠΕ
20 ΝΔΝ· ΩΔΩ

Ⲛ Ⲛⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲥ ⲗⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲛⲟ

25 ΜΟΣ· ΕΥΚΤ̄
ΕΡΟΥ ΝΟΥΩ
Β̄Τ· ΔΥΩ

Ⲛ Ⲟⲛ ϣⲁⲛⲗⲟⲟⲥ
ⲗⲉ ⲁⲗⲧ ⲡⲁⲣ ⲛ̄

ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉϥ
ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ·

Ⲛ ⲗⲓⲙⲡⲓⲧⲣⲉⲡⲣⲱ
ⲙⲉ ⲡⲁⲣ ⲡⲱⲧ'

ΕΡΑΤ̄Υ Λ̄Π̄ΝΟΥ
ΤΕ Ν̄ΥΡ̄ΖΟΤΕ
ΖΗΤ̄Υ ΔΥΩ Ν̄Υ

†ΖΤΗΥ ΕΝΕΥ
ΝΟΜΟΣ Λ̄Μ̄
ΝΕΥΕΝΤΟΛ̄Η·

ΩΔΡΕΠΔΟΕΙΣ
ΩΩΠΕ ΝΔΥ Ν̄

ΒΟΗΘΟΣ, Ν̄ΥΝΔ
ΖΜΕῩ ΕΖῙΗ ΝΙΜ

ΕΘΟΥ· ΔΥΩ Ε
ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΝ̄Υ

ΔΕΛΔΥ ΔΝ' Λ̄
ΜΕ', ΕΤΕΠΔΙΔΒΟ
ΛΟΣ ΠΕ, ΠΔῙ ΕΤ

ΦΘΟΝΕΙ ΕΝΕΤ
ΟΥΩΥ' ΕΩΝ̄Ω
Ζ̄ΝΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΕΥ

ΣΕΒΗΣ·
Ⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲓ

ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲕ̄ⲱ Ν̄
ΩΟΥ Ν̄Ν̄ΝΟ
ΜΟΣ Λ̄Π̄ΝΟΥΤΕ

ΔΥΩ ΕΤΩΒ̄Ω
Λ̄ΜΟΥ ΕΝΕΝ
ΤΟΛ̄Η Ν̄ΝΕΝΕΙ
ΟΤΕ ΕΝΤΔΥΩ

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"¹, in order that we may have many ways of life. For it is said, "He who loves the law surrounds himself with a wall"². And again it is said, "He gave the law for a help"³. 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 devil⁴, 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

¹I Thes.5.21-22.

²Cf. Prov.28.4.

³Is.8.20.

⁴Cf. Jn.8.44.

ἄλλοι ἔτο
 οἱ τῆς. ἔπειτα
 5 ἄλλοι γὰρ δικαιο
 ὡς ἔχει οὐρα
 ναὶ ἔχει ἀπὸ
 τοῦ ἐβόλ ἄλλοι.
 οὐρανοῦ μὴ
 ἐβίην ναταρο
 οὐ, ἔχει ἀπὸ
 10 ἔπειτα.
 ἡ ἄλλοι
 ναὶ ἔχει ὡς
 κῶ ἄλλοι
 ἄλλοι οὐρα
 15 ἔπειτα.
 ἔπειτα ναὶ
 ἄλλοι οὐρα
 ἄλλοι. ἔπειτα
 φράσεται ἐξ ἄλλοι
 20 φράσεται
 οὐ. ἔπειτα
 ἐξ ἄλλοι οὐρα,
 ναὶ ἐπειτα
 οὐρα οὐρα
 25 με. ἔπειτα
 με ἄλλοι οὐρα
 ἀπὸ ἄλλοι.
 ἔπειτα.
 ἔπειτα

ἄλλοι ἔτε
 γνῶμη ἄλλοι
 καὶ οὐρα.
 5 ἔπειτα οὐρα
 ναὶ ἔπειτα
 ναὶ ἄλλοι οὐρα
 ἐπειτα οὐρα
 τε καὶ ναὶ ἔ
 10 πειτα, ἔπειτα
 ἀπὸ, ἔπειτα
 οὐρα. ἡ ἄλλοι
 † ἐβόλ. ἡ ἄλλοι
 οὐρα, ἄλλοι
 ἄλλοι. ἡ ἄλλοι
 οὐρα ἄλλοι
 ἄλλοι οὐρα
 15 ἄλλοι οὐρα
 ἄλλοι οὐρα
 ἡ ἄλλοι οὐρα
 ναὶ οὐρα ἄλλοι
 20 ἄλλοι οὐρα
 ἐπειτα οὐρα
 τε καὶ ναὶ ἔ
 25 πειτα οὐρα
 ἄλλοι οὐρα.
 ἔπειτα οὐρα
 οὐρα οὐρα
 οὐρα οὐρα
 οὐρα οὐρα
 οὐρα οὐρα

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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, whose² ways are twisted and whose paths³ are so devious⁴ that they become remote and estrange themselves from the purpose of the righteous.⁵" So all who transgress⁵ 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

¹Hos.7.13.

²One would expect the construction $\text{Nai } \epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\text{ney} \tau\iota\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$, cf. Steindorff, para 519; Plumley, para 357. It may be noted that one MS containing this verse of Proverbs (2.15) reads $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon$ -, cf. Worrell, Prov.

³For $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$ read $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\text{ney}\mu\alpha$.

⁴Prov.2.13-15.

⁵Cf. Prov.2.16.

ῥ
ΥΪΗ
7

ΟΥΣΝΟ̄ ΕΥΩΟ

ΒΕ ΕΥΠΟΥΤΑ

ΔΥ ΕΤΟΟΤ̄Ν.

ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ Ν̄ΟΕ

5

ΖΕ' ΕΡΟΝ ΕΝΚΑ

ΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙ, ΔΥΩ

ΕΝΚΩ̄ Ν̄ΩΩΝ

Ν̄ΝΤΩΨ' Μ̄Ν

ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΝ

10

ΤΑΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ

ΚΑΔΥ ΝΔΝ' ΕΖΡΑΙ

ΕΤΒΕΖΕΝΤΡΟ

ΦΗ̄ Ν̄ΖΗ̄ ΕΥΝΑ

ΤΑΚΟ̄. Μ̄Ν̄Ν̄ΟΑ

15

ΤΡΕΥΣΖΑῙ ΝᾹ

ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕΟΥ

ΖΡΕ Μ̄ΠΡΚΑΤΑ

ΛΥΕ Μ̄ΠΖΩΒ

Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

20

Ν̄ΟΥΝΟΒΕ ΜΕ̄

ΔΝ ΠΕ, ΟΥΤΕ

Ν̄ΟΥΔΡΙΚΕ ΝᾹ

ΔΝ', ΠΤΕ ΕΝΨᾹ

ΨΙΝΕ Ζ̄ΝΖΩΒ

25

ΝΙΜ. ΕΥΠΔΤ̄Ν

ΔΔΥ. ΟΥΔΝΟ

ΜΙΔ ΔΕ Ν̄ΤΟΥ

ΝΔΝ ΤΕ, ΔΥΩ

ΟΥΝΟΒ Μ̄Μ̄ΝΤ

ΨΑΥΤΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ

ΕΧΩΝ ΤΕ ΕΝ

ΨΑΝΡ̄ΛΑΔΥ Ν̄

ΖΩΒ, Η̄ Ν̄Τ̄Ν

ΒΩΚ ΕΛΑΔΥ

Μ̄Μ̄Δ ΕΥΠ̄Τ̄ΝΨΙ

ΝΕ Ν̄ΨΟΡ̄Π.

Η̄ Ν̄Τ̄ΝΟΥΨΜ

ΛΑΔΥ Ν̄ΔΙΟΥΕ.

Η̄ Ν̄Τ̄ΝΣΕΗ̄Ρ̄Π.

ΕΥΠ̄Τ̄ΝΤΑΜΕ

ΝΕΤΥΙ Μ̄ΠΤΕ̄

ΡΟΥΨ.

ΕΨΩΠΤΕ ΔΕ

ΕΝΨΑΝΡ̄ΖΩΒ

Ν̄ΤΕΙΖΕ ΕΜ

Π̄Τ̄ΝΨΙΝΕ, ΠΕ̄

ΣΝΟΥ ΖΙΧΩ̄.

ΔΥΩ ΝΕΤΕΙΡΕ

Ν̄ΝΔΙ, ΣΕΝΔ

ΣΟΝΖΟΥ Ζ̄Ν

ΝΕΥΜΕΕΥΕ.

ΔΥΩ ΣΕΝΔΑΟΥ

ΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ Ε

ΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Μ̄ΠΨΑ

ΔΕ ΕΤΧΗΖ' ΔΕ

Ν̄Τ̄Ο Ν̄ΒΔΨΟΡ

ΕΤΕΝ̄ΔΔΙΜΩ̄

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 perish¹, even after it was written for us, "Because of food do not destroy the work of God"². 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"³, which means demons. And again

¹Cf. Jn.6.27 and I Cor.6.13.

²Rom.14.20.

³Cf. Ps.62.11.

ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΤ
ΧΗΞ' ΝΑΔΟΟΣ
ΝΑΝ ΝΤΕΙΞΕ
ΔΕ ΣΕΣΣΟΥΟ
ΡΤ ΝΒΙΝΕΤΡΙ
ΚΕ ΜΜΟΥ Ε
ΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΚΕΝ
ΤΟΛΗ. ΔΥΩ

5

ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΔΚΣΕΥΩ
ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤ
ΣΑΖΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ
ΝΝΕΚΔΙΚΑΙΩ
ΜΑ. ΔΕ ΟΥΔΙ Ν
ΘΟΝΣ ΠΕ ΠΕΥ
ΜΕΕΥΕ.

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15

X

ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΘ
ΔΑΙ ΟΥΗΥ ΝΝ
ΡΕΥΡΝΟΒΕ.
ΔΕ ΜΠΟΥΨΙΝΕ
ΝΣΑΝΕΚΔΙΚΑΙ

20

ωμα:
ΕΤΒΕΓΤΑΙΣΕ ΝΕ
ΣΝΗΥ ΝΑΝΟΥΣ
ΝΑΝ ΕΤΡΕΝ
ΔΠΘ ΝΑΝ' ΝΘΟ
ΤΕ ΜΠΔΟΕΙΣ.
ΔΥΩ ΝΤΝΣΔΣΩ
ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΤΕ
ΡΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ

25

ΜΟΣΤΕ ΜΜΟ
ΟΥ. ΔΕΚΔΣ ΕΝΕ
ΞΕ' ΕΥΝΑ ΣΨΠΕ
ΣΟΥ ΜΠΕΝΣΜ
ΠΨΙΝΕ. ΔΕ Ν
ΤΝΣΟΟΥΝ ΔΝ
ΔΕ ΕΝΕΤΩΜΤ
ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΥΩ
ΠΕΝΔΟΕΙΣ ΙΣ
ΝΔΩ ΝΞΕ. ΠΣΩΒ
ΓΑΡ ΜΟΚΣ ΕΜΑ
ΤΕ ΕΔΠΑΝΤΑ Ε
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΚΑΙ
ΓΑΡ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ
ΔΝ ΝΤΕΝΞΕ' ΠΕ
ΤΝΝΑΤΩΜΤ Ε
ΡΟΥ. ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥ
ΔΟΕΙΣ ΠΕ ΔΥΩ
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ
ΕΥΣΟΟΥΝ Ε
ΝΕΤΝΕΙΡΕ Μ
ΜΟΥ, ΣΨΠΚΑ
ΚΕ. ΟΔΩ ΓΑΡ
ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΜΗ
ΟΥΝΟΥΑ ΝΔΥ
ΣΟΠΥ ΣΨΝΟΥ
ΜΑ ΝΣΩΠ. ΝΤΑ
ΤΜΝΔΥ ΕΡΟΥ
ΔΝΟΚ. ΜΗ Ν

Τ

the word which is written will speak to us thus, "They who turn away from your commandments are cursed"¹, and again, "You despised all who are far from your statutes, because their thoughts are iniquity"², and again, "Salvation is far from the sinners because they did not seek after your statutes"³. 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

¹Ps.118.21.

²Ps.118.118.

³Ps.118.155.

†ΜΟΥΣ' ΔΝ ΝΤΠΕ
ΜΝΠΚΔΣ ΠΕ
ΔΕΠΔΟΕΙΣ·

5

ΤΕΣΗ ΓΑΡ Ὢ
ΠΩΝΣ ΠΕ ΡΑΚ
ΤΝ ΕΒΟΛ ὪΠΠΕ
ΘΟΥ· ΔΥΩ
ΤΑΡΧΗ ΝΤΣΟ
ΦΙΔ· ΤΕ ΘΟΤΕ

10

ὪΠΔΟΕΙΣ:
ὪΠΩΡΘΕ ΤΕ
ΝΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΝ
ΔΠΟ ΝΔΝ ΝΟΥ
ΜΝΤΑΤΣΟΤΕ

15

ΝΤΝΡΝΟΒΕ
ὪΠΕΜΤΟ Ε
ΒΟΛ ὪΠΝΟΥΤΕ·
ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΝΝΕ
ΡΣΤΗΝ ΣΝΤΕΝ

20

ΣΑΗ· ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑ
ΡΝ†ΠΕΝΣΗΤ'
ΕΤΕΣΒΩ, ΝΤΝ
ΡΙΚΕ ΝΝΕΝΜΑ
ΔΔΕ ΕΝΨΑΔΕ
ΝΤΑΙΣΘΗΣΙΣ·

25

ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΝΕΕΙ
ΜΕ ΔΕ ΕΝΤΩ·
ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΤΝ
ΜΟΥΤ· ΕΝΔΩ

ΜΜΟC ΔΕ ΤΝ
ΟΝΣ· ΜΗΠΟ
ΤΕ ΤΝΟ ΝΚΑ
ΚΕ· ΕΝΔΩ Ὢ
ΜΟC ΔΕ ΔΝΟΝ
ΣΕΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ·



ΤΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ ΘΕ
ΕΝΤΑΝΣΑΒΕ
ΕΥ ΔΟΟC ΔΕ
ΜΝΒΕCΩΝΤ
ΝΘΕ ὪΠΑΙ· ΕΟΥ
ΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΣΝ
ΣΕΝΝΟΒΕ· ΕΜ
ΠΕΥΣΗΤ' ΕΝΔ
ΡΙΚΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΔΝ·
ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΥΕ
ΚΩ ΝCΩΥ Ν
ΝΕΥΝΟΒΕ
ΜΝΝΕCΜΝΤ
ΨΑΥΤΕ·



ΣΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΝ
ΨΑΝΣΑΡΕΣ Ε
ΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ Ὢ
ΠΔΟΕΙC ΙC· ΔΥΩ
ΝΤΝCΩΤῪ Ε
ΝΕΥΨΑΔΕ· ΤΕ
ΣΗΗ ΝΔCΟΥ
ΤΝ ΠΕ· ΔΥΩ Ν
ΤΝΝΔΔΙΔΡΟΠ'

I not fill the heaven and the earth?' says the Lord!." For to turn ourselves from evil is the way of life, and the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.² Now therefore far be it from us to acquire disrespect and to sin before God lest we regret³ at our end, but let us pay heed to teaching and incline our ears to the words of knowledge⁴, that we may know how we are,⁵ 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.

¹Jer.23.24.

²Cf. Ps.110.10 and Prov.1.7.

³Note ENNENĀ - for NĀNENĀ -.

⁴Cf. Prov.23.12.

⁵I.e. "what our spiritual state is".

5 ἀν· καὶ γὰρ ἀγ
 τῶμον· ε
 γαὶ ζιτῦπε
 ψαλλωδος
 εὐδω ῥωοο
 δε εἶνοῦ ἐρε
 οὐψηρε ψημ
 νασοοῦτῆν ἦ
 τευγιῆ· πεδω
 10 δε ζῦπτρεϋ
 δαρεε ἐνεκ
 ωαχε· οὐκ'
 οὐν· οὐοῖ· ναν
 ἐνωανοβωῆ
 15 ἐνωαχε ἦνε
 εἶοτε· ετοῦ
 ζων· ῥωοοῦ
 ετοοτῆν·
 20 Γλῆν †νασοο
 ἦτεῖζε εἶνοῦ
 ἦοο ἦληπη
 ῥῥωοῦκαε
 ἦζητ' δε ἐκ
 των· τενοῦτ
 25 ῥῥε ετοῦ
 οῖ· ζῦπενῶ
 ῥῥηνε ῥῥ
 τταρρησι ε
 τεῥῥκροῦ ἦ

ΖΗΤ̄· ΕΝCΟ
 ΟΥΝ ΔΝ' ἦΚΡΟΥ
 ΟΥΤΕ ΔΙΟΥΕ·
 ΕΤΒΕΓΔΙ ΟΥ
 ΟΙ ἦΝΕΤΔΙΟΥΕ
 ΖἦΛΔΔΥ ἦΖΕΝῆ
 ΖἦΛΔΔΥ ῥῥα·
 ΔΥΩ ΕΤΔΙ ΕΤ†
 ΖἦΝΟΥΚΡΟΥ
 ῥῥΟΥῥῥῥῥῥῥ
 ΚΟΤ̄, ΕΜΠΟΥ
 ΔΟΟC ἦΨΟΡῥ·
 ΔΥΩ CΕCΖΟΥΟ
 ῥῥ ἦCῥῥῥῥῥῥ
 ῥῥ ἦῥῥῥῥῥῥ
 ΚΟΟΥΕ; ΔΕ ῥ
 ΠΟΥΨῥῥῥῥ, ΟΥ
 ΤΕ ῥΠΟΥῥῥῥ
 ΤΕ ΖΗΤΟΥ ἦἦ
 CῥῥΟΥ ΕΝῥ
 Γῥῥῥῥῥῥῥῥ ΔΟ
 ΟΥ ΕΤΒΕΝΕῖ
 ΖΒΗΥΕ ἦΤΕῖ
 ΖΕ· ΕΤΒΕΓΔΙ
 ΠΕῥῥῥῥῥ ἦΖΗΤ
 ΤΗῥῥ ἦῥῥῥῥῥ
 ΟΤΕ ῥῥῥῥ
 ΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ῥῥῥῥῥῥῥῥ

X

This too we were told by the psalmist, who says, "Where-
with shall a young man straighten his way? By keeping your
words"¹, 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 it². 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

¹Ps.118.9.

²The Paris fragment 130⁵, 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
IKB
7

IC ECEEI ECPAI
EXWOU, AYU
EXNTCOOY
ZE NAXWOU.

5

EBOL ZE AYF
CBW NAN AYU
AYTAMON EY
XW MOC ZE
ATEYWH PRO

10

KOITE. APE
ZOY ZWN E
ZOYN. MAPN
KWB NCWN
NNEZBHYE M

15

PKAKE. NTN
+ ZE ZIWWN N
NZOPLON M
POYO EIN. ETE
Nai NE NEZBH

20

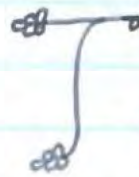
OYE, ETNANOY
OY, AYU NAIKAI
OCYHN. EU
PATEP EZBY
NTENZAH ETU

25

MAY EI EXWN
ZNOYWCNE
NBE NOYPA
WH NTNTWP
BOL. EWNPE

TNACWTU EPOT.
OYTE EWNPE
TNACWTE N
TENPWEIH E
BOL ZINENBAL.
EBOL ZE WPTN
CWTU KALWC.
OYTE WPTNF
ZTHN EYZW
ETOOTN ZE
ALWTN ZINNE
TNPONHPID.
ZICBW EPPE
TNANOY.

NTOY ZE PE
XAU AYRATCW
TU. AYU AYF
NOYOC WPEU
PNa ETOYADB.
AYU APXOEIC
KTOY NAY EY
MNTXDXE.



Tai GAP TE OE
ENTANETNOI
XOOC NTEROY
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"¹, which are good and righteous works, before the day of our end comes upon us suddenly like a snare² 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 eyes³, because we did not hear diligently nor did we heed when they commanded us, saying, "Cease from your wickednesses, learn to do good"⁴. "But they were disobedient", it says, "and provoked his holy spirit to anger, and the Lord turned to them in enmity"⁵. For thus said those of understanding when they saw that we were not examining ourselves or judging

¹Rom.13.12.

²Cf. Lk.21.34.

³Cf. perhaps Rev.7.17.

⁴Is.1.16-17.

⁵Is.63.10, cf. 30r, note 6.

NE ūMON DN
XE ENEPETHC
IC NĒHTĪN. PE
ΔAY XE OYŪOY
5 ΜΗΗΨΕ ΕΥΣΟ
CE ZĒTΠOΛI
TId. EdTEYŪNT
ATΔIdKPINE
ZOTBOY ŪŪI
10 ŪŪOY.

ΨAYΔOOC ΔE
ON XE ENΨAN
†ZTHN EBOL
ZĒNNEΓPAΦĀ.

15 TĒNNAEIME ZĒ
OYWPX XE NET
O NĀTCWTŪ
KATAOYOEIΨ.
MEPEΛAY N̄

20 ZWB EYCOY
TWN' ΨWΠE
NAY NĒAZPŪ
ΠNOYTE. ΔΛ
ΛA EΨAYZHTO
25 MINE EZENE
BATE EYCOY
EIT' ZŪPKEI
KOCMOC.

Πάλιν ON ΨAY

ΔOOC XE EIC
ZHHTE ANNAΨ
EBOL ZĒNNEΓPA
ΦĪ ETOYΔΔB
XE NETOYH2
NĒAΠOYΨW
ŪΠNOYTE. N̄
TOOY NETNA
KΛHPONOMEI
NĒNEΨAΓAΘŌ.

NETMOOΨE
ΔE ZŪΠOYΨW
EΘOOY ŪΠEY
ZHĒ. EYCBTWT
EYOPΓĀ. NΘE
ETCH2 XE ΠEY
4NT NAYOY DN
AYW ΠEYKW
ZĒT NΔXENΔ DN.
NCEΨWΠE E
PECAPĒ NIM
NAY EPPOY:

ETBEΓAĪ OYOĪ
NΔN. ECE†
CBŪ NΔN NŌI
TENŪNTAT
CWTŪ. AYW
ECEΔΠION N̄
BITENKAKId.

whether Christ Jesus was in us, "Many", they said, "are troubled in the community,^{1a} 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 ^{*}those² who are disobedient time after time no right thing happens before God, but they endure^b months of vanity³ in this world."^{4c} Again it is said, "Behold we have seen from the holy scriptures that those who follow the will of God shall inherit his good things⁵, but those who walk in the evil will of⁶ their hearts are ripe for wrath^d, 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'⁷". So woe^e to us. Our disobedience will teach us, and our wickedness will upbraid us.

¹Perhaps "way of life".

²*-* This passage also occurs in Zoega CCIV (cf. p.19ff) fol. C1r introduced as follows: ἀλλὰ μαρῆναγωνίζε ενεῖρε ἄπμεεγε ἄπενταμδοοο δε . The words ἦνασῶμῆνοῦτε are omitted.

³Cf. Job 7.3.

⁴For εἰπείκοσμος read with Zoega CCIV and Paris 130⁵, 109v εἰπεικοσμος .

⁵The quotation up to this point also occurs in Paris 130¹, fol.12v (cf. p.28), with the addition of "brethren" after "Behold". It is introduced thus: ἀκεογα δε ον δοοο ἦκεμα δε .

⁶Note the use of ἦ for ἦτε , cf. Steindorff, para 167; Plumley, para 100.

⁷Is.66.24.

^aFor πολιτια Paris 130⁵, 109v reads πολιτεια

^bFor εἰπομῆνε Paris 130⁵, 109v reads εἰπο[μ]εῖνε

^cFor πείκοσμος Paris 130⁵, 109v reads πείκοσμος

^dFor εγορη Paris 130⁵, 110r reads [ε]γορη

^eFor οχοῖ Paris 130⁵, 110r reads οχ[ο]εῖ

ΥΚΔ
7

ΕΙΜΕ ΔΥΩ Ν̄
Τ̄ΝΝΔΥ ΔΕ ΥCΑ
ΩΕ ΝΔΝ ΕΤΡΕ̄
ΚΩ Ν̄CΩΝ Ν̄
Ν̄ΔΙΚΔΙΩΜΔ
Λ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ
Λ̄Ν̄ΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ

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Ν̄ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ:
Λ̄ΠΩΡΒΕ ΟΝ
ΕΤΡΕΥΔΟΟC
ΝΔΝ Ζ̄ΝΟΥΘΩ
Ν̄Τ ΔΕ Δ̄Ο Ν̄ΖΕ̄
CΟΥΟ. Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄Ν
ΩΖC Ν̄ΖΕΝΩΘ̄

10

ΤΕ. ΠΕΙΝΟC
Ν̄CΔΖΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ
ΤΕΝΛ̄ΝΤΔΤ
CΒΩ Λ̄ΝΤΕΝ
Λ̄ΝΤΔΤCΩΤ̄.

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ΕΤΒΕΧΕ ΔΝ
ΚΩ Ν̄CΩΝ Ν̄
ΤΠΗΓΗ Ν̄ΤCΟ
ΦΙΔ. ΔΥΩ ΔΠΕ̄
ΖΗΤ̄ Ν̄ΔΤCΒΩ
Ρ̄ΚΔΚΕ ΕΡΟΝ.
ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΤ̄Λ
ΤΡΕΝΡ̄ΠΜΕ
ΕΥΕ Ν̄ΤΕΝΖΔΗ.
Λ̄ΝΠΝΔΥ ΕΤ̄Ν

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ΝΔΤ Λ̄ΠΤΕΝΠ̄ΝΔ
ΕΝΒΙΔ Λ̄ΠΝΟΥ
ΤΕ. ΝΙΜΒΕ

ΠΕ ΠCΟΦΟC
Ν̄ΨΕΙΜΕ ΕΝΔΙ.
ΔΥΩ Π̄Ρ̄Λ̄ΝΖΗΤ̄
Ν̄ΨΟΥΩΝΟΥ
ΔΕ CΕCΟΥΤΩ
Ν̄ΒΙΝΕΖΙΟΥCΕ
Λ̄ΠΔΘΕΙC.
Ν̄ΔΙΚΔΙΟC ΜΕ̄
CΕΝΔΜΟΟΥCΕ
Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ. ΝΔ
CΕΒΗC ΔΕ. CΕ
ΝΔΡ̄CΩΒ Ν̄ΖΗ
ΤΟΥ:

ΒΗCΔ ΠΕΙΕΛΔ
ΧΙCΤΟC ΠΕΤ
CΖΔΙ Ν̄ΝΕΥ
ΜΕΡΔΤΕ Ν̄
CΝΗΥ Ζ̄ΛΠΔΘ
ΕΙC. ΕΪΩΔΝ
ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΧΔΙ
ΡΕ. ΤΕΝΟΥ
ΡΩ ΕΥΤΩΝ
ΠΡΑΥΕ ΔΕ
ΔΠCΟΛCΛ ΖΩΠ̄
ΕΝΒΔΛ Ν̄ΝΕΤ

Know and see¹ that it is bitter for us to forsake the statutes of God² and the commandments of our fathers. On no account then let it be said of us in wrath, "Sow wheat and reap thorns"³. This great curse is because of our ignorance and our disobedience and because we forsook the fountain of wisdom, and our ignorant hearts were darkened⁴, so that we did not call to mind our end and the time when we shall give our spirit into the hands of God⁵. 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.⁶

Besa, this most humble^a 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

¹ For ΝΤ̄ΝΝΔΥ read ΝΤΕΤ̄ΝΝΔΥ .

² Cf. Jer.2.19.

³ Jer.12.13.

⁴ Cf. Rom.1.21.

⁵ Cf. Lk.23.46.

⁶ Hos.14.10.

^a For ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ Paris 130⁵, 110v reads ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙ[Σ]ΤΟΣ

ΟΥΕΨΠΕΥΟΥ
Δαϊ· ΔΥΩ ΕΤ
ΜΟΚΕ ΝΖΗΤ'
ΕΔΨΠΕΝΤΑ
5 ΚΟ· ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ
ΟΥΝΖΟΕΙΝΕ
ΝΖΗΤΗΝ ΔΥΨΩ
ΠΕ ΕΥΤΗΝΤΩ
ΕΓΔΑΕΒΗC Ε
10 ΤΕΜΨΝΤΥ ΡΑΨΕ
ΜΨΔΥ· ΔΥΩ
ΝΘΕ ΜΨΛΑΟC
ΕΤΕΜΨΝCΟΟΥ
ΝΖΗΤΥ· ΕΒΟΛ
15 ΔΕ ΔΥΟΥΔΑΖΟΥ
ΝCΑΠΔΙΔΒΟ
ΛΟC ΠΕΝΤΑΨ
ΤΑΚΟ ΝΤΟΙ
ΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ ΖΨ
20 ΝΕΨΝΟΒΕ·
ΝΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΨ
ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΔΕΟ
ΕΙΝΕ ΓΑΡ ΔΙΝ
ΤΕΝΟΥ, ΟΥΔ
25 ΖΟΥ ΖΙΠΔΑΖΟΥ
ΜΨΤCΑΤΑΝΑC·
ΔΥΩ ΔΥΚΩ Ν
CΩΟΥ ΜΨΠΝΟ
ΜΟC ΜΨΠΨΥΤΕ·

ΔΥΟΥΔΑΖΟΥ ΝCΑ
ΠΕΥΖΗΤ' ΝΚΑ
ΚΕ ΕΤΟ ΝΖΒΑ
ΜΨΝΠΕΥCΟΟΥ
ΝΨΝΟΥΔ' ΕΤΟ
ΝΚΜΗΜΕ· ΜΨΝ
ΤΕΥΜΨΝΤCΑΒΕ
ΝΔΥ ΜΔΥΔΔΥ
ΤΔΨ ΕΝΤΑΝΕΤ
ΝΟΨ ΨΟΛC ΕΒΛ·
ΕΔΥΔΟΟC ΔΕ
ΟΥΟΨ ΝΨΝΕΤΟ
ΝCΑΒΕ ΝΔΥ ΜΔ
ΔΔΥ· ΔΥΩ ΕΥΟ
ΝΡΨΜΨΖΗΤ' Μ
ΠΕΥΜΨΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ·
ΟΥΟΨ ΝΨΝΕΤ
ΩΠ' ΜΨΤΚΔΚΕ·
ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ· ΔΥΩ
ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Ν
ΚΔΚΕ· ΝΕΤ
ΔΩ ΜΨΜΟC ΔΕ
ΠΕΤCΑΨΕ ΖΟ
ΛΟ· ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤ
ΖΟΛΟC CΑΨΕ·
ΠΔΠΟCΤΟΛΟC
ΔΕ ΟΝ ΔΩ Μ
ΜΟC ΔΕ ΔΠΕΥ
ΖΗΤ' ΝΔΤCΒΨ

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who desire our^{1a} salvation and who are grieved over our perdition, because some among us have become comparable to the ungodly man who has no^b 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 Satan²." 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 own³ eyes, and prudent in their own sight⁴. Woe unto them who count darkness for light and light for darkness, who say that bitter is sweet and sweet is bitter⁵." And again the apostle says, "Their ignorant hearts were

¹Read ΠΕΝΟΥΔΑΙ for ΠΕΥΟΥΔΑΙ which is supported by Paris 130⁵,110v and makes better sense.

²I Tim.5.15.

³For ΜΑΔΔΑΙ read ΜΑΥΔΔΑΙ

⁴Is.5.21.

⁵Is.5.20.

^aFor ΠΕΥΟΥΔΑΙ Paris 130⁵,110v reads [Π]ΕΝΟΥΔΑΙ

^bFor ΕΤΕΜΝΤῸ Paris 130⁵,110v reads ΕΤΕΜ[Ὸ]ΝΤῸ

$\frac{1}{7}$
ΥΚ5
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ῤῥῥῥῥ ΕΡΟΟΥ
ΕΥΔΩ ὠμOC
ΔΕ ΔΝΟΝ ΖΕΝ
CABE. ΔΥΡ̄COC,
ΕΝCΕΝΟἰ ΔΝ
ἸΝΕΤΟΥΔΩ
ὠμOC. ΟΥΔΕ
ΔΕ ΕΥΤΑΔΡΗΥ
ΕΔ̄ΝΟΥ. ΕΥ
ΟΥΩΝ̄Ζ ΔΕ ΟΝ
ΕΒΟΛ ὠΠCΩΥ.
ἠΝΤῠΝΤCΑἰΕ
ἸΝΔἰ ἸΝΤΕἰῠ
ΝΕ ἠΝΤΕΥἠΝΤ
ΡΕΥΚΑΖΤΕΥ
ΕΡΟΟΥ ἠΔΥΔ
ΔΥ. ΩΔΥΔΟ
OC ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ
ΔΕ ὠΠΟΥΔΟ
ΚἠΔΖΕ ὠΠ̄
ΤΕ ΕΚΔΔΥ ΝΔΥ
ΖἸΝΟΥCΟΟΥΝ.
ΔΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΑ
ΔΥ ΕΖΡἰ ΕΥΖΗΤ
ἸΔΟΥΤ, ΕΕἰ
ΡΕ ἸΝΕΤΕΥΕ
ΩΥΕ. ΕΥΔΗΚ
ΕΒΟΛ ἸΔἰ Ν

ΕΟΝC Νἠῠ. Ζἰ
ΚΑΚἰΔ. ΖἰΠΟ
ΝΗΡἰΔ. Ζἰῠἰ
ΤḠ ἸΖΟΥḠ.
ΕΥΜΕΖ ἸΛΔ.
ΖἰΖΩΤΒ.
ΖἰΤΩΝ.
ΖἰΚΡΟΥ.
ΖἰΖΗΤ' ΕΥΖḠΥ.
ἸΡΕΥΚΑCΚC.
ἸΡΕΥΚΑΤΑΔ
ΛΕἰ. ὠῠCΤ
ἸΟΥΤΕ.
ἸΡΕΥCΩΥ.
ἸΔΑCἰΖΗΤ.
ἸΒΑΒΕΡΩΜΕ.
ἸΡΕΥΚΩΤΕ
ἸCΑΠΠΕΘḠΥ.
ΕΝCΕCΩΤῠ
ΔΝ ἸCΔΝΕΥΕἰ
ΟΤΕ. ἸΔΘΗΤ.
ἸΔΑΤΝΔΖΤΕ.
ἸΟΥΔἰΖΗΤ
ἸΔΑΤΝΔ. ΝΔἰ
ΕΤCΟΟΥΝ ὠ
ΠΔἰΚΔἰΩῠΔ
ὠΠΝΟΥΤΕ.
ΔΕ ΝΕΤΕΙΡΕ

darkened. Saying, 'We are wise', they became fools"¹, 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 God² 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, merciless³; who, knowing God's ordinance that those who do

¹Rom.1.21-22.

²For ἄπνοτε read ἄπνουτε .

³Rom.1.28-31.

Ἰηδοῖ· σεῦπυα
 ἄπο· οὐ μὴ
 νὸν σεῖρε
 ἄμοου· ἀλλὰ
 σεσνευδο
 κει ὀν μῆννετ

5

εἶρε ἄμοου:
 Ζῦπταῖ δε ὀν ἦ
 ταχσοο δε
 γενκακε δε
 νε νεζιοογε
 ἦἦασεβησ·

10

αὐω ἦσεσοῦτ
 ἀν δε εὐχισρῖτ
 ἦαω ἦσε· αὐω
 δε πμοῦ ἦα
 τωῦτ ἐνατ
 σεῦ· ἦασε
 βησ δε ἦαμοῦ

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ζῆνγεννοβε·
 ἦακαθαρσῖα
 ἦατωῦτ εὐ
 ρωμε ἦλοι
 μος ζῆνογρο

20

οὐ εὐροοῦ
 μῆνογροοῦ
 ἦθλιψῖσ ὦαν
 τῦωδῆν:

25

Ἰηδοῖ καταπυα
 δε ἄπαποστο
 λος δε τῶπτη
 ρε δε ἦτεῖζε
 ζῆνοβεπῆ τε
 τῆπωωνε ἦ
 τῦπενταχτε
 ζῦτητῆν ζῦ
 περσοτ' ἄπε
 χς ἶσ ἐκεεδατ
 γελιον· εἰμῆ
 κεογὰ ὦροοτ'
 ταῖ ὀν τε θε ἦ
 ἦδοῖ ζωοῦ τε
 νοῦ, εὐπωω
 νε εβολ ζῦ
 ππετῆανοῦα·
 ἐππεθοοῦ·
 αὐω εβολ ζῆ
 ταγαπτη μῆτ
 ρηνη· ἐπμο
 στε μῆτμῆτ
 δαδε· αὐω
 εβολ ζῦπε
 Ἰββῖο μῆτμῆτ
 στμῆτ· εὐ
 μῆτδασιζητ
 μῆνοῦμῆττατ
 σετῦ·

these things are worthy of death¹, not only do them but also approve of those who do them²." And on this it was also said, "But the ways of the ungodly are dark, and they do not know how they stumble"³, 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"⁴. 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 another⁵." 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,

¹ For ἀπογ read ἀπμογ.

² Rom.1.32.

³ Prov.4.19.

⁴ Prov.24.8-10.

⁵ Gal.1.6-7.

5 ΔΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν
 ΤΥΝΤΡ̄ΥΡΑΥ
 Μ̄ΝΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΡΕΥ
 ΔΙΣΒ̄Ω· ΕΠΕΝ
 ΨΟΤ' Ν̄ΖΗΤ'
 Μ̄ΝΟΥΑΤΣΒ̄Ω·
 ΔΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν
 ΤΜΕ, Μ̄ΝΤΥΝΤ
 Ρ̄ΥΖΕ· ΕΠΣΟΛ
 10 Μ̄ΝΠΔΙΟΥΕ·
 ΔΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ
 ΠΤ̄ΒΒ̄Ο· ΕΠΔΩ
 Ζ̄Μ· ΔΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ
 Ζ̄ΝΤΔΙΚΔΙΟΥ
 15 ΝΗ ΤΗΡ̄Σ Μ̄
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΕΣΟΥ
 ΕΤΑΝΟΜΙΔ·
 Μ̄ΝΠΕΚΡΟΥ·
 Μ̄ΝΤΚΑΤΑΔ
 20 ΛΙΔ· Μ̄ΝΓΚΑΣ
 Κ̄Σ Ν̄ΘΕ Μ̄ΠΖΟΥ·
 ΕΥΤΑΚ̄Ο Μ̄ΠΖΗΤ
 Ν̄ΝΕΤΝΑΠΑΝ
 ΤΑ ΕΡΟΥ· ΕΥ
 25 ΑΠΑΤΑ Ν̄ΝΕΤ
 ΝΗΥ ΕΣ̄ΜΠΕΥ
 ΖΗΤ' ΕΤΕΙΝΕ
 Μ̄ΜΟΥ Ζ̄ΜΠΚΑΣ
 Κ̄Σ· Μ̄ΝΤΚΑΤΑ

ΛΑΛΙΔ· ΕΥΨΑΔΕ
 Ν̄ΟΑΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ·
 ΕΥΔΩ Μ̄ΠΕΤΕ
 Ν̄ΥΨΟΟΠ' ΔΝ·
 Η Ν̄ΤΟΥ ΕΨΥΟ
 ΟΠ'· ΕΜΠΟΥΟΝ
 Ζ̄Υ ΕΒΟΛ· ΕΔΥ
 ΔΟΥ ΜΕΝ' Ε
 ΖΔΖ' Ν̄ΖΔΖ Ν̄ΟΟΠ'
 Ζ̄ΝΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΡΕΥ
 ΤΩΖ' Μ̄ΝΟΥΑ
 ΠΑΤΗ ΕΨΟΥ
 ΕΙΤ' Μ̄ΝΟΥΜΟ
 ΣΤΕ· Μ̄ΝΟΥ
 ΚΩΜ̄Υ· ΕΥΣΩ
 ΟΥΖ ΝΔΥ ΕΣΟΥ
 Ν̄ΖΕΝΝΟΒΕ
 ΕΝΔΨΩΟΥ·
 ΔΥΩ ΕΜΠΟΥ
 ΔΟΥ Ρ̄Ω Ν̄ΟΥ
 ΟΠ' Ν̄ΟΥΩΤ
 ΕΠΕΤΕΨΥΕ
 ΕΔΟΥ ΝΔΥ·
 ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΝΝΑ
 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΔΤ
 ΝΟΒΕ·
 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙΣΕ ΝΕ
 ΣΝΗΥ ΜΔΡ̄ΝΣΔ
 ΖΩΝ' ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄
 ΝΕΙΖΒΗΥΕ Ν̄ΤΕΙΖΕ Μ̄Ν



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 encounter¹ 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^{*}such things and^{*2}

¹For ΝΙΝΕΤΝΑΠΑΝΤΑ read either ΝΙΝΕΤΑΠΑΝΤΑ or ΝΙΝΕΤΝΑΔΑΠΑΝΤΑ.

²*-^{*}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.

ΝΕΪΥΟΧΝΕ Ν̄
 ΚΡΟΥ ΔΕ Ν̄ΝΕ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΘΩ
 Ν̄Τ ΕΡΟΝ Ν̄Υ
 ΝΟΔ̄Ν Μ̄ΝΝΕΤ
 Ρ̄ΣΩΒ ΕΤΑΝΟ
 ΜΙΔ· ΔΥΩ Ν̄Υ
 ΝΟΥΣΙΣΕ ΕΣΡΑΪ
 ΕΣΩΝ ΔΙΝ̄
 ΠΕΪΜΑ ΕΥΓΑ
 Τ̄ΝΠΩΣ Ρ̄Ω Ε
 ΠΜΑ ΕΤ̄ΝΝΑ
 ΒΩΚ ΕΡΟΥ.

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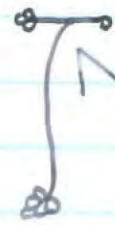
15

ΠΜΑ Μ̄ΠΣΙΣΕ
 ΤΗΡ̄Υ Μ̄ΝΓΑ
 ΨΑΡΟΥ:
 ΝΑΜΕ' ΚΑΤΑΠΥΔ
 ΔΕ Μ̄ΠΕΝΕΙ
 ΩΤ' ΠΕΝΤΟΝ
 Τ̄Ν ΔΙΝ ΠΕ ΠΑΪ.
 ΠΕΝΤΟΝΤ̄Ν
 ΔΙΝ ΠΕ ΠΑΪ· Ε
 ΒΟΛ ΔΕ Ν̄ΤΑΥ
 ΤΑΣ̄Μ̄Ν ΔΙΝ ΕΟΥ
 ΔΩΣ̄Υ Μ̄ΝΟΥ
 †ΤΩΝ· ΑΛΛΑ
 Σ̄ΝΟΥΤΒΒ̄Ο̄·
 ΕΤΡΕΝΩΨΠΤΕ
 Σ̄ΝΟΥΤΣΑΝ̄Ο̄.

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Μ̄ΝΟΥΘΙΝΔΣΕ
 ΡΑΤ̄Ν ΕΠΔΟΙΣ
 ΚΑΛΩΣ ΔΔ̄ΝΡΟ
 ΟΥΥ.
 ΤΕΝΟΥΣΕ ΝΕ
 ΣΝΗΥ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ
 ΕΝΤΑΥΜΕΡΕ
 ΠΟΥΩΝΣ ΕΒΟΛ
 Ν̄ΤΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΔ·
 ΤΩΚ' Ν̄ΣΗΤ' Μ̄
 ΠΡ†ΣΤΗΤ̄Ν Ε
 ΝΙΡΩΜΕ ΝΔΤ
 ΣΒ̄Ω ΕΤ̄ΝΕΗΤ
 ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν Ε†
 ΣΡΟΠ' ΔΥΩ ΕΤ
 ΠΩΡ̄Σ Μ̄ΠΤΩ
 ΜΑ ΕΝΕΨΕΡΗΥ.
 ΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΣΗΣ·
 ΔΕ ΨΑΡΕΟΥ
 ΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΘΟΟ
 ΜΕ, ΔΟΥ, ΝΟΥ
 †ΤΩΝ· ΔΥΩ
 ΨΑΥΤΩΣ̄Ο̄ Ν̄
 ΟΥΨΑΣ Ν̄ΚΡΟΥ
 Ν̄ΝΕΘΟΥ.
 ΔΥΩ ΨΑΥΠΩ
 Ρ̄Σ Ν̄ΣΕΝΨΒΕ
 ΕΡ Μ̄ΝΣΕΝΡ̄Υ
 ΝΗΪ· ΑΛΛΑ †



these deceitful counsels, that God may not be angry with us and cast us together with those who work for lawlessness¹ 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,^{*} this is not our ideal^{*2}, because we were not called unto defilement and strife but in purity³ 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 friends⁴ and kinsmen", but rather pay

¹Cf. Ps.124.5.

²*-* The repetition of this clause seems to be due to dittography.

³Cf. I Thes.4.7.

⁴Prov.16.28.

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ΖΗΤῆΝ ΝΤΟΥ
ΕΠΕΝΤΑΓΓΑ
ΠΟCΤΟΛΟC
ΧΟΟῦ ΔΕ ΤῆΝ
5 ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΙΛΕ
ΝΗΤῆΝ ΖῆΠΡᾶ
ᾤΠΕΝΔΟΕΙC
ΙC ΠΕΧC ΕCᾶ
ΖΕΤΗΥΤῆΝ Ε
10 ΒΟΛ ΝCΟΝ' ΝΙΜ
ΕΤΜΟΟΥΕ Δ
ΤΑΚΤΩC. ΔΥΩ
ΕΝΚΑΤΑΤΕ
CΒῶ ΔΝ ΕΝΤΑΥ
15 ΔΙΤC ΝΤΟΟΤῆΝ.
ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΤῆΝ
CΩΤῆ ΕΤΒΕ
ΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΔΕ
CΕΜΟΟΥΕ
20 ΝΖΗΤΤΗΥΤῆΝ
ΔΤΑΚΤΩC
ΕΝCΕΡῆΔΔΥ
ΝΖΩΒ ΔΝ. ΔΛ
ΛΔ ΕΥΟ ΝΡΕΥ
25 ΤΩC. ΕΥΧΩ
ΝῆΝΕΤΕΜΕ
ΩΥΕ. ΕΥΚῆΜ
Ρῆ ΔΥΩ ΕΥΚΑ
ΤΑΛΑΛΕΙ ΖῆΝ

X

ΚΛΔΕ ΝῆCΥ
ΝΔΓΩΓῆ ΔΥΩ
ΖῆΝΖΕΙΡ. ΔΥΩ
ΖῆΝῆΗΕΙ. ΔΥΩ
ΖΙῆΔΕΝΕΠΩΡ.
ΔΥΩ ΖΙῆCᾶ ΜΔΥ
ΔΔΤΟΥ, ΜῆΝΝΕΤ
ΝΗΥ ΕΖῆΠΕΥ
ΖΗΤ' ΖῆΠΚΑC
ΚC ΜῆΤῆΥΤ
ΖΔΖ ΝΩΔΕ
ΕΝΤΑCΡΧΟΙC
ΕΡΟΟΥ. ΤΔΙ
ΕΝΤΑΥΔΟΟC
ΕΤΒΗΗΤC ΔΕ
ΝῆΝΕΚῆΒΟΛ
ΕΝΟΒΕ. ΕΝ
CΕΔΡΕCΚΕ
ΔΝ ΜῆΠΝΟΥΤΕ.
ΔΥΩ ΕΥΤ ΟΥΒΕ
ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ.
ΝΔΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΔΜΕ
ΝΕΝΤΑΥΔΟ
ΟC ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ
ΔΕ ΩΔΡΕΖΕ
ΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΖΟ
ΟΥ, ΡΕΚΖΟΥ
ΠΟΛΙC. ΔΥΩ
ΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΔΙ 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"¹. And again, "We hear concerning some that they walk among you disorderly, they do no work but are busybodies"², 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 mind³ in whispering, and in the talkativeness which has taken command of them. Concerning this it was said, "You shall not escape sin"⁴. They please not God and resist every man⁵. For these indeed are those about whom it was said, "Evil men burn a city"⁶, and again, "These are

¹ II Thes. 3.6.

² II Thes. 3.11.

³ ε2ΤΝΠΕΥ2ΗΤ seems to be a mistake for ε2ΥΠΕΥ2ΗΤ (cf. Crum, Dict., p.685a) which occurs on 46v, col.I, line 25ff. ε2ΤΝ - would appear to be the Sah. equivalent of the Achm. αεΤΝ - "against", cf. Crum, Dict., p.23b, but that evidently means the opposite of the meaning required here.

⁴ Prov.10.19.

⁵ I Thes.2.15.

⁶ Prov.29.8.

ἮΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΜΕ
ΕΥΕ ΕΜΠΕΤ
ΨΟΥΕΙΤ. ΔΥΩ
ΕΥΨΟΣΝΕ ΕΥ
ΨΟΣΝΕ ἸΠΟ
ΝΗΡΟΝ ΖἸΤΕἶ

5

ΠΟΛΙΣ:



ἸΤΩΤἸΝ ΔΕ ΝΕΤ
ΕΙΡΕ ἸΝΙΤΩΣ.
ΔΥΩ ΕΤΚῶ Ἰ
ΩΟΥ ἸΝἸΕΝ
ΤΟΛἸ ἸΝἸΕΝ
ΕΙΟΤΕ, ἸΝΝΕΥ
ΣΒΟΟΥΕ: ΟΥ

10

Οἶ ΝΗΤἸΝ· ΕΤΕ
ΤΝΑΡΟΥ, ΖἸ
ΠΕΖΟΥ ἸΠῶἸ
ΨΙΝΕ· ΤΕΤἸΝ
ΘΛΙΨΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΝΗΥ

15

ἸΠΟΥΕ· Ἰ Ε
ΤΕΤΝΑΠΤΩΤ
ΕΡΑΤῸ ἸΝΙΜ
ΕΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΕΡΩ

20

ΤἸΝ· Ἰ ΕΤΕ
ΤΝΑΤΟΥΝΕΣ
ΖΕΝΠΟΝΗΡΙΑ
ἸΝΖΕΝΣΤΑ
ΣΙΣ ἸΘΕ ἸΝ
ΨΗΡΕ ἸΠΕἶ

25

ΔΙΩΝ ΖἸἸἸ
ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ Ἰ
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΕΝ
ΝΔΟΥΕΖἸΝΟΒΕ
ΕΣἸΝΝΟΒΕ·
ΔΝΕΙΜΕ ΤΩΝἸ
ΔΕ ΔΠΝΟΥΤΕ
ΚΑΔΥ ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ·
Ζῶ ΓΑΡ ΔΝ ΕΠΕ
ΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΕΝΤΑΥ
ΟΥΕΙΝΕ· ΕΤΕ
ΓΙΔἶ ΠΕ ΕΝΖἸ
ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΖἸ
ΠΚΔΙΡΟC ἸΤΕ
ἸΝΤἸΒΝἸ·
ΕΝΜΟΥΕ ΖἸ
ἸΔΩΖἸ· ἸΝ
ἸΤΖΕ· ἸΝἸΔΗΡ
ἸΝἸCῶ· ἸΝ
ἸἸΝΤΡΕCΩἸ
ΨΕΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ
ΕΤΔΔΖἸ· ΔΥΩ
ΕΝΜΟΥΕ
ΖἸΝΟΥΚΔΚΙΔ
ἸΝΟΥΦΘΟ
ΝΟC· ΕΝῶ Ἰ
ΜΕCΤΕ· ΕΝΜΟ
CΤΕ ἸΝΕΝΕ
ΡΗΥ· ΕΝῶ Ἰ

the men who think of vanity and take evil counsel in this city"¹. 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?² For your affliction is coming from afar, and to whom will you flee to help you?³ Or will you raise evils and rebellions like the sons of this age in the holy monasteries of⁴ 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 idolatries⁵, walking in wickedness and envy, hateful and hating one another,⁶

¹Ez.11.2.

²For πῶμυινη read πῶμυινη .

³Cf. Is.10.3.

⁴Note the use of ἦ for ἦτε , cf. Steindorff, para 167; Plumley, para 100.

⁵Cf. I Pet.4.3.

⁶Tit.3.3.

!
ΥΛΒ
J

5 ΔΤCΩΤῪ· ΕΝ
ΠΛΑΝΑ· ΕΝΜΟ
ΟΨΕ ΖῪΤῪΤΕΤ
ΨΟΥΕΙΤ ῪΠΕ̄
ΖΗΤ· ΕΝὸ Ὺ
ΚΑΚΕ ΖῪΝΕΝ
ΜΕΕΥΕ· ΕΝὸ
ῪΑΛΛΟΤΡΙΟC
10 ΕΠΩΝῪ ῪΠῪΝῪ
ΤΕ ΕΤΒΕΤῪΝΤ
ΔΤCΟΟΥΝ ΕΤ
ΨΟΟΠῪ ῪΖΗΤῪ.
ΕΤΒΕΠΕΝΤῪ
ῪΖΗΤ· ΕΑΝ
15 ΤΑΔΝ ῪΜῪΝ Ὺ
ΜΟΝ ῪΠῪΩ
ΖῪ ῪῪΠῪῪΩΒ
ΕΑΚΑΘΑΡCΙΑ
ΝΙΜ ΖῪΟΥ
20 ῪῪΤῪΔΙΤὸ
ῪΖΟΥὸ· ΤΕ
ΝΟΥ ΔΕ ῪΤῪΥ
ΤCΑΒΟΝ ΔΝ Ὺ
ΤΕῪΖΕ· ΑΛΛΑ
25 ῪΤῪΥCΒῪ
ΝΔΝ, ΔΕ ΖῪΟΥ
ΖΟΤΕ ῪῪΟΥ
CΤΩΤ· ΔΡΙΖΩΒ
ΕΠΕΤῪΟΥΔΑῪ:

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ
ΠΕΤΕΝΕΡΓΕΙ
ῪΖΗΤῪΤῪΤῪ
ῪΠΟΥΩΨ ῪῪΝ
ΠῪΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ
ῪΠΟΥΩΨ·
ΔΥΩ ΔΕ ΔΡΙΖΩΒ
ΝΙΜ ΔῪῪΚῪῪ
ῪῪ ΖΙΜΟΚΜΕΚ·
ΔΕΚΑC ΕΤΕΤ
ΝΔΨΩΠΤΕ ῪΔΤ
ΝΟΒΕ, ΔΥΩ Ὺ
ΔΚΕΡΔΙΟC ῪΨῪ
ΡΕ ῪΠῪΝΟΥΤΕ
ΕΥΟΥΔΔΒ ῪΤῪΥ
ΤΕ ῪΤΓΕΝΕΔῪ
ΕΤΒΟΟΥC ΔΥΩ
ΕΤΒΟΟΜΕ· ΕΤΕ
ΤῪΟΥΟΝῪ ΕΒΟΛ
ῪΖΗΤΟΥ ῪΘΕ
ῪΝΙΡΕΥῪΟΥ
ΟΕΙΝ ΖῪΤΚΟ
CΜΟC· ΔΥΩ
ΔΕ ῪΤῪΥΤΕ
ΖῪΤῪΤῪΤῪ ΕΥ
ῪῪῪῪΖΕ, ΝΕ
CΝῪΥ· ΜΟΝὸ
ΤΕΝῪῪῪῪ
ΖΕ· ῪῪῪῪ

disobedient, erring,¹ 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,² 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"³ 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 world⁴." And, "You were called unto freedom, brethren, only let not our freedom

¹Cf. Tit.3.3.

²Cf. Eph.4.17-20.

³Phil.2.12-13.

⁴Phil.2.14-15.

ΩΩΠΕ ΕΥΑΦΡ
 ΜΗ ΝΤΑΡΞ
 ΑΛΛΑ ΖΙΤΝΤΑ
 ΓΑΠΗ ΩΠΕΠΝΑ
 5 ΔΡΙΖΩΣΑΛ Ν
 ΝΕΤΝΕΡΗΥ.

ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΝΤΑΥ
 ΖΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤΝ
 ΕΥΤΣΒΩ ΝΑΝ.
 10 ΧΕ ΤΕΝΟΥΒΕ
 ΚΩ ΝΩΥΤΝ
 ΝΩΩΒ ΝΙΩ.
 ΤΟΡΓΗ.
 ΠΩΩΝΤ.

15 ΤΚΑΚΙΔ.
 ΟΥΩΔΧΕ ΝΩΛ
 ΩΠΡΤΕΥΕΙ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΡΩΤΝ.
 ΩΠΡΧΙΒΟΛ Ε
 20 ΝΕΤΝΕΡΗΥ.

ΕΔΤΕΤΝΚΑ
 ΤΗΥΤΝ ΚΑΖΗΥ
 ΩΠΡΩΨΑ
 ΜΝΝΕΥΖΒΗΥΕ.

25 ΔΥΩ ΔΤΕΤΝΤ
 ΖΙΩΤΤΗΥΤΝ
 ΩΠΒΡΡΕ.

ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΖΩ
 ΩΥ. ΔΝΠΩ

*

ΩΝΕ ΩΠΖΑΠ
 ΕΥΧΟΛΗ. ΔΥΩ
 ΠΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΝΤΑΙ
 ΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ. ΕΥ
 ΣΙΥΕ. ΕΝΩΩΥ
 ΝΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ.
 ΔΥΩ ΕΝΧΙΒΟΛ
 ΕΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ
 ΖΩΠΜΟΣΤΕ
 ΜΝΠΜΥΕ.
 ΜΝΠΤΩΝ.
 ΕΤΒΕΖΕΝΤΡΟ
 ΦΗ ΝΑΡΚΙΚΟ.
 ΕΝΩΩΔΤ' ΔΝ Ν
 ΛΔΔΥ ΚΑΤΑΤΕ
 ΧΡΕΙΔ. ΔΥΩ
 ΚΑΝ' ΔΝΩΩΩΤ'
 ΟΝ. ΕΝΕΙΡΕ
 ΩΠΜΘΕΥΕ Ω
 ΠΩΔΧΕ ΕΤΧΗΖ
 ΔΕ ΖΝΖΕΝΛΩ
 ΔΕ ΖΑΠΕΧΟ.
 ΔΥΩ ΕΝΩΩΩΥ
 ΩΠΕΖΜΟΤ' Ω
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΔΙ
 ΕΝΤΑΧΑΔΑΝ Ν
 ΩΠΩΑ ΝΝΤΝ
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΙ
 ΒΙΟΣ. ΕΝΤΝΩ

become an occasion of the flesh, but through the love of the spirit serve one another.¹" 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".² But now we have turned judgment into gall³ and the fruit of righteousness into bitterness,⁴ 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"⁵. And we despise the grace of God who deigned⁶ to bring us into this life, though we were not

¹Gal.5.13.

²Col.3.8-10.

³It may be noted that the LXX has θυμός, and not χολή as here, but the Hebrew is √חל which is a poisonous plant, perhaps poppy, which the LXX usually renders χολή.

⁴Cf. Amos 6.12.

⁵Cf. II Cor.12.10.

⁶For this translation cf. Crum, Dict., p.180a, lit. "who made us worthy to be brought.....".

$\frac{1}{\gamma\lambda\delta}$
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5 πωα ἄμου αν-
 ζωστε ετρε̄
 ψωπε ν̄δροπ̄
 ν̄ν̄ϊουδαϊ̄, μ̄ν
 ν̄ζελλην μ̄ν
 τεκκλησια
 ἄπνουτε.
 ενψωπε ν̄νε
 τεμ̄νταυ.
10 ζωστε ετρε
 νετζην' ερο̄
 μ̄ννετογηνυ
 ἄμου' σωτ̄μ
 ν̄σεχοος δε
15 ειςνε' ζωου
 ον, σεμοστε
 ν̄νευερηνυ.
 τευζε. τε τε̄
 γε. ν̄θε ετ
20 σηε δε ετβε
 τηγτ̄ν σεξι
 ογα επαραν
 ε̄ν̄ν̄ζεθνος:
 Τᾱι ον τε θε
25 ενταπμεριτ
 ἄπνουτε α
 πα αθανασῑε̄
 χοος δε π̄ρ
 τρεογ̄α ναυ

εροκ εκασχη
μونهι. ν̄υδο
ος δε παῑ πε
πρωμε ετα
σκει εταζε
ταωρεα ετ
ηπ̄ ετπε.
παῑ πε πωαθη
της, αυω πε
εβογι ἄπκαε
ν̄ρ̄μ̄νεητ.
παῑ πε πρω
με ενταυσοτ
π̄υ εβολ ε̄μ
πκοσμος.
εαγοιπ̄υ μ̄ν
ν̄αγγελος ν̄
ἄπηνε. πετ
εωω̄τ εβολ
ζητ̄μ ἄπ̄ρ̄ο
ν̄ππε, εμζελ
πιζε εαζερα
τ̄μ ετογωμ.
αυω δε μαρεμ
διεοογ εβολ
ε̄ιτοοτ̄κ ν̄
ε̄ιπεχ̄ς. ἄπ̄ρ̄
τρευδ̄ιογα
ερομ ετβη

worthy of it, so that we became an offence to the Jews and to the Greeks and to the church of God¹, bringing shame on those that have it not², and so that those who are near us and those who are far from us hear and say, "Behold³, they too hate each other, our way is their way", as it is written, "Because of you my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles"⁴. Thus again the beloved of God, Apa Athanasius,⁵ said, "Do not⁶ 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

¹Cf. I Cor.10.32.

²For the phrase ΝΕΤΕΛΩΝΤΑΥ cf. 25v, note 2.

³Note ΕΙΚΝΕ for ΕΙΚ2ΗΗΝΕ, a contraction not found in Crum, Dict. or the grammars which however cite ΕΙΚΠΕ and ΕΙΚΤΕ.

⁴Is.52.5, cf. Rom.2.24.

⁵The 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.

⁶Note ρῖρ for the more usual form ῥῖρ, cf. Crum, Dict., p.178b.

HTK· 4XW ΓAP
 UMOC ΔE ΠET
 TEOPY Nai· †
 NaTEOPY Naq·

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ΠETNaTCWY
 ΔE Nai· †NaCO
 WY· ΔUTAYE
 ΓWASE ΔE ET
 WWT' EBOL

10

ZNOYΓAPPH
 CIA· ΔE EK
 CWY UMOU
 ON· KAN EK
 WANTAIOY ZN

15

NEKWASE· EK
 ΔIOYā EPON

ZNNEKZBHTE:

UPTWPE TE
 NOY NECNHY

20

ETPEYΔIOYā
 EITNOYTE E
 TBHHTN· H

NCEWYTPA
 NNENEIOTE

25

ETBETENUNT
 ATCBW· ZU
 TTRENKW N
 CWN NNEY
 CBOOYE, UN

NEYENTOLH

ENTAYZONOU

ETOOTN UN

TEYEPICTH

UH· AYU PEY

TBBO· NΘE EN

TAYZWN' ETO

OTN EYPAANDY'

EPON NTPE

UNPKAZ ETU

TRENTPADBA

UMOOU ΔINOY

KOYI WAOY

NOS· NZOYO

ΔE ETUTREN

TAKETENCW

MA KATALLAY

NOMOT' UTO

NHPON· ΔE N

NENPETHN

ZNTENZAH·

AYU NTNPWE

UTENZHT'

ZUPMA 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 works²." 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

¹I Kg.2.30.

²Presumably 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.

1
45
7

ΕΠΒΗΜΑ ΜΠΕ
Χ̄C. ΝΤΕΠΟΥΑ
ΠΟΥΑ ΔΙ ΕΒΟΛ
ΖΙΤ̄ΜΠΕΥCΩ

5

ΜΑ ΠΡΟCΝΕΝ
ΤΑΥΔΑΥ, ΕΙΤΕ
ΑΓΑΘΟΝ, ΕΙΤΕ
ΠΕΘΟΥ. ΑΛ

X

10

ΛΑ ΜΑΡΕΝΕΝ
ΒΑΛ' ΘΩΥΤ Ε
ΝΕΤCΟΥΤΩΝ
ΝΘΕ ΕΤCΗC.

15

ΝΤΕΝΕΝΒΟΥ
ΖΕ ΕΙΩΡ̄Μ ΕΜ
Μ̄ΝΤΜΕ. ΑΥΩ
ΝΤ̄ΝΡΙΚΕ Μ
ΠΕΝΖΗΤ' ΕΤΕ
CΒΩ. ΝΤ̄ΝCΟΒ

20

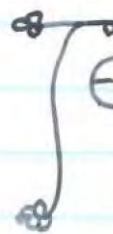
ΤΕ Ν̄ΝΕΝΜΑΔ
ΔΕ ΕΝΨΑΔΕ
ΝΤΑΙCΘΗCΙC.
ΝΤ̄ΝCΖΑΙCΟΥ
ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΠΠΩ
Δ̄C Μ̄ΠΕΝΖΗΤ.

25

ΔΕΚΑC ΕΝΝΑ
ΡΒΟΛ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥ
CΖΟC ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν
ΖΕΝΖΑΒΕ. ΑΥΩ
ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΖΑΛΗΤ.

ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΝΟΥΠΔ
ΨΥ. ΑΥΩ ΝΤ̄Ν
ΡΒΟΛ ΕΠΛΩ
ΩΜΕ Μ̄ΝΤΑ

Καθαρισμ:



ΕΝΕΙΡΕ Μ̄ΠΜΕ
ΕΥΕ Μ̄ΠΕΝΤΑΥ
ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΔΙΝ

ΤΕΝΟΥ ΠΚΕ
ΛΑΒΙΝ ΚΗ ΖΑ
ΤΝΟΥΝΕ Ν̄Ν
ΨΗΝ'. ΨΗΝ'
ΘΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΕ
Ν̄ΥΕΙΡΕ ΔΝ Ν̄
ΟΥΚΑΡΠΟC
ΕΝΔΝΟΥΥ.

CΕΝΔΚΟΟΡΕΥ
Ν̄CΕΝΟΧ̄Υ Ε



ΠΚΩΖΤ.

Ζ̄ΜΠΑΙ ΓΑΡ Ν̄
ΤΑΥΔΟΟC ΔΕ
ΘΑΗ ΝΟΥΟΝ
ΝΙΜ ΔCΖΩΝ
ΕΖΟΥΝ. Β̄Μ
ΠΕΤ̄ΝΖΗΤ'ΘΕ
ΝΤΕΤ̄ΝΝΗΦΕ

ΕΝΕΨΛΗΛ.



ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΗ
ΦΕ ΝΤΕΤ̄ΝΡΟ

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 evil¹. "But let our eyes look at things that are upright", as it is written, "and our eyelids open wide² to the truths³." And let us incline our hearts to teaching and prepare our ears for the words of knowledge⁴, and write them on the tables of our hearts⁵, that we may escape like a gazelle out of a snare and like a bird out of a trap⁶, 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 fire⁷." For on this subject it has been said, "The end of all is nigh⁸. Be prudent therefore and be sober unto prayers"⁹. And again, "Be sober and vigilant

¹II Cor.5.10.

²Lit. "stare", cf. Crum, Dict., p.84b. The LXX here has νεύω, "nod", "beckon". The normal Coptic rendering of this would be Δωρμ. A confusion between ελωρμ and Δωρμ is not unknown, cf. Crum, Dict., p.785b, but note that ελωρμ is universally attested in the Sah. text of Prov. 4.25, cf. Worrell, Prov.

³Cf. Prov.4.25.

⁴Cf. Prov.23.12.

⁵Cf. Prov.7.3.

⁶Cf. Prov.6.5.

⁷Lk.3.9, cf. Mt.3.10.

⁸Zoega CCV, fols. xqθ - ψβ (cf. p.21f) contain a text parallel to 50v, col.II, line 23, beginning αρωρμ - 52v, col.II, line 17, ending ρωρμ. Variants between the two texts will be noted.

⁹I Pet.4.7.

5 ΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΤ̄Ν
 ΑΝΤΙΔΙΚΟΣ
 ΠΑΙΔΒΟΛΟΣ
 ΜΟΥΣΕ ΕΥΛ̄
 ΖΗΜ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΝΙ
 ΜΟΥΕΙ, ΕΥΩΙ
 ΝΕ Ν̄ΑΩΜ̄Κ
 Ν̄ΝΕΤ̄ΨΥΧ̄Η.
 ΑΥΩ Μ̄Π̄ΥΡ̄Ο
 10 ΟΥΩ Ν̄ΑΝ· ΟΥ
 ΤΕ Ρ̄Ω Μ̄ΠΕΓ̄Ε
 ΖΗΤ' ΔΙΘ̄ΑΝΕ
 ΕΝΟΪ Μ̄ΠΕΤΕ

15 ωσε :
 ΜΑΡ̄Ν̄Ρ̄ΖΟΤΕΒΕ
 ΑΥΩ Ν̄Τ̄Ν̄Ρ̄Π̄ΜΕ
 ΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΑΥΔΟ
 ΟΣ ΔΕ Ψ̄ΟΥ
 Μ̄Π̄ΔΟΕΙΣ ΠΕ
 20 Τ̄Ν̄ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΕΜ
 Π̄ΑΤΕΠ̄Κ̄ΑΚΕ
 ΩΩΠΕ· ΑΥΩ
 ΕΜΠ̄ΑΤΕΝΕ
 Τ̄ΝΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ
 25 ΔΙΔΡΟΠ̄ ΖΙΔ̄Ν
 Ν̄ΤΟΥ Ν̄Κ̄ΑΚΕ·
 ΤΕΤΝ̄ΔΩΩΨ̄Τ
 ΖΗΤ̄Α Μ̄ΠΟΥ
 ΟΕΙΝ· ΟΥΖ̄ΑΙ

ΒΕΣ Ν̄ΤΕΠ̄ΜΟΥ
 ΠΕΤΩΟΠ̄ Μ̄
 ΜΟΥ· ΑΥΩ ΟΕ
 Ν̄ΑΚ̄Δ̄Υ ΕΥΚ̄Α
 ΚΕ· ΕΥΩΠ̄Ε
 ΔΕ ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν̄Τ̄Μ
 ΟΥΤ̄Μ· Ζ̄ΝΟΥ
 ΖΩΠ̄ ΟΝ̄ΑΡΙΜΕ
 Ν̄ΒΙΤΕΤ̄ΨΥΧ̄Η
 Μ̄ΠΕΜ̄ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ
 Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄Ν̄ΟΩΩ·
 ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤ̄ΝΒ̄ΑΛ·
 ΕΥΩΟΥΕΡ̄Μ

ΕΙΗ ΕΖΡ̄ΑΙ:
 ΕΤΒΕΠ̄Δ̄ΙΒΕ ΝΕ
 ΟΝ̄ΗΥ ΟΔ̄Ε
 ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν ΕΒΟΛ
 Ν̄ΝΙΜ̄ΥΤΡΕΥ
 Ψ̄ΝΟΥΒ̄Σ Μ̄Π̄Υ
 ΤΕ· ΕΤΕΠ̄Δ̄Ι
 ΠΕ ΕΤ̄Μ̄Τ̄ΑΚΕ
 ΠΖΗΤ' Ν̄Λ̄Δ̄Υ
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΤ
 Ψ̄ΟΒ̄Ω Ν̄Δ̄Υ·
 ΟΥΤΕ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΟΩΩ
 Ν̄ΝΕΤ̄Ν̄ΕΙΟΤΕ·
 ΔΕ Ν̄ΝΕΠ̄Δ̄Ο
 ΕΙΣ ΠΕΧ̄Σ ΔΓ̄Α
 Ν̄ΑΚΤΕΙ ΕΡ̄Ω
 Τ̄Ν

because your adversary the devil goes^a, roaring as the lions^b, seeking to devour your souls"¹. And we did not trouble about it, nor did our heart know^c how to perceive^d 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^e will weep secretly, confronted with your contempt, and your eyes will shed tears"². 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^f Christ be angry with you

¹I Pet.5.8.

²Jer.13.16-17.

^aFor μωωυε Zoega CCV reads μωωοωυε

^bFor μωυει Zoega CCV reads μωυι

^cFor διϑανε Zoega CCV reads διϑινε

^dFor νοι Zoega CCV reads νοει

^eFor τετῦψyxη Zoega CCV reads τετῆψyxη

^fFor Δοειϑ Zoega CCV reads Δοιϑ

ἰ
ΥΛΗ
J

NŪEINE NŌY
CΔZOY EΔNTHY
TŪN ΔINŪPEIŪA.

5

ΔE YCHZ ΔE
ΠETΔI MΠEY
EIKWT' NSONC
MŪNTEYMAAY,
EYMEEYE ΔE
NTPNOBE AN.

10

OYKOINWNZ
ΠE ΠAI' NOPYW
ME NΔCEBHC.



AYW ΔE ΠETNA
ΔEΠEΘOY
EΠEYEIWT'
MŪNTEYMAAY.

15

ZNOYMOY MA
PEYMOY.

20

AYW ΔE YCZOY
OPT' NBIΠET
NΔCWW MΠEY
EIKWT' ETQIPO
OYW ZAPOY.

25

H NEYEIOTE
ETFCBŪ NΔY
ZNOYMŪNTΔA
CIZHT' MŪNOY
KWMŪY AYW
ZNOYMOCTE

X

MŪNOYMŪNTBA
BERWME. EN
CEEIPE AN Ū
ΠMEEYE NΘE

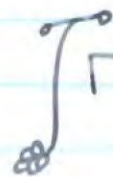
ENTAYWOPŪN
EPPOY ZNTEY
ΔΓAITH ETBE
ΠNOYTE. ΔE
APA TŪNΔTZY
NTENΨYXĪ.

AYWBE MPTNT
OYTE ENCE

EIPE AN MΠME
EYE, ΔE AYΔO
OC ΔE ΠETNA
T' NZENΠEΘO
OY EΠMA NZE
ΠETNANOPYOY.

MΠEΘOY NA
KIM' AN ZMTEY

HĪ. ETBE



ΠAI' MAPNTZHT'
EPON ETŪTA
KEPTZHT' NΔA
AY, OYTE ETŪ
CWW NNETN
EIOTE, ΔE ZE
NOC NNOBE
NE NIZBHYE

and bring a curse upon you from this^a 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 man²." And "He who shall speak evil of his father and his mother, let him die the death³." And "Cursed is he who shall despise his father"⁴, who takes care of him, or his fathers, who teach him, in pride, mockery, hatred, and boastfulness. They⁵ do not remember how they⁶ 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 they⁵ not call to mind that it had been said, "He who shall recompense evil for good, evil will not stir from his house⁷." Therefore let us pay heed not to corrupt the mind of anyone, nor to despise your⁸ fathers, because such things^b are great sins.

¹I.e. from now on, already in this world. This is clear from 47r where it is further elaborated.

²Prov.28.24.

³Cf. Ex.21.16, Lev.20.9, Mt.15.4, Mk.7.10.

⁴Deut.27.16.

⁵I.e. those who despise their fathers.

⁶I.e. the fathers.

⁷Prov.17.13.

⁸Scil. our.

^aFor $\pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$ Zoega CCV reads $\pi\iota\mu\alpha$

^bFor $\text{N}\iota\text{z}\beta\text{H}\Upsilon\text{E}$ Zoega CCV reads $\text{N}\epsilon\text{i}\text{z}\beta\text{H}\Upsilon\text{E}$

5 ΝΤΕΪΖΕ. ΚΑΙ
 ΓΑΡ ΔΝΕΝΕΙΟ
 ΤΕ ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΔΥ
 C2αἰ ΝΟΥΜΑ
 ΔΕ ΕΙΩ̄ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΜΠΟΥΖΗΤ' Ε
 ΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΝΤΚΑΚΙΑ
 ΘΙΛΗΜ ΔΕΚΑC
 ΕΡΑΟΥΔΑΙ. ΝΓ
 10 Θ̄ΝΝΕΤ̄ΜΑΔΥ
 ΝΤΟΟΥ ΠΕΔΑΥ
 ΕΥΕΙΩ̄ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΝΤΔΙΚΑΙΟΥCΥ
 ΝΗ. ΕΥΔΟ̄ ΖΡΑΙ
 15 ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΟΥ
 ΚΑΚΙΑ Μ̄ΝΟΥ
 Μ̄ΝΤΑΤCΩΤ̄Μ.
 ΕΙΕ Μ̄ΠΚCΩ
 Τ̄Μ ΝΤΟΚ̄Ω
 20 ΠΡΩΜΕ, ΔΕ ΟΥ
 ΟΕΙ Μ̄ΠΕΤCΩ
 Μ̄ΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΥ
 ΩΥ Ζ̄ΝΟΥΤΑ
 ΚΩ̄ ΕΥΖΟΥ
 25 ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΝΝΕ
 ΤΕΝ̄ΜΕΕΥΕ
 ΕΡΟΥ ΔΝ, ΔΥΩ
 ΕΥΤΡΕΥΤΖΕ.
 Ζ̄ΝΤΚΑΤΑΛΑ

ΛΙΔ. Μ̄ΝΤΑΜ̄Τ
 ΔΤCΩΤ̄Μ. Μ̄Ν
 ΤΑΜ̄ΤΖΗΤ' Ν̄
 Ω̄ΜΜΟ. ΕΝ
 CΩΚ Ν̄ΝΕΝΕ
 ΡΗΥ ΕΠΔΖΟΥ
 Ζ̄ΝΟΥΜ̄ΝΤCΩΒ.
 ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΕΤ̄Ν
 ΩΩΠΕ Ν̄ΚΩΤ'
 Ν̄ΝΕΤ̄ΝΕΡΗΥ.
 ΝΘΕ ΕΤCΗΖ
 ΔΕ ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΚΩΤ
 ΠΟΥᾹ ΠΟΥᾹ Μ̄
 ΠΕΥΕΡΗΥ.
 ΔΥΩ ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν
 ΩΔΔΕ Μ̄ΝΝΕ
 Τ̄ΝΕΡΗΥ Ζ̄ΝΖΕ̄
 ΨΑΛΜΟC Μ̄Ν
 ΖΕΝCΩΟΥ, Μ̄Ν
 ΖΕΝΩΔΗ̄ Μ̄
 ΠΝΙΚΟΝ. ΔΝ
 ΩΩΠΕ Ν̄ΡΕΥ
 ΩΟΡΩ̄Ρ ΖΩ
 ΩΥ Ν̄ΝΕΝΕ
 ΡΗΥ Ζ̄ΝΝΕΖΒΗ
 ΟΥΕ Μ̄ΠΔΙΔΒΟ
 ΛΟC. ΕΒΟΛ
 ΔΕ ΔΘΟΤΕ Μ̄
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΕ

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^{2a} with evil corruption from such things as he conceives^b not, and makes him drunk"³ 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"⁴ and "speaking to one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual^c songs"⁵, as it is written. But we have become mutually destructive with the devil's works^d because the fear of God is far

¹Jer.4.14.

²Read ΠΕΤΤΟ with Zoega CCV.

³Cf. Hab.2.15.

⁴I Thes.5.11.

⁵Eph.5.19.

^aFor ΠΕΤΤΟ Zoega CCV reads ΠΕΤΤΟ

^bFor Ζ̄ΝΝΕΤΕΝ̄ΜΕΕΥΕ Zoega CCV reads Ζ̄ΝΝΕΤ̄ΜΕΕΥΕ

^cFor ἈΓΓΝΙΚΟΝ Zoega CCV reads ἈΓΓΝΑΤΙΚΟΝ

^dFor ΖΒΗΟΥΕ Zoega CCV reads ΖΒΗΥΕ

τῷ

5 ἦνετε ἰρε ἦ
ἠαῖ· ἠαμε
ἐνεζεν ὦη
ρε ὦημ ἠμα
τε νε· ἠἠεῖ
κοογε ἦθε
ετογο ἠμος
νε οὔκοι ἦ
λῆπη τε· ἀλ
10 λα ἐπειδᾷ εἶ
νος ὄν ἦρω
με νετῆἠἠ
εβηγε· ετβε
ἠαῖ ὄνος ἠε
15 ἦἠκαε ἦεἠ
εε ἀἠε ἦ
νετᾶκῆ
ῆἠ ἦκαμῶ
εἠε ἠἠιογο
20 εἠε εεεἠω
με νε ἦονο
μαετοε· εἠ
ἠοἠἠἠε εἠ
τῷ· ἠἠἠα
25 τῆεεἠἠἠ
νος ἦεεε
ἠἠἠαἠ, εἠ
ἠτοἠ εβολ
εἠἠἠἠ ἠεἠ

ἠἠεἠεἠ.
ἠἠἠἠἠ
οἠἠ ἠῆω
ἠἠοἠοἠ.
εἠἠἠἠἠ
εἠε ἦθε ἐν
τᾶεοἠε εἠ
οἠ ἠἠεἠο
εβολ ἠἠἠἠ
τε· εἠ εἠω
ἠε κἠκαῶ
ἠαἠ εβολ ἠ
ἠεἠἠε. εἠε
καἠ. εἠω
ἠε ἠἠἠ εἠε
ἠοἠἠ εβολ εἠ
ἠεεἠἠἠἠ
εἠἠκαεἠ.
οἠἠ ἠἠοἠ
ἠἠἠεεἠ ἦ
θε εἠἠἠἠ
ετοοτοἠ
εἠἠἠἠἠε
εἠ εἠἠε
ἠοκ εἠἠἠ
ἠἠἠἠἠ. εἠε
ἠαἠ τε τἠἠἠ
ἠἠἠ. ἦἠε
ἠἠἠἠἠ ἠἠ

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^a 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 up¹. 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"²; nor did they remember how he commanded them by his word, "Give heed to the matter of leprosy"³ which means evil-speaking. You do not know

¹Cf. Num.16.2ff.

²Ex.32.32.

³Deut.24.8.

^aFor N128H7E Zoega CCV reads NEI28H7E

ΔΕ ΕΡΕΠΕΝ
 ΣΩΝΕ ΩΟΟΠ̄
 ΝΔΝ' ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Ν
 ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ. ΠΑ
 5 ΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΕΠΕΝ
 ΤΑΚΟ ΩΟΟΠ̄
 ΝΔΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ

Τ̄ΝΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ.
 10 [ΩΤ̄Μ ΔΕ ΔΥΔΟ
 ΟΣ ΔΕ ΕΩΣΕ
 ΟΥΓ̄ΝΟΥΜ̄Τ
 Ρ̄Μ̄ΝΖΗΤ' ΩΟ
 ΟΠ' ΝΔΚ. ΟΥ
 ΩΩΒ̄ Μ̄ΠΕΤ
 15 ΖΙΤΟΥΚ'.
 ΕΩΩΠΕ Μ̄Μ̄
 ΚΑΤΕΚΕΙΔ' ΖΙ
 Ρ̄ΝΡΩΚ.
 ΔΥΩ ΔΕ ΟΥΩΔ
 20 ΔΕ ΕΧΟΟΥ Ζ̄Μ̄
 ΠΕΜΟΘΟΕΙΩ.
 ΝΔΝΟΥΗ ΤΗ
 Ρ̄Υ. ΕΩΩ
 ΠΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΟΥ
 25 ΝΟΥΔ̄ ΕΡΕΠΕΥ
 ΖΗΤ' ΜΟΚ̄Ζ Ζ̄Ν
 ΟΥΖΩΒ. ΝΙΜ
 ΠΕΤΚΩΛΥΕ
 Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΕΧΟΟΥ

ΕΝΕΤ̄ΝΕΙΟΤΕ
 Ζ̄ΝΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΡ̄Μ
 ΝΖΗΤ' Μ̄ΝΟΥ
 ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗ.
 ΔΥΩ Μ̄ΝΛΔΔΥ
 Ν̄ΥΚΔΖ ΝΖΗΤ
 ΝΔΩΩΠΕ. ΔΛ
 ΛΔ ΕΥΝΑΡΔΩΕ
 Ν̄ΤΟΥ ΝΖΟῩ.
 ΕΔ̄ΝΤΓΤΑΡΡΗ
 ΣΙΔ Ν̄ΤΜ̄ΝΤΩΗ
 ΡΕ, ΔΥΩ ΤΜ̄ΝΤ
 ΣΟΝ. ΖΙΤ̄ΝΝΔΙ
 ΓΑΡ ΕΩΑΡΕ
 ΤΜ̄ΝΤΖΗΤ' ΝΟΥ
 ΩΤ' ΟΥΩΝΖ Ε
 ΒΟΛ. ΔΕ Μ̄ΝΠΩ
 Ρ̄Δ Ζ̄Μ̄ΠΕΝΖΗΤ
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΝ
 ΕΡΗΥ. ΑΛΛΑ
 Τ̄ΝΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΠ̄
 ΛΑΣ ΕΚΑΤΑΛΔ
 ΛΙΔ ΝΙΜ. ΠΕΤ
 ΖΔΡΕΖ ΓΑΡ ΕΡΩΥ
 Μ̄ΝΠΕΥΛΑΣ.
 ΕΥΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΤΕΥ
 ΨΥΧΗ. ΔΥΩ
 ΠΕΤΜΕ Μ̄ΠΩ
 ΝΖ. Μ̄ΝΔΤ̄ΣΟ

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"¹, and "To speak a word in its season is altogether good"². 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-speaking³, since he who guards his mouth and his tongue, guards his soul⁴, and he who loves life will restrain

¹Ecclus.5.12.

²Cf. perhaps Prov.15.23. The Sah. text, following the LXX, reads in the relevant part of the verse: ἀνω ἡνευδέλαδι ἐναντιοῦ ἑμπροθοῦ αἰπληῆς (cf. Worrell, Prov.). Besa's text seems to be nearer the Hebrew which runs:
 בִּישׁוֹן הַקֶּלֶם לִפְתָּח הַפִּי. The same quotation occurs in Insinger 57, fol. τῦβ (cf. p.26).

³Cf. Wisd.1.11.

⁴Prov.21.23.

! /
TMB
7

ΕΡΩΥ· ΔΥΩ
ΔΕ ΕΡΕΓΜΟΥ
Μ̄ΝΠΩΝ̄Σ· Ε̄Ν
Τ̄ΣΙΔ' Μ̄ΝΠΛΑΔ·

5

ΠΕΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ
ΔΕ Μ̄ΜΟΥ· ΝΑ
ΣΕΙ Ν̄ΝΕΥΚΑΡ
ΠΟΣ· ΔΥΩ

10

ΔΕ Μ̄ΠΡΑΩΔ
ΖΟΥ' ΕΝΕΤ̄Ν
ΕΡΗΥ ΝΑΔΝΗΥ·

15

ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΣΟῩ
ΔΕ Τ̄ΝΝΑΔΙ Ν̄
ΟΥΝΟΣ Ν̄ΚΡΙ
ΜΑ ΤΗΡ̄Ν· ΕΙΣ

20

ΖΗΗΤΕ ΠΕ
ΚΡΙΤΗΣ ΔΕ
ΡΑΤ̄Υ ΖΙΡ̄ΜΠΡΟ·
ΕΤΡΕΥΚΡΙ

25

ΝΕ Μ̄ΠΟΥΔ
ΠΟΥΔ ΚΑΤΑ
ΝΕΥΖΒΗΥΕ·
Μ̄Ν ΖΕΝΖΒΗΥΕ
ΩΗΜ̄ ΝΕ ΝΑΙ'
ΕΝΤΑΝΙΡΩ
ΜΕ Μ̄ΠΟΝΗ
ΡΟΣ' ΔΥΩ Ν̄
ΚΡΟΥ ΖΙΤΟΥ
ΟΤΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ·

ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΕΤΡΕΥ
ΣΜΗΝΕ Ν̄ΖΕΝ
ΣΖΑΙ' ΕΤΟΘΟΥ
ΕΒΟΛ· ΕΥΤΟΥ
ΝΟΣ Ν̄ΖΕΝΣΤΑ

ΣΙΣ· ΔΥΩ ΕΥ
ΠΩΡ̄Σ Ν̄ΝΕ
ΣΝΗΥ, Ε̄ΝΤΕΥ
Μ̄ΡΡΕ Ν̄ΚΡΟΥ·
ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ Ν̄ΣΕ
Ρ̄ΖΟΤΕ ΔΝ ΕΗ
Τ̄Υ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ·
ΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΗΣ
ΔΕ ΖΕΝΡΩΜΕ
Ν̄ΣΝΟΥ ΔΥΩ
Ν̄ΚΡΟΥ· Ν̄ΝΕΥ
Ρ̄ΠΜΕΕΥΕ Ν̄
ΝΕΥΖΟΥ:

Μ̄Ν Μ̄ΝΡΩΜΕ·
ΣΖΑΙ' Ν̄ΖΗΤΤΗΥ
Τ̄Ν, Η ΣΖΙΜΕ·
Μ̄ΝΩΗΡΕ, Μ̄Ν
ΩΕΕΡΕ, ΖΩΣ
ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ· Η
ΖΩΣ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ
ΔΝ ΠΕ ΣΑΡΕΣ
ΕΠΕΥΖΗΤ
Μ̄ΝΠΕΥΣΩ
ΜΑ ΕΒΟΛ Ε̄Ν

5 Δωζῦ ΝΙΜ
 Μῆτωλῦ ΝΙΜ·
 ΔΥΩ ΠΕΥΛΑΣ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΕῦΠΘΟΛ
 ΜῆΤῦΝΤΕΔΕ
 ἸΨΑΔΕ, ΔΥΩ
 ΤΕΥΣΥΠΟΜΟ
 Νἦ ΜῦΕ :
 ΟΥῆΡΩΜΕ
 10 ΟΝ. ΟΥῆΣΙ
 ΜΕ. ΟΥῆΨΗ
 ΡΕ ΖΙΨΕΕΡΕ
 ΖΩΣ ΔΙΑΒΟΛῆ
 Ἡ ΖΩΣ ΔΙΑΒΟ
 15 ΛΟΣ ΔΝ ἸΤΟΥ
 ΠΕ Δωζῦ ῦ
 ΠΕΥΣΗΤ' ΜῆΝ
 ΠΕΥΣΩΜΑ ΖῆΝ
 ΔΚΑΘΑΡΣΙΑ
 20 ΝΙΜ· ΔΥΩ ΠΕΥ
 ΛΑΣ ΖῆΝΚΑΤΑ
 ΛΑΛΙΑ ΜῆΝΠΕ
 ΚΡΟΥ· ΔΥΩ
 ΤΕΥΣΥΠΟΜΟ
 25 Νἦ ἸΒΟΛ·
 Ἡ ΝΕΪΖΒΗΥΕ
 ΔΝ ἸΚΡΟΥ
 ΖΙΜΟΣΤΕ
 ΖΗΤΩΝ' ΝΕΤ

† ΜῦωτῆΝ ΕΤΟ
 ΟΤῦ ΜῦΠΕΤΘΟ
 Ρῆ ΕΡΩΤῆΝ ΕΤΑ
 ΚΕῆΤΗΥΤῆΝ Ἰ
 ΔΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΣ Ἰ
 ΡΩΜΕ, ΔΥΩ Ἰ
 ΛΟΙΜΟΣ· ΚΔ
 ΤΑΘΕ ΕΤΧΗΖ
 ΔΕ ΝΕΚΡΟΥ
 ΝΔΨΩΠΕ ΖῆΝ
 ΟΥΨΩΛ·

ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ἸΤΕ
 ΤῆΝΔΩΛῆ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΖΙΤῆΝΝΕΤῆΝ
 ΕΡΗΥ· ΠΑΛΙ
 ἸΤΕΤῆΝΡῆΖΙΕΙΤ'
 ΕΝΕΤῆΝΕΡΗΥ·
 ΨΑΝΤΕΠΣΑ
 ΤΑΝΔΣ ΜΕΖΕΙ
 ΔΤῦ ΜῦωτῆΝ·
 ΔΥΩ ΝῦΖΩΜῆ
 ΕΧΩΤῆΝ ΖῆΝ
 ΝΙΖΒΗΥΕ ἸΒΟ
 ΤΕ· ΔΥΩ ἸΤΕ
 ΤῆΝΣΟΛΩΜῦ
 ΖῆΝΝΕΨΩΝΗΥ·
 ΜῦΠΡΜΕΕΥΕ
 ΔΕ ΕΪΜΟΣΤΕ
 ΜῦωτῆΝ, ΕΪ

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 gloatingly² 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

¹Prov.12.24.

²Lit. "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.).

τῷ
7

ΧΩ̄ Ν̄ΝΔῙ· ΔΛ
 ΛΔ ΝΔΜΕ ΕΙΟΥ
 ΕΩ̄ΤΗΥΤ̄Ν Ν̄
 ΖΟῩΟ̄. ΕΙΣΥΜ
 5 ΒΟΥΛΕΥΕ ΝΗ
 Τ̄Ν ΖΩC CΟΝ·
 ΔΕΚΔC ΕΤΕ
 ΤΝΔΡ̄ΖΤΗΤ̄Ν
 ΝΤΕΤ̄ΝΡ̄ΒΟΛ
 10 ΕΝΘΟΡΘC ὰ
 ΠΔΙΔΒΟΛΟC·
 ΚΑΤΑΠΕΤCΗC·
 ΔΕ ΚΝΔΝ̄Τ̄ Ε
 ΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΝΤΕΪΘΟΡ
 15 ΘC ΕΝΤΑΥΖΟ
 ΠC ΕΡΟῙ, ΔΕ
 ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ ΤΑ
 ΝΔΥΤΕ·

20

ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΔΙ
 ΚΑΙΟC ΨΔΜΕΪ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΖΕΝ
 ΨΝΗΥ· ΔΥΩ
 ΝΤ̄ΝΡ̄ᾠΠΨΔ
 ΝΔΩ ᾠΠΨΔ
 25 ΔΕ ΕΤCΗC
 ΔΕ ΤΑΜ̄ΝΤΔΔ
 ΔΕ ᾠΠ̄ΡΡΑΥΕ
 ᾠΜΟῙ. ΔΕ ΔΙ
 ΖΕ̄, †ΝΔΤΩ

τῷ
7

ΟΥΝ ΟΝ: ΤΕ
 ΝΟΥΘΕ ΝΕCΝΗΥ
 ΝΤΩΤ̄Ν ΤΗΡ
 Τ̄Ν ΖΙΟΥCΟΠ̄
 ΖΑΡΕC ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν
 Ζ̄ΝΤΑΓΑΠΗ ᾠ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΔΕ
 ΚΔC ΕΝΝΕΥ
 ΔΙΤΗΥΤ̄Ν Ζ̄Ν
 ΤΕΠΛΑΝΗ Ν̄
 ΝΑΝΟΜΟC·
 ΝΤΕΤ̄ΝΖΕ̄, Ε
 ΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΜΠΕΤ̄Ν
 ΤΑΔΡ̄Ο̄, ΕΤΕ
 ΤΔΙ ΤΕΤ̄ΝΖΥ
 ΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΕΤ
 ΔΗΚ' ΕΒΟΛ
 ᾠΜ̄ΝΤΡ̄ᾠΝ
 ΖΗΤ ΝΙΚ·
 ΔΥΩ ΡΟΕΙC
 ΔΖΕΡΑΤΤΗΥ
 Τ̄Ν Ζ̄ΝΤΠΙCΤΙC
 ΔΡ̄Ο̄ ΝΤΕΤ̄Ν
 Θ̄ᾠCΟΜ· ΝΕ
 Τ̄ΝΖΒΗΥΕ ΤΗ
 ΡΟΥ, ΜΑΡΟΥ
 ΨΩΠΕ Ζ̄ΝΟΥ

ΑΓΑΓΗ·
 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"¹. And again, "The righteous always escapes out of nets"². And we are worthy to speak the word which is written, "Do not rejoice over me, my enmity³, because I fell; I shall rise again"⁴. Now therefore brethren, all of you together keep yourselves in the love of God⁵ in order that you may not be taken⁶ 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 love⁷. And again as

¹Ps.30.5.

²Prov.11.8.

³Both the Hebrew and the LXX have "my enemy" (f.) יָדֹאֵן
 ἡ ἐχθρά μου . Perhaps the reading here arose because
 ἐχθρά and ἔχθρα would have been indistinguishable in
 early unaccented MSS.

⁴Mic.7.8.

⁵Jude 21.

⁶Note ΕΝΝΕΥΔΙ ... for ΝΝΕΥΔΙ ...

⁷I Cor.16.13-14.

ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΠΑΠΟ
 ΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΧΟΕ
 ΧΕ ΤΠΑΡΑΚΑ
 ΛΕΙ ΜΩΤΗΝ
 5 ΝΑCΝΗΥ, ΕΤΡΕ
 ΤΝCΩΥΤ Ε
 ΝΕΤΕΙΡΕ ΝΜ
 ΠΩΡΧ ΜΝΝΕ
 CΚΑΝΔΑΛΟΝ
 10 ΠΑΡΑΤΕCΒΩ
 ΕΝΤΑΤΕΤΗΝΔΙ
 CΒΩ ΕΡΟC. Ν
 ΤΕΤΗCΑΖΕ
 ΤΗΥΤΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ
 15 ΜΩΟΥ. ΝΔΙ
 ΓΑΡ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ.
 ΝCΕΟ ΔΝ ΝΕΜ
 ΖΑΛ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC
 ΠΕΧC. ΑΛΛΑ
 20 ΕΥΟ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ.
 ΔΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ
 ΤΗΤΕΥΘΙΝΨΑ
 ΧΕ ΕΤΖΟΛΟ
 ΜΝΠΕCΜΟΥ
 25 ΨΑΥΕΖΑΓΤΑ
 ΜΤΖΗΤ' ΝΝ

ΒΑΛΖΗΤ':
 ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΤΖΗ
 ΤΗΝ ΕΝΙΟΥΖΟ

ΟΡ. ΤΖΗΤΗΝ
 ΕΝΙΕΡΓΑΤΗC
 ΕΘΟΥ. ΤΖΗ
 ΤΗΝ ΕΝΡΩΜΕ
 ΕΝΤΑΝΔΑΙΜΩ
 ΡΧΟΕΙC ΕΡΒΥ.
 ΜΠΡΤΡΕΥCΚΑ
 ΔΑΛΙΖΕ ΜΩ
 ΤΗΝ. ΕΜΠΔΙ ΓΑΡ
 ΝΤΑΧΟΟC Ν
 ΣΙΠΑΠΟCΤΟ
 ΛΟC ΧΕ ΕΙΧΩ
 ΜΩC ΚΑΤΑ
 ΟΥCΩΥ. ΤΕ
 ΤΗΝΑΝΕΧΕ ΓΑΡ
 ΕΖΗΗΤΗΝ ΝΝΙ
 ΔΘΗΤ. ΕΝΤΕ
 ΤΗΖΕΝCΑΒΕ
 ΕΥ. ΤΕΤΗΝ
 ΑΝΕΧΕ ΓΑΡ Μ
 ΠΕΤΕΖΑΓΤΑ
 ΜΩΤΗΝ. Μ
 ΠΕΤΚΤΟ Ε
 ΒΟΛ. ΜΠΕΤ
 ΕΙΡΕ ΜΩΤΗΝ
 ΝΕΜΖΑΛ. Μ
 ΠΕΤΟΥΜΙ.
 ΜΠΕΤΔΙ. Μ
 ΠΕΤΔΙCΕ ΜΜΙ.

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"²; 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"³. For you, being wise, bear willingly with the foolish⁴. For you bear with *him who beguiles you, him who turns away*⁵, him who enslaves you, devours, and seizes, him who exalts himself,

¹Rom.16.17-18.

²Phil.3.2.

³II Cor.11.21.

⁴II Cor.11.19.

⁵*- * This clause, though not in the Greek N.T., is to be found in all extant Sah. MSS, cf. Thompson, Acts.

5
ΥΜΕ
7

ἄπειροί γε
εἰσὶν ἐπε-
- τῆς· ἡ οὐ-
5 Νος, ἡ νόβη
ἀν πεχε τε
τῆς, ἀνω τε
τῆς μῆκο
σκον' πα-
ρατεγνώμη
10 ἡνεύειο
τε ἐπι' ἄπε
τῆς.
μαλιστα ἐς
κῆ ἐραϊ ἐβολ
15 ζιτῆνενοι
οτε δινῶο
ῤτ δε ἡνερω
με δι, ἡ ἐφ'
παρτεγνώ-
μη. ἀνω
20 ὄν' νενοί-
τε ἐνταυβωκ
τενοῦ ἐρα
τῆ ἄπνοῦτε
25 ἀγών' ἀνω
ἀγπαρτεί
λε, δε ἡςοῦ
οῤτ ἡοίπε
τῆς, ἀνω

ἡτ ἐνοκρῶ
ἀννεύειο
τε: ἡτω
τῆ δε ἡελοῖ
ἡπροῦῶ ἡ
ἡρωμε ἐτδ
τεθῆτῆ ἐτ
βαλωῦ ἐρω
τῆ. ἐτενετῆ
ῶηρε νε. ἡ
θε ἐντατε
τῆςοῖτοῦ ἐ
ρωτῆ ἐτβε
πνοῦτε. ἡ
τετῆπρο
οῦῶ' οῤ' ἡτεῦ
ψῆ ἐνταγα
πη ἄπνοῦ
τε. δε ἡςε
20 δε ἡπαρκα
λεῖσε ἡνε
πρεσβυτε
ροσ ἐτῆετ
τητῆ εῶς
ῶβρπρεσβυ
τεροσ, ἀνω
ἡμῆρε ἡμ
μοκῆς ἄπε
ῶς. ἀνω εῶς

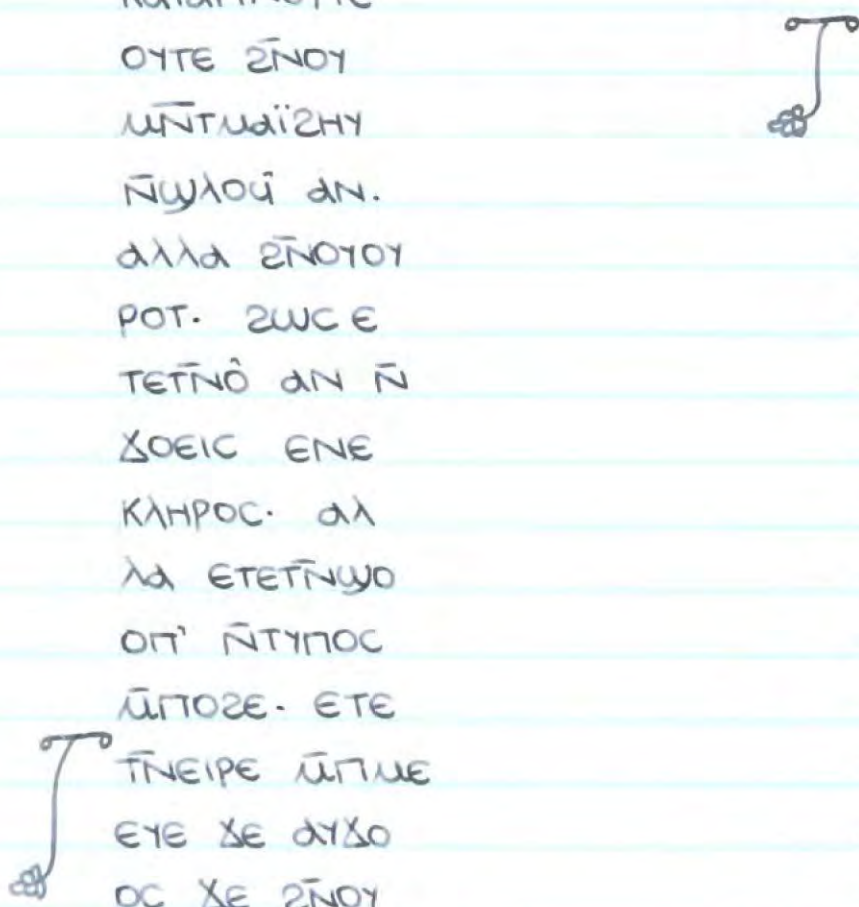
him who smites you in the face!" Is it not a great sin that you buy and sell with the laymen contrary to the judgment of your fathers who take care of you? It is especially laid down by our fathers from the beginning that men shall not buy or sell contrary to their judgment. And again our fathers who 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

¹II Cor.11.20.

ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ
 ᾠπεροῦ ἐτ
 νδωλῆ εβολ
 δε μοονε ᾠ
 5 ποζε ᾠπνῆ
 τε, ἐτῆζητ
 τητῆ, ζῆνοῦ
 ζτορ' ἀν. ἀλ
 λα ἐζηητῆ
 10 καταπνοῦτε.
 οὔτε ζῆνοῦ
 μῆτμᾶιζη
 ἡωλοῦ ἀν.
 ἀλλὰ ζῆνοῦ
 15 ποτ. ζωσε
 τετῆνο ἀν ἡ
 ζοεῖς ἐνε
 κῆρος. ἀλ
 λα ἐτετῆνω
 20 οπ' ἡτῆπος
 ᾠποζε. ἐτε
 τῆειρε ᾠπμε
 εἶε δε ἀγδο
 25 ος δε ζῆνοῦ
 ζο εβολ. σε
 νδχοῖ εβολ
 ζανετῆψυ
 χῆ. ἀτω δε
 πτενταβαλε

ζαε εροῦ. σε
 νδωατῆ ἡζαε.
 ἡτετῆππο
 οὔτῆ ἡτεψυ
 χῆ καταπνῆ
 τε. ἀτω οἷ
 ἡτετῆτῆκα
 ἀτ εἶωατ' ἡ
 τευχρεῖα κα
 ταπενβιος.
 δε ἀγδοος δε
 εἶωπτε οὔτῆ
 οὔσον, ἡ οὔ
 σωνε κῆ κα
 ζῆτ. ἀτω εἶ
 ωατ' ἡτεζε
 ᾠπεροῦ, πτε
 20 οῦ. ἡτε
 οὔα ζοος νδχ
 εβολ ἡζητ
 τητῆ δε βωκ
 ζῆνοῦεῖρηνη;
 ἡτετῆζμου
 ἡτετῆσι. ἡ
 τῆτ δε νδχ
 ἡνετοαζε
 νδχ, ἡτεπσω
 μα. οὔ πτε φῆ.
 εἶωπτε δε

5
 10
 15
 20
 25



steward¹ 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 flock²." You remember that it was said, "Freely I will be spent for your souls"³, and, "To whom much is entrusted, from him will much be required"⁴, 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?"⁵ If, however,

¹ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ 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.

²I Pet. 5.1-3.

³Cf. II Cor. 12.15.

⁴Lk. 12.48.

⁵Jam. 2.15-16.

! /
γμΗ
7

5 Ἰ̄σ̄ε̄ψ̄ᾱδ̄τ' ἀ̄ν
Ἰ̄τ̄ε̄ρ̄ε̄ μ̄ν
Ἰ̄β̄σ̄ῶ· μ̄ν̄τ̄ᾱγ
ψ̄ᾱδ̄ε̄ μ̄μ̄ᾱγ
ε̄δ̄ῶ· ἀ̄γ̄ω̄ Ἰ̄
Ἰ̄τ̄ο̄κ̄ ἑ̄ω̄ω̄κ̄
ο̄ν' κ̄ν̄δ̄ᾱγ̄ω̄
Ἰ̄τ̄ε̄ Ἰ̄δ̄ᾱτ̄ν̄ο̄β̄ε̄·
10 ἀ̄λλ̄ᾱ ρ̄ο̄ε̄ῑς
Ἰ̄τ̄ο̄ῡ ε̄τ̄ῶ̄κ̄ᾱ
ἀ̄γ̄ ε̄ψ̄ῶ̄β̄ο̄ῡο̄ν'
ε̄ο̄ῡο̄ν· μ̄η
Ἰ̄τ̄ο̄τ̄ε̄ Ἰ̄τ̄ῶ̄ν̄
ἑ̄ο̄ε̄ῑνε̄ ε̄γ̄
15 Δ̄ῑ μ̄π̄τ̄ε̄γ̄μ̄τ̄ῶ̄
Δ̄ε̄ ο̄γ̄Ἰ̄τ̄ᾱγ
ρ̄ω̄μ̄ε̄ μ̄μ̄ᾱγ·
Ἰ̄τ̄ῶ̄ν̄ἑ̄ο̄ε̄ῑνε̄
ε̄γ̄μ̄ο̄ο̄ψ̄ε̄
20 ἑ̄Ἰ̄ν̄ο̄γ̄κ̄ω̄λ̄ξ̄
μ̄ν̄ο̄γ̄μ̄κ̄ᾱς
Δ̄ε̄ μ̄ν̄τ̄ο̄γ
ρ̄ω̄μ̄ε̄ μ̄μ̄ᾱγ
ε̄τ̄β̄ε̄τ̄ᾱῑ ο̄γ̄
25 Ἰ̄ν̄ο̄β̄, Ἰ̄ν̄ο̄β̄ε̄
Ἰ̄τ̄ε̄ ἑ̄Ἰ̄μ̄ᾱ Ἰ̄τ̄ε̄ῑ
ἑ̄ε̄ ε̄τ̄ρ̄ε̄γ̄Δ̄ῑ
Ἰ̄τ̄ῶ̄ Ἰ̄ἑ̄ο̄Ἰ̄νε̄·
Ἰ̄σ̄ε̄κ̄ᾱἑ̄ο̄Ἰ̄νε̄·

ε̄γ̄μ̄ο̄ῑς' Ἰ̄σ̄ω̄
ο̄γ̄ ρ̄ῶ̄ ἀ̄ν̄ ἑ̄ο̄
λ̄ω̄ς· ἀ̄λλ̄ᾱ
μ̄ᾱρ̄ε̄ο̄γ̄ω̄ω̄
Ἰ̄ν̄ο̄γ̄ω̄τ' ὡ̄ω̄
Ἰ̄τ̄ε̄ Ἰ̄δ̄ᾱγ̄, Ἰ̄τ̄ρ̄ο̄γ̄
ἑ̄Ἰ̄ο̄γ̄σ̄ο̄π̄ῑ Ἰ̄
Ἰ̄θ̄ε̄ ε̄τ̄σ̄η̄ς Δ̄ε̄
Ἰ̄τ̄ᾱπ̄ε̄ἑ̄ο̄γ̄ῶ̄
μ̄π̄τ̄ῶ̄ρ̄ε̄ο̄γ̄ῶ̄·
ἀ̄γ̄ω̄ Ἰ̄τ̄ᾱπ̄κ̄ο̄γ̄ῑ
μ̄π̄τ̄ῶ̄ςβ̄ο̄κ̄·
Δ̄ε̄κ̄ᾱς ε̄ρ̄ε̄ο̄γ̄
μ̄τ̄ο̄ν ὡ̄ω̄π̄ε̄
Ἰ̄δ̄ᾱγ̄ Ἰ̄τ̄ρ̄ο̄γ̄·
Ἰ̄σ̄ε̄ψ̄ῶ̄μ̄ε̄
μ̄π̄τ̄Ἰ̄ν̄ο̄γ̄τ̄ε̄ ἑ̄Ἰ̄
ο̄γ̄τ̄ω̄τ' Ἰ̄ἑ̄η̄τ̄·
ε̄μ̄Ἰ̄δ̄ᾱρ̄ῑκ̄ε̄
ω̄ο̄ο̄π̄ῑ· ο̄γ̄τ̄ε̄
μ̄ν̄τ̄ρ̄ε̄μ̄Δ̄ῑἑ̄ῶ̄:
Ἰ̄τ̄ω̄τ̄Ἰ̄ν̄ Δ̄ε̄ Ἰ̄
ε̄Ἰ̄ο̄τ̄ε̄ Ἰ̄Ἰ̄η̄ῑ
μ̄Ἰ̄π̄ρ̄ο̄ο̄γ̄ω̄
Ἰ̄Ἰ̄ρ̄ω̄μ̄ε̄ ε̄ν̄
τ̄ᾱπ̄τ̄Ἰ̄ν̄ο̄γ̄τ̄ε̄
β̄ᾱλ̄ω̄ο̄γ̄, ε̄ρ̄ω̄
Ἰ̄τ̄Ἰ̄ν̄ ἑ̄Ἰ̄ν̄ο̄γ̄ἑ̄ο̄τ̄ε̄
Ἰ̄τ̄ε̄Ἰ̄π̄τ̄Ἰ̄ν̄ο̄γ̄τ̄ε̄

they do not lack food and clothing, they have no complaint to make¹, 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 distress² 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 equality³ for all of them together as it is written, "He who had much did not exceed, and he who had little did not lack"⁴; 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,

¹Lit. "no word to say".

²Lit. "bent state", cf. Crum, Dict., p.107b.

³Cf. II Cor.8.14.

⁴II Cor.8.15, cited from Ex.16.18.

ΕΤΕΤ̄Ν†CBŪ

ΝΔΥ ΕΠΟΥΔΑΪ

Ν̄ΝΕΥΨΥΧΗ̄.

ΔΕ ΔΥΔΟΟΣ

5

ΔΕ Ν̄ΕΙΟΤΕ

Λ̄Π̄Ρ†ΝΟΥΣ̄

Ν̄ΝΕΤ̄ΝΨΗΡΕ.

ΑΛΛΑ ΣΑΝΟΥ

ΨΟΥ Ε̄ΝΤΕ

10

CBŪ Λ̄ΝΠΤΑ

Β̄Ο̄ Λ̄ΠΔΟΕΙΣ.

ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΕ
ΤΕΟῩΝΡΩΜΕ

ΒΑΛΩΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ.

15

ΣΕΝΔΔΝΟΥΧ

ΕΡΟΥ. 20

ΜΟΙΩΣ ΠΕΤΕ

Λ̄ΝΡΩΜΕ ΒΑ

ΛΩΟΥ, ΕΡΟΥ.

20

ΣΕΝΔΔΝΟΥΧ

ΕΤΕΨΥΧΗ̄

Λ̄ΜΗΝ Λ̄ΜΟΥ.

ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΣΟΟῩ

ΔΕ Ν̄ΘΕ Λ̄ΠΤΕ

25

ΤΑΥΔΙ Λ̄Π†ΟΥ

Ν̄ΒΙΝΣΩΡ' ΔΥ

Ρ̄ΣΩΒ Ν̄ΣΗΤΟΥ.

ΔΥ†ΣΗΥ Ν̄ΚΕ

†ΟΥ. ΔΥΩ

ΠΕΝΤΑΥΔΙ Λ̄

ΠΕΣΝΔΥ. ΔΥ

†ΣΗΥ Ν̄ΚΕΣΝΔΥ.

ΤΑΪ ΣΩΤΤΗΥ

Τ̄Ν ΤΕΤ̄ΝΣΕ.

ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΨΑΝ

ΜΟΟΝΕ Λ̄ΜΟ

ΟΥ ΚΑΛΩΣ Ν̄

ΘΕ Λ̄ΠΨΩΣ

ΕΤΝΔΝΟΥΧ

ΕΨΑΥΚΩ̄ Ν̄ΤΕΥ

ΨΥΧΗ̄ ΣΑΝΕΥ

ΕΣΟΟΥ:

ΠΔΟΕΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΔΩ
Λ̄ΜΟΣ ΔΕ Λ̄

Λ̄ΝΔΓΑΓΗ Ε

ΝΔΔΔΥ ΕΤΑΪ.

Ν̄ΣΑΤΡΕΠΡΩ

ΜΕ ΚΩ Ν̄ΤΕΥ

ΨΥΧΗ̄ ΣΑΝΕΥ

ΨΒΕΕΡ. ΔΕ

ΚΑΣ Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Ν,

ΔΥΩ Ν̄ΤΟΥ

ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΕΡ̄Λ̄

ΠΩΑ ΣΙΟΥΣ†

ΕΒΩΚ ΕΣΟῩ

ΕΠΩΔ̄ Ν̄ΨΕ

ΛΕΕΤ' Λ̄ΝΠΔ

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 Lord¹," 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 him²." 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 two³, so also are you if you tend them well like the good shepherd who lays down his life for his sheep⁴. For the Lord says, "There is no love greater than this that a man lay down his life for his friends"⁵, in order that you and they together may be worthy to go into the bridechamber with the true bridegroom⁶,

¹Eph.6.4.

²The context suggests that this is a Biblical quotation but I have been unable to trace it.

³Cf. Mt.25.16-17.

⁴Cf. Jn.10.11.

⁵Cf. Jn.15.13.

⁶Cf. Mt.25.10.

ῥ
ῥΝΔ
7

ῥΜΕ ῥC. ΖΑΡΕΖ

ῥΝΤΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΡΟ

ΕΙC ῥΠῚΡΤΡΕΥ

ῥΝΟΥΔ ῥΖΗΤῆΝ

5

ΕΡΕΤΕΥΖῆ

ῥῶ ΛΑΔῆ ῥ ῥC

ΤΑΚΗΥ. ῥCΕ

ΔΟΟC ΝΔΥ ΖῆΝ

ΟΥΩΓΓΕ ΔΕ

10

ΠΕΥΒΗΡ ῥΔΥ

ῆΖΕ ΔΚΕῖ Ε

ΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕῖΜΑ

ΕῶΝΖῆCῶ ῥ

ΜΑ ῆΨΕΛΕΕΤ

15

ΖΙΩΩΚ. ῥ

ῆCΕΔΟΟC ΔΕ

ΝΟΔῆ ΕΒΟΛ

ΕΓΚΑΚΕ ΕΤ

ΖΙΒΟΛ. ΟΥΟῖ

20

ΝΔῖ. ΔΥΩ ΟΥ

Οῖ ῆΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ

ΕΡΥΔΑΝΓΔῖ

ΤΩῤΤ ΕΡΟΝ:

25

ῆΤΩῤῆΝ ΖΩΤ

ΤΗΥῤῆ ῶ ΝΕ

CΝΗΥ. CΩῤῆ

ῆCΔΝΕῤῆΙ

ΟΤΕ ΕΤCΒῶ

ΝΗῤῆΝ Ζῆῤῆῤ

CΤΑΗΤ ῆΙΜ

ΕΝΔΝΟΥῖ ῥῆΝ

ΖΥΠΟΤΑΓῆ

ΝΙΜ. ΔΕ ΔΥΔΟ

ΟC ΔΕ ΖΥΠΟ

ΤΑCCE ῆΝΕῤῆΝ

ΕΡΗΥ, ΖῆΘΟΤΕ

ῥΠΤΕῤC. ΔΥΩ

ΔΕ ῆΨΗΡΕ

CΩῤῆ ῆCΔΝΕ

ῆῆΙΟΤΕ ΖῆΝ

CΜΟῤ ῆΙΜ. ΓΔῖ

ΓΔΡ ΓΕ ΠΟΥ

ΩΥ ῥΠΔΟῖC.

ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ CΩ

ῤῆ ῆCΔΝΕῤῆΝ

ΝΟῆ, ῆῤΕῤῆΝ

ΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE

ΝΔΥ. ῆΤΟΟΥ

ΓΔΡ CΕῖ ῆΟΥ

Ωῆ ῆΡΟΕΙC

ΖΑΝΕῤῆῤΨΥ

ΧΗ. ΔΕ ΕΥΝΔ

ῆΓΔῖ ΖῆΟΥΡΑ

ΩΕ ΕΝCΕΔΥΔ

ΖΟΥ ΔΝ.

ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ῤῆ

CΟΓC ΔΕ ῥ

ΜΩῤῆΝ ΝΕCΝΗΥ

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?"¹, or it be said, "Cast him out into the outer darkness"². 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"³, and, "Children, obey your fathers in every respect, for this is the will of the Lord"⁴, 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"⁵, and again, "But we beseech you, brethren,

¹Mt.22.12.

²Mt.22.13.

³Eph.5.21.

⁴Col.3.20.

⁵Cf. Heb.13.17.

ΕCOYἸΝNET
20CE Ἰ2HT
THYἸἸN, ΔYἸW
ETΠPOZICTA
5 EPΩἸἸN ZἸἸΠXO
EIC, ΔYἸW ET
CBW NHἸἸN.

ἸἸTEἸἸNKαΔY
ἸἸNα2PHἸἸN
10 ZἸἸNOY2OYO ZἸἸN
TαΓAΓἸH ETBE
ΠEY2WB. ΔE
KαC ETETNE
ΩἸἸΠE ἸἸKἸἸW

15 ἸἸΩOYἸΩOY
ΔYἸW ἸἸTEἸἸHἸ
ἸἸEOOY ἸἸNET
NαY EPON, ἸἸN
NETNαTWἸἸT

20 EPON THPOY.
EYKἸO ἸἸNOY
METαNOIα.
ΔYἸW ἸἸTEἸἸN
ΩἸἸΠE ἸἸΩOY
25 ΩOY, ἸἸNEN
EIOἸE THPOY
ZἸἸΠE2OY
ἸἸΠEḲC. ETE

ΓAἸ ΠE ENΩἸἸ
EἸ EBOL ZἸἸΠEἸ
ἸἸ, ἸἸἸἸBINE
ἸἸOYΓAἸPH
CId ἸἸNα2PαY
ZἸἸἸἸἸ ETἸ

ἸἸAY:
ETBEΓAἸ NE
CNHY ἸἸPἸN
KTON ἸἸἸἸTα
ZENEN2BHYE
EPATOY, ἸἸN
NEN2IOOYE.
ΔYἸW ἸἸἸἸWἸ
NE ἸἸCANE2I
OOYE ἸἸἸE
NE2 ἸἸΠXOἸC.
ΔEKαC ENESI
NE ἸἸOYἸBBO

ἸἸNENΨYXἸ:
ἸἸXOEIC ΔE ΠE
ḲC ἸC ΠYHPἸ
ἸἸΠETCἸἸἸἸ
αἸ ΠἸOYἸE
ἸἸἸBOἸ ΠἸἸἸN
TOKPAἸWP
EYECOOYἸN
ἸἸNETἸ2HT

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"¹, 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 souls². And the Lord Christ Jesus the Son of the Blessed, God of hosts, the Almighty, shall direct your hearts

¹I Thes.5.12-13.

²Cf. Jer.6.16.

ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΤΑΓΑ
ΠΗ ΛΥΠΝΟΥ
ΤΕ ΔΥΩ ΕΘΥ
ΠΟΜΟΝΗ Λ
5 ΠΕΧ̄C· ΔΥΩ
ΕΥΝΑΦΘΟΜ
ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΤΗΡΤ̄Ν
ΖΙΟΥCΟΠ· ΕΙ
ΤΕ ΝΟΒ· ΕΙΤΕ
10 ΚΟΥΕΙ·

ΕΙΤΕ ΕΙΩΤ·
ΕΙΤΕ ΩΗΡΕ·
ΕΙΤΕ ΛΔΔΥ·
ΕΙΤΕ ΩΕΕΡΕ·
15 ΕΙΤΕ ΟΥΟΝ
ΝΙΜ ΖΙΟΥCΟΠ'
ΕΤΡΕΤ̄ΝΥΙ ΖΑ
ΝΕΤ̄ΝΕΡΗΥ·

ΔΕΚΔC ΕΤΕ
20 ΤΝΕΧΩΚ ΕΒΛ
Ν̄Ν̄ΝΟΜΟC Λ
ΠΕΧ̄C:

25 Ν̄ΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΝ̄Υ
ΤΕ Ν̄ΡΗΝΗ
ΕΥΕΟΥΩΨΥ
ΛΥΠCΑΤΑΝΔC
ΖΑΝΕΤ̄ΝΟΥ
ΕΡΗΤΕ Ζ̄ΝΟΥ
ΒΕΠΗ· ΔΥΩ

ΕΥΝΑΦΘΟΜ
ΝΗΤ̄Ν ΤΗΡΤ̄Ν
ΕΤΡΕΤΕΤ̄Ν
ΕΙΡΕ ΛΥΠΕΥΟΥ
ΩΥ ΝΔΥ· ΕΥ
ΕΙΡΕ ΛΥΠΕΤ̄Ρ
ΔΑΝΔΥ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Ν
ΛΥΠΕῩΤΟ Ε
ΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄ΝΙΕ
ΠΕΧ̄C· ΔΥΩ
ΕΥΝΑΔΕΚ̄ΤΗΥ
Τ̄Ν ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΟΥ
ΩΥ ΝΙΜ̄ ΕΤ
ΝΔΝΟῩ· ΕΤΡΕ
Τ̄ΝΩΨΗ Ν
CΟΦΟC ΕΠΑ
ΓΑΘΟΝ· Ν̄ΔΚΕ
ΡΑΙΟC ΔΕ ΕΠΠΕ
ΘΟΥ:

Παλιν ον τνα
Δω νητ̄ν λ
πεικεψαδε
ετεογοσε
νητ̄ν αν πε.
αλλα ουζη
ν̄του νητ̄ν
πε λ̄νουεο
ου· ετεπαι
πε· δε ε̄υτε

towards the love of God and the patience of Christ¹. 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 Christ². And the God of peace will crush Satan quickly under your feet³, 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 desire⁴ that you may become wise in respect of good, but innocent in respect of evil⁵. 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

¹II Thes.3.5.

²Cf. Gal.6.2.

³Rom.16.20.

⁴II Thes.1.11. - Δωκ εβολ can also mean "to complete", "to fulfil". The pronominal suffix -ΤΗΥΤΩΝ has no equivalent in the Greek N.T. There, as here, the meaning of the passage is doubtful since it is not clear whether σωω - εὐδοκία is God's or man's, cf. Kittel, TWNT, vol.II, p.744.

⁵Rom.16.19.

2ME N200Y
 ETOYKHPYC
 CE MMOY ZM
 ΠΚΔ2 ΤΗΡΥ
 5 ΕΤΡΕΟΥΟΝ
 ΝΙΚΙ ΔΓΩΝΙΖΕ
 N2HTY ZM
 ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΤΗ
 ΡΥ ΠΟΧΑ ΠΟΧΑ
 10 ΚΑΤΑΤΕΦΘΟΜ·
 ΕΙΤΕ ΝΟΟ·
 ΕΙΤΕ ΚΟΥΕΙ·
 ΔΚΜΗΝ' ΕΥΡ
 ΖΟΥΟ ΠΑΡΑΤΕΥ
 15 ΒΟΜ· †CWTM
 ΔΕ ΟΥΝ2Δ2' N
 ΖΗΤΤΗΥΤN
 ΖNNETEΟΥN
 ΒΟΜ ΜΜΟΥ
 20 ΕΡ2ΟΥΟ· ΕΥ
 ΟΥΩΜΙ ΖΙΡΟΥ
 ΖΕ ΜΜΗΝΕ·
 ΕΜΠΥΡΟΥ
 ΝΔΥ, ΔΕ ΟΥΕΤ
 25 ΝΙ2ΟΥ, ΕΤ'
 NKE2ΟΥ ΤΗ
 ΡΟΥ· ΕΟΥΝ2Δ2
 NΚΟCΜΙΚΟΝ
 ΖΙΒΟΛ ΕΙΡΕ

CNAY, CNAY, ZI
 YTOOY· ΔΥΩ
 ΟΝ' ΕΟΥΝΟΥ
 ΟΝ' CΕΚCΔΒ
 ΒΑΤΟΝ· ΜΑΛΙ
 CΤΑ ΝΕCΝΗΥ
 ΜΠΤΕΙΜΑ ΖΑΤΗ'
 ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΔΕ
 CΕΖΩΤΡ ΤΗ
 ΡΟΥ, ΔΙΝN2Λ
 ΛΟΕΙ ΕΤΕΜN
 ΒΟΜ ΜΜΟΥ
 ΩΑΝΩΗΡΕ
 ΩΗΜ ΕΤCΟ
 ΒΚ· ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΥ
 ΖΟΥΟ ΟΝ' CΕΚ
 YTOOY, ΖΙCΔΒ
 ΒΑΤΟΝ, ΕΥΡ
 ΠΚΕΟΥΩΜ
 ΟΕΙΚ ΔΝ· ΕΥ
 ΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΤΜΕ
 ΕΥΕ ΜΠΕΝΔ
 ΕΙC IC· ΔΥΩ
 ΠΚΕΜΩΥCΗC·
 ΜN2ΗΛΙΔC, Ε
 ΔΥΡΠΕ2ΜΕ' N
 ΖΟΥΥ 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 another¹, 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 Jesus² and Moses³ too, and Elijah⁴, did the whole forty days on end without

¹Note ET for OYET after NI200Y .

²Cf. Mt.4.2 and Lk.4.2.

³Cf. Ex.34.28.

⁴Cf. III Kg.19.8.

$\frac{1}{\gamma\eta\delta}$
7

ΤΕΓ'ΛΑΔΥ, ΟΥ
ΤΕ ΟΕΙΚ· ΟΥΤΕ
ΜΟΥ· ΔΝΟ̄
ΔΕ ὤΠ'ΙΝΤ'Η
5 ΤΩΝ'Η ΕΡΟΥ
ΒΟΛΩΣ Ε̄ΝΤΕ̄
ΛΕΥΛΙΧΕ Ν̄Ε
ΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΝ·
ΔΥΩ ΟῩ ΠΕ ΠΕ
10 ΒΟΥΘ ΔΕ ΔΝΕῙ
ΕΒΟΛ Ε̄Π'ΚΟ
ΣΜΟΣ ΕΒΟΥΝ
ΕΠΕΙΒΙΟΣ
ΠΑῙ ΕΤ'Ν ὤΠ'ΥΑ
15 ὤΜΟΥ ΔΝ·
ΕΤΒΕΠΑῙ ὤ
Π'ΡΤΡΕΝΔΜΕ
ΛΕΙ· ΔΛΛΑ ΜΑ
Ρ'ΝΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ
20 ΤΗΡ'Ν ΠΟΥΔ̄
ΠΟΥΔ̄ ΚΑΤΑ
ΤΕΥΘΟΥ· ΚΑ
ΤΑΠΕΝΤΑΠΕ̄
ΤΑΠ'ΧΟΕΙΣ ΔΟ
25 ΟΥ· ΔΕ ΔΓΩ
ΝΙΖΕ ΕΒΩΚ
ΕΒΟΥΝ ΖΙΤ'Η
ΤΠΥΛΗ ΕΤΘΗ·
ΤΑῙ ΕΝΤΑΥΘΟ

ΟC ΔΕ ΖΕΝΚΟῩ
ΝΕΤΝΔΒΩΚ
ΕΒΟΥΝ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄·
ΤΠΥΛΗ ΔΕ Ν̄
30 ΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΟΥC
ΒΑ2 ΝΕΤΒΗΚ
ΕΒΟΥΝ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄·
ΕΤΕΠΑῙ ΠΕ ΔΕ
ΝΑΥΕ' ΝΕΤΕΙ
ΡΕ ὤΠ'ΕΥΟΥ
ΩΥ Ν̄ΖΗΤ' ΤΕ
ΝΟΥ, Ν̄ΘΕ ΕΤΟΥ
ΔΥC· ΕΥΝΑ
ΠΩ2 ὤΠ'ΕΥ
ΖΗΤ' ΖΩΩΥ
ΕΥΩΔΝΕΙ Ε
ΒΟΛ Ε̄Π'ΠΕΙ'ΜΑ·
ΖΕΝΚΟῩ ΔΕ
ΝΕΤΝΔΒΕΧ
ΖΩΔΟΥ, Ν̄CΕ
ΜΟΚΖΟΥ, ΕΤΒΕ
Π'ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΔΕ
ΕΥΝΑΔΙ ΖΩΩΥ
ὤΠ'ΕΥCΟΛC̄Λ
Μ'ΝΠΕΥΤΩΤ
Ν̄ΖΗΤ' Ε̄Π'Π'ΜΑ
ΕΤΟΥΝΔΒΩΚ
ΕΡΟΥ· ΔΥΩ
70 Ν' Π'ΧΟΕΙC ΔΩ

tasting anything, either bread or water. But we have not resembled them in the very least. What is the use¹ 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 as² the Lord said, "Strive to go in through the narrow gate"³, of which he said, "Few are they who will go in by it"⁴. But many are they who go through the wide gate"⁵. And that means: those who do their hearts' desire now, as they wish⁶, 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,

¹2040 here as if 244 , for other examples cf. Crum, Dict., p.735a.

²Note the duplication of ΠΕΝΤΑ - which is due to ditto-graphy.

³Lk.13.24.

⁴Cf. Mt.7.14.

⁵Cf. Mt.7.13.

⁶Note ΕΤΟΥΔΩC for ΕΤΟΥΟΥΔΩC as often.

ἄλλος δε πῆ-
ταυσε' ετευ
ψυχη. ἠνασορ
μεσ. πῆτνα
5 σωρῦ δε ἦτευ
ψυχη' ετβηητ'.
ἠνασε ερος.
ετωνῆσ ὡδε
νεε:

10 Γενοίτο δε ἦ
τεπλοεῖς τὰ
δε ἠαν' ετρευ
σε ερον' εν
ροεῖς, αὐω
15 εντκαρπος.
ενερε ἄπμε
εγε ἠνεγεν
τολη. ενκα
θαριζε ἄμο
20 εβολ ενωω
εῦ ἠιω ἄν
τῶντρητ
σῆδῦ. αὐω
τῶντρευτ
25 τῶν', ἦτῶντ
ωηρε ωημ.
ἄντῶντῶδ
σιρητ'. τῶι ε
ωαρεπῆνογ

τε † οὐβησ.
ενεῶ ερον
ἄματε ετε
σβῶ ετογος',
ἦνενεῖοτε
ἄννεῖεντο
λη' ενταγσο
νογ ετοοτῆ.
χεκαε ετε
τνερῶπῶα
ἦβωκ εσογν
ετωνῆσ ειογ
σογ'. ἦτωτῆ
ἄννεῖτῶη
ρε, ἄννεῖτῆ
σῆη, ἄννε
τῆωδῶ, ἄν
νεῖτῆεερε.
ἄννεῖτῆρω
με τηρογ.

εἰπῶδῶ †
χροπ' ἠητῆ:
Και γαρ ἦται
εεῖναι δν εῖ
†σβῶ ἠητῆ.
δνοκ γαρ δνοκ
οὐταλαίγω
ρος, εντπηε'
δν ενεῖωι.

"He who finds his life will lose it, but he who loses his life for my sake will find it unto eternal life¹." May it come to pass that the Lord grant that we be found vigilant² and fruitful, remembering his commandments, purging ourselves of every impurity, hesitancy³, youthful quarrelsomeness, and arrogance which God resists⁴. 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 life⁵ 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,

¹Mt.10.39 and Jn.12.25.

²Cf. Lk.12.37.

³Lit. "double-mindedness". Here the meaning clearly is lack of single-mindedness resulting in doubt and irresolution.

⁴Cf. Prov.3.34, I Pet.5.5, Jam.4.6.

⁵Probably 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.

1
ΥΝ5
7

ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕΨΛΗΛ
ΕΧΩΪ ΝΤΕ
ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΔ
ΖΜΕΤ' ΕΒΟΛ
5 ΖΨΠΕΘΟΥ
ΝΙΜ· ΔΕ ΔΝΟΚ
ΟΥΖΗΚΕ ΔΝΓ
ΟΥΕΒΙΗΝ· ΔΛ
ΛΔ ΕΪΟΥΨΨ
10 ΕΤΡΕΝΡΒΟΛ
ΤΗΡΝ ΕΤΕΚΡΙ
CIC ΜΠΝΟΥ
ΤΕ· ΝΤΝΡΜ
ΠΨΔ ΜΠΩΝΞ
15 ΨΔΕΝΕΞ ΖΙ
ΟΥCΟΥΤ:

ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΖΜΕΚ
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΨΠΚΔ
ΚΕ· ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε
ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ·
ΔΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΨ
ΠΜΟΥ· ΕΖΟΥΤ
ΕΠΩΝΞ· ΕΔΚ
ΚΩ ΝCΩΚ Ν
ΤΕΚΖΥΠΟΜΟ
ΝΗ, ΜΝΤΕΚ
ΜΝΤΑΠΟΤΑ
ΚΤΙΚΟΣ· ΔΚ
ΔΡΝΔ ΜΜΟΚ
ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΚ
ΖΨΝΟΥΜΝΤ
ΒΩΒ ΜΝΟΥ
ΖΗΤ' ΜΜΝΤ
ΨΜΜΟ· ΔΥΩ
ΔΚΜΕΡΕΓΕΪ
ΔΙΩΝ' ΔΚΒΩΚ
ΕΘΕCΣΑΛΟ
ΝΙΚΗ· ΕΤΕ
ΤΜΝΤΑΤΖΗΤ
ΤΕ· ΜΝΘΕ ΕΝ
ΤΑΚΚΤΟΚ' Ε
ΠΑΖΟΥ ΖΨΟΥ
ΨΙΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΚ
ΨΩΠΕ ΝΔΡΠ'
ΝΟΥΜΗΗΨΕ·

20



ΒΗCΔ ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙ
CΤΟC ΠΕΤ
CΖΑΪ ΜΠΕΨΜΕ
ΡΙΤ' ΝCΟΝ ΜΔΘ
ΘΔΙΟC· ΤΡΨΠΗ
25 ΡΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΪΖΕ
ΖΨΝΟΥΒΕΠΗ
ΔΚΠΩΨΝΕ
ΜΠΕΖΜΟΤ' Ν
ΙC ΠΕΧC ΠΔΪ

ΨΠΚΡ

and I pray¹ 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 Christ², who called you out of the darkness into the light³ 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 Thessalonica⁴, 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

¹For ΝΤΕΨΛΗΛ read probably ΝΤΑΨΛΗΛ. 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 *ΚΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ*, as the letter is addressed to monks.

²Cf. Gal.1.6.

³Cf. I Pet.2.9.

⁴Cf. 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 ὤΠΥΑΔΕ
ὤΠΔΟΕΙC ἸΘΕ
ΕΝΤΑΥΔΟΟC

5

ΔΕ ΠΕΤΝΑΚΔ̄
ΔΔΛΙΖΕ ἸΟΥΔ̄
ἸΝΙΚΟΥῙ ΕΤ
ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟῙ.

10

ΕΡΝΟΥΡΕ ΝΔΥ
ΔΕΚΔC ΕΥΕ
ΜΟΥΡ ἸΟΥΩ
ΝΕ ἸCΚΕ Ε
ΠΕΥΜΔΚ̄ ἸCΕ

15

ΟΥCῩ ΕΠΠΕ
ΛΔΚΟC' ἸΘΔΛΔC
CΔ. ΕΖΟΥΕ ΤΡΕΥ
CΚΑΝΔΔΛΙΖΕ
ἸΟΥΔ̄ ἸΝΙΚΟΥῙ
ΕΤΠΙCΤΕΥΕ
ΕΡΟῙ.

20

ΚΔΙ ΓΑΡ ΔΛΗΘΩC
ἸΟΥΚΟΥῙ Ἰ
CΚΑΝΔΔΛΟΝ
ΔΝ ΓΕ ΝΤΔΥ
ΩΥΠΕ ἸΔΔ

25

ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟ
ΤΚ̄ ΕΥΡΩΠΗ
ΡΕ ἸΘΕ ΕΝΤΔΚ̄
ΔΔC ΕΔΚΙΤΟ
ΝΗΡΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΚ

ἸΩΝ ἸΜΟΚ.

ΔΚΚΩ ἸCΩΚ

ἸΤΠΗΓΗ ἸΜΟῩ

ΩΝ̄. ΔΚΩΙ

ΚΕ ΝΔΚ ἸΒΕΝ

ΩΗῙ ΕΥΟΥΟ

ΘΠ̄ ΕΝCΕΝΔΥ

ΔΜΔΡΕ ΔΝ Ἰ

ΠΜΟΥ. ΕΜ

ΓΚ̄ ΜΕΚΜΟΥ

ΚΚ̄ ΟΥΤΕ ΕΜ

ΓΚ̄ Β̄Ν ΠΕΚΖΗΤ

ΕΤΡΕΚΕΙΜΕ

ΔΕ ΟΥΩΠΕ

ΝΔΚ' ἸΝΔΡ̄Π̄Ν

ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΓΕ

ΠΖΩΒ ΕΝΤΔΚ

ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ̄ Ε

ΡΟΥ ΕΔΔΥ.

ΟΥΤΕ ΟΝ ἸΤΚ̄

Ρ̄ΓΜΕΕΥΕ Ἰ

ΠΕΝΤΑΠΔΟΙC

ΔΟῩ ΔΕ ΓΕ

ΤΝΔΖΥΠΟΜ

ΝΕ ΩΑΒΟΛ.

ΓΔΙ ΠΕΤΝΔΟΥ

ΔΔΙ. ΔΥΩ ΔΕ

Ζ̄ΝΤΕΤ̄ΝΖΥΠΟ

ΝΗ ΕΤΕΤΝΔ

61r.

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 sea¹, rather than that he should offend one of these little ones who believe in me"². 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.³ 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"⁴, and, "In your constancy⁵ you shall

¹Mt.18.6.

²Cf. Lk.17.2.

³Cf. Jer.2.13.

⁴Mt.10.22, Mt.24.13, Mk.13.13.

⁵For ΣΥΠΟΝΗ read ΣΥΠΟΛΟΝΗ.

$\frac{1}{\gamma\eta\eta}$

5 ΔΠὸ ΝΗΤῆ ἦ
ΝΕΤῆΨΥΧῆ.
Εἶτα ὄν' ἄε
ΠΕΚΛΩ' ΕΥ
5 ὤοοτ' ἦνε
ΓΝΩΜΟΥΝ Ε
ΒΟΛ· ΠΕΝΕΐ
ΖΒΗΥΕ ΡΨΑΥ
ΝΑΚ· ἦΤΟΚ
10 ΕΤΣΟΟΥΝ·
ΠΥΘΕΙΣ ΕΥ
ΝΑΚΤὸ ΕΣῆ
ΠΟΥᾶ ΠΟΥᾶ
ἦΤΕΥΔΙΚΑΙ
15 ΟΣΥΝΗ, Μῆ
ΤΕΥΠΙΣΤΙΣ·
ΠΕΔΠΕΚΖΗΤ
ἄκα2 2ῆΟΥ
2ΩΒ, ἦ δῆλυ
20 ΠΕΙ ἄμοκ
Εἰσοοῦν' ἀν'
ἄΠΒΟΛ ἦΤΕ
ΤΟΛῆ ἄΠΝΟΥ
ΤΕ· ΕΤΒΕΘῆ
25 ἄΠΚΤΑΜΟῖ
ΔΕ ΕἰΝΔΕΙΜΕ·
ἀΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ἦ
τσοοῦν ἀν'
ἄΠΕΘΟΥ

ΕΔῆΙΡΕ ΝΑΚ·
ΟΥΤΕ ἦΤΟΚ·
ΟΥΤΕ ΒΕ· ἄ
ΠΙΔΙΛΑΔΥ ΓΑΡ
ἦΘΟΝΣ· ΟΥ
ΤΕ ἄΠΤΙΤΑΚΕ
ΛΑΔΥ· ΟΥΔΕ
ἄΠΤΙΕΣΛΑΔΥ·
ΠΥΘΕΙΣ ΠΕΤ
Ὁ ἄΜῆΝΤΡΕ,
ἀΥΩ ὄν' ΝΕ
ΣΝΗΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ
ΣΟΟΥΝ ἦ2ΩΒ
ΝΙΜ ἄΝΨΑ
ΔΕ ΝΙΜ· ΕΨΩ
ΠΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΟΥ
ΡΕΥΣΙ ΝΘΟΝΣ
ΕἰΚΩΛΥΕ ἦ
ἦΡΩΜΕ ΕΡ
ΠΟΥΨ' ἄ
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΠΕ
ΕΚΔΩ ἄΜΟΣ
ΕΤΒΕΝΕΚΨΗ
ΡΕ· ΝΙΜ ΠΕ
ΤΑΥΠΩΤ' ἦ
ΣΩΟΥ· ΕΙΜΗ
ΤΙ ΕΡΟΥ ἄΔΥ
ἀΔΥ, ΕΤΒΕΝΕΥ
ΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΘΟΥ·

win your souls¹." Thus again, "The crown is for those who shall endure"². Can it be³ that these things are profitable to you? It is you who know. The Lord shall return to every one his righteousness and his faithfulness⁴. If³ 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 you³ say it of your sons?⁵ Who pursued them except on their own account, because of their evil works?

¹Lk.21.19.

²Zech.6.14.

³For this construction cf. 17r, note 1.

⁴I Kg.26.23.

⁵This 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?

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ἀλλὰ ποῦᾶ
 ποῦᾶ ρωψε·
 ἀνοκ φοῦα
 ἀβ εβολ εῦ
 ΠΕCNOY ΝΟΥ
 ΟΝ ΝΙΜ· ὤCHZ
 ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΝΑ†
 ΕΟΟΥ ΝΑΪ. †ΝΑ
 †ΕΟΟΥ ΝΑΥ.
 ΠΕΤΝΑCΩΥ†
 ΔΕ. †ΝΑ†CΩΥ
 ΝΑΥ· ΕΤΒΕ
 ΝΕΚΩΗΡΕ ΔΕ
 ΟΝ' ΚΗ† ΕΡ
 ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ὤ
 ΠΩΔΕ ΕΝΤΑ
 ΠΔΟΕΙC ΔΟΟΥ
 ΔΕ ΠΕΤΜΕ Ν
 ΩΗΡΕ ΖΙΥΕ
 ΕΡΕ ΕΖΟΥΕ
 ΡΟΪ. Νῦῦπῶα
 ὤμοϊ ἀΝ.
 ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤΕΝῦ
 ΝΑΥΙ ΔΝ ὤΠΤΕυ
 C†OC ΝῦΟΥ
 ΔΖῦ ΝCωΪ. Νῦ
 ὤΠῶα ὤμοϊ



ἀΝ· ΔΥΩ
 ΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΡΕΓΡΩ

με ΝΑ†ΖΗΥ, Ν
 ΟΪ, ΕΥCΩΝ†
 ΖΗΥ ὤΠΚΟ
 CΜOC ΤΗΡῦ
 Νῦ†OCΕ ΔΕ
 ΝΤΕCΨΥΧῆ.
 Η ΟΪ ΠΕΤΕΡΕ
 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑ†Α
 ΔΥ ΝῦΒΕΙῶ
 ΝΤΕCΨΥΧΗ:
 ὤΠΡΜΕΕΥΕΕ
 ὤ ΠCΟΝ ΔΕ ΟΥ
 ΤΑΪΟ ΝΑΚ ΠΕ
 ΔΕ ΔΚΑΡΝΑ Ν
 ΤΕΚΕΥΠΟΜΟ
 Νῆ, Η ΔΚΚῶ
 ΝCΩΚ Ν†C†
 ΔΓΩΓῆ ΝΝΕΚ
 ΕΙΟΤΕ, ΕΝΤΑΥ
 CΑΝΟΥCΚ Ν
 ΖΗ†C· ΟΥΤΕ
 ὤΠ†ΚΡ†ΠΜΕ
 ΕΥΕ ὤΠ†Ιῶ†
 ΖἌΛΟ· ΟΥΔΕ
 ὤΠ†ΚΡ†ΠΜΕ
 ΕΥΕ ΝΝΕΚ
 ΩΗΡΕ· ΟΥΔΕ
 ΟΝ ὤΠ†ΚΡ†ΠΜΕ
 ΕΥΕ ΝῆΡΩΜΕ



Each one is responsible. As for me, I am innocent of the blood of every one¹. For it is written, "I will honour him who will honour me, but I will despise him who will despise me²." 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 me³." 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?"⁴ 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,⁵ nor did you remember your sons, nor yet did you remember the men

¹Acts 20.26.

²I Kg.2.30.

³Mt.10.37-38.

⁴Mt.16.26, Mk.8.36.

⁵The reference is almost certainly to Shenoute whose influence is still great, though he is dead, and whose memory is revered.

ΕΝΤΑΚΟΓΙΣ
ΕΧΩΟΥ, ΩΔΝ
ΤΚΝΤΟΥ ΕΣΟΥΤ·
ΑΛΛΑ ΕΔΚΡΠΚΕ
ΠΩΤ' ΕΓΝΟΥ

5

ΖΩΠ' ΝΘΕ Ν
ΟΥΡΕΥΔΙΟΥΕ·
ΕΚΜΕΕΥΕΒΕ
ΔΕ ΕΚΝΔΤΖΗΥ
ΝΤΕΪΖΕ·

10

ΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΕ
ΓΑΡ ΔΩ ΜΩΟΣ
ΕΧΕΠΔΙΝΟΥ
ΝΝΕΤΝΔΔΕΚ

15

ΤΕΥΖΥΠΟΜΟ
ΝΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝ
ΟΥΜΝΤΔΩΩ
ΡΕ, ΔΕ ΜΑΡΝ
ΑΜΔΣΤΕ ΝΘΟ

20

ΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΝΘΕΛ
ΠΙΣ, ΔΔΝΡΙΚΕ·
ΟΥΠΙΣΤΟΣ
ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΕΝ

25

ΤΑΧΕΡΗΤ' Ν
ΤΝΘΩΩΤ Ν
ΣΑΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ
ΕΥΠΑΡΟΖΥ
ΣΜΟΣ ΝΔΓΑ
ΠΗ ΜΝΖΕΝ

ΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΝΔΝΟΥ
ΟΥ· ΕΜΠΝΚΩ
ΝΩΩΝ ΝΤΕΝ
ΣΥΝΔΓΩΓΗ, Ν
ΘΕ ΕΠΣΩΝΤ
ΝΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΠΕ·
ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΕΤΝ

ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ,
ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕΪΖΕ
ΝΖΟΥΟ ΝΘΕ Ε
ΤΕΤΝΝΔΥ ΕΠΕ
ΣΟΥ ΕΧΕΩΝ
ΕΣΟΥΝ· ΕΝΡ
ΝΟΒΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΕ

ΒΟΜ ΜΝΝΣΑ
ΤΡΕΝΔΙ ΜΠΣΟ
ΟΥΝ ΝΤΜΕ·
ΜΩΝΘΥΣΔΒΕ
ΝΔΩΩΔΗ ΖΑ

ΝΟΒΕ· ΟΥ
ΖΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΠΕ
ΒΩΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ

ΖΗΤΣ ΝΤΕΚΡΙ
ΣΙΣ ΜΝΠΚΩΣ'
ΝΤΣΑΤΕ, ΕΤ

ΝΔΟΥΩΜ ΝΝ
ΔΔΧΕ· ΔΥΩ
ΟΝ ΔΕ ΟΥΖΟ
ΤΕ ΠΕ ΖΕ ΕΣΡΑΙ

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Handwritten bracket on the left side of the page, spanning from line 10 to line 15.

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 fierceness¹ of the fire which will devour the adversaries²." And again, "It is a fearful thing to fall into

¹This agrees with the Greek ζῆλος against all other Sah. authorities which read κωστ̄, an obvious corruption, cf. p. 77, 80.

²Heb. 10.23-27.

ΕΝΘΙΣ ΜΠΝΟΥ

ΤΕ ΕΤΟΝΣ:

5 ΔΥΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ ΟΝ

ΔΕ ΔΡΙΓΜΕΥΕ

ΝΝΕΣΟΥ Ν

ΩΟΡΠ ΕΝΤΑ

ΤΕΤΝΔΙΟΥ

ΕΙΝ ΝΣΗΟΥ

ΕΑΤΕΤΝΣΥ

10 ΠΩΜΙΝΕ ΣΝΟΥ

ΝΟΣ, ΝΑΘΛΗΣΙΣ.

ΜΜΠΤΡΕΩΠ

ΣΙΣΕ. ΠΑΙ ΜΕ

ΕΥΣΩΒΕ ΝΩ

15 ΤΝ ΣΝΣΕΝΝΟΣ

ΝΕΣ; ΜΝΣΕΝ

ΘΛΙΨΕΙΣ. ΠΕΙ

ΚΕΤ' ΔΕ ΟΝ Ε

ΑΤΕΤΝΡΚΟΙ

20 ΝΩΝΟΣ ΝΝΕΤ

ΩΟΟΠ' ΣΙΝΔΙ.

ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΤΕ

ΤΝΩΠΣΙΣΕ

ΜΝΝΕΤΜΗΡ.

25 ΔΥΩ ΠΤΩΡΠ

ΝΝΕΤΝΣΥΓΑΡ

ΧΟΝΤΑ ΑΤΕ

ΤΝΩΟΠΥ ΕΡΩ

ΤΝ ΣΝΟΥΡΑΨΕ.

ΕΤΕΤΝΕΙΜΕ

ΔΕ ΟΥΝΤΗΤΗΝ

ΜΜΔΥ, ΝΟΥΜΝΤ

ΡΜΜΔΟ ΕΣΣΟ

ΤΠ ΕΣΜΗΝ' Ε

ΒΟΛ. ΜΠΡΝΥ

ΔΕΒΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ν

ΤΕΤΝΠΤΑΡΡΗ

ΣΙΑ. ΤΑΙ ΕΤΕ

ΟΥΝΤΣ ΟΥΝΟΣ

ΝΤΟΥΕΙΟ ΝΒΕ

ΚΕ. ΕΤΕΤΝΡ

ΧΡΕΙΑ ΓΑΡ ΝΟΥ

ΣΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ.

ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΑΤΕ

ΤΝΡΠΟΥΩΩ

ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

ΝΤΕΤΝΔΙ Μ

ΠΕΡΗΤ':

ΚΝΑΥΒΕ ΠΕ

ΩΒΗΡ ΔΥΩ

ΠΣΟΝ ΔΕ ΠΕ

ΤΝΔΡΠΟΥΩΩ

ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ

ΔΥΩ ΝΥΔΕΚ

ΤΕΥΣΥΠΟΩ

ΝΗ ΕΒΟΛ. ΝΤΟΥ

ΠΕΤΝΔΙ Μ

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 thus². 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 promise³." You see therefore, friend and brother, that he who will do the will of God and perfect his constancy, shall receive the promise.

¹Heb.10.31.

²I.e. mocked etc.

³Heb.10.32-36.

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ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΨΩ
ἄμος ΝΑΚ
ΣΕ ἈΠΡΤΕΤ
ΠΕΚΣΗΤ' ΕΡΟΚ
ΝΤΕΙΣΕ. ΝΤ
ΝΑΨΖΗΤ ΔΝ·
ἄμῶνλαγ γΑΡ
ΝΝΟΥΡΕ Σῶ
ΠΕΤΚΕΙΡΕ
ἄμου· ΔΝΟΚ
ΓΑΡ ΕΪΨΙΡΟ
ΟΥΨ ΣΑΡΟΚ
ΝΤΕΙΣΕ. ΣΕ
ΝΝΕΚΟΥῶ
ΝΤΡΕΤΗΚ Σῆ
ΤΕΚΣΑΗ·
ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΔΟΙC
ΣΩ ἄμος Ν
ΝΕΤΚΤΟ ἄ
ΜΟΥ ΕΠΔΣΟΥ
ΣΝΟΥΣΗΤ' ἄ
ΜΝΤΩῶΜΟ
ΣΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΔΙΤΟ
ΕΚ ΝΟΥΒῶ Ν
ΕΛΟΟΛΕ Ν
ΨΔΙΟΥΤΑΣ' ΤΗ
ΡC ἄΜΕ· ΝΑΨ
ΝΣΕ, ΔΡΚΤΟ
ΕΨCΙΨΕ ΤΒῶ

ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΕΝ
ΤΑΣΨῶΜῶ·
ΔΨΩ ΟΝΣΕ ΟΨ
ΕΡΟΚ ΤΕ ΤΕ
ΣΙῆ ΝΚΗΜΕ
ΕΤΡΕΚCῶ Ε
ΒΟΛ ΣῶΓΤΜΟ
ΟΥ ΝΓΗΩΝ'
ΠΑΪ ΕΤΤΗC'
ΔΨΩ ΝΙΜ ΕΡΟΚ
ΤΕ ΤΕΣΙῆ ΝΔC
CΟΥΡ' ΕΤΡΕΚ
CΕΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ
ΣῆΝΕΨΕΙΕ
ΡΩΟΥ· ΕCΕ
ΨCΒῶ ΝΑΚ Ν
ΕΠΕΚΜῆΤΑΤ
CΩΤῶ· ΔΨΩ
ΕCΕΣΤΙΟΚ
ΝΒΙΤΕΚΚΑΚΙΔ·
ΕΙΜΕ, ΔΨΩ ΝΤ
ΝΔΨ, ΣΕ ΨCΔ
ΨΕ ΝΑΚ ΕΤΡΕΚ
ΚΔΑΤ' ΝCΩΚ·
ΣΕ ΣΙΝΕΝΕC
ΔΚΟΥΨῶ
ἄΠΕΚΝΑΣΒ
ΔΨΩ ΔΚΩΨΗ
ΝΝΕΚCΝΔΨC.

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?"¹ And again, "What is the way of Egypt to you that you drink of the water of Geon² which is turbid³; 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 me⁴. For of old you broke your yoke and burst your bonds.

¹Jer.2.21.

²I.e. the Nile, cf. J.Hastings, A Dictionary of the Bible, Edinburgh, 1900 ff., II, p.174, and IV, p.498f. The LXX reads Γήινον for the Hebrew אֵינֹן.

³The clause "which is turbid" is not extant in the Hebrew or the LXX. It appears to be a gloss on אֵינֹן, (probably "black" hence "turbid").

⁴Jer.2.18-19.

5 ΔΙΧΘΟΟC ΔΕ
 Ν†ΝΔΡ̄Ξ̄Μ̄ΖΑΛ
 ΔΝ· Μ̄Π̄Ρ̄ΜΕ
 ΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΕΪΜΟ
 CΤΕ Μ̄ΜΟΚ
 ΕΪΧ̄Ω Ν̄ΝΔΪ.
 ἄλλα εἶμε μ̄
 ΜΟΚ Ν̄ΤΟΥ Ν̄
 ΖΟῩΟ̄ ΕΪΟΥ
 10 ΩΥ ΕΤΡΕΚ
 ΚΤΟΚ ΕΠΕΚ
 ΜΔ Ζ̄ΝΟΥΕΙΡΗ
 ΝΗ ΔΕ Ν̄ΝΕΚ
 †ΟCΕ Ν̄ΤΕΚ
 15 ΨΥΧΗ Ζ̄ΝΤΕΚ
 Μ̄ΝΤΝΟC, Ν̄ΡΩ
 ΜΕ· ΝΙΜ
 ΓΑΡ Ζ̄ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥ
 20 ΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄
 ΖΗΤ̄Ν ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΠΕΤΕΜ̄Π̄ΥΡ̄
 ΖΤΗΥ· ΔΕ ΚΝΔ
 Ρ̄ΖΤΗΚ ΔΝ Ν̄
 ΤΟΚ· Η ΝΙΜ
 25 ΠΕΝΤΑΥΖΗΥ·
 ΔΕ ΕΚΝΔ†ΖΗΥ
 Ν̄ΤΟΚ· Τ̄ΘΙΝ
 ΒΩΚ ΓΑΡ ΕΝ
 ΤΑΚΔΔC, CΟΥ

ΩΝΞ̄ Μ̄ΜΟΚ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ ΔΕ ΕΚ
 † ΟΥΒΕΝΙΜ· Η
 ΕΚΨΟΞΝΕ
 Μ̄ΝΝΙΜ·
 ΚΑΛΩC ΟΤΗΝ
 ΔΥΔΟΟC ΔΕ
 ΠΟῩΑ ΠΟῩΑ ΜΔ
 ΡΕΥΞΑΡΕΞ Ε
 ΡΟΥ ΕΠΕΤΖΙ
 ΤΟΥΨΥ· ΔΥΩ
 Μ̄Π̄Ρ̄ΚΑΞΤΗ
 Τ̄Ν ΕΝΕΤ̄ΝCΝΗΥ·
 ΔΕ CΟΝ ΝΙΜ
 Ζ̄ΝΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΔΙ
 †ΒC· ΨΝΔΞ†
 ΒC· ΔΥΩ ΨΒΗΡ
 ΝΙΜ̄ ΝΔΜΟΟ
 ΨΕ Ζ̄ΝΟΥΚΡ̄Υ·
 ΠΟῩΑ ΠΟῩΑ
 ΝΔCΩΒΕ Μ̄ΠΕΥ
 ΨΒΗΡ̄ ΝCΕΤ̄Μ
 ΔΕΜΕ· ΔΕ Δ
 ΠΕΥΛΔC' ΤCΔ
 Β̄Ο ΕΨΑΞΕ Ν̄
 ΖΕΝΜ̄ΝΤΝ̄ΥΞ·
 Η Ν̄ΤΑΝΔΟΟΥΚ
 Ν̄ΟΥΖΩΒ' ΔΕ
 ΕΚΝΔΒΩΚ

You said, 'I will not be a servant'¹. 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 supplant² 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 lies³." Did we send you on a mission in order that you might go

¹Jer.2.20.

²Lit. "will, with a tripping, trip up by the heels". The construction can only be explained by reference to the Hebrew $\text{אָפַקְ אֶת־רֵגְלֵי־כֹסֵף}$, which is followed by the LXX πτερνῆ πτερνιῆ . 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.

³Jer.9.4-5.

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ΥΖΔ
7

Ν̄ΓCωΡ̄μ̄ Ν̄ΤΕΚ

ΨΥΧΗ· ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ

Ν̄ΤΑΝCΟΤΓ̄Κ̄

ΖΩC ΡΩΜΕ Ν̄

5

CΠΟΥΔΑΙΟC

ΑΝΔΟΥΚ·

ΕΨΔΕ ΠΕΚ

ΖΗΤ' ΜΟΤ̄Ν ΔΝ

ΕΤΡΕΚΒΩΚ·

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ΕΤΒΕΟῩ Μ̄Γ̄Κ̄

ΤΑΜΟΝ' ΔΕ Ε

ΝΕΕΙΜΕ, Ν̄Τ̄Ν

Τ̄Μ̄ΔΟΥΚ·



ΠΛΗΝ ΕΙΜΕ Ε

15

ΠΑΙ' ΔΕ ΔΥΔΟ

ΟC ΔΕ ΔΙCΜ̄Η

ΒΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ, Ν̄

ΤΕΤ̄ΝCΩΤ̄Μ̄·

Ν̄ΝΕΥΨΔΔΕ

20

ΔΝ Ν̄ΤΕΪΔΕ ΖΑ

ΠΛΩC· Μ̄Μ̄Ν

ΛΑΔΥ ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΡΩ

ΜΕ ΕCΜΕΤΑ

ΝΟΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν

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ΤΕΥΚΑΚΙΔ ΕΥ

ΔΩ Μ̄ΜΟC ΔΕ

ΟῩ ΠΕΝΤΑΪΔ

ΔΥ· ΠΕΤΓΠΗΤ

ΔΥΚΑΤΟΥΤΥ

X

ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ̄ΠΕΥ

ΜΑ Μ̄ΠΩΤ' Ν̄

ΘΕ Ν̄ΟΥΖΤΟ

ΕΡΕΤΕΥCΩ

ΤΕ ΖΙΩCΩ Ε

ΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ̄ΠΕΥ

Ζ̄Μ̄Ζ̄Μ̄·

Μ̄ΠΩΡ̄ΒΕ ΕΤΡΕΥ

ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΤΕ

ΖΙΗ̄ Ν̄ΤΩΘΕΡΕ

Μ̄ΠΑΛΑΟC Ν̄C

ΨΟΟΓ' ΔΝ' ΕΥ

CΟΥΓ̄Τ̄Ν, ΟΥ

ΔΕ ΕΥΤ̄ΒΒΟ·



Η̄ Ν̄CΕΔΟΟC

ΔΕ ΟΥΟΪ Ν̄ΝΕΤ

ΔΩ Μ̄ΜΟC ΔΕ

ΝΑΝΟΥ, Π̄ΠΕ

ΘΟΥ· ΔΥΩ

ΠΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC

ΖΟΥ· ΝΕΤ

ΩΠ' Μ̄ΠΚΑΚΕ

Ν̄ΟΥΘΕΙΝ· ΔΥΩ

ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ Ν̄ΚΑ

ΚΕ· ΝΕΤΔΩ

Μ̄ΜΟC ΔΕ ΠΕΤ

CΑΥΕ, ΖΟΛΔ·

ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤΖΟ

ΛΔ CΑΥΕ·

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 neighing¹." Do not therefore let it be said, "The way of the daughter of my people is not towards uprightness nor towards purity²." 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 bitter³."

¹Jer.8.6.

²Jer.4.11.

³Is.5.20.

5 ΟΥΟΙ ΝΙΝΕΤΟ
ΝΙΟΑΒΕ ΝΑΥ
ΜΑΥΔΔΥ, ΔΥΩ
ΕΥΟ ΝΡΩΝΖΗΤ
ΛΠΕΥΑΤΟ Ε
ΒΟΛ·

10 ΛΠΩΡΕ ΓΑ
CON ΕΣΟΡΜΕΚ
ΜΑΥΔΔΚ· ΔΥΩ
ΤΩΟΥΝ ΝΓΜΟΥ
ΩΤ ΝΩΚ' Ν
ΘΕ ΝΤΕCΖΙΜΕ

15 ΕΝΤΑΤΕCΑ
ΤΕΕΡΕ CΩΡΩ
ΕΔCCEΡΓΤΕC
ΗΙ ΕCΜΟΥΩΤ
Η ΕCΚΩΤΕ

20 ΩΑΝΤΩC Ε
ΡΟC, ΕΔCΜΟΥ
ΤΕ ΕΝΕCΩΒΕ
ΕΡΕ, ΜΙΝΝΕΤ
ΖΙΤΟΥC ΕC

25 ΔΩ ΛΜΟC· ΔΕ
ΡΑCΥΕ ΝΙΜΔΙ
ΔΕ ΔΙΖΕ' ΕΤΑ
ΘΙΚΙΤΕ, ΕΝ
ΤΑΙCΟΡΜΕC·

ΟΥΝΖΔΖ ΓΑΡ ΖΑ
ΤΗΝ ΖΝΝΕCΝΗΥ

ΕΔΝΕΥΩΗΡΕ
ΔΥΩ ΝΕΥCΝΗΥ
ΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ν
ΖΗΤΝ, ΛΠΟΥ
ΚΙΜ' ΖΝΤΕΥΖΥ
ΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΕΤΒΕ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΕΥ
CΟΥΝ ΔΕ Ν
CΕΝΔΘΝΩΗΡΕ
ΔΝ' ΕΡΟΥ· Η
ΩΕΕΡΕ· Η ΝΕΤ
ΗΓ' ΕΡΟΥ ΚΑ

ΤΑCΑΡΞ ΛΠΝΔΥ
ΝΤΕΥΑΝΔΓΚΗ·
ΕΥΩΔΝΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΙ
ΕΝΘΙΔ ΛΠΤΕΧC·
ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΓΑΘΘ

ΕΤΕΡΕΠΟΥΑ
ΠΟΥΑ ΝΔΔΔΥ·
ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕΤΥ
ΝΔΘΝΤΥ ΕΡΟΥ
ΛΠΝΔΥ ΕΤΜ

ΜΔΥ· ΜΙΝ
ΤΕΙΩΤ' ΓΑΡ ΝΑ
ΜΟΥ, ΖΑΩΗΡΕ·
ΔΥΩ ΩΗΡΕ· ΖΑ
ΕΙΩΤ'· Η CΟΝ·
ΖΑCΟΝ· ΑΛΛΑ
ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ

Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes and prudent in their own sight¹." Do not therefore, my brother, lead yourself astray. Arise and search yourself like the woman who, having lost her coin², 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 penny³ which I lost"⁴. 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

¹Is.5.21.

²Lit. "stater" which equals four drachmas. But when the coin is found it is called ΣΙΚΚΙΤΕ which is one drachma. It may therefore be assumed that the writer was not aware of the actual value of the coins and uses ΚΑΤΕΕΡΕ to mean "coin" or "drachma".

³Lit. "drachma".

⁴Cf. Lk.15.8-9.

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ΕΥΝΑΜΟΥ ΖΑ
ΠΕΥΝΟΒΕ ὰ
ΜΙΝ ὰΜΟΥ.

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ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤΝΔΟΥ
ΕΜΕΛΕΛΖῸΣ.

ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕΤΕ
ΡΕΝΕΥΝΑΔΕ
ΝΑΝΟΥΩΣ Ν

10

ΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕΤΕ
ΓΡΑΦῆ ΔΩ ὰΜΕ.

ΕΡΩΔΑΝΟΥΟΝ
ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΜΕΕΥΕ

15

ΕΠΑΪ ΕΤΡΕΥ
ΔΙ ΝΑΪ ΝΟΥΖΗΤ'

ὰΜῆΝΤΩὰΜῶ
ΖῆΝΟΥὰΜῆΝΤΩΒ
ΝΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΚΑ

20

ΔΣ. ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤ
ΝΔΖΜΟΟΣ ΖΑ

ΤῆΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ.
Ἡ ΕΝΕὰΜΠΕΝΕ

ΕΙΟΤΕ ΜΟΥΝ
ΕΒΟΛ ΖῆΝΤΕΥ
ΖΥΠΟΜΟΝῆ.

25

ΝΕΝΝΑΔῆΝΤΟΥ
ΤΩΝ ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕ

ΒΟΪΛΕ ΕΡΟΥ:
ΤΕΝΟΥΒΕ ΔΝΕ
ΕΙΟΤΕ ΔΕΚ'

ΤΕΥΖΥΠΟΜΟ

Νῆ ΕΒΟΛ. ΕΔΥ
ΒΩΚ ΕΡΑΤῆ ὰ
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

ΔΝΟΝ ΖΩΩΝ

ΕΝΥΑΝΤῆΝΤΩ

ΝῆΝ ΕΡΟΥ. ΟΥ

ΝῆΔΕ ΝΑΤΖΗΥ

ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥ

ΤῆΝ. ΕΝΥΑΝ

ΚΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΓΔ

ΖΟΥ, ΝῆΤῆΝΑΡΝΑ

ΝῆΤΕΝΖΥΠΟ

ΜΟΝῆ. ΟΥΝῆΔΕ

ΝΑΤΟΟΕ ΕΤΒΗ

ΤῆΝ, ΔΥΩ ΝῆΕ

ΣΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΕ:

ΕΤΒΕΠΑΪ ΤῆΝΠΑ
ΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ὰΜῆΚ

ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙῆ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ὰΝ

ΠΕΝΔΟΕΙΣ ἱ

ΝῆΚΤΟΚ' ΕΖΟΥ

ΕΠΕΚῸΔ. ΔΕ

ΚΔΣ ΕΡΕΠΕΚ

ΖΗΤ' ΝΑὰΤΟΝ

ΝῆΤΖΗΥ ὰΜΟΚ.

ΝῆΤῆΥΩΤῆ

ΝῆΑΝΕΤΟΥΜ

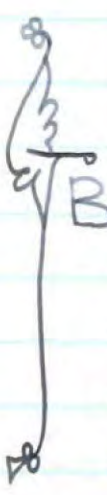
shall die for his own sin, and it is the teeth of him what eats sour grapes that shall be set on edge¹, as the scripture says. For if every one thinks thus, weakly to become estranged as you did, who will live with his fellows? Unless our fathers had persevered in their constancy, where were we to find 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 us² 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

¹Jer.38.30.

²Note ETBHTN̄ (the Achm. and Fay. form) for the normal Sah. ETBHHTN̄, cf. Crum, Dict., p.61a.

5
ΒΟΥΛΕΥΕ ΝΔΚ
ΕΚΑΠΕΚΩΔ Ν
CΩΚ· ΝΙCΕΝΔΩ
†ΛΟΓΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΔΝ
ΖΑΡΟΚ ὪΠΝΔΥ
ΝΤΕΚΑΝΑΓΚΗ:

10
ΒΗCΑ ΠΕΤCΔΑΙ
ΝΔΝΤΙΝΟΙ·
ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΙΔΟΥ
ΝΕ' ΝΟΥCΟΠ'
ΔΥΩ CΝΔΥ, ΔΕ
15
ΥΠΕΙῶΝΤΑΘΗΤ
ΕΒΟΛ ὪΜΟ, ΔΥΩ
ΝΤΕ†CΟ ΕΠΟΥ
ΛΔC ΝΡΕΥΔΕ
ΝΟC, ΝΨΑΔΕ·
20
ΔΥΩ ΝΟΥCΠΟ
ΤΟΥ ΕΤῪΔῶ
ὪΠΕΤΕΝΨΩ
ΟΠ' ΔΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΕ
CΟΥΝ ὪΜΟΥ
25
ΔΝ· ΕΙCΖΗΗ
ΤΕΒΕ ὪΠΕΖῶ
ΕΡΟ, ΟΥΤΕ Ὢ
ΠΕ†CΟ ΨΑΖΟΥ
ΕΤΕΝΟΥ· ΔΛ



ΛΔ ΔΡΟΥΩ2' Ε
ΤΟΟΤΕ ΖῪΤΟΥ
ὪΝΤΡΕΥCΩΥ
ΝΖΟΥΟ· ΠΕΤ
CΩΥ ΓΑΡ ὪΠΕΤ
ΖΙΤΟΥΩΥ· ΕΥ
CΩΥ ὪΜΟΥ
ὪΜΙΝ ὪΜΟΥ·
ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤΒΑΙΟ
ὪΠΕΥCΟΝ, Η
ΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΥΩΥ·
ΕΥΤΒΑΙΟ ὪΜΟΥ
ΜΑΥΔΔΥ· ΔΥΩ
ΕΥΡΝΟΒΕ ΕΤΕΥ
ΨΥΧΗ ὪΜΙΝ Ὢ
ΜΟΥ· ΝΕΤΡ
ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤῪ Ὢ
ΠΔΟΕΙC· ΨΔΥ
†CΟ ΕΡΩΟΥ
ΔΥΩ ΜΕΥΝΟC
ΝΕC, ΝΝΕΥ
CΝΗΥ· Η ΝΕΤ
ΖΗΝ' ΕΡΟΥ·
ΔΛΔ ΕΨΑΥΤΑ
ΙΟΥ ΝΤΟΥ Ν
ΖΟΥΟ· ΔΥΩ Ν
CΕ†ΕΟΥ ΝΔΥ·
ΕΥCΟΥΝ 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.¹ 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, nevertheless² 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

¹A 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.

²Lit. "yet behold".

1
ΥΣΗ
7

5 ρωή μῆπει
λας. εὐχαρεε
ετευψυχή.
ετβεγταῑ fcyu
5 βολεγε νε'
2ωc con' ετρε
λο̄ 2̄ντεϊ̄μ̄ντ
2η̄ψημ. ετε
νατ̄2ηγ, ερος
10 αν. μ̄ντεϊ̄μ̄ντ
ρεψωω επδ̄τ
Δ̄η̄ ετεμ̄νο
υρε̄ ν̄2ητ̄c. μη
ποτε̄ ν̄τερ̄
15 2η̄ 2̄μπε2ο
οῡ ετερετα
πρ̄ο̄ νιμ̄ na
τωμ̄ ν̄τ̄νωω
πε̄ τηρ̄η̄ 2α
20 π2απ' μ̄πνογ
τε. αχ̄οοc
Γαρ̄ δε̄ οῡν̄ῑνετ
ω̄δε, εγ̄ο̄ ν̄θε
ν̄2εν̄χηε̄ εγ̄
25 κων̄ε. ω̄ρε
ν̄λαc' δε̄ ν̄ν̄co
φοc̄ τᾱλο̄.
α2ρ̄ο̄ ερεcωω
ν̄τογcωνε

αγω̄ ερενοc
νεc, μ̄μοc.
μ̄η̄ εcωαν̄βωκ
ετβη̄ητε. η̄
ν̄τογαφορ̄μ̄η̄
πτογ̄ητ̄ nāμ̄
τον. μη̄ ν̄τε
nāλῡπεῑ αν̄.
η̄ ν̄τεμ̄καc̄ ν̄
2ητ'. ερακρ̄ι
νε̄ εε̄ῑνε̄ ερᾱῑ
εcω̄ μ̄π̄ω̄δε̄
ετ̄χηc' δε̄ τρεχ̄
βετ̄πρω̄με̄
εβολ̄. ερω̄αν̄
cωωc̄. επ̄
cωω' μ̄μο̄ μαγ̄
αατε. αγω̄ επ̄
ωαν̄τ̄μᾱιοc̄.
ερ̄τ̄μᾱιο̄ μ̄μο̄
μ̄μ̄ιν̄ μ̄μο̄.
εγω̄πτε̄ επ̄
ωαν̄νο̄ῑ ν̄ν̄
εν̄τολη̄ μ̄π̄2ο̄
ε̄ιc̄ ῑc̄, αγω̄ ν̄
τετ̄2η̄ ερο̄
οῡ. τε̄νᾱνο̄ῑ
μ̄πτετεω̄γε.
π̄ω̄ο̄δ̄νε, ετ̄

his mouth and his tongue, guards his soul¹. 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 heal²." 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 choose³ to bring down upon your head the word which is written, "slave-dealer"⁴? If you insult her,⁵ 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

¹Prov.21.23.

²Prov.12.18.

³Note ερα - for επενδ -, cf. Stern, para 380.

⁴Cf. 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.

⁵cowc̄ perhaps for cowc̄ , but note that the form recurs on 78v. There may possibly exist the by-form cowc̄ (from cw̄), cf. cw̄u . For verb formations, perhaps analogical to cowc̄ , cf. Stern, para 99.

ΝΑΝΟΥΪ ΝΑΖΑ
ΡΕΖ ΕΡΩ. ΝΤΕ
ΠΥΕΕΥΕ ΕΤΟΥ
ΔΑΒ †ΖΗΥ Ε
ΡΩ. ΔΕ ΕΥΝΑ
ΝΑΖΜΕ ΕΣΩΒ
ΝΙΜ ΕΥΕΟΥ:

5

ΓΛΗΝ †ΔΩ ὰ
ΜΟΣ ΝΕ' ΔΕ ΕΡ
ΤῠΥΠΙΖΗΤ
ΝΩΩ, ΕΒΟΛ ὰ
ΜΩ. ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕ
ΚΑΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗ
ὰΜΩ. †ΝΔΤΡΕ
ΠΟΥΖΗΤ' ὰΚΑΖ.
ΔΥΩ Ν†ΝΔΔΑΝΕ
ΧΕ ὰΜΩ ΔΝ.

10

15

ΝΤΑΠΔΟΕΙC
ΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΕΤΕ
†ΝΩΔΑΝΜΕΡΕ
ΝΕ†ΝΕΡΗΥ
ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ' ΝΑ
ΕΙΜΕ, ΔΕ ΝΤΕ
†ΝΝΑΜΑΘΗΤΗC.

20

ΜΕΤΩΟCΤΕ
ΓΑΡ ὰΠΕΥCΩ
ΕΥΜΟΟΥΕ Σῠ
ΠΚΑΚΕ, ΕΝῠ
CΟΥΝ ΔΝ' ΔΕ

25

ΕΥΒΗΚ ΕΤΩΝ
ΧΕ ΔΠΚΑΚΕ
ΤΩΜ' ΝΝΕΥΒΑΛ.

ΔΥΔΟΟC ΔΕ ΟΝ
ΔΕ ΩΑΡΕΟΥCΑ
ΒΗ ΝΩCΙΜΕ ΚΕΤ

ΟΥΗΙ. ΤΕΤΝΑ
ΡΑΘΗΤ ΔΕ ΝΑ
ΩΡΩΩΡῠ ΕῠΝ

ΝΕCΦΙΔ. ΕΤΕ
ΓΑΙ ΠΕ. ΔΕ ΩΑ
ΡΕΤCΑΒΗ ΝΩCΙ

ΜΕ ΚΕΤΤΕΤ
ΖΙΤΟΥC ΕῠΝ
ΘΟΤΕ ὰΠΝΟΥ

ΤΕ, ΜῠΝΤΑΓΑΠΗ
ΕΤΣῠΠΕCΖΗΤ
ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕC

CΩΝΕ, ΜῠΝΝΕC
CΝΗΥ. ΤΕΤ
ΝΑΡΑΘΗΤ ΔΕ

ΝΤΟΥ. CΝΑΩΡ
ΩΑΡΟΥ ΕῠΝΝΕC
ΩΑΔΕ ΕΤΜΕΖ

ΝΩCΙΥΕ, ΖΙΜΟ
CΤΕ. ΖΙΠΟΝΗ
ΡΙΔ. ΖΙCΩΥ.

ΝΘΕ ΕΤCΗΖ
ΔΕ ΟΥΒΕΡΩΒ



shall guard you and holy thought keep you,¹ for it shall deliver you from every evil thing.² 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.³ For he who hates his brother walks in darkness, not knowing where he is going because the darkness has closed his eyes."⁴ And it was also said, "A wise woman builds a house, but the foolish will destroy it with her hands"⁵, which means that the wise woman encourages⁶ 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

¹Prov.2.11.

²Cf. Prov.2.12.

³Cf. Jn.13.35.

⁴Cf. I Jn.2.11.

⁵Prov.14.1.

⁶This represents the same Coptic word (KWT) as that translated "builds" in Prov.14.1 above.

Ἰ̄νωω π̄ετ
 ε̄ν̄τ̄απ̄ρ̄ο̄ Ἰ̄
 Ἰ̄ᾱθ̄ητ̄· ε̄τε
 Ἰ̄τ̄ο̄ π̄ε· κ̄αι
 5 γ̄αρ π̄ετ̄υε Ἰ̄
 π̄ω̄ν̄ε· Ἰ̄νατ̄
 ε̄ο̄ ε̄ρω· π̄ετ̄
 τ̄ω̄κ̄ε̄ δ̄ε Ἰ̄τοϋ
 Ἰ̄ε̄ν̄ω̄δε·

10 Ἰ̄ᾱοϋ̄δᾱῑ δ̄αν·
 ε̄ρε̄μ̄ε̄ε̄υε· ε̄
 οϋ̄ ε̄ρ̄ο̄ Ἰ̄τ̄ε̄ῑ
 ε̄ε· Ἰ̄τε̄ε̄λ
 π̄ῑβε̄ δ̄αν̄ ε̄ε̄ῑ ε̄
 15 ε̄ρᾱῑ ε̄ν̄ε̄ῑδ̄ Ἰ̄
 π̄ῑνοϋ̄τε· Ἰ̄ᾱ
 τ̄ε̄οϋ̄ Ἰ̄ω̄π̄ε
 ε̄ρε̄ο̄ Ἰ̄ᾱθ̄ητ̄
 Ἰ̄τ̄ε̄ῑε̄ τ̄η̄ρ̄ε·

20 ε̄ν̄τε̄ρ̄ε̄ο̄τε
 δ̄αν̄ ε̄η̄τ̄ῡ Ἰ̄π̄τ̄ῡ
 τε· οϋ̄τε Ἰ̄τε
 Ἰ̄ω̄π̄ε δ̄αν̄ ε̄η̄
 τ̄ῡ Ἰ̄ρ̄ω̄μ̄ε·
 25 οϋ̄τε ο̄ν̄ Ἰ̄τε
 μ̄ε̄ε̄υε δ̄αν̄ ε̄β̄ο̄λ
 ε̄πο̄σε Ἰ̄τοϋ
 ψ̄ῡχ̄η̄· δε Ἰ̄ᾱ
 ρ̄ε̄π̄ᾱθ̄ητ̄ π̄ε

ε̄τ̄π̄εϋ̄ε̄ω̄ν̄τ̄
 ε̄β̄ο̄λ τ̄η̄ρ̄ε·
 ᾱϋω̄ δε τ̄τ̄απ̄ρ̄ο̄
 Ἰ̄π̄ᾱθ̄ητ̄, οϋ
 οϋ̄ω̄ω̄ Ἰ̄ᾱϋ
 τε· ᾱϋω̄ οϋ̄π̄α
 Ἰ̄ω̄ Ἰ̄τεϋ̄ψ̄υ
 χ̄η̄ Ἰ̄ε̄ Ἰ̄εϋ̄σ̄η̄
 τοϋ· Ἰ̄τε̄ε̄ο

7 οϋ̄ν̄ δ̄αν̄ δε π̄ετ
 ε̄ω̄ω̄ Ἰ̄π̄ρω
 με, ε̄τ̄δᾱιο Ἰ̄
 Ἰ̄ω̄οϋ· ε̄ϋ
 ε̄ω̄ω̄ Ἰ̄π̄ῑνοϋ
 τε, ᾱϋω̄ ε̄ϋκ̄α
 τ̄ᾱφ̄ρ̄ο̄ν̄ε̄ῑ Ἰ̄
 Ἰ̄ω̄οϋ· κ̄αι γ̄αρ
 Ἰ̄τ̄ᾱτ̄ᾱμ̄ε
 π̄ρ̄ω̄μ̄ε ε̄ε̄ν̄
 θ̄ε̄ῑκ̄ω̄ν̄ Ἰ̄
 π̄ῑνοϋ̄τε· ᾱϋω̄
 Ἰ̄ε̄ῑε̄β̄η̄υε Ἰ̄
 τε̄ῑε̄ Ἰ̄ᾱπ̄δᾱ
 δε Ἰ̄ε̄ Ἰ̄δᾱῑβ̄ο
 λ̄ο̄ε̄ ε̄τ̄φ̄θ̄ο
 Ἰ̄ε̄ῑ ε̄ρ̄ο̄ν· ε̄ϋ
 †Ἰ̄ω̄ω̄τ̄ Ἰ̄ε̄η̄τ̄
 Ἰ̄ᾱν̄ ε̄ε̄οϋ̄ν̄ ε̄
 Ἰ̄ε̄ν̄ε̄ρ̄η̄τ̄

of scorn is in the mouth of the foolish"¹, and that means you. For he who loves life will restrain his mouth², but he who goads with words shall not be saved³. 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 man⁴, nor do you consider the forfeiting of your soul. "The foolish pours out all his wrath"⁵ and, "The mouth of the foolish is ruin to him, and his lips are a snare to his soul⁶." Do you not know that he who despises man to the extent of condemning him⁷, despises God and scorns him? For man was made in the image of God⁸ and such things are of the devilish enemy who envies us, hardening our hearts towards one another

¹Prov.14.3.

²Prov.16.17.

³Prov.19.4.

⁴Cf. Lk.18.2.

⁵Prov.29.11.

⁶Prov.18.7.

⁷For ἀνθρώπου read ἄνθρωπος.

⁸Cf. Gen.1.26-27.

5
ΜΝΟΥΜΝΤΑΔ
CΙΖΗΤ' ΕΝΝΑ
†ΖΗΥ ΕΡΟΣ ΔΝ.
ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΥΔΟ
ΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΜΝΤ
ΔΑCΙΖΗΤ', ΟΥ
ΒΟΤΕ ΤΕ ΝΝΔ
ΖΡΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

10
ΔΥΩ ΠΝΔΥΤ
ΜΕ ΜΝΠΒΔ
ΒΕΡΩΜΕ. ΠΛΟΙ
ΜΟΣ ΡΝΤΥ:

15
ΖΜΠΔΙ ΓΑΡ Ν
ΤΑΥΔΟΣ ΝΒΙ
ΠΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΥ
ΤΕ ΔΓΑ ΔΝΤΩ

20
ΝΙΟΣ, ΔΕ ΕΝ
ΖΜΟΣ ΜΑΥΔ
ΔΝ. ΨΑΥΤΡΕ

25
†ΖΑΠ' ΕΝΕΝΕ
ΡΗΥ, ΕΝCΕΖΔ
ΤΗΝ ΡΩ ΔΝ.
ΜΝΝΕΥΜΝΤ

30
ΡΕΥCΩΥ Ε
ΤΟΥΝΟΥΔΕ Μ
ΜΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ
ΕΠΕΝΖΗΤ' ΖΝ
ΟΥΜΝΤΑΔCΙ
ΖΗΤ. ΕΝΟ Ν

ΝΔΥΤΖΗΤ.
ΔΥΩ ΕΝCΩΥ,
ΝΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ.

ΕΝΟ ΝΨΟΥ
ΨΟ ΜΝΝΕΝ
ΕΡΗΥ, ΖΜΠΕΝ
ΨΑΔΕ ΕΤΝΔ
ΨΥΤ. ΕΝΜΟΚΕ

ΝΖΗΤ' ΝΝΔΥ
ΝΙΜ. ΕΝΟΝΔ
ΡΙΚΕ ΕΝΕΝΕ

ΡΗΥ. ΔΥΩ ΕΡΟ
ΜΜΝ ΜΜΟΝ.
ΔΝ. ΕΝΜΕΕΥΕ

ΔΕ ΕΡΕΠΖΙCΕ
ΨΟΟΠ' ΝΔΝ Ε
ΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝΝΕ

ΕΡΗΥ. ΕΝΟ Ν
ΡΕΥ†ΖΑΠ' ΕΝΕ
ΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ.

ΕΡΕΠCΟΟΝΕ
ΤΗΡΥ ΨΟΟΠ'
ΖΙΖΟΥΝ ΜΠΗΙ.

ΜΝΖΕΝ†ΤΩ.
ΜΝΖΕΝΖΔΙΡΕ
CΙC, ΕΝ† ΜΝ

ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ Ν
ΖΗΤΟΥ, ΨΑΝ
ΤΝΤΑΔΕ, ΠΕΝ

with pride by which we shall not profit, since it has been said, "Pride is an abomination in the sight of God"¹, and, "As for the presumptuous and the boastful, Pestilence is his name²." On this matter the man of God, Apa Antonius, said³, "While we are alone, they⁴ make us sit in judgment on one another, even in their absence from us. With their slanders which they arrogantly plant⁵ 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 our⁶ neighbours, we are judges of those that are shown up while the arch-robber⁷ is inside the house; with quarrels and factions we fight each other,⁸ until we establish our

¹Cf. Lk.16.15.

²Prov.21.24.

³For 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.

⁴Probably demons.

⁵For ΕΤΟΥΝΟΥΔΕ ἄνοου the quotation on 72v has ΕΤΕΥΔΥΤΔΔΥ

⁶For ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ the quotation on 73r has wrongly ΝΕΤΝΕΡΗΥ .

⁷Probably the Devil.

⁸There follows Ν2ΗΤΟΥ which, when translated, seems redundant. It is omitted in the quotation on 73r.

5 ^ωα^δε ε^ρα^τῑ.
 Ε^τβ^επ^αῑ †²⁰
 ω^λο^λο^γει ^{νε}
 ^ωπ^εμ^το ε^βλ
 10 ^ωπ^ιν^ου^τε ^{δε}
 ε^ωω^πε ^ντε
 ^{να}α^αω̄ ^{αν} ε
 ^βο^λ ^ντε^ιω̄ν^τ
 ^{ρε}υ^ωυ. ^{τε}
 15 ^{να}α^εῑ ^ζω^ωτε
 ^ωπ^ου^λκ^αα^ε
 ^νζ^ητ. ^{και} γ^αρ
 ε^ιι^πρ^οο^υυ
 ^ζα^ρο̄ ^ντε^ιζε.
 ε^ιο^υω^υ ^{αν} ε
 20 ^τρ^εν^σω^τῑ
 ε^πο^υπ^εθ^θυ
 ο^υτε ε^τρ^ευ
 ^{τα}υ^επ^ου^ραν
 ^{κα}κ^ωυ. ^αυ^ω
 ο^ν ^{δε} ^ννε^ου
 ο^σε ^ωω^πε
 ^{νε}:

25 ^τε^νο^υβ^ε †^πο^υ
 ^ζη^τ ε^τε^σβ^ω.
 ^αυ^ω ^ντε^σο^β
 ^{τε} ^ννο^υμ^αα
 ^{δε} ε^νω^αδε
 ^ντ^αι^σθ^ησ^ις.

Δ^εκ^ας ε^ρε^ου
 τ^ωκ' ^νζ^ητ' ^ωω
 π^ε ^{νε} ε^δω^πῑ
 τε. ^αυ^ω ^{μα}ρε
 νο^υβα^λ ο^ωω^τ
 ε^{νε}τ^οο^υτ^ω.
^ντε^νο^υβ^ου
 ζ^ε ε^ιω^ρῑ ε^ν
 μ^ντ^ιε. ^{τα}ρε
 ε^ιμ^ε ε^πε^{τε}
 ω^υε. ^αυ^ω ^ν
 τε^νο^ι ^{δε} ο^υ
 α^βε ^{πε} π^ετ
 †^ο ε^{νε}δ^ου
 ω^αδε ε^βο^λ ε^υ
^{να}α^ωτ. ο^υα
 β^ε ^{δε} π^ε π^ρω
 μ^ε ^νζ^αρ^ωζ^ητ.
 ε^τβ^επ^αῑ ^υι^τε^ι
 μ^ντ^ρε^υ†^ω
^ντ ε^βο^λ ^ωω^ο.
 μ^ντ^εῑω̄ν^τ
 ζ^ητ' ^ωη^μ. ^αυ^ω
 τ^εῑω̄ν^τρ^ευ
 ο^ωυ. ^{δε} ^αυ
 ζ^οο^ς ^{δε} ^{νε}
 σ^πο^το^υ ^ω
 π^αθ^ητ' ^{να}ν̄
 τ^ι ^εζ^εν^πε^τ

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 knowledge¹, that you may have confidence in God². And let your eyes look at things that are upright and your eyelids open wide³ to the truths⁴ 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 wise⁵. 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

¹Cf. Prov.23.12.

²Cf. Prov.22.19.

³Cf. 50v, note 2.

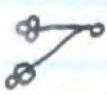
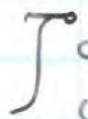
⁴Cf. Prov.4.25.

⁵Prov.17.27.

200Υ· ΕΡΕΤΕΥ
 ΤΑΠΡΟ ΔΕ ΕΤ
 ΝΑΨΤ ΕΠΙΚΑ
 ΛΕΙ ΜΠΜΟΥ·
 5 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΜΠΡ
 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΘΗΤ·
 ΑΛΛΑ ΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ
 ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΟΥΨ
 ΜΠΧΟΕΙC· ΑΥΩ
 10 ΝΤΕΝΔΥ ΔΕ ΔΨ
 ΤΕ ΤΕΖΙΗ ΕΤ
 ΝΑΝΟΥC, ΝΤΕ
 ΜΟΟΨΕ ΝΖΗ
 ΤC· ΔΕΚΑC Ε
 15 ΡΑΘΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΤΒ
 ΒΟ ΝΤΟΥΨΥ
 ΧΗ· ΑΥΔΟΟC
 ΓΑΡ ΔΕ ΠΛΑC'
 ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΜΜΕ
 20 ΛΟC ΠΕ, ΑΥΩ
 ΗΔΕΙΝΟC, ΝΨΑ
 ΔΕ· ΑΥΩ ΔΕ
 ΨΑΡΕΟΥΚΟΥΙ
 ΝΚΩΖΤ ΔΕΡΕ
 25 ΟΥΝΟC, ΝΖΥ
 ΛΗ· ΠΛΑC' ΖΩ
 ΩΪ ΟΥΚΩΖΤ
 ΠΕ· ΠΑΙ ΕΤΔΩ
 ΖΜ ΜΠCΩΜΑ



ΤΗΡΥ· ΑΥΩ ΕΤ
 ΤΜΖΟ ΜΠΕΤΡΟ
 ΧΟC ΜΠΕΔΠΟ·
 ΠΑΙ ΕΤΨΤΡ
 ΤΩΡ ΕΘΟΥ
 ΕΤΜΕΖ' ΜΜΑ
 ΤΟΥ, ΝΡΕCΜΟΥ
 ΟΥΤ'· ΖΡΑΙ Ν
 ΕΗΤΥ ΤΝCΩΪ
 ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΙ
 ΩΤ'· ΑΥΩ ΖΡΑΙ
 ΝΖΗΤΥ ΤΝCΑ
 ΖΟΥ, ΝΝΡΩΜΕ·
 ΝΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑ
 ΜΙΟΥ, ΚΑΤΑ
 ΠΕΙΝΕ, ΜΠΤΪ
 ΤΕ· ΑΥΤΑΜΟ
 ΔΕ ΝΨΨΕ ΔΝ
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 ΠΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ·
 ΑΥΩ ΔΕ ΜΗΤΙ
 ΨΑΡΕΖΟΒΝΕ
 ΤΑΥΟ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΝ
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 ΟΥΚΤ' ΜΠΜΟ
 ΟΥ ΕΤΖΟΛΕ
 ΜΠΠΕΤΜΟΛΕ·
 Η ΔΕ ΜΗ ΟΥΝ
 ΒΟΜ' ΕΤΡΕΟΥ



evils and his stubborn mouth calls for death!" 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 find² purification for your soul³. For it has been said, "The tongue is a little member and speaks great words"⁴; 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 generation⁵, 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"⁶. We have been told, "These things ought not to be so⁷," and, "Does a fountain⁸ send forth fresh and salty water from the same well?"⁹ And, "Can a

¹Prov.18.6.

²Note EPA - for EPENA -, cf. Stern, para 380.

³Cf. Jer.6.16.

⁴Cf. Jam.3.5.

⁵Cf. Jam.3.5-6.

⁶Cf. Jam.3.8-9.

⁷Cf. Jam.3.10.

⁸For 208NE read 20N8E .

⁹Cf. Jam.3.11.

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5 ΒΩ ΝΚΝΤΕ' ΤΑΥΕ'
 ΔΟΕΙΤ, ΕΒΟΛ.
 Η ΝΤΕΟΥΒΩ
 ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ,
 ΤΑΥΕΚΝΤΕ, Ε
 ΒΟΛ· ΟΥΤΕ
 ΝΝΕΥ'ΩΛΣ, Ρ
 ΜΟΥ ΕΥΣΟ
 ΛΘ· ΕΥΔΩ
 10 ὤπαι ΔΕ ΟΥΝΤ
 ΝΙΜ' ΕΝΤΑΠΝ
 ΤΕ ΤΑΜΟΥ
 ΜΕΥΩΙΒΕ ὤ
 ΠΕΥΣΜΟΤ' Ν
 15 ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΥΣΟ
 ΤΟΥ ὤΜΟΣ·
 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ Ν
 ΤΟΥ ὤΠΩ
 ΝΕ ΚΑΤΑΧΥ
 20 ΔΥΩ ΚΑΤΑΚΑΙ
 ΡΟΣ' ΕΒΟΛ Σῶ
 ΠΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥ.
 ΕΠΠΕΘΟΥ·
 ΧΕΙΡΕ ὤΠΒΟΛ
 25 ὤΠΟΥΕΣΑ
 ΣΝΕ, ὤΠΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΕΝΤΑΥΣΩ
 ὤΜΟΥ ΕΤΟΟ
 Χ Τῆ· ΔΥΩ ὤΠΙ

ΒΕ ΝΤΕΟΥΦΥ
 ΣΙΣ, ΠΑΡΑΘΕ
 ΕΝΤΑΠΔΟΕΙΣ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΟ
 ὤΠ ὤΜΟΣ·
 ΠΩΝΤ ΤΗΡῆ
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 ΔΥΩ ΠΚΑΣ' ΜΝ
 ΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗ·
 ΔΥΩ ΣῶΠΕΥ
 ΩΔΕ, ΝΤΑῤ
 ΠΗΥΕ ΤΑΧΡΘ·
 ΔΥΩ ΝΕΥΒΟΜ
 ΤΗΡΟΥ, ΣῶΠΕ
 ΠΝΑ ΝΡΩῤ· ὤ
 ΠΟΥΡΠΒΟΛ Ν
 ΝΕΥΤΟΥ·
 ΔΥΩ ΠΡΑ ΜΝ
 ΠΟΟΣ' ΜΝΝ
 ΣΙΟΥ, ὤΠΟΥ
 ΩΙΒΕ ΝΘΕ ΕΝ
 ΤΑΥΤΟΥΟΥ
 ὤΜΟΣ· ΑΛΛΑ
 ΣΕΔΩΚ' ΕΒΟΛ

fig tree bring forth olives or a vine bring forth figs, or shall salt be able to produce sweet water?"¹ 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 mouth². 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

¹Cf. Jam.3.12.

²Ps.32.6.

ΝΤΕΥΛΙΤΟΥΡ
ΓΕΙΔ ΕΥΡΟΥΟ
ΕΙΝ ΕΠΩΝΤ
ΤΗΡΥ·

5 ΔΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΙΕ
ΒΙΗΝ, ΔΥΩ ΝΙ
ΤΑΛΔΙΠΩΡΟC
ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΡΕΥ
ΡΝΟΒΕ. ΤΝΠΩ

10 ΩΝΕ, ΔΥΩ ΤΝ
ΡΠΒΟΛ ΝΝΕΝ
ΤΟΥ· ΔΥΩ ΤΝ
ΚΩ ΝΩΝ Μ
ΠΝΟΜΟC Μ

15 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ
ΝΕΥΕΝΤΟΛΗ
ΕΝΤΑΥΩΝ
ΜΩΟΥ ΕΤΟΟ
ΤΝ. ΕΝΠΑΡΑΒΑ

20 ΜΩΟΥ, ΣΝΟΥ
ΜΝΤΑΤΩΤΕ·
ΜΝΟΥΜΝΤΑΤ
ΩΙΠΕ· ΝΘΕ ΕΤ
ΧΗ2' ΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ

25 ΠΕΚΝΩΟΤ' ΔΕ
ΜΝΠΕΚΩΤ'
ΕΤΕΝΩΜΕΤΑ
ΝΟΕΙ ΔΝ, ΕΚ
CΩΟΥ2' ΝΔΚ' Ε

ΖΟΥΝ ΝΟΥΟΡ
ΓΗ ΣΩΠΕΖΟΥ
ΝΤΟΡΓΗ ΜΝ
ΠΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ
ΜΠΖΑΓ' ΜΜΕ
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΠΔΙ
ΕΤΝΑΤΩΩΒΕ
ΜΠΟΥΔ ΠΟΥΔ
ΚΑΤΑΝΕΥΩΒΗ



ΟΥΕ:
ΕΤΒΕΤΑΙCΕ ΡΟ
ΕΙC, ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕ
CΑΖΩ ΕΒΟΛ Ν
ΝΙΜΜΕ, ΜΝ
ΝΙΤΩΝ. ΝCΕ
†ΖΗΥ ΓΑΡ ΔΝ'
ΔΥΩ CΕΥΟΥΕΙΤ·
ΖΕΝΟCΕ ΔΕ ΝΕ
ΔΥΩ ΖΕΝΟΥΡ
ΩΡ ΝΕ ΝΝΕΨΥ
ΧΗ ΝΝΕΤΟΥ
ΕΩΠΕΥΟΥΔΔΙ·
ΔΥΩ ΕΤΜΕ' Μ
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ
ΠΕΝΔΟΕΙC ΙC·
ΠΔΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑ
ΔΗ ΝCΩΤΕ ΖΔ
ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ' 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 one² and died for

¹Rom.2.5-6.

²Cf. I Tim.2.6.

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HTN. ΔΕΚΑΣ
ΕΥΕCOTN ΕΒΛ
ΖΝΑΝΟΜΑ ΝΙΜ.
ΔΥΩ ΝΥΤΒΒΟΝ
ΝΔΥ ΝΟΥΛΔΟC.

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ΕΥΤΟΥΗΤ. Ν
ΡΕΥΚΩΖ' ΕΖΕ
ΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΝΔΝΟΥ
ΟΥ. ΝΔΙ ΕΝΤΑ
ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ CBTW
ΤΟΥ, ΔΕΚΑΣ Ε
ΝΕΜΩΟΥΕ

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ΖΡΔΙ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ:
ΕΤΒΕΠΔΙ ΔΥΩ
ΝΙΖΕ ΕΡΘ. ΕΜ
ΠΑΤΕΜΟΥ.

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ΔΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΟΕΙC
ΕΠΟΥΖΙCΕ ΝΕ'
ΕΤΥΤΑΚΟΥ

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ΕΜΠΑΤCΕΙ Ν
ΒΙΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΤΔΙ
ΕΤΟΥΝΔΑΤΩ
ΚΩ ΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ
ΜΠΟΥΔ ΠΟΥΔ.

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ΕΖΡΔΙ ΝΖΗΤΥ.
ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΓΑΡ Ν
ΤΑΥΔΟC ΔΕ
CBTENEΚΕΖΒΗ
ΟΥΕ, ΕΤΕΖΙΗ.

ΕΤΕΠΔΙ ΠΕ ΔΕ
CBTENEΚΕΖΒΗ
ΟΥΕ, ΕΤΕΚΩΙΝ
ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝCΩ
ΜΔ: ΠΔΟΙC

ΕΥΕΤΘΕ ΝΕ
ΔΥΩ ΝΥΤΔΔC ΝΔ
ΤΗΡΝ ΖΙΟΥCΟΠ'
ΕΤΡΕΝCΑΖΩΝ
ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΠΕΤ
ΖΟΥ; ΝΤΝΕΙ
ΡΕ ΜΠΠΕΤΝΔ
ΝΟΥ. ΕΜΠΑ
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 ΝΜΠΕΤ
ΝΔΝΟΥ. ΕΥ
ΑΝΔCΤΑCΙC Ν

us, that he might redeem us from all lawlessness, and purify us for himself a people specially his own¹, zealous for good works² which God has prepared in order that we should walk in them³. 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"⁴; 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 good⁵ before the time comes, for it is a sentence, completing and cutting short, which the Lord will execute upon the earth⁶. For he will judge the world in righteousness and the peoples⁷ in uprightness⁸; those who did good things unto a resurrection of

¹See the Detached Note on the next page.

²Tit.2.14.

³Cf. Eph.2.16.

⁴Prov.24.42.

⁵Cf. Ps.36.27.

⁶Cf. Rom.9.28.

⁷For $\bar{\nu}\lambda\alpha\delta\omicron\varsigma$ read probably $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\lambda\alpha\delta\omicron\varsigma$ agreeing with the Sah. text of Ps.9.9, of. Budge, Ps., and also with the LXX.

⁸Cf. Ps.9.9.

Detached Note to follow 70v.

ΤΟΥΗΤ stands for the N.T. Greek περισούσιος meaning 1) "having more than enough", "wealthy"; 2) "especial", "peculiar". It may be noted that in the LXX περισούσιος stands for the Hebrew נְכָלִיד "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 ΤΟΥΗΤ presents difficulties. According to Crum, Dict., p.447b it is the qual. of ΤΟΥΥΤΕ "to gather", "to collect", or perhaps of ΤΟΥΟ (p.443b) "to show", "to teach", "to send".

The ancient Egyptian equivalent of ΤΟΥΥΤΕ 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 ΤΟΥΩΤ "idol", p.447a). 2) "to be perfect", "to be beautiful", "to be completely equipped", "to be provided with". The fact that ΤΟΥΗΤ is paraphrased in Crum's examples by COTTI, ΤΑΕΙΗΥ, 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
ΕΙΡΕ ΝΩΠΕ
ΘΟΥ, ΕΥΔΝΑ
ΣΤΑCIC ΝΚΡΙ
CIC:

5

ΒΗCΑ ΠΙΕΛΑΧΙ
CΤΟC ΠΕΤ
CΣΑΙ ΝΕΗΡΑΙ.
ΝΑΜΕ ΚΑΤΑΠΥΔ

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ΔΕ ΑΥΠΑΠΟ
CΤΟC, ΦΡΩΠΗ
ΡΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ
ΕΝΟΥΒΕΠΗ,
ΤΕΠΩΩΝΕ Ν

15

ΤΥΠΕΝΤΑΥ
ΤΑΩΜΕ ΕΥΠΤΕ
ΕΜΟΤ' ΝΙC ΠΕ
ΧC ΕΒΟΥΝ ΕΥ
ΒΕΛΠΙC ΕΝΑ

20

ΝΟΥC' ΕΤΡΕ
ΩΩΠΕ ΝΟΥ
ΑΠΑΡΧΗ ΑΥΠΥ
ΤΕ. ΔΕ ΝΑΥ Ν
ΣΕ, ΑΡΚΑΠΥΔ

25

ΑΥΠΑΙΔΒΟΛΟC
ΕΤΡΕΥΠΟΟ
ΝΕ ΤΑΧΥ ΕΒΟΛ
ΕΥΠΜΕΕΥΕ
ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC.

ΕΒΟΥΝ ΕΠΜΕ
ΕΥΕ ΕΘΟΥ.
ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝ
ΘΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ.

ΕΠΜΕΕΥΕ Ν
ΕΗΤ' ΝΩΠΥC.
ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝ
ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΑΥΠ
ΡΗΝΗ. ΕΒΟΥΝ

ΕΠΜΟCΤΕ, ΑΥΝ
ΠΗΤΩΝ' ΝΤΕ

CΟΥΝ ΔΝ ΔΕ
ΠCΑΤΑΝC, ΟΥ

ΜΑCΤΠΕΤΝΑ

ΝΟΥC ΠΕ, ΕΥ
ΦΘΟΝΕΙ ΝΟΥ

ΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΩ ΕΝΕ
ΤΟΥΕΥΠΕΥΟΥ

ΣΑΙ. ΕΥΠΥΑΙ

ΓΑΡ ΝΤΑΥCΟΥC

ΝΒΙΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ

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ΑΥΠΟΝΗΡΑ ΑΥ

ΠΔΔΕ, ΕΤΜΟ

CΤΕ ΝΝΕΤΜΕ

ΑΥΠΝΟΥΤΕ,

ΝΔΙ ΕΝΤΑΥ

X

Γ

life, those who did evil things unto a resurrection of judgment.¹

Besa the most humble writes to Herai.² Truly according to the word of the apostle³, I marvel that you so quickly turn from him who called you in the grace of Jesus Christ⁴ 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

¹Jn.5.29.

²The 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.

³For ἀποστός read ἀποστολός.

⁴Cf. Gal.1.6.

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ΠΕΥΟΥΟΙ ΕΡΟΥ
ΖΥΠΕΥΖΗΤ
ΤΗΡῪ· ΔΕ ΔΛΗ
ΘΩΣ ΝΑΜΕΡΑ
5 ΤΕ, ΤΕΝΛῪΤΑ
ΜΕΛΗΣ, ΜῪΠΕ
ΘΒΒΙΟ ΜῪΤΕ
ΘΙΝΡΙΚΕ ΕΒΟΛ
ΝῪΝΕΥΟΥΟΓΙ
10 ΝΔΝ, ΔΝ' ΝΟΥΟ
ΣΕ, ΜΑΥΔΔΝ· ΔΛ
ΛΔ ΝΚΕΔΓΓΕ
ΛΟΣ, ΝΕΥΟΥ
ΟΠ' ΝΔΥ, ΝΟΥΖΙ
15 ΣΕ, ΜῪΝΝΕΤΟΥ
ΔΔΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖῪ
ΠΕΧΣ ΙΟ:

20 ΔΛΗΘΩΣ ΟΝ ΝΔ
ΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΝΘΒ
ΒΙΟ, ΩΑΥΤῪ
ΚΔΖ ΝΔΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ·
ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΠΕ
ΟΥΔΔΙ ΜῪΠΕ
ΩΟΥΩΟΥ, ΩΑΥ
25 †ΟΥΝΟΥ ΔΥΩ
ΝῪ†ῪΤΟΝ ΝΔΥ
ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΕΤΒΕ
ΠΑΙ ΡῪ ΣΕΚΩ
ΤΕ ΝῪΩΝ ΝῪΗΥ

ΝΙΜ· ΚΑΤΑΘΕ
ΕΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΩΑΡΕ
ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜῪΠΔΟ
ΕΙΣ ΚΩΤΕ ΕΝΕΤ
ΡΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤῪ
ΝῪΝΔΖΜΟΥ·

3 ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΩΑΥΔΟ
8 ΟΣ ΔΕ †ΝΔΤΑ
ΜΩΤῪ ΔΕ ΕΚΕ
ΖΩΒ ΕΥΤΑΖΟ
ΜῪΠΡΩΜΕ ΖῪ
ΤΕΥΑΡΧῪ·
ΕΩΩΠΤΕ ΕΡ
ΩΑΝΠΡΩΜΕ
†ΠΕΥΟΥΟΙ Ε
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡ
ΖῪΖΑΛ ΝΔΥ ΖῪ
ΠΕΥΖΗΤ' ΤΗΡῪ·
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ †Ὺ
ΟΥΝΟΣ, ΝῪΟΜ
ΝΔΥ ΜῪΟΥΝΟΣ
ΝῪΡΑΥΕ, ΖΩΣΤΕ
ΝῪΤΕΠΖΩΒ ΤΗ
ΡῪ ΜῪΠΝΟΥΤΕ
ΖΛΟΣ, ΝῪΟΟῪ
ΠΑΡΑΠΕΒΙῪ
ΜῪΠΜΟΥΛΖ
ΔΥΩ ΝῪΤΕῪΜΟΚ
ΖΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ὺ

advanced to him with all their heart,¹ "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.'²" Again he says³, "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 honeycomb⁴, and all the pains of

¹For 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'Ermitte, Mus.LII, p.11ff.

²Ps.33.8.

³For the following Antony quotation, cf. Migne, PG, 40, 1050D f.

⁴Cf. Ps.18.11.

5 ΠΩΜΑ ΕΛΟΣ
 ΝΤΟΟΤΥ. Μ̄Ν
 Μ̄ΜΕΛΕΤΑ. Μ̄Ν
 ΝΟΥΨᾹ Ν̄ΡΟ
 ΕΙΣ. ΔΥΩ Ν̄ΤΕ
 ΠΝΔΕΒΕΥ ΤΗ
 ΡῩ Ν̄ΤΥΝΤΝ̄Ι
 ΤΕ ΕΛΟΣ, Ν̄ΤΟ
 ΟΤΥ. Μ̄Ν̄Ν̄ΣΑ
 10 ΝΔΙ ΔΕ, ΨΑΥΔΟ̄
 ΤΥ Ζ̄Ν̄ΝΔΙ. ΖΩ
 ΣΤΕ Ν̄ΤΥΒΕΙΩ̄
 ΝΟΥΖΜΟΥ.
 ΝΟΥΔΡΟΥ.
 15 Ν̄ΤΥΒΕΙΩ̄ Ν̄
 ΟΥΔΑΔΙ. Ν̄ΟΥ
 ΖΡΟΥ. Ν̄ΤΥΒ
 ΕΙΩ̄ ΝΟΥΡΑΥΕ.
 ΝΟΥΥΚΑΔΕ Ν̄ΖΗΤ.
 20 Μ̄ΝΟΥΖΛΟΠ
 ΛΕΠ. Ν̄ΤΥΒ Χ
 ΕΙΩ̄ ΝΟΥΜΕ.
 ΟΥΜΟΣΤΕ. Χ
 Ν̄ΤΥΒΕΙΩ̄ Ν̄
 25 ΟΥΖΛΟΣ. ΟΥ
 ΣΙΨΕ. ΨΑΡΕ
 ΝΔΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΤΑ
 ΖΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤ
 ΚΩΤΕ Ν̄ΣΑ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΑΝ
 ΤΥΤΤΟΟΤΥ ΝΥ
 ΔΡΟ ΕΡΟΥ.
 ΔΥΩ ΕΨΩΠΕ
 ΕΨΑΝΔΡΟ Ε
 ΡΟΥ. ΨΑΡΕ
 ΠΕΠ̄ΝΑ Μ̄ΠΝ̄Ι
 ΤΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΥ
 ΜΑΥ Ν̄ΣΗΥ ΝΙΜ.
 ΕΨΘΟΥ ΝΔΥ
 ΕΤΥΡΖΟΤΕΒΕ
 ΖΗΤΥ Ν̄ΛΔΥ.
 Ν̄ΖΩΒ' ΕΨΕΣΥ.
 ΟΥΤΕ ΣΩΨ Ν̄
 ΡΩΜΕ. ΟΥΤΕ
 ΖΟΤΕ Ν̄ΔΑΙΜΩ̄.

ΠΑΙ ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΤΑΥ
 ΔΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΗΦΕ
 Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄ΝΡΟΕΙΣ

ΔΕ ΠΕΤ̄ΝΔΑΝΤΙ
 ΔΙΚΟΣ ΠΑΙΔΑΒΟ
 ΛΟΣ ΜΟΥΨΕ
 ΕΨΛΖΗΜ̄ Ν̄ΘΕ
 Ν̄ΝΙΜΟΥΪ ΕΨ
 ΨΙΝΕ Ν̄ΣΑΥ
 Μ̄Κ Ν̄ΝΕΤ̄ΝΨΥ

ΧΗ. Ν̄ΤΕΙ
 ΖΕ ΟΝ Ν̄ΤΑΥΔΟ
 ΟΣ Ν̄ΟΙΠ̄ΕΛΛΟ

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 he¹ helps him and he² 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,³ 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"⁴. Thus also said the good abbot,

¹I.e. God.

²I.e. the man that seeks after God.

³Here 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.

⁴I Pet.5.8.

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ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥ

ΑΠΑ ΑΝΤΩΝΙ

ΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΛΗΘΩΣ

ΝΑΨΗΡΕ ΣΕ

5 ΦΘΟΝΕΙ ΕΡΩ

ΤΗ ΝΗΝΑΥ ΝΙΜ

ΣΩΠΕΥΩΣΝΕ

ΕΘΟΥ, ΜΗΠΤΕΥ

ΔΩΓΜΟΣ ΕΤ

10 ΖΗΤ'. ΜΗΝΕΥ

ΚΑΚΙΑ ΕΤΩΟ

ΟΜΕ. ΜΗΝΕΥ

ΠΗΝΑ ΕΤΟ ΝΡΕΥ

ΣΩΡΩ. ΜΗΝΕΥ

15 ΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΔΙ

ΟΥΑ. ΜΗΝΕΥ

ΜΗΤΑΠΙΣΤΟΣ

ΕΤΟΥΣΙΤΕ Μ

ΜΟΥ ΕΣΡΑΪ Ε

20 ΠΕΝΖΗΤ' Μ

ΜΗΝΕ, ΜΗΝΕΥ

ΤΩΜ ΝΖΗΤ'

ΜΗΝΕΥΟΝΩΣ.

ΜΗΝΕΥΜΚΔΕ

25 ΝΖΗΤ' ΕΤΟΥ

ΕΤΟΥΣΙΝΕ Μ

ΜΟΥ ΕΣΡΑΪ

ΕΧΩΝ ΝΗΝΑΥ

ΝΙΜ. ΜΗΝΕΥ

ΣΛΟΠΛΕΠ'. ΕΥ

ΤΡΟ ΜΠΕΝΖΗΤ

ΕΣΛΟΠΛΕΠ' Ν

ΖΗΤΟΥ ΜΗ

ΝΕ. ΜΗΝΕΥ

ΩΝΤ ΤΗΡΟΥ.

ΜΗΝΕΥΚΑΤΑ

ΛΑΛΙΑ ΕΤΟΥ

ΤΑΒΟ ΜΩΝ

ΕΡΟΥ, ΣΑΝΕ

ΕΡΗΥ, ΜΗΤΕΥ

ΜΗΤΡΕΥΤΑ

ΕΙΟΥ, ΜΑΥΑ

ΔΙ, ΣΩΠΕΤΟΥ

ΕΙΡΕ ΜΟΥ.

ΔΥΩ ΤΕΥΜΗΤ

ΡΕΥΖΑΠ' ΕΤΟΥ

ΝΟΥΣΕ ΜΩΟΣ

ΕΣΡΑΪ ΕΠΕΝ

ΖΗΤ'. ΔΥΩ ΕΝ

ΣΜΟΣ ΜΑΥΑ

ΔΝ. ΩΑΥΤΡΕ

ΖΑΠ' ΕΝΕΝΕ

ΡΗΥ, ΕΝΣΕΖΑ

ΤΗΝ ΡΩ ΔΝ.

ΜΗΝΕΥΜΗΤ

ΡΕΥΣΩΥ ΕΤΕ

ΩΑΥΤΑΥ Ε

ΣΡΑΪ ΕΠΕΝΖΗΤ

Apa Antonius,¹ "Truly my sons, they² 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 put³ into our hearts,

¹For the following quotation, cf. Migne, PG, 40, 983B ff., and also 40, 1012B ff. Part of this quotation occurs also on 68r.

²Probably demons.

³For ΕΤΕΥΑΥΤΑΥ the quotation on 68r has ΕΤΟΥΝΟΥΣΕ ΑΥΟΥΥ.

2̄ΝΟΥ Μ̄ΝΤ̄ΣΔ
 CIGHT' ENŌ
 N̄NΔΥΤΖΗΤ'
 ΔΥΩ ENCΩΥ
 N̄NENERHY.

5

ENŌ N̄ΥΟΥΥŌ
 Μ̄NNENERHY,
 Ζ̄ΜΠΕΝΥΔΕ
 ΕΤΝΔΥΤ̄.

10

ENΜΟΚ̄Σ N̄ΖΗΤ
 N̄NΔΥ ΝΙΜ.

ENŌNΔΡΙΚΕ Ε
 NENERHY, ΔΥΩ
 ΕΡΟΝ Μ̄ΜΙΝ Μ̄
 ΜΟΝ ΔΝ. ENΜΕ
 ΕΥΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΕ
 ΠΖΙΣΕ ΥΟΟΠ'
 ΝΔΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Ν
 ΝΕΤ̄ΝΕΡΗΥ.

15

ENŌ N̄ΡΕΥΤ
 ΖΔΠ' ΕΝΕΤΟΥ
 ΟΝ̄Σ ΕΒΟΛ. ΕΡΕ
 ΠCΟΟΝΕ ΤΗ
 Ρ̄Υ ΥΟΟΠ' ΖΙ

20

ΖΟΥΝ Μ̄ΠΗΙ·
 Μ̄ΝΖΕΝΤ̄Ῡ.
 Μ̄ΝΖΕΝΖΔΙΡΕ
 CIC. EN† Μ̄Ν
 NENERHY, ΥΔ̄

25

Τ̄ΝΤΔΖΕΠΕΝ
 ΥΔΕ ΕΡΑΤ̄Υ.
 ΔΕΚΔC ΕΝΕΟΥ
 ΩΝ̄Σ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝ
 ΤΜΔΙΗΥ, Μ̄ΠΕΜ
 ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΖŌ
 N̄NENERHY.
 ΕΥΟΥΡΟΤ' ΝΔ̄
 ΕΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΤΕ
 Μ̄ΝΔΟΜ Μ̄ΜΟΝ
 ΕΔΔΥ. ΔΥΩ ΕΜ
 ΠCΗΥ, Ρ̄Ω ΔΝ ΠΕ.
 ΕΥΤΡŌ Μ̄ΜΟΝ
 ΕΖΛΟΠΛΕΠ' Ε
 ΠΔΙ ΕΤ̄ΝΥŌ
 ΟΠ' N̄ΖΗΤ̄Υ
 ΔΥΩ ΕΤŌ N̄ΖΗΥ
 ΝΔΝ. ΕΤΒΕ
 ΠΔΙ Ρ̄Ω ΥΔΥ
 ΤΡΕΝCΩΒΕ Ζ̄Μ
 ΠCΗΥ; N̄ΡΙΜΕ.
 ΔΥΩ ΥΔΥΤΡΕ̄
 ΡΙΜΕ, Ζ̄ΜΠCΗΥ,
 N̄CΩΒΕ. ΖΔ
 ΠΔΞ ΖΔΠΛΩC
 ΕΥΠΩΩΝΕ
 Μ̄ΜΟΝ N̄CΗΥ
 ΝΙΜ̄ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ
 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-robber² is inside the house; with quarrels and factions we fight each other³, 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

¹For NETNEPHY the quotation on 68r has correctly NENEPHY .

²Probably the Devil.


³The quotation on 68r adds here N2HTOY .


Ἰ
ΥΠΕΡ
Τ


COYTWN' M̄N
ZENKEΛH
ΩE N̄AΓATH
EYEP̄E M̄WON
5 N̄Z̄WZAL N̄AY
N̄ZHTOY, EU
PEYCHY, AN PE
TENOU, EOYON
ZOY EBOL THPOY.

10 ZOYAN ΔE EY
ΩANMEZ̄ITE
ZHΓ' EBOL AN
Nai. AYΩ NTN
MOONE N̄ZH
15 TOY. AYΩ N̄CE
P̄ZPE' NAN. TO
TE ΩAPEYNY
TE BWNT EPŌ:

20 ΕΤΒΕΓΔΙΘΕ M̄
ΠΡΕΓΚΑΚΕΙ
ΕΤΕΤ̄ΝΤΩΒ̄Z
N̄T̄M̄NTAΓAΘE
M̄PEIWT.
APHY N̄TEOY
25 BOHΘEIA N̄TO
OT̄Y EI EBOL
N̄M̄HTN. E
TPETĒNTCA
BETHYT̄N, E

COȲN̄PETE
 ΩΩE Z̄NOYME:
TENOUZE M̄PTW
ETPEΠΔAΔE
TAKO M̄POY
ZHΓ' ETNAN̄YU
PAI ENTAP̄T
POYOYI EPNY
TE N̄ZH̄T̄. ΔL
ΛA ΩΩΠE NTOU
EPETAΔPHY.

ENTEΠΩΩNE
AN. N̄ΘE EN
TAYDOOC ΔE
 ANΩWΠE ΓAP
EPEX̄C. EΩW
ΠE ENΩANA
MAZTE NTAP
XH M̄PTAΔPO
ECTAΔPHY ΩA

30 BOY. Z̄NTE
T̄N̄ZYTOMO
 N̄H ΓAP ΠEΔAY
N̄CIPΔOCIC.
ETETNEΔ̄ΠO
NH̄T̄N N̄NETN
ΨYXH. AYΩ
ON ΔE ΠET
N̄AZYTOYINE

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 enemy¹ destroy your good purpose in which you advanced² 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 end³." "For in your constancy", said the Lord, "you shall win your souls⁴." And again, "He who will endure

¹The reference is to the devil or the demons.

²For πονηροῖ read πονηροῦ .

³Heb.3.14.

⁴Cf. Lk.21.19.

ψαβολ· γαί πε

τῆσδαι:

εχωρῶ δε ον

ἵονον νικ

5

αυω εχταδρο

ἰμοου. ψαυ

δουο δε αρι

πμεεγε ἵθι

με ἵλωτ· ἰ

10

πῖκεττη

τῆσ ετδου ἵ

θε ἵνετῶμαυ

ταῖ εντακκο

τῆσ ετδου, ας

15

ψωπε ἵουου

οειτ ἵεμου.

δεκαο ερεου

ον νικῆ ναδι

σβῶ εβολ ζι

20

τοοτῆσ· ἰτῖ

δουο δε ας

ψωπε ἵουου

οειτ, ἵωνε.

αλλα ἵουουο

25

ειτ, ἵεμου.

επειδῆ πε

εμου δοκῖ.

δε ερενετ

νοῖ τηρου

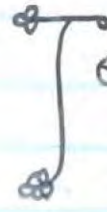
αυω νετεουῖ

ζητ· ἰμοου.

ναζητη, επε

ταυωπε ἰ

μοο· ἰτῶρ



βε εκτο ετδου

ἵθε ἵτετῶ

μαυ· ἵτετο

σε ἰπενταρ

ζιτοοτε, ερου.

μη γαρ τεπει

θε, ἡ τεουωυ

ετρευωτε

εβολ ἰπου

ραν εἰπιδωω

με ἰπῶνε

ἰνῆσρευ

αδῶ. ἡ ἰνῆ

σρευδῆπε

ἰμο ἰννετ

ουαδβ· αυω

ἵσεοπε ετε

στρατεια ἵ

τπε· αυω ε

αυδῆων ἰ

μο εἵουπι

στιο, εαρσοῦν

πδουοις·

τωκεε ἵζητ

to the end, he shall be saved¹." And again, encouraging all men and assuring them, he says, "Remember Lot's wife?" Do not turn back like her who turned back and became a pillar of salt³, 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 life⁴ 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,

¹Mt.10.22, 24.13, Mk.13.13.

²Lk.17.32.

³Cf. Gen.19.26.

⁴Cf. Ps.68.29.

ΥΠΔ
7

5

X

ἄπρκοτε ε
 παροῦ, εἴνοι
 μῆτωβ. δε
 αὔδοο δε ὡα
 ρετρῶμε ετ
 οὔεωῖτωρῶ
 ενεουβεερ
 ὡνε ἴαοῦ
 λοῖβε. οὔτε
 ἄπρρθε ἴνε
 τὰζε' εἰντιπε
 τρα. αὔω ἴτει
 νοῦ, αὔοῦω
 δε μῆαζ ἴκαζ
 ζαροῦ. πρῆ
 δε ἴτερεῦ
 ὡα. αὔρκαῖ
 μα. αὔω εβολ
 δε μῆνοῦνε
 ἄμοῦ, οὔτε
 αὔβες, αὔω
 οὔε. ετεπαῖ
 πε δε ὡαῖπι
 στεγε, ἴτει
 νοῦ, προοῦ
 οὔοειῶ. εἴν
 οὔοοειῶ
 δε ἄπειραμε
 ὡακοτοῦ

10

15

20

25

εβολ ἴθε εν
 ταπδοεῖς δο
 ος: ἀλλὰ ἀμὰ
 εἴτε ἄππετ
 νανοῦ. αὔω
 ἴτεροεῖς ἴ
 θε ἴνεῖται
 εἴ' εἰμικαζ
 ετνανοῦ
 αὔκαρπος
 εἴνοῦεῖπομο
 ἴη ἴωε ἴκωβ:

εὔωπε γαρ
 ερωανκτο
 επαροῦ. οὔν
 ζαζ ναραῶε
 ἄμω. αὔω ἴ
 σεῶβε ἴαῶ
 εἴνετωοτε
 ἄμω. αὔω
 οὔ οὔνοῦμη
 ηῶε ναλυπει
 αὔω ἴσεῶκαζ
 ἴεῖτην εἴν
 νετρζοτε
 εἴτη ἄπνοῦ
 τε. ναῖ ετοῦ
 εὔποῦταῖο.
 μῆποῦσμι

do not weakly turn back, for it has been said, "The man who wishes to part from his friends seeks an excuse"¹. 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 moisture²; that is to say they immediately believe for a while, but in a time of temptation they turn away³, 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 hundredfold⁴. 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.

¹Prov.18.1.

²Cf. Mt.13.5-6 and Lk.8.6.

³Cf. Lk.8.13.

⁴Cf. Lk.8.15.

ΝΕ. ΔΥΩ ΠΟΥ
 ΟΟΖΕ.
 ΤΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ ΘΕ
 ΕΝΤΑΠΔΟΕΙΣ
 5 ΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΙΜ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤ
 ΤΗΥΤΗΝ ΕΜΟΥ
 ΩΥ ΕΚΩΤ' Ν
 ΟΥΠΥΡΓΟΣ.
 10 ΜΗ ΝΥΝΔΕΜΟ
 ΟΣ ΔΝ ΝΥΟΡΠ
 ΝΥΗΠΩΓ' Ν
 ΤΕΥΔΑΠΑΝΗ
 ΔΕ ΝΕΟΥΝΤΑΥ
 15 ΕΔΟΚΥ ΕΒΟΛ.
 ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΝΝΕΥ
 ΟΜΝΟΝΤΕ ΝΥ
 ΤΙΒΩΔΟΜ Ε
 ΔΟΚΥ ΕΒΟΛ.
 20 ΝΤΕΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ
 ΕΤΝΔΥ ΕΡΟΥ
 ΟΩΒΕ ΝΩΥ
 ΕΥΔΩ ΜΜΟΣ
 ΔΕ. ΔΠΙΡΩΜΕ
 25 ΔΡΧΕΙ ΝΚΩΤ'.
 ΜΠΥΕΩΩ
 ΒΟΜ ΕΔΟΚΥ
 ΕΒΟΛ.
 ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΡΕ

ΠΔΟΕΙΣ ΙΟ ΠΕ
 ΧΣ ΤΑΒΟ Μ
 ΜΟΝ' ΔΝ ΕΚΕΤ'
 ΠΥΡΓΟΣ. ΑΛΛΑ
 ΕΥΤΑΒΟ ΜΜΟ
 ΕΤΡΕΝΟΟΥ
 ΤΗΝ ΝΤΕΝΖΙΗ
 ΜΝΠΕΝΖΗΤ
 ΕΖΡΑΙ' ΕΤΠΕ.
 ΝΘΕ ΟΝ ΕΝΤΑΥ
 ΔΟΟΣ ΔΕ ΜΕ
 ΡΕΛΔΔΥ ΤΑΛΕ'
 ΤΟΟΥ ΕΔΝΟΥ
 ΖΒΒΕ ΕΥΩΩΥΤ
 ΕΓΔΑΟΥ, ΝΥΟ
 ΟΥΤΗΝ ΝΤΛΥΝΤ
 ΕΡΟ ΜΠΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ. ΕΤΕΠΕΙ
 ΩΔΕ ΟΝ ΠΕ.
 ΕΥΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟ
 ΕΤΥΤΡΕΝΚΤΟ
 ΕΓΔΑΟΥ, ΖΝΤΕ
 ΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ.
 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ Μ
 ΠΡΤΡΕΝΩΥ
 ΠΕ ΝΔΘΗΤ. ΔΛ
 ΛΑ ΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ ΟΥ
 ΠΕ ΠΟΥΩΥ
 ΜΠΔΟΕΙΣ.

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'?"¹ 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"², 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

¹Lk.14.28-30.

²Lk.9.62.

ἵ
ὑπὲρ

ἀγὼ ἤτεμε
στεππεθο
οὔ, ετεπζητ
πε ἰμῆντῶν
μῶ. ἤτεμε

5

ρεππετνα
νοῦ. ετεθ
πομονῆ τε
ετδῆκ' εβολ.

10

ἤθε εντα
δοο δε θυ
πομονῆ δε.

μαρεσω
πε εοῦντας
ἰματ, ἠοῦζωβ
ἠτελειον.

15

καὶ γὰρ εἰς ἴρο
οῦζω ζαρο ἠ
τεῖζε, ἀγὼ

20

εἰς ἴρο
λεγε νε' ετῶ
εγκάκει ζῆν

οὔθλιψις ται
ετερетен

25

προκοπή
ωροπ' εβολ
ἠζητς. ἀμδο
ος γὰρ δε ερε
πτενοῦδαῖ,

ζῆνογοοειω
ἠθλιψις. εὔ
ωανσωε γὰρ
ἀγὼ ἠτεμ ε
ρῶ ἠθε ἰμδο
εἰς, ενταμ
ερού εὔσω
ἰμοῦ ἀγὼ εὔ
νοβνες, ἰμοῦ.

εραδικετα
εἰὸ ἠζοῦδ.

ἀγὼ ἠτεξιε
οοῦ, εβολ ζι
τῶπτινοῦτε
ἰμῆνρωμε:

ἠθε ον εντα
δοο ζῆντε
ταπρὸ ἰμε
δε σωῦ, ενετ

σαζοῦ, ἰμω
τῆ. ὠλη ε
ζῆννετπητ
ἠκατητῆ.

ἀγὼ δε πετ
ναραστῆ ε
ζῆντεκοῦο

οβε. κτὸ ε
ροῦ ἠτεκκε
οὔει.

and hate the evil which is disaffection, and love the good¹ which is constancy perfected, as it was said, "And let constancy have a perfect work"². 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"³. 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 receive⁴ 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"⁵, and, "He who will smite you on your cheek, to him turn your other one"⁶.

¹Cf. Amos 5.15.

²Jam.1.4.

³Is.33.2.

⁴Note ερα - for ερενα -, cf. Stern, para 380.

⁵Lk.6.28.

⁶Lk.6.29.

5 ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΜΕ'

ΕΙΨΟΚΕΣ ΝΖΗΤ
ΕΤΒΗΗΤΕ· ΕΙ
ΟΥΨΩ' ΔΝ' ΕΤΡΕ

5

ΤΟΣΕ ΝΤΟΥ
ΨΥΧΗ ΕΤΕΛ
ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΗ
ΡΥ ΑΠΨΑ Μ
ΜΟΣ ΔΝ· ΔΥΩ

10

ΕΤΨΤΡΕΘΩ
ΤΗ ΖΗΤΟΥ Ν
ΖΕΝΨΑΔΕ Ν
ΡΩΜΕ· Η ΝΣΕ

15

ΤΑΚΟ ΑΠΟΥ
ΖΗΤ' ΕΤΝΔΝΨ
ΖΨΤΤΡΕΥΘΗ
ΑΦΟΡΜΗ ΝΖΕ

20 X

ΨΑΔΕ ΕΜΝΖΗ
ΝΖΗΤΟΥ· ΝΘΕ
ΕΤΣΗΖ' ΔΕ ΨΑ
ΡΕΝΨΑΔΕ Ε
ΘΟΥ, ΤΑΚΕ
ΝΙΖΗΤ' ΕΤΝΔ
ΝΟΥΟΥ· ΝΔΙ

25

ΓΑΡ ΖΕΝΨΩ
ΕΨΩ' ΝΕ, ΔΥΩ
ΖΕΝΛΑΔΥ ΝΕ
ΝΝΔΖΡΗΝΝΕΤ
ΜΕ' ΑΠΠΝΟΥΤΕ

ΜΝΠΕΥΧΟΣ· ΠΔΙ

ΕΥΣΑΖΟΥ ΜΜΨ.

ΕΜΠΣΑΖΟΥ.

ΕΨΨΠΖΙΣΕ,

ΝΕΥΝΟΘΟΣ ΔΝ,

ΠΕ· ΔΝΟΝ ΖΩ

ΩΝ ΠΕΤΕΨΨΕ
ΕΡΟΝ ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕ
ΤΗΤΩΝΗΝ ΕΡΟΥ.

ΠΔΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΚΩ

ΝΔΝ ΝΟΥΣΜΟΤ'

ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΝΕΟΥ

ΔΖΗ ΝΣΑΝΕΥ

ΖΙΟΥΕ· ΔΕ Ε

ΝΕΨΩΠΕ ΝΨ

ΜΑΥ ΝΣΥΝΚΛΗ

ΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ·

ΔΥΩ ΝΣΥΜΜΕ

ΤΟΧΟΣ ΖΗΤΨΝΤ

ΕΡΟ ΝΨΠΗΥΕ:

ΕΤΒΕΠΔΙ ΔΓΩ

ΝΙΖΕ ΕΡΟ ΕΜ

ΠΑΤΨΕΙ ΝΘΙΟΥ

ΚΑΙΡΟΣ ΕΠΟΥΔ

ΠΟΥΔ ΝΑΠΩΖ'

ΑΠΠΕΥΖΗΤ' Ν

ΖΗΤΨ ΔΕ ΕΤΒΕ

ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΝΕΨΟΥ

ΔΨΟΥ, ΔΝ, ΠΕ

Concerning you, too, I am indeed grieved, for I do not wish you to forfeit your soul, which the whole world is not worth¹, 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."² 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 curse³, and when he suffered, was not provoked⁴. For it is fitting that we should be like him who has set us an example in order that we may follow his ways⁵ and be fellow-heirs⁶ and partners⁶ 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

¹Cf. Mt.16.26, Mk.8.36.

²I Cor.15.33. - Lit. "Evil words destroy good hearts." The Greek so rendered is φθείρουσιν ἢθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί. St. Paul is using a line from Menander's comedy 'Thais', which has become proverbial.

³For ΕΜΠΙΣΤΑΤΟΥ read (Ε)ΜΠΙΣΤΑΤΟΥ .

⁴I Pet.2.23.

⁵I Pet.2.21.

⁶For the combination of the two words ΣΥΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣ and ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΟΣ, cf. Eph.3.6.

1
ΥΠΗ
7

5
ΕΥΨΒΩ ΝΔΙ·
ΔΥΩ ΑΓΩΖΗΤ
ΡΙΚΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ν
ΝΕΔΠΙΟ· ΕΡ
ΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΜΕ
ΕΥΕ ΜΠΤΕΝΤΑΥ
ΔΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ
ΝΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΔΕ
ΔΥΝΔΥ ΕΝΕΡΗΤ
10
ΕΤΖΝΤΜΝΤΕ
ΡΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ·
ΔΥΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ
ΔΕ ΔΝΟΝ ΖΕΝ
ΩΜΜΟ, ΔΥΩ
15
ΔΝΟΝ ΖΕΝΡΜ
ΝΒΟΙΛΕ ΖΙΔΜ
ΠΚΑΖ ΝΕΤΔΩ
ΓΑΡ ΝΝΔΙ ΝΤΕΙ
ΖΕ. ΕΥΟΥΩΝΖ
20
ΜΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ
ΔΕ ΕΥΨΙΝΕ Ν
ΣΑΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ·
ΕΝΕΥΡΠΜΕΥΕ
ΔΕ ΝΤΕΝΤΑΥ
25
ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΩ·
ΝΕΔΥΡΤΕ ΠΕ
ΝΚΟΤΟΥ ΕΡΟΣ·
ΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΥ
ΟΥΕΨΤΕΤΣΟ

ΤΠ ΕΤΕΤΑΤΠΕ
ΤΕ· ΕΤΒΕΠΔΙ
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ †
ΨΙΠΕ ΝΔΥ ΔΝ
ΕΤΡΕΥΕΠΙΚΑ
ΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΝΥ
ΤΕ ΕΧΩΟΥ· ΔΥ
ΣΟΒΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΔΥ
ΝΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ·

ΝΤΟ ΝΖΩΩΤΕ
ΕΡΕΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΜΕ
ΕΥΕ ΝΝΔΙ· ΜΠΡ
ΚΤΟ ΕΠΑΖΟΥ
ΖΜΠΟΥΕΡΗΤ'
ΕΝΤΑΡΕΡΗΤ'
ΜΜΟΥ· ΝΘΕ
ΝΙΝΕΝΤΑΥΔΟ
ΟΣ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΟΥ
ΔΕ ΔΥΖΙΩΝΕ
ΕΡΟΥ· ΔΙΟΥ
ΔΣΤΟΥ· ΔΥΜΟΥ
ΖΝΟΥΖΩΤΒ
ΝΧΗΕ· ΔΥΖΑ
ΤΟΥ, ΜΠΟΥ
ΨΩΠ' ΕΡΟΥ
ΜΠΣΩΤΕ 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'². 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.³" You yourself⁴ 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 sword⁵; they were beaten, they did not accept the deliverance of their body,⁶ that they might receive the more excellent resurrection.⁷"

¹Prov.5.12.

²Cf. Heb.11.13.

³Heb.11.14-16.

⁴For ἄνωγτες read ζωωτες .

⁵Heb.11.37.

⁶There is no equivalent for ἀντηρωμα in the Greek text of Heb.11.35.

⁷Heb.11.35.

τῆ· οὐ δε πε
δε ὑποχωρητ
εροου ὑψω
τε ὑπευσω
μα· εἰρητι δε

5

ὑποχουω
εκοτου ενε
εβηγε ὑμῶντ
κοσμηκον·

10

αλλα εχοω
επωωνε ε
βολ· ετρε
ωωγε ὑπῆντ

15

τε· πδωεἰς
εχεδου νε
αυω ὑπῆδρε
τητῆν εἰρω
νιμ ενανουα·
ετρερωτο

20

εὑπρωω ὑ
πδωεἰς ὑοτο
ειω νιμ· ερ
σοουν δε πῆ
εἰσε ωοειτ
αν εὑπρωεἰς:

25

→→→→→



»»»»»
βηκα πιελαχιστος
ετβενενταυαρνα ἦ
τεγυπομωνη εαυ
βωκ εβολ ἦρητῆν:

Νενειοτε ετ
ουαδβ δινπε
εου· ενταυ
εεγῆνειτοπε
ερωτν· ὑπο
δου ἦδρω
με εαυ ὑμο
ναχοσ ἦδναε.
οτε ὑπο
αναγκαζε ἦ
λαυ ἦρωμε
ετβενεαυα
αυ· οτε ανο
εωων ον ὑ
πῆρητῆι· ἦνευ
κεερωμε
γαρ αν εταρε
τῆ· αλλα ανε
ειοτε καεεν
νομος ναν' ε
εραἰ εἰνευσι
ναγωγη ετβε
πενωμνε·
αυω ετβεπτα

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 work¹, that you may excel in the work of the Lord always. You know that in the Lord your suffering is not vain².

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 of³ his property, nor have we ourselves done so either. For they used not to compel man⁴ to virtue, but our fathers appointed laws⁵ for us in their communities concerning our confirmation and concerning the

¹Cf. II Thes.2.17.

²Cf. I Cor.15.58.

³See the Detached Note on the next page.

⁴An exception to the rule that durative tenses must take an 'Oblique' Object, cf. Plumley, para 328ff.

⁵Note the apparently misplaced accent after 2' in ΚΑΘΕΝΝΟΜΟΣ, cf. p.11.

Detached Note to follow 77r.

er8e 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

5 zō epatū n̄ne
 cny. δεκαδ
 ευεωωπε
 n̄atpooty
 n̄ceōn̄the n̄
 ω̄m̄ye ω̄p̄do
 eic z̄noyca
 nō m̄noyōin
 d̄epatoy e
 10 p̄doeic kalw
 d̄ōn̄pooty
 katapetche
 de n̄epēnkā
 nim ω̄oōp̄
 15 ndy, zioycoōp̄.
 dyw n̄em̄n̄la
 dy δω m̄oc
 enetωoōp̄
 ndy de noyī
 20 ne. dyw tai
 te the enta
 n̄eneioyte
 kdac nan epai
 de petny ezoōp̄
 25 ep̄monaxoc
 zatn. eynd
 aipotacce n̄
 ω̄oōp̄t̄ n̄n̄ka
 nim etωoōp̄t̄

ndy n̄uc̄zai
 coy etkoinw
 n̄id ω̄p̄noy
 te m̄ntaidko
 n̄id n̄n̄zhe.
 dyw n̄necey
 ktou eyine
 n̄ca l̄d̄dy. oy
 te n̄toy. oy
 te pawe ey
 h̄t̄ epoy ka
 ta the enta
 poyā poyā
 zomologei
 ω̄p̄teωa de.
 3 τοι μονον δε
 ω̄ap̄n̄ecny
 throy c̄zai n̄
 the et̄m̄dy
 zinpkoyī ω̄a
 p̄noō. alla
 n̄enk̄eioyte
 on̄ entayc̄w̄n̄
 c̄nte n̄neito
 poc dyr̄ω̄p̄t̄
 n̄c̄zai zwoy
 n̄the et̄m̄dy.
 και μην' dne
 eioyte c̄zai

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 own¹." 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,

¹Cf. Acts 4.32.

XE EIWANOY
WY EBWK.
EINDMOPT N̄
OYPACTOY N̄
5 TABWK. N̄NEI
EYKTOI EWI
NE N̄CALADY.

Tai TE TKOINW
NID ETOYADB
10 EMINOYON ΔI
M̄PEYM̄TON.
EYKW N̄OYŌ
ΔINOYNOB
WADOKOYI.

15 ALLA OYWYW
N̄OYWT' PET
WOOPT' NAY
THPOY ZIOY
COPI. ΔINM̄

20 PEIWT' ETCH
POOYW WA
ZPAI EPKOYI
WHM̄ ETCOB̄K.
KAI MHN' EYCH

25 M̄PROOYW.
M̄PKOYI ETCO
B̄K N̄ZOYŌ:

Nai TENOY ENTAY
APNA N̄TEYZY

ΠΟΜΟΝΗ, ΔΥΩ
ΕΤΜΙΩΕ Μ̄Ν
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· CE
COOYN ZWOY
M̄ΠNOYMOC ET
KĀ N̄AN' EZPAI
ΔINΠEZOOY
ENTAYEI EPMO
N̄XOC. CEPTEI
ΘE AN EPY.
NIM̄ ΠENTAY
ANAGKAZE M̄
MOY. ETBE
OY M̄POYBWK
EPMA ENTAY
EI M̄WAY EMTA
TOYAPOTAC
CE, ΔΥΩ EMTA
TOYCPAI.

KAI ΓAP N̄NO
MOC N̄NEK
KΛHCIA· ΔΥΩ
N̄NOYMOC N̄M̄
MONACTHPH
ON. EYHT' EYW
PE Z̄NOYNOB
N̄WP̄S. M̄ALI
CTA NKOINO
BIOC.

x

"If I want to depart, I shall gird myself with a cowl¹ 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.

¹The meaning of ΠΑΣΤΟΥ is doubtful, it is possibly an apron or some other part of the monks' dress, cf. Crum, Dict., p.312b.

ΕΤΒΕΠΔΙ ΔΝΕ
 ΕΙΟΤΕ ΔΙΚΕ
 ΘΕΙΟΝ ΓΡΑΜ
 ΜΑ ΕΤΒΕΠΕΙ
 ΖΩΒ. ΔΕ ΠΕΝ
 ΤΑΥΤΝΕΥΖΝΔ
 ΔΥ, ΕΙΤΕ ΕΓΓΡΑ
 ΦΟΣ. ΕΙΤΕ Δ
 ΓΡΑΦΟΣ. ΝΗΕΥ
 ΚΤΟΥ ΕΨΙ
 ΝΕ ΝΩΟΥ
 ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΝΝΕΥ
 ΘΛΙΒΕ ΝΗΕ
 ΣΝΗΥ. ΝΔΙ ΖΕ
 ΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΝΩ
 ΝΖ ΝΕ ΝΑΤΒΟ
 ΛΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ:

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ΒΗΣΑ ΠΕΤΣΔΙ
 ΝΖΗΡΔΙ ΤΕΝ
 ΤΑΣΑΡΝΔ ΝΤΠΙ
 ΣΤΙΣ ΝΤΕΣ
 ΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ
 ΔΥΩ ΤΕΝΤΑΣ
 ΚΩ ΝΩΥΣ Ν
 ΤΠΗΓΗ ΛΜΟΥ
 ΩΝΖ. ΔΣΥΙΚΕ
 ΝΔΣ ΝΖΕΝΩΗΙ

ΕΥΟΥΟΒΠ. ΕΝ
 ΣΕΝΔΩΔΑΜΑΣΤΕ
 ΔΝ ΛΠΤΜΟΥ.

ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΔΡΣΩ
 ΤΠ ΝΕ ΛΠΤΜΟΥ
 ΝΖΟΥ ΕΠΩ
 ΝΖ. ΤΥΕΕΡΕ
 ΕΤΧΥ' ΔΥΩ
 ΤΕΝΤΑΥΣΩΞ.
 ΔΡΜΕΡΕΠΤΑ
 ΖΟΥ, ΝΖΟΥ
 ΕΠΕΣΜΟΥ.
 ΔΥΩ ΔΡΜΕΡΕ
 ΠΚΑΚΕ. ΕΖΟΥ
 ΕΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ.
 ΔΡΩΓΙΠΕΤ
 ΣΑΥΕ ΔΕ ΟΝ
 ΔΕ ΗΖΟΛΒ.
 ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤΖΟΛΒ
 ΔΕ ΗΣΑΥΕ.

ΣΕΝΔΧΟΟΣ
 ΝΕ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΣ
 ΔΕ ΒΩΚ ΕΠΕ
 ΣΗΤ' ΖΜΟΟΣ
 ΖΥΠΚΑΖ ΤΠΔΡ
 ΘΕΝΟΣ ΤΥΕ
 ΕΡΕ ΝΤΒΑΒΥ
 ΛΩΝ. ΖΜΩΣ
 ΖΥΠΟΥΣΩΥ

Therefore our fathers received another¹ divine law concerning this matter, namely that whosoever has given up his belongings, whether by written or unwritten agreement², 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 Herai³ 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 water⁴. Since you have chosen for yourself death rather than life⁵, despised and abominated⁶ daughter, loved the curse rather than the blessing⁷ and loved the darkness rather than the light⁸, and also reckoned⁹ the bitter sweet and the sweet bitter¹⁰, they shall rightly say of you, "Get down, sit on the ground, virgin daughter of Babylon, sit in your dishonour,

¹See 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.

²Cf. p.126.

³Cf. 71r, note 2.

⁴Cf. Jer.2.13.

⁵Cf. Jer.8.3, cf. also Deut.30.19.

⁶Cf. 66v, note 5.

⁷Cf. Ps.108.17, cf. also Deut.30.19.

⁸Cf. Jn.3.19.

⁹Note the Achm. construct form $\omega\eta$ - instead of the Sah. $\epsilon\eta$ -.

¹⁰Cf. Is.5.20.

5 ΤΒΑΒΥΛΩΝ ΤΥΕ
ΕΡΕ Ν̄ΝΕΧΔΛ
ΔΔΙΟC· Ν̄CΕ
ΝΔΚΟΤΟΥ ΔΝ
ΕΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡ̄Ο
ΔΕ ΤΕΤΘΗΝ'
ΔΥΩ ΤΕΤΛΗΚ·
CΩΛ̄Π ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄
ΤΟΥΘΟΟΛΕC·
10 CΩΛ̄Π ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄
ΝΟΥCΚΙΛ̄· CΩ
Λ̄Π ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΝCΗ
ΒΕ Ν̄ΡΑΤΕ·
ΔΙΟΟΡ' Ν̄ΖΕΝ
15 ΕΙΕΡΩΟΥ·
ΠΟΥΨΙΠΕ ΝΔ
CΩΛ̄Π ΕΒΟΛ·
ΝΟΥΝΟCΝΕC
ΝΔΟΥΩΝ̄Ζ ΕΒ̄Λ·
20 †ΝΔΔΙ Ν̄ΤΩΝ̄Τ
ΜΕ', ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΗ
ΤΕ'. Ν̄ΝΔΤΑΔΤΕ
Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ ΔΙΝΤΕ
ΝΟΥ, ΕΤΡΕΥ
25 †CΒΩ ΝΕ· ΔΛ
ΛΔ ΖΩΟC ΕΡΕ
ΜΟΚ̄Ζ Ν̄ΖΗΤ·
ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ
ΕΠΚΑΚΕ ΤΥΕ

ΕΡΕ Ν̄ΝΕΧΔΛ
ΔΔΙΟC· Ν̄ΝΕΥ
ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡ̄Ο
ΔΙΝΤΕΝΟΥ, ΔΕ
ΤΘΟΜ Ν̄ΤΩΝ̄Τ
ΕΡ̄Ο· ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ
ΔΡΜΕΡΕΓΙCΔΖΟΥ·
ΔΥΕΙ ΝΕ· Λ̄ΠΕ
ΟΥΨ̄ΠΕCΜΟΥ·
ΔΥΠΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ
Λ̄ΜΟ· ΔΥΩ ΔΠ
ΠCΔΖΟΥ ΖΙΩΩ
ΤΕ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΟΥΖΟ
ΕΙΤΕ· ΔΥΒΩΚ
ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΟΥ
ΜΔΖΤ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΟΥ
ΜΟΥ· ΔΥΩ Ν̄
ΘΕ Ν̄ΟΥΝΕΖ' Ζ̄Ν
ΝΟΥΚΕΕC·
ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΠΛΔ
ΕΝΤΑΥΨΟΠΕ
ΕΡΟΥ Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄·
ΔΥΩ ΔΥΕΡΟΥ
ΝΕ· ΔΡCΩΨ̄·
ΕΡΕΔΩ Λ̄ΜΟC
ΔΕ ΘΙΛ̄ΗΜ Ν̄
ΤΠΕ, ΤΕ ΤΕΤ̄Ν
ΖΕΝΕΕΤΗ· ΝΔ
ΜΕ ΘΙΛ̄ΗΜ Ν̄

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 you¹. Sit you in grief, go into the darkness, daughter of the Chaldeans: they will no more call you the power of the kingdom². 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 bones³. 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,

¹Is.47.1-3. - The phrase "to teach you" has no equivalent in the LXX.

²Is.47.5.

³Cf. Ps.108.17-18.

5 ΤΠΕ ΤΕ· ΔΥΩ
 ΠΤΟΥ ΠΕ ΕΝ
 ΤΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ·
 ΝΤΟ ΔΕ ΔΠΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΣΟΥΕ; ΔΥΩ
 ΔΥΤΑΙΟ· ΔΥ
 ΜΕΣΤΩ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΟΥΤΕΝΕΣΝΗΥ
 10 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΟΥ
 ΔΔΒ ΔΥΩ ΕΤΡ
 ΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΥ Ὢ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΥ
 ΗΖ ΖΝΝΕΥΜΑ
 15 ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ· ΠΜΑ
 ΕΝΤΑΡΣΟΥ
 ΖΝΤΟΥΜΝΤ
 ΔΔΣΙΖΗΤ' ὪΝ
 ΤΟΥΜΝΤΒΔΒΕ
 20 ΡΩΜΕ· ΤΥΕ
 ΕΡΕ ΝΚΡΟΥ
 ΔΥΩ ΝΑΠΟΣΤΑ
 ΤΗΣ· ΔΥΩ ΤΥΕ
 ΕΡΕ ΝΙΟΥΔΔΣ
 25 ΠΕΠΡΟΔΟΤΗΣ·
 ΝΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΔΡΣΟ
 ΟΣ ΔΕ ΔΝΟΚ
 ΓΕ ΔΥΩ ΜΝΚΕ
 ΟΥΕΙ· ΕΤΒΕ

ΓΔΙ ΠΤΑΚΟ ΝΗΥ
 ΕΔΩ ΝΤΕΓΜ
 ΕΙΜΕ· ΔΥΩ ΤΜΝΤ
 ΧΗΡΑ ΜΝΤΜΝΤ
 ΔΤΩΗΡΕ ΝΗΥ
 ΖΝΟΥΩΣΝΕ
 ΕΔΩ ΖΡΑΙ ΖΝ
 ΤΟΥΜΝΤΡΕΥ
 ΡΙΤΑΖΡΕ ὪΝ
 ΤΣΟΜ ΝΝΟΥ
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 ΝΖΟΥΟ ΝΘΕΛ
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 ΝΗΡΙΑ· ΕΙΜΕ
 ΔΕ ΤΟΥΜΝΤ
 ΡΕΥΚΑΤΑΦΡΟ
 ΝΕΙ, ΔΥΩ ΤΟΥ
 ΠΟΡΝΕΙΑ ΝΑ
 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΕ Ν
 ΨΙΠΕ· ΔΕ Ν
 ΘΕ ΝΟΥΜΟΥΙ
 ΕΥΖΜΠΜΑ Ν
 ΨΗΝ· ΤΔΙ ΤΕ
 ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΡΟΥ
 ΩΝ ΝΡΩ ΔΡ
 ΣΩΥ ΜΠΜΑ
 ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ Ὢ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ·
 ΕΤΒΕΓΔΙ ΖΩ

and it is the mount God blessed¹." 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.² For you have said, "I and no one else"³. For this reason destruction is coming upon you unawares,⁴ and widowhood and childlessness is coming upon you suddenly in your witchcraft and the power of your magic spells exceedingly,⁵ for the confidence in your wickedness.⁶ 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

¹This 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.

²Cf. Lk.6.16.

³Is.47.8 and 47.10.

⁴Is.47.11.

⁵Cf. Is.47.9.

⁶Cf. Is.47.10.

ωυ αμμεστῶ.

αυω αμνοξε,

εβολ εμπευ

μα ετογδαβ.

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ἦθε ενταυ

δοοσ, δε τνα

νοδογ εβολ

εμπαηι. ητ

ναογωσ' αν ε

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τοοτ' εμερι

του. αρπω

ωνε γαρ ἡ

πγαπ' ευχολη

αυω πκαρπε

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ἦταδικαιοσυ

νη εογσιωε

επειδη' αποι

ζητ' τακο.

αρωτ' πκακε

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γαρ ἦογοειν

αυω πογοειτ

ἦκακε. ετβε

παϊ ταϊ τεθε

ενταρδο. ἦετ

25

σογῶ. αρωσῶ

ἦγενωοντε.

ἦθε γαρ εν

ταρμερεππε

θοογ. αρμε

СТЕПΠΕΤΝΔ

ΝΟΥ. ΕΤΒΕ

παϊ αμνουτε

ωρωωρε ωα

βολ. αμφοβε

αυω αμποονε

εβολ εμποι

μα ἦωωπε.

αυω τογνε ε

βολ εμπαε

ἦνετονε.

σεναναι ερο

ἦβιἦδικαιος

ετρεοτε ζη

τη ἡπεχο. ἦ

σεδοοσ δε εις

ογσιμε εμ

πκαπνουτε

νασ ἦβοηθος.

αλλα ασελπι

ζε εμπαωδι

ἦτεσυντα

σιζητ. ἡντεσ

ἡντρευκα

ετης ερος

μαγδασ. ἦθε

ενταυδοοσ

δε εἰναι τη

ρογ ἡτσκο

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 more¹." For you turned judgment into gall², and the fruit of righteousness into bitterness³, because your heart was corrupted, for you counted⁴ darkness for light and light for darkness⁵. Thus, therefore, you sowed wheat and reaped thorns⁶. For inasmuch as you loved the evil you hated the good⁷. So God has overthrown you utterly, he has plucked you up, he has removed you from your dwelling, and your root⁸ 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"⁹, even as it was said, "In all these things

¹Hos.9.15.

²Cf. 49r, note 3.

³Cf. Amos 6.12.

⁴Cf. 78v, note 9.

⁵Cf. Is.5.20.

⁶Cf. Jer.12.13.

⁷Cf. Ps.51.5 and also Mic.3.2.

⁸For TOYNE read TOYNOYNE .

⁹Cf. Ps.51.7-9.

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Τ̄C ΕΡΟῙ Ζ̄ΜΠ̄Ξ
ΖΗΤ' ΤΗΡ̄Υ Ν̄
ΒΙΤΑΘΗΤ' Ν̄ΤΕ
ΙΟΥΔΑ· ΑΛΛΑ
ΕΞΡΑῙ ΕΔ̄ΝΟΥ
Μ̄ΝΤΝΟΥΔ·
ΕΣΕΤ̄CΒΩ̄ ΝΕ
Ν̄ΘΙΤΟΥΜ̄ΝΤ
ΑΤCΩΤ̄Υ ΑΥΩ
ΕΣΕΔ̄ΠΙΘ̄ Ν̄ΘΙ
ΤΟΥΚΑΚΙΔ·
ΕΙΜΕ ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΤΕ
ΝΑΥ, ΔΕ ΥCΑΨΕ
ΝΕ' ΕΤΡΕΚΩ̄
Ν̄CΩ̄ Μ̄ΠΞΟ
ΕΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ·
ΕΡΨΕΕΥΕ ΓΑΡ
ΔΕ ΕΡΨΑΝΟΥΕ
Μ̄ΜΟῙ, ΕΡΑΘ̄Ν
ΟΥΖΟΥΟ· ΔΡ
ΜΕΡΕΝΕΤ̄Ν
ΚΟΤ̄Κ Ν̄ΜΜΕ
ΕΤΕΝ̄ΔΑΙΜΩ̄
ΝΕ· ΑΥΩ ΔΡΤΑ
ΨΟ Ν̄ΤΟΥΠΟΡ
ΝΕΙΔ Ν̄ΜΜΑΥ
Ζ̄ΜΠΟΥΖΗΤ'
ΕΤ̄Θ Ν̄ΚΑΚΕ
Μ̄ΝΝΟΥΜΕ

ΕΥΕ Ν̄ΚΡΟΥ·
ΑΥΩ ΔΡΚΩ̄ Ν̄
ΝΟΥΡ̄ΠΜΕΕΥΕ
ΖΙΠΔΖΟΥ Ν̄Ν
ΟΥΕΒΡΟ Μ̄ΠΟΥ
Ρ̄Θ· ΨΑΝΤΕ
ΚΟΤΕ ΕΠΚΔΞ
ΕΤΜΟΛ̄Ξ ΕΝ
ΤΑΥΔΙΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ·
Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Υ· ΔΕ Ν̄
Τ̄Θ ΟΥΚΔΞ· ΔΡ
ΚΟΤΕ ΟΝ Ε
ΠΚΔΞ· ΕΒΟΛ
ΔΕ ΔΡΕΕῙ ΜΕ̄
Ζ̄ΝΟΥCΟΥΥ
Τ̄Ν· Μ̄ΠΞΔΨΚ
ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΝΟΥ
CΟΥΤ̄Ν· ΑΛ
ΛΑ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕῙ Ζ̄Ν
ΟΥΚΡΟΥ· ΔΡ
ΒΨΚ ΟΝ Ζ̄ΝΟΥ
Μ̄ΝΤΝΟΥΔ·
ΕΤΒΕΠΔῙ ΠCΑ
ΖΟΥ ΝΔΟΥΨΜ
Ν̄CΩ̄ Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄Μ
ΝΟΥΝΕ CΕΕ
ΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΗ
ΤΕ, ΟΥΤΕ ΨΛΞ·
Ν̄ΤΑΡΕῙ Ζ̄ΝΟΥ

foolish¹ Judah² did not turn to me with all her heart, but with falsehood³." Your disobedience will teach you and your wickedness will upbraid you. Know and see that it is bitter for you to forsake the Lord God⁴. For you think that if you are away from me you will⁵ profit. You have loved those who sleep with you⁶ who are the demons, you have multiplied your fornication with them⁷ in your darkened heart and your deceitful thoughts, and you have placed your remembrances behind the posts of your door⁸ until you return to the salty⁹ earth out of which you were taken: for you are earth and to earth you have returned¹⁰. 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 you¹¹. You came in

¹The LXX reads ἡδύθητος . Our reading ἀθῆτ may possibly have arisen out of a confusion between ἡδύθητος and

ἡδύθητος .

²Note the irregular use of ἄντε - for ἄν-.

³Jer.3.10.

⁴Cf. Jer.2.19.

⁵Note ἐπα - for ἐπενα-, cf. Stern, para 380.

⁶Is.57.8.

⁷Is.57.9.

⁸Is.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.

⁹I.e. barren, unfruitful earth, cf. e.g. Deut.29.23, Jer. 17.6.

¹⁰Cf. Gen.3.19.

¹¹Cf. Mal.4.1.

ΠΕΤΨΟΥΕΙΤ'
 ΑΡΒΩΚ ΟΝ Ζῆ
 ΟΥΠΕΤΨΟΥ
 ΕΙΤ' ΔΕΚΑΘ Ε
 ΡΕΠΟΥΡΑΝ ΝΑ
 ΖΩΒ̄Σ ΖῆΠΚΑ
 ΚΕ. ΔΕ Ν̄ΤΕΟΥ
 ΚΑΚΕ ΖῆΝΟΥ
 ΖΒΗΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ

5

ΔΥΩ ΠΨΩ
 ΝΑΖΩΒ̄Σ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΕΔΩ. ΕΒΟΛ
 ΔΕ ΑΡΚΩ Ν̄ΣΩ
 Ν̄ΤΕΝΤΟΛΗ.

10

ΑΡΨΩΤῆ ΝΕ' ᾤ
 ΠΤΑΚῆ. ᾤΠΕ
 ΝΟΙ ΓΑΡ. ΟΥΤΕ
 ᾤΠΕΕΙΜΕ ΔΕ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΕΥ
 ΚΟΜΨῆ ΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΜΕΥΚΑΤΑ
 ΦΡΟΝΕΙ ᾤΜΟΥ.
 ΑΛΛΑ Ν̄ΤΟΥ ΠΕ
 ΤΑΥΚΟΜΨΕ.

15

Ν̄Τῆ ΔΥΩ ΔΥ
 ΣΩΨΕ Ν̄ΘΕ
 ΝΟΥΜΟΥ ΕΥ
 ΣΩΚ. ΕΤΒΕ

20

ΓΑΙ Ν̄ΘΕ ᾤΠΨΙ

25

ΠΕ ΝΟΥΡΕΨΔΙ
 ΟΥΕ ΕΥΨΑΝΤΑ
 ΖΟΥ. ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ
 ΕΝΤΑΡΔΙΩΙ
 ΠΕ ᾤΜΟΣ ΔΕ
 ΔΥΒΟΠΕ. ΕΒΟΛ
 ΔΕ ΑΡΤῆΤῆ Ε
 ΒΟΛ ᾤΠΨΑΔΕ
 ᾤΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

ΔΥΩ Ν̄ΘΕ ΕΝ
 ΤΑΠΔΟΕΙΣ ΔΟ
 ΟΣ ΕΤΒΕΠΟ
 ΛΙΣ Ν̄ΝΕΣΝΩ
 ΨΥ. ΔΕ ΔΙΖΔΓῆ
 ΟΥΒΗΣ, ΔΥΩ
 Ν̄ΓΟΥΩΝῆ ΝΑΘ
 ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΝΕΣΔ
 ΝΟΜΙΔ ΤΗΡΟΥ.
 ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΤΟΥ
 ΝΑΔΙΖΔΓῆ ΖΩ
 ΟΥ, ΟΥΒῆ, ἢ Ν̄Μ
 ΜΕ ΔΥΩ Ν̄ΣΕ
 ΣΩΛῆ ΝΕ' ΕΒΟΛ
 Ν̄ΝΟΥΔΝΟΜΙΔ
 ΤΗΡΟΥ, ΕΥΔΩ
 ᾤΜΟΣ ΔΕ ᾤ
 ΤΙΤΟΛΙΣ ΕΤΠΕ
 ΖῆΣΝΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΖῆΝΤΕΣΩΗΤΕ

⌋

vanity and in vanity you departed, so your name shall be covered in darkness¹, for you yourself are darkness in all your affairs², 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 mocked³ 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 God⁴, and as the Lord said concerning the bloody city, "Give judgment against her and make manifest to her all her iniquities"⁵, so also they shall condemn you, adjudge you, and reveal to you all your iniquities, saying, "O city that sheds blood in her midst,

¹Cf. Eccles.6.4.

²For 2̄NOY2BH7E read 2̄NNOY2BH7E .

³Cf. Gal.6.7.

⁴Cf. Jer.8.9.

⁵Cf. Ez.22.2.

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ΥΗΗ
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ΛΙΖΕ· ΔΥΩ ΔΡ
5 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΔΡΠΙ
ΝΙΝΕΝΤΑΥΠΕΥ
ΟΥΘΕΙ ΕΠΙΝΙ
ΤΕ· ΝΘΕ ΕΤ
ΣΗΖ ΔΕ ΠΕΤ
10 ΝΔΚΑΝΔΑΛΙ
ΖΕ ΝΟΥΑ ΝΝΙ
ΚΟΥΕΙ ΕΤΠΙ
ΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΙ·
ΣΡΝΟΥΡΕ ΝΔΥ
15 ΔΕΚΑΣ ΕΥΕ
ΛΟΥΡ' ΝΟΥΩ
ΝΕ ΝΚΙΚΕ, Ε
ΠΕΥΜΑΚΕ Ν
ΣΕΟΥΜΥ ΕΡΑΙ
20 ΕΥΠΠΕΛΑΓΟΣ
ΝΘΑΛΑΚΑ·
ΝΖΟΥΘ ΕΤΡΕΥ
ΚΑΝΔΑΛΙΖΕ
ΝΟΥΑ ΝΝΙΚΟΥΙ
25 ΕΤΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ
ΕΡΟΙ· ΕΤΕΝ
ΤΟ ΠΕ· ΔΕ ΔΡ
ΨΩΠΕ ΝΚΑ
ΔΤΕ ΝΟΥΜΗ

ΗΥΕ· ΔΥΩ ΔΡ
ΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΕΝΟΥ
ΩΥ ΝΖΗΤ' ΕΥ
† ΟΥΒΗ ΕΤΡΕ
ΔΩΣΩ ΖΗΝΕ
ΣΝΩΩΥ ΕΝ
ΤΑΡΠΟΟΝΟΥ
ΕΒΟΛ· ΔΡΖΕ
ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ· ΔΥΩ
ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΝΕ
ΕΙΡΕ ΜΟΥΟΥ
ΔΔΩΣΩ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ·
ΔΡΤΡΕΝΕΖΟ
ΟΥ, ΖΩΝ ΕΖΟΥ·
ΔΡΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΟΥ
ΟΕΙΩ ΝΝΟΥ
ΡΩΠΟΥΟΥΕ·
ΕΤΒΕΓΔΑΙ ΔΠΔΟ
ΕΙΣ ΤΑΔΤΕ ΕΥ
ΝΟΒΝΕΘ ΜΝ
ΟΥΣΩΒΕ Ν
ΝΕΤΖΗΝ' ΕΡΘ
ΜΝΝΕΤΟΥΗΥ
ΜΩ· ΤΑΚΑ
ΘΑΡΤΟΣ ΤΕΤ
Ο ΝΚΟΕΙΤ·
ΤΕΤΟΥ ΖΗΝΕ
ΔΝΟΥΑ· ΔΥ
ΣΟΟΣ ΟΝ ΕΝ

that her time may come"¹. 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 sea² rather than that he should offend one of these little ones who believe in me³." 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 doing⁴ you have been unclean⁵. 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 iniquities⁶. He⁷ also said,

¹Ez.22.3.

²Mt.18.6.

³Cf. Lk.17.2.

⁴Note ΕΝΕΕΙΡΕ for ΕΝΕΡΕΕΙΡΕ .

⁵Note ΑΧΩΣΤΗ for ΑΡ(Ε)ΧΩΣΤΗ.

⁶Cf. Ez.22.3-5.

⁷I.e. Ezekiel.

5 ΟΥΑΠΕΙΛΗ ΔΕ
 ΔΩΚ' ΕΒΟΛ Ν
 ΘΑΗ ΝΤΟΥΚΑ
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 ΒΟΝC. ΔΝΟΚ
 ΔΕ ΔΡΠΑΩΒΩ
 ΠΕΔΕΠΔΟΙC.
 ΕΙΩΑΝΔΑΖΔΖ
 ΔΕ ΝΝΑΒΙΔ Ε
 10 ΔΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ.
 ΕΔΝΝΕΦΝΑ
 ΝΤΟΥ ΕΔΩ ΖΑ
 ΝΕΝΤΑΔΔΥ, Ε
 ΩΩΠΕ ΕΡΕ
 15 ΠΟΥΖΗΤ ΝΔΩ
 ΥΙ. Η ΝΟΥΒΙΔ
 ΝΔΩΔΑΔΖΤΕ
 ΖΩΠΕΖΟΥ
 ΕΤΝΔΡΝΔΙ ΝΕ.
 20 ΔΝΟΚ ΠΔΟΙC
 ΔΙΩΔΔΕ, †ΝΔ
 ΔΔΥ. ΔΥΩ ΤΕ
 ΝΔΩΩΠΕ Ν
 ΔΔΙΕ, ΔΕ ΔΡΚΑ
 25 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΩ
 ΠΟΥCΩΤΗΡ.
 ΔΥΩ ΜΠΕΡ
 ΠΜΕΕΥΕ Μ
 ΠΟΥΔΟΕΙC.

ΕΤΒΕΓΔΙ ΤΕ
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 ΔΥΩ ΟΥCΠΕΡ
 ΜΔ ΝΔΤΝΔΖΤΕ.
 ΤΕΝΔΠΛΑΝΔ
 ΔΕ ΖΩΠΕΖΟΥ
 ΕΤΕΝΔΤΟΒΥ.
 ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΕ ΟΥ
 ΟΙ ΝΕ, ΔΕ ΔΡΑ
 ΚΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ Μ
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 ΜΝΤΕΒΙΗΝ ΝΔ
 ΤΑΖΟ. ΔΕ ΔΡ
 ΩΔΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΙ.
 ΔΥΩ ΔΕ ΝΟΥ
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 ΝΟΥΖΒΗΥΕ ΔΥ
 ΡΝΔΙ ΝΕ. ΤΔΙ
 ΤΕ ΤΟΥΚΑΚΙΔ
 ΔΕ CΔΔΥΕ ΔΕ
 ΔCΠΩΖ' ΩΔΖΟΥ
 ΕΠΟΥΖΗΤ.
 ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΩΔΥ
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 ΔΥΩ ΔΡΝΟΔΤ
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 ΠΟΥCΩΜΔ

as a threat, "'You have perfected' the end of your wickedness in violence, but me you have forgotten'², says the Lord. 'If I clap my hands together over the things which I shall bring upon you for what you have done³, 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 it⁴.'" 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 it⁵. Again, "Woe to you because you turned⁶ away from me. Misery shall overtake you because you did iniquity⁷ against me"⁸, and, "Your ways and your works did these things to you; this is your wickedness, for it is bitter, because it reached unto your heart⁹." Again it is said, "Because you forgot¹⁰ me and put me behind you"

¹Note ἀδικ for ἀρ(ε)δικ .

²Note ἀπῆλθον for ἀπῆλθον .

³Note ΝΕΝΤαδδ for ΝΕΝΤαδδ .

⁴Ez.22.12-14.

⁵Is.17.9-11.

⁶Note ἀπακτε for ἀπακτε .

⁷Note ἀπῶατε for ἀπῶατε .

⁸Hos.7.13.

⁹Jer.4.18.

¹⁰Note ἀπῆλθον for ἀπῆλθον .

¹¹Ez.23.35.

ΔΝΟΚ ΖΩ ΤΝΔ

ΝΟΞΕ, ΝΤΕΤΜ

ΠΑΒΑΛ ΤΟ Ε

ΡΟ· ΔΥΩ ΝΤ

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ΝΔΝΔ ΝΕ ΔΝ·

ΣΩΤΜ ΟΝ ΕΠΥ

ΣΩΥ' ΜΝΠΟΥ

ΩΠΕ· ΠΕΣΑΔ

ΔΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΔΙΤΟ

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ΒΕ ΝΟΥΒΩ Ν

ΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΝΥΔΙ

ΟΥΤΑΔ' ΤΗΡΣ

ΜΕ· ΝΔΩ Ν

ΔΕ ΔΡΚΤΟ ΕΥ

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ΣΙΩΕ ΤΒΩ Ν

ΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΕΝ

ΤΑΡΩΜΜΩ·



ΝΔΝΟΥΣ ΓΑΡ

ΝΕ' ΕΝΕΜΠΕ

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ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝ

ΣΥΝΔΓΩΓΗ

ΜΠΔΟΕΙΣ·

ΕΖΟΥΕΡΟΣ Ε

ΤΡΕΑΡΝΑ ΝΤΟΥ

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ΖΥΠΟΥΜΟΝΗ·

ΜΝΤΕΝΤΟΛΗ

ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΕΝ

ΤΑΥΤΑΔΣ ΕΤΟ

ΟΤΕ· ΔΡΞΕ'

ΓΑΡ ΕΔΜΠΟΥ

ΖΟ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΟΥ

ΕΙΩΤ' ΙΟΥΔΑΣ

ΠΕΠΡΟΔΟΤΗΣ

ΑΡΓΩΥ' ΖΗΤΟΥ

ΜΗΤΕ, ΔΝΕΤΜ

ΠΟΥΖΟΥΝ ΤΗ

ΡΟΥ, ΠΩΝ ΕΒΛ

ΔΕ ΝΤΟ ΟΥΚΡΟΥ

ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΤΜ

ΜΔΥ· ΕΝΕΝ



ΤΑΡΡΓΜΕΕΥΕ

ΓΑΡ ΝΘΕ ΕΤΟΥ

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ΠΗΕ· ΝΕΡΑ

ΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙ

ΔΝ ΠΕ ΝΤΕΙΞΕ

ΤΗΡΣ, ΕΤΡΕΚΩ

ΝΣΩ ΝΤΟΥΖΥ

ΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΜΝ

ΠΕΡΗΤ' ΕΝΤΑΡ

ΕΡΗΤ' ΜΜΟΥ·

ΤΡΕΥΣΩΥ

I will cast you away, my eye will not spare you, and I will have no mercy on you.¹ Listen again to your disgrace and shame. He² says, "I planted you as a vine all fruitful and genuine. How did you turn to bitterness, vine that became strange?"³ 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 out⁴; 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 been⁵ so contemptuous as to betray your constancy and the promise which you made. Repudiator

¹Ez.5.11, cf. also Ez. passim.

²I.e. God.

³Jer.2.21.

⁴Cf. Acts 1.18.

⁵Note NEPa - for NEPENa -.

5 ἸΝΕCΩΠΤΩ
 ΡΕ· ΔΥΩ ΤΡΕΥ
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 ΤΑΥΩΟΠΕ ΕΡΟ
 ΟΥ, ΕΡΕΤΟΛῪ
 ΖῪΠΟΥCΝΟΥ·
 ΠΟΥΕΙΩΤ' ΟΥ
 ΔΙΟΡΡΑΙΟC ΓΕ·
 ΔΥΩ ΤΟΥΜΑΔΥ
 10 ΟΥΧΕΤΑΙΔ ΤΕ·
 ΠΟΥΔΠΟ ΖῪ
 ΓΕΖΟΥ ΕΝΤΑΥ
 ΔΠΟ ἸΖΗΤῪ·
 ῪΠΟΥΜΟΥΡ
 15 ἸΝΕΕΚΙΒΕ·
 ΔΥΩ ῪΠΟΥΔΟ
 ΚΜΕ ΖῪΟΥΜΟ
 ΟΥ· ΟΥΤΕ ῪΠῪ
 ΜΟΛΑΕ ΖῪΟΥ
 20 ΖΜΟΥ· ΔΥΩ Ὺ
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 ἸΖΕΝΤΟΠ·
 ΕΤΕΠΔΑΙ ΓΕ· ΔΕ
 ῪΠΟΥCΒῪ
 25 ΝΕ' ΕΝΕΖ ΕΠῪΠΕ
 ΤΝΑΝΟΥC· ΔΥΩ
 ΝΕΡΕCΟΥΝ
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 ΛῪ· ΟΥΤΕ Ὺ

ΠΟΥΤCΑΒΟ Ε
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 ΔΥΩ ῪΠΕΠΔΟ
 ΕΙC ἸC †CῪ ΕΡΟ
 ΕΕΙΡΕ ΝΕ' ἸΟΥΔ'
 ἸΝΔΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΕΤΡΕΥῪΝΖΤΗC
 ΖΑΡΟ· ΑΛΛΔ ΔΥ
 ΕῪ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕCῪ
 ΔΥΝΔΥ, ΕΡΟ ΕΡΕ
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 CΝΟΥ· ΔΥΔΟ
 ΟC ΝΕ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ
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 ΔΥΔΑΙ ΖῪΠΩ
 ΝΖ· ἸΤΟ ΔΕ ΝΕ
 ΡΕΚΗ ΚΑΖΗΥ
 ΓΕ, ΔΥΩ ΝΕΡΕ
 ΔCΧΗΜΟΝΕΙ·
 ΔΥΩ ΔΠΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΡῪΠΟΥΜΕ
 ΕΥΕ ΖῪΠΟΥ
 ΘΒΒΙΟ, ῪΝ
 ΝΟΥΔΝΟΜΑ·
 ΔΥΠΩΡῪ Ἰ
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 ΕCῪ 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!¹ 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 life²." 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,

¹Ez.16.3-4.

²Cf. Ez.16.5-7.

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5 ΜΟΥΝΗ· ΔΥΩ
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ΚΗ· ΔΥΩ ΔΡΕ
ΩΩΠΤΕ ΝΔΥ·
ΔΥΔΟΚΜΕ Ζ̄Ν
ΟΥΜΟΥ· ΔΥΩ
ΔΥΕΙΩ ΕΒΟΛ
10 Μ̄Ω Μ̄ΠΟΥ
ΣΝΟΥ· ΔΥΩ
ΔΥΤΑΖΣΕ Ν̄ΟΥ
ΝΕΖ· ΕΤΕΠΔΙ
ΠΕ ΔΕ ΔΥΩ
15 ΠΤΕ, ΕΡΟΥ Ζ̄Ν
ΤΕΥΜ̄ΝΤΜΔΙ
ΡΩΜΕ· ΔΥΩ
ΔΥΤΣΒ̄Ω ΝΕ'
Ζ̄ΝΤΕΥΜ̄ΝΤ
20 ΔΓΑΘΟΣ· ΔΥΩ
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ΠΕΥΝΔ ΕΒΟΛ
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Μ̄ΝΤΩΔΝΖΤΗΥ·
25 ΔΕ ΔΡΑ ΤΕΝΔ
ΣΜΝΕ, ΔΥΩ
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ΕΙΣ· Ν̄Τ̄Ο ΔΕ

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ΔΡΚΤ̄Ο ΕΓΔ
ΣΟΥ Ζ̄ΝΟΥΜ̄ΝΤ
ΣΩΒ· ΔΥΩ ΔΡ
ΝΔ Ν̄ΤΟΥΖΥΠΟ
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Τ ΕΤΒΕΠΔΙ ΖΩ
ΩΙ ΥΝΔΔΟΟΣ
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Μ̄ΝΟΥΟΡΓΗ ΔΕ
Ν̄ΝΕΕΙΒΕ ΕΣΟΥ·
ΟΥΔΕ Ν̄ΝΕΣ
ΩΩΠΤΕ· ΕΤΒΕ
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Ν̄ΖΗΤΕ Ν̄ΒΙΖΕ'
ΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΥΘΟ
ΟΜΕ· ΔΥΩ Μ̄
ΠΕΡ̄ΠΜΕΕΥΕ
Ν̄ΤΟΥΜ̄ΝΤ
ΚΟΥΙ, Μ̄ΠΕΣΟ
ΟΥ ΕΡΕΚΗ ΚΔ
ΖΗΥ, ΔΥΩ ΕΡΕ
ΔΣΧΗΜΟΝΕΙ·
ΕΡΕΤΟΛ̄Μ Ζ̄Μ
ΠΟΥΣΝΟΥ·
ΔΡΕΩΝΖ·
ΕΤΒΕΠΔΙ ΣΕ
ΝΔΔΟΟΣ 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 oil¹, 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 denied² your constancy³. So he will say to you in anger and wrath, "Therefore you shall not enter, nor shall it be so⁴ 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"⁵. So therefore it shall be said concerning you

¹Cf. Ez.16.8-9.

²For ἀρνα read ἀρἀρνα .

³For εὐποπομονη read εὐπομονη .

⁴Cf. 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.

⁵Ez.16.22.

5 ΖΩΩΤΕ ΚΑΤΑ
 ΠΟΥΥΠΥΑ.
 ΔΕ Ω ΤΕΤΚΩ
 ΝΩΩΣ ΝΝΕΖΙ
 ΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΟΥ
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 ΝΑΣ ΝΝΕΖΙ
 ΟΥΕ ΝΚΑΚΕ.
 ΕΤΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ
 10 ΕΔΝΝΡΕΥΡΠΕ
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 ΒΕ ΕΔΝΝΕΘΟ
 ΟΥ. ΝΔΙ ΕΡΕ
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 15 ΒΟΥΕ. ΔΥΩ
 ΕΡΕΝΕΥΑ Μ
 ΜΟΥΕ ΔΗΥ
 ΝΚΟΤΣ. ΕΤΡΕΚ
 ΟΥΕ, ΔΥΩ ΕΔ
 20 ΔΚ ΝΩΥΜΩ
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 ΝΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ.
 ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΣΕΝΔ
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 25 ΕΓΚΕΙΔΗ ΔΙΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΕΡΩ. ΜΠΕ
 ΣΩΤΩ ΕΡΟΙ.
 ΔΥΩ ΔΙΠΡΩ
 ΝΔΩΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ.

ΤΕΤΕΤΗ.
 ΛΑ ΔΡΕΤΟΤΟ
 ΟΛ ΝΝΔΩΑ
 ΔΥΩ ΔΡΡ
 ΣΩΤΩ ΝΣΑ
 ΔΠΙΟ.
 ΖΕΠΔΙ ΖΩ
 Χ ΔΩΒΕ ΝΣΑ
 ΥΤΑΚΟ †
 ΡΑΥΕ ΔΕ Μ
 ΕΡΩΔΝ
 ΑΚΟ ΕΙ ΕΔΩ.
 Μ ΕΡΩΔΝ
 ΩΤΟΡΤΡ
 Ω ΕΝΟΥΩΣ
 ΝΤΕΠΩΡ
 ΕΙ ΕΔΩ Ν
 ΝΟΥΖΑΤΗ.
 ΕΡΩΔΝΠΤΑ
 ΕΙ ΕΔΩ.
 Μ ΕΡΩΔΝ
 ΛΙΨΙ ΕΙ
 ΜΝΟΥΚΤΟ
 ΣΝΔΩΩ
 ΓΑΡ ΝΤΕ
 ΝΤΕ ΕΣΡΑΙ
 ΝΟΥΤΕ. ΝΝ
 ΣΩΤΩ ΕΡΩ.
 ΕΣΤΕΤΟ

as you deserve, "O forsaker of straight ways, who chooses for herself the ways of darkness¹, who takes pleasure in them that do evil and who rejoices at the wicked, whose² ways are twisted, and whose paths are so devious that you become remote and estrange yourself from the purpose of the righteous³." 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 straits⁴. It shall come to pass that you call upon God and he will not hear you⁵, for you hated

¹Cf. Prov.2.13.

²Cf. 41r, note 2.

³Prov.2.14-16.

⁴Cf. 27r, note 2.

⁵Cf. Prov.1.24-28.

ΦΙΔ ΓΑΡ. ΔΥΩ ὤ

ΠΕCΩΠΠ ΝΕ

ΝΤΥΝΤΥΔΙ

ΝΟΥΤΕ. ΔΥΩ

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ὤΠΕΟΥΩΩ

ΕΓΖΤΗ ΕΝΩΟ

ΔΝΕ ὤΠΙΝΟΥ

ΤΕ. ΑΛΛΑ ΔΡΕ

ΩΛΚΩΔ ΝΩΔ

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ΝΕΥΔΠΙΟ.

ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙΒΕ

ΤΕΝΔΟΥΩΜ

ΝΝΚΑΡΠΟC

ΝΤΟΥΖΙΗ, ΔΥΩ

15

ΝΤΕCΙ ΝΝΟΥ

ΜΠΤΩΔΥΤΕ.

ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ὤ

ΠΕΠΙΤΕΥΕ

ὤΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ.

20

ΟΥΤΕ ὤΠΕΖΕΛ

ΠΙΖΕ ΕΠΕΥ

ΟΥΔΑΙ ΕΝΤΩ

ΔΑΥ ΝῶΜΕ.

⌋

25

ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ CΕ

ΝΑΔῶ ὤΠΕΙ

ΤΟΕΙΤ ΕΖΡΑΙ

ΕΔῶ ΔΕ ΔCΔΑ

ΔΤΕ ΔCΖΕ' Ν

ΒΙΤΕΙΠΤΑΡΘΕ

ΝΟC ΝCΟC, ΝC

ΝΑΟΥΩΖΕ

ΔΝ ΕΤΟΟΤC

ΕΤΩΟΥΝ. ΔC

CΔΔΤΕ ΔCΖΕ'

ΕΔῶΠΚΑΖ' ΔΥΩ

ΝῶΩΟΠ' ΔΝ'

ΝΒΙΠΕΤΝΔ

ΤΟΟΤC. ΔΡΜΕ

CΤΕΝΕΔΠΙΟ

ΓΑΡ ΖΝῶΠΥΛΗ.

ΕΤΕΠΗΙ ὤΠΝῆ

ΤΕ ΓΕ. ΔΥΩ Ν

ΩΔΔΕ ΕΤΟΥΔ

ΔΒ ΔΡΥΟΤΟΥ.

⌋

ΔΡΕΙ ΜΕΝ' ΕΖΟΥ

ΖῶΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ

ὤΠΕΖΟΥ,

ΖΝΟΥΓΑΡΡΗ

CΙΔ. ΔΡΟΥΩ

ΤΒ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ

ΖΙΚΕCΑ ΝΤΕΥ

ΩΗ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥ

ΡΕΥΔΙΟΥΕ.

ΔΥΩ ΟΥΛΗCΤΗC

ΔΕ ΕΡΑΩΩΛ

ὤῶ ὤῶΙΝ ὤ

ΜΟ. ΕΤΒΕ

ΠΑΙ ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ

wisdom and did not choose for yourself the love of God. You preferred not to pay heed to the counsels¹ of God and sneered at his upbraidings. So therefore you shall eat the fruits of your way of life and be filled^a with your own iniquities.²" For you did not believe^{3b} God^c 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 her⁴." For you hated the reproofs at the gates,^{5d} 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 robber⁶ to despoil⁷ yourself. So God

¹Munier 9292 (cf. p.30) contains a text parallel to 84v, col.I, line 6, beginning ΕΝΨΟΧΝΕ - 85v, col.I, line 5, ending ΖΗΝΔΑΙ . Variants between the two texts will be noted.

²Cf. Prov.1.29-31.

³For ΠΙΤΕΥΕ read ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ with Munier 9292.

⁴Cf. Amos 5.1-2.

⁵Cf. Amos 5.10.

⁶Cf. Jn.10.1.

⁷Note ΕΡΑ - for ΕΡΕΝΑ -, cf. Stern, para 380.

^aFor ΝΤΕCΙ Munier 9292 reads ΝΤΕCΕΙ

^bFor ΠΙΤΕΥΕ Munier 9292 reads ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ

^cFor ΑΠΗΝΟΥΤΕ Munier 9292 reads ΑΠΗΡΙΤΕ

^dFor ΠΥΛΗ Munier 9292 reads ΠΥΛΗΛΗ

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^a; your iniquity, and your noisy behaviour¹; and also because you impertinently stood up to demand that which you had given the Lord God^b, 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"², 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 ways³, 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

¹Cf. Jer.13.26-27. - זַמְזַמ lit. "roar", "neigh", cf. Crum, Dict., p.682b.

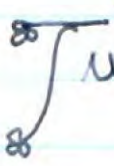
²Hos.14.1.

³Cf. Hos.9.8.

^aFor πορνία^ε Munier 9292 reads [πο]ρνία

^bFor πνοῦτε Munier 9292 reads πᾶτε

5 ἀλλὰ εὐηπ' ε
 πνοῦτε· ε
 ὤωπεθε ερ
 ὤωπι εβολ
 εἰναι· ἦνε
 ρεὸ ἀν ἦθε
 ἄπετι εἰνε
 ἰενοῦ· ἀλλὰ
 ερεὸ ἦθε ἦ
 10 νετσυλα ἄ
 περπε ἄπδο
 εἰς· πεῖρωβ
 δε δε ερητ
 ἦνευπηε' ἀν
 15 ὠαχρημα ἄμα
 τε· ἀλλὰ ὠα
 εραῖ εοῦωα
 δε μῆνοῦηρο
 εαιρεσις·
 20 ἦτοβε ἀρε
 ρητ'· ἀω σε
 ερὸ ἦεῖνε
 ρητ, εωστε
 τανδγκη τε
 25 ετρεταδαι·
 εἰςεηητε ἀρ
 παραιτε ἦ
 ναι τηροῦ·
 μῆ ππαρδι



γμα ενταυ
 ὤωπε ἦανδ
 νιδε μῆκαπ
 περα· ἦνα
 ὤωπε ἄμὸ
 ἀν ἦτο· ἦθε
 ενταερητ
 ἦτασοῦ, ἄ
 πωμ' ἀρω
 ἦτ δε εβολ εἰ
 πενταερητ
 ἄμοῦ· ετβε
 παῖ ἀταροῦ
 εἰνοῦωωωτ
 εβολ ἦεῖοῦ
 μοῦ, εαροῦ·
 ἦεῖνιπαρνο
 μος· ενεῦ
 περητ' γαρ·
 νεῦἠνοβε
 ναῶωπε εἰ
 δω· ἀλλὰ εν
 εοσον ἀρητ,
 ἀω ἀρρητῆ
 ετβεπαῖ οῦ
 νος πε ποῦ
 νοβε· ἀω
 σωκῆε ετρε
 πνοῦτε 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 binding², so you must keep them. Instead³ you have begged to be let off all these things. Will you suffer the lesson which befell Ananias and Sapphira⁴ 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

¹More correctly this clause should run either $\bar{\alpha}\nu\eta\epsilon\tau\upsilon\ \bar{\zeta}\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\nu\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$, or $\bar{\alpha}\nu\eta\epsilon\tau\upsilon\ \bar{\zeta}\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$. In the above translation I have assumed that $\nu\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ should be read for $\nu\omicron\upsilon$, but it is possible that Besa, confusing the persons, has used $\nu\omicron\upsilon$ i.e. 2 pers. fem. sg.

²For this translation, cf. Crum, Dict., p.51a under f.(c).

³Lit. "behold", but the meaning "instead" seems to be required by the context, cf. also on 90v.

⁴Cf. Acts 5.1ff.

NE EBOL. NΘE

ENTAPXOIC

ΣOOC NINEY

MAΘHTHC. ΔE

5

CMOTN ETPE

OYΘAMOYΛ EI

EBOL ZITNTOTY

ATYE NOPYA

MNTWPT. NZOYE

10

TPEOTPMMO

BWK EZOTIN

ETMNTEP

MNTNOYTE.

15

⌈

ΓIΛHN NΘE N

OYCZIME EYAC

ΔΘETE MTEC

ZAI. TAI TE ΘE

ZWYTE ENTAP

ΔΘETE NTAI

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ΔΘHKH ENTAP

CMNTC MNTI

TE. EBOL ΔE N

TO OYCZIME

ECBODME EC

25

TNOYC, EM

PEPECPNA

TANZOYTY

MNTNOYTE

ΔPTWBW GAP

NTAIDΘHKH

MPTXOIC

ATW MTEOTY

OMY EMOOME

ZINEYZIOOTE.

ΔLLA ΔPPAKTE

TAXY EBOL EN

TEZIH ENTAP

ZOMOLOGEI

MOC MTEU

TO EBOL MPTO

EIC IC. MTP

MEEYE ΔE EI

ΔW NNDI EIMO

CTE MO. ΔI

ΔA NAME' EIMO

KZ NZHT' ESTW

PTWU NZHT

ENTAYWYTE

MO. ONTWC

⌈ TAI TE POY

WYWB ATW

AYAZO. ETBE

ΔE ΔPTOYEI

PKAKE EP

WANTEPNA

NTOYZYTO

MONH. H ΔE

ΔPKANTNOYTE

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!"¹ 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 neglected² 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

¹Mt.19.24, cf. also Mk.10.25 and Lk.18.25.

²Note ἀρῆνωσῶ for ἀρῆνωσῶ.

5 . $\bar{\nu}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omega}$ ποικω
 ΤΗΡ· ΕΤΒΕ
 ΓΔΙ ΤΔΙ ΤΕ ΘΕ
 ΕΝΤΑΥΔΟΟC
 ΕΡΡΑΙ ΕΔΩ.
 ΔΕ ΔΡΕΙCΕ, ΔΥΩ
 ὤΠΕΔΟΟC
 ΔΕ †ΝΔΚΑΤΟ
 ΟΤ' ΕΒΟΛ· ΤΕ
 10 ΝΟΥ ΕΙΘῶCΩ
 ΔΕ ΔΙΕΙΡΕ Ἰ
 ΝΔΙ· ΕΤΒΕ
 ΓΔΙ ἸΤῶ ὤΠΕ
 ΡΓΓΔΜΕΕΥΕ·
 15 ΟΥΤΕ ὤΠΕΚΔ
 ΔΤ' ΝΕ' ΖἸΝΝΟΥ
 ΜΕΕΥΕ· ΟΥΤΕ
 ΖῶΠΟΥΖΗΤ.
 ΔΝΟΚ Ζῶ ΕΙ
 20 ΨΑΝΝΔΥ ΕΡῶ.
 †ΝΔΟΒΨΤ.
 ΔΥΩ ὤΠΕΡῶ
 ΤΕ ΖΗΤ· ΔΝΟΚ
 Ζῶ †ΝΔΔΩ
 25 ἸΤΔΔΙΚΔΙΟΥC
 ΝΗ· ΔΥΩ ΝΟΥ
 ΓΕΘΟΥ, ΝΔΙ
 ΕΤΕἸCΕΝΔ†
 ΖΗΥ ὤῶ ΔΝ·

ΕΡΨΑΝΩΨ' Ε
 ΖΡΔΙ ΟΥΒΗΥ
 ΜΑΡΟΥΤΟΥΔῶ
 ΖἸΝΤΟΥΘΛΙ
 ΨΙC· ΝΔΙ ΓΑΡ
 ΤΗΡΟΥ, ΓΤΗΥ
 ΝΔΙΤΟΥ· ΔΥΩ
 ΟΥἸΝΟΥΖΔΓΗΥ
 ΝΔΘΛΟΥ ΕΒΛ·
 ΔΡἸΤΩΒΨ ΓΑΡ
 ὤΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΕΤ
 ΝΟΥΖῶ ὤῶ·
 ΓΔΙ ΕΝΤΑΥἸ
 ΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖἸΝΤΕ
 ΖΡῶ ὤΠΤΕΝΙ
 ΓΤΕ, ΕΤΕΓΚΟ
 CΜΟC ΓΤΕ· ΔΥΩ
 ΔΡΚΤῶ ΕΖΡΔΙ
 ΕΜΔΥ· Η ΕΡΟΥ·
 ἸΚΕCΟΥ· ΔΕ
 ΚΑC ΕΡΑΒΩΚ
 ΕΖΡΔΙ ΕΙΟΥCΕ
 ΕΥΜΟΥΔῶ ΖΙ
 ΤΩΖ'. ἸΤΕ†
 ΤΟΟΤΕ ἸCΔ
 ΟΥΤΩΒΕ· ἸΤΕ
 ΟΥCΑΤΕ ΟΥΟ
 ΜΕ ὤΓΜΑ ΕΤῶ
 ΜΔΥ· ΝΙΩ 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!" For you forgot² God who saves you, who brought you out of the iron furnace³, which is the world, and you turned thither, and to it again, that you may⁴ go down into the clay mixed with chaff and strengthen the brick, and a fire will devour you there.⁵ For who⁶.....

¹Is.57.10-13.

²Note אִפְּנֹאֲבִי for אִפְּנֹאֲבִי.

³Cf. Deut.4.20, Jer.11.4, III Kg.8.51.

⁴Note עֲבָ - for עֲבֵנָה-, cf. Stern, para 380.

⁵Cf. Nah.3.14-15.

⁶Here the letter to Herai breaks off, cf. p.16.

ΔΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΠΩ
 ΝΤ ΤΗΡῪ CE
 ΝΑΤΑΖΟΥ ΕΡΑ
 ΤῪ ΕΚΡΙΝΕ Ὺ
 ΜΟΥ ΕΤΒΕΖΩΒ
 ΝΙΜ ΕΔΥΟΒ
 ΨΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ.
 ΕΙΤΕ ΕΤΒΕΟΥ
 ΔΓΑΘΟΝ. ΕΙΤΕ

5

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ΕΤΒΕΟΥΠΟ
 ΝΗΡΟΝ:

ΜΑΡΕΝΕΝΒΑΛ
 ΚΑΤΑΝΕΓΡΑ
 ΦΗ ΒΩΨΤ Ε
 ΝΕΤΣΟΥΤΩ.
 ΝΤΕΝΕΝΒΟΥ
 ΖΕ, ΕΙΩΡῪ ΕΝ
 ΜῪΤΜΕ.

15

ΟΥΠΕΤΨΟΥ
 ΕΙΤ' ΝῪΠΕΤ
 ΨΟΥΕΙΤ' ΠΕΤ
 ΨΟΟΠ' ΠΕΧΕ
 ΠΕΚΚΛΗΣΙ
 ΔΣΤΗΣ· ΖΩΒ
 ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΨῪ
 ΕΙΤ' ΠΕΤῪΝΕΗ

20

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ΤΟΥ:
 ῪΓῪΡΜΕΕΥΕ

ΝΕΣΝΗΥ, ΔΥΩ
 ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΘΕ
 ΕΤΟΥῪ ῪΜΟΣ
 ΔΕ ΕΝΚΑΤΕΧΕ
 ῪΠΕΪΚΟΥῪΩΗΜ
 ΨΑΠΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ
 ΖΕΝΖΕΝΔΔΥ, ΕΥ
 ΝΑΤΑΚῪ. Η Ε
 ΙΤΒΕΖΕΝΓΡΑ
 ΓΥΔ ΝΘΕ ΕΝ
 ΤΑΝCΩΤῪ ΔΕ
 ΔΕΔΕ ΔΟΥΣ.

†ΔΥ ῪΜΟΣ
 ΝΗΤῪ, ΔΥΩ †
 ΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ
 ῪΠΕΜΤΟ Ε
 ΒΟΛ ῪΠΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΜῪΠΕΝΔΟ
 ΕΙC ΙC, ΔΕ ΜῪΝ
 ΖΩΒ ΝΤΕΪΖΕ
 ΖῪΠΔΖΗΤ· ΔΛ
 ΛΑ ΕΪΡΕΟΤΕ
 ΖΗΤῪ ῪΠΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΕΤΒΕΠΚΟΥῪ
 ΩΗΜ ΝΑΓΝΟ
 ΒΕ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΥ
 CΟΚῪ ΕΠΤΑ
 ΚῪ ΔΥΩ ΔΕ

.....¹says, "For every creature shall be arraigned in judgment concerning everything that was overlooked, be it good or bad²." "Let our eyes", according to the scriptures, "look at things that are upright and our eyelids open wide³ to the truths⁴." "Vanity of vanities it is", says the preacher, "everything that is in them is vanity⁵." 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

¹One folio, the first of quire $\bar{\lambda}\Gamma$, 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.

²Eccles.12.14.

³Cf. 50v, note 2.

⁴Cf. Prov.4.25.

⁵Eccles.12.8.

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φιβ
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ἸΝΕΘΥΝΟΒΕ
ΩΩΠΕ ΖΙΔΩ
ἸΠΕΜΤΟ Ε
ΒΟΛ ἸΠΤΝΟΥ
ΤΕ. ΔΕ ΔΝΟΒ
ΩἸΝ ΕΥΨΥΧἸ
ἸΔΑΤΝΟΒΕ.
ΔΥΩ ΕΝΔΩ Ἰ
ΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΕΥ
ΩΔΝΒΩΠΤΕΥ
ΖΗΤ' ἸΨΟΥἸΝ
ΠΠΕΤΝΔΝἸΥ
Ἰ ΠΠΕΘΟΥ.
ΥΡΩΨΕ. ἸἸΝ
ΝΟΒΕ ΝΔΩΩ
ΠΕ. ἸΤΑΥΤΑ
ΔΥ ΓΑΡ ἸΠΤΝἸ
ΤΕ. ΕΤΒΕΠΔἸ
ΔΝΔΓΩΝΙΖΕ
ΕΔΩΩ. ἸΡΩ
ΜΕ ΔΕ ΕΤΩἸΡ
ΤΩΡ ΔΥΩ ἸΠΤ
ΝΗΡΟΣ, ΝΔἸ ΕΝ
ΤΑΥΠΡΟΚΟ
ΠΤΕ ΕΠΠΕ
ΘΟΥ, ΝΔἸ ΕΤ
ΣΟΡἸ ΔΥΩ ΕΥ
ΣΩΡἸ ἸΖΕΝ

ΚΟΟΥΕ, ΣΕΡΩ
ΩΥΕ ΔΕ ΔΥΖΑΡ
ΓΑΖΕ ἸΜΟΥ
ἸΔΝΔΖ ΓΑΡΑ
ΠΟΥΩΩ Ἰ
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΔΥΩ
ΓΑΡΑΠΙΕΝΟΥ
ΩΩ. ΠΤΕΥΣΝἸ
ΕΔἸΝΤΕΥΔΠΤΕ.
ΔΥΩ ΠΕΥΔΙ Ν
ΒΟΝΣ ΝΗΥ Ε
ΔἸΝΤΩΠΤΕ
ἸΔΩΟΥ. ΤἸΝ
ΝΗΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΣΡΔἸ
ΕΝΒΙΔ ἸΠΤΝΟΥ
ΤΕ ΤΗΡἸΝ ἸΝΤΕ
ΠΟΥΔ ΠΟΥΔ
†ΛΟΓΟΣ ΖΑΝΕ
ΤἸΕΙΡΕ ἸΜΟ
ΟΥ. ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ
ΔΥΣΩΩἸΝ, Ἰ ΔΥ
ΕΠΗΡΕΔΖΕ
ἸἸΣΝΗΥ. ΜΑ
ΡἸΝἸΠΤΩΔ ΡἸ
ἸΤΡΕΥΣΩΩἸΝ
ΕΔἸΜΠΡΑΝ Ἰ
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΥΩ
ΕΤΒΕΠΕΧΣ

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 head¹ and their iniquity is coming down upon their pate². For we are all coming into the hands of God³ and each one shall give account for what he does⁴. 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,

¹Cf. O.T. passim.

²Cf. Ps.7.17.

³Cf. Heb.10.31.

⁴Cf. 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·
 ΝΕΤΜΕΕΥΕ
 15 ΔΕ ΕΖΕΝΠΕ
 ΘΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 ΕΝΤΟΠΟΣ Μ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΥΩ
 ΕΤΑΙΔΑ ΕΥΔΩ
 20 ΝΖΕΝΒΛΔΦΗ
 ΜΑ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε
 ΝΕΥΣΥΝΑΓΩ
 ΓΗ ΕΥΔΩ ΜΜΕ
 ΔΕ ΔΤΕΤΝΜΟΥ
 25 ΟΥΤ, ΝΖΕΝΡΩ
 ΜΕ· ΔΝΟΝ
 ΜΕΝ' ΟΥΤΕ
 ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ

ΕΤΟΥΔΜΔΔΤ·
 ΜΠΤΝΜΕΥΤ
 ΡΩΜΕ ΕΝΕΖ·
 ΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΝΣΟ
 ΟΥΝ ΔΝ' ΕΖΩΒ
 ΝΤΕΙΜΝΕ·
 ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΤΖΩ
 ΤΒ ΝΔΜΕ· ΣΕΟΥ
 ΟΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ·
 ΕΤΒΕΓΑΙ ΝΕΤ
 ΔΩ ΝΝΔΙ, ΕΥΕ
 ΩΩΠΕ ΕΥΣΟΥ
 ΟΡΤ ΖΝΝΕΥ
 ΖΒΗΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, ΔΕ
 ΔΥΔΩ ΝΖΕΝΒΟΛ
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΕΥ
 ΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ·
 3 ΝΘΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΤΑΥ
 ΔΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΜΠΡ
 ΚΑΡΩΚ' ΠΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ, ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΡ
 ΣΩ ΔΕ ΕΙΣ ΝΕΚ
 ΔΙΔΕΕΥ, ΔΥΩΩ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΥΩ ΝΕΤ
 ΜΟΣΤΕ ΜΜΟΚ
 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 bore¹ 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 still², for, behold, your enemies have cried out and they who hate you have lifted up their

¹In 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.

²Ps.82.2.

! /
ΦΙΑ
,

αΓΓΕ, ΔΥΔΙΩΟ
ΣΝΕ ΕΥΖΟΥ
ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΕΚ
ΛΑΟΣ, ΔΥΩ ΔΥ
ΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΖΟΥ
ΕΝΕΚΠΕΤΟΥ

ααβ· ταϊ ον
Τε θε ενταυσο
ος ζυπτευνος
νες, δε πνου
τε υπρκαρως
επταουου, δε
πταπρο υπρευ
ρνοβε μντα
πεκρου αΥ
ουων' εεραϊ
εχωϊ, αΥωα
δε εροι ζνου
λας νκρου·

αΥΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΙ
ΖΝΖΕΝΩΔΕ
μμοστε· αΥ
† Νωμδϊ επδι
δη· επμα νσε
μεριτ' αΥδιδ
βαλλε μμοϊ.
αΝΟΚ δε νεϊ
ωληλ πε·

αΥΚΩΙΝΕ ΝΖΕ
ΠΕΘΟΥ ΕΡΟΙ.
ΕΠμα ΝΖΕΝ
ΠΕΤΝΔΝΟΥΟΥ.
ΔΥΩ ΟΥΜΟΤΕ
ΕΠμα μπταμε·

ΕΤΒΕΠΑϊ αΥΔΟ
ος ζυπτεωω
ΝΤ· δε κθιςτα
μπρευρνοβε
εχωου μν
νετςυνεΥ
δοκει ΝωμδΥ·
μαρεπιδιδβο
λος αερατΥ
ειογνδμ μμο
ου· ζυπτεΥ
διδπ· μαρου
εϊ εβολ εΥτα
ϊηΥ· μαρεπεΥ
ωληλ' ωωπε
ΝδΥ, εΥνοβε·
ΝΤΕΝΕΥΖΟΥ
σβοκ· μαρε
νεΥωηρε ρ
ορφανος·
αΥω νεΥειο
με νχηρα·

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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 widows³.....

¹Ps.82.3-4.

²Ps.108.1-5.

³Cf. Ps.108.6-9. - Here the letter breaks off.

5 ΠΔΟΕΙC 2̄ΝΟΥ
 ἄκα2 ἄ2ΗΤ'
 εϋδω ἄμοC
 δε Cωτῶ εροῖ
 ΠΔΟΕΙC · Cω
 τῶ ετεCμη
 ἄπατῶιῶ.
 εϋδε ϋατ'
 ἄ2ενπεθo
 10 ου, επῶ ἄ2ε̄
 πετῶνοου.
 δε δῶ ἄ2ε̄
 ϋαδε 2αταψ
 χη· δῶ δῶ
 15 2ωπ' εροῖ ἄ
 τεγκολαCιC.
 ἀριπῶεεγε
 βε ἄπε2ου
 ενταῖδερατ
 20 ἄπεκῶτο ε
 βολ εῖϋαδε
 2αροου ἄ2ε̄
 πετῶνοου
 ου, επρεκκτο
 25 ἄπεκῶντ
 εβολ ἄμοου.
 ετβεπαῖ γε
 δα. † ἄνευ

X

ὤηρε εῦ2κῶ.
 δῶ ἄ2ου
 2ου ετοοτῶ
 ἄτχηε· ῶ
 ϐεοϋαϋκακ
 ὤηπε 2̄νευ
 ηῖ· 2̄νοϋCνε
 εκεεῖνε, ε
 2ραῖ εδῶου
 ἄ2ενCοονε.
 δε δῶ2ιτοo
 του εϋαδε
 επρεαῶετε
 ἄμοῖ· δῶ δῶ
 2ωπ' εροῖ ἄ
 2ενπαϋ.
 ἄτοκ δε π2o
 εῖC ἀκεινε
 επεϋοδνε
 τηρῶ. πενταϋ
 δαυ εροῖ ϋα
 2ραῖ επῶου.
 ἄπρῶβο ἄ
 νεϋδι ἄονῶ.
 δῶ ἄνοβε
 ἄνεϋεῖοτε
 ἄπρῶτου
 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", he² 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 me³. 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.

¹The 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.

²I.e. Jeremiah.

³Jer.18.19-22.

Φκ
7

5
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15
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ἄτο εβολ· μαρε
πεγυωνε ωω
πε ἄπεκῶτο
εβολ· ζῶπεου
οειω ἄπεκῶ
ντ̄. εκεειρε ζραϊ
ν̄ζητου. ου μο
νον δε αλλα α
δοος ον̄ δε †
ναυ, π̄δοεις.
οἱ πετ̄κ̄νατα
αῡ ναυ. † ναυ ν̄
οοοτε ν̄ατ
ωηρε. αγω ζε̄
εκίβε εγυογ
ωογ. ν̄τω
τ̄ν̄ δε ὡ νεσνη
ετογδδβ ἄμε
τοχος ἄπτω
ζῶ ν̄τπε τ̄ν̄
σοογν̄ ετετ̄ν̄
αγαπη ν̄θε ετε
τ̄ν̄ωληλ ἄμος
ζαταμ̄ν̄τεβιη̄.
ου μονον δε ν̄
τωτ̄ν̄. αλλα ν̄κε
ρωμε τηρογ
ωληλ ετρενογ

Δαϊ εβολ ζῶπτω
νε· ναϊ δε ν̄το
ογ ν̄θε ν̄ιογδδς
ενταυπροδι
δογ ἄπ̄δοεις
ετεπεγωνε
πε ζῶπτρεγ
σῶντ̄ς ν̄ωωαυ
ε† ναυ ν̄αενο
μ̄τ̄. τ̄αϊ τε θε
ενταγδδς ν̄βι
ναϊ τ̄ενογ εαγ
†τοοτογ ν̄αε̄
χρημα δεκας
εγναμωογογ
ἄμων, ἡ ν̄σε
θῶκον. ετβε
π̄αϊ ν̄θε ενταυ
δοος δε υσρογ
ορ̄τ̄ ν̄βιπρωμε
ετερετεγζελ
π̄ις ωοοπ̄ ζιρω
με. αγω ν̄ατα
δρ̄ο ν̄τ̄ςαρ̄ε̄ ἄ
πεγβοϊ εδωγ
ν̄υτρεπεγζη
ρικε εβολ ἄ
π̄δοεις. π̄αϊ ε

Let their infirmity come before you. You shall deal with them in the time of your anger¹." And not only this, but it was also said, "Give them Lord: what will you give them? Give them a barren womb and dry breasts²." But you, O holy brethren, partakers of a heavenly calling³, we know your love. Even as you pray it⁴ for my wretchedness - not only you but all others too - pray⁵ that we may recover from the infirmity⁶. 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 money⁷, 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 Lord⁸. He

¹Jer.18.23.

²Hos.9.14.

³Cf. Heb.3.1.

⁴The significance of "it" is obscure. Perhaps it refers forward to εἰπεν ὁ κύριος ἐν ὀργῇ μου, and may be paraphrased thus: Even as you pray for my wretched self that I may recover..... It may be noted that ὡληλ here seems to be used transitively, a usage not listed in Crum, Dict.

⁵In the above translation I have assumed that ὡληλ here is an imperative. It is however possible to take it as indicative with the subject "not only you but all others too".

⁶Probably metaphorical, as in the quotation of Jer.18.23 above, cf. p.45.

⁷Cf. Lk.22.5.

⁸Jer.17.5.

5 ΜΕΨΩΠΕ ΝΘΕ Ν
 ΟΥΕΕΙΩ ΝΖΟΥΤ
 ΖΙΠΔΑΙΕ. ΥΝΑΝΔΥ
 ΔΝ ΕΖΕΝΔΓΑΘΟ
 ΕΥΩΑΝΕΙ. ΑΛΛΑ
 ΥΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΖΝΖΕ
 ΜΑ ΕΥΩΟΥΩΟΥ
 ΖΡΑΙ ΖΨΠΔΑΙΕ, ΕΟΥ
 ΚΑΖ ΕΥΜΟΛΖ Ε
 10 ΜΕΨΩΠΕ ΝΖΗ
 ΤΥ. ΥΣΙΔΑΜΑ
 ΔΤ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΥ ΝΘΙ
 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΝΤΑΥ
 ΚΑΖΤΗΥ ΕΠΔΟ
 15 ΕΙΣ, ΔΥΩ ΠΔΟΙΣ
 ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΥ Ν
 ΖΕΛΠΙΣ. ΥΝΑΡ
 ΘΕ ΝΟΥΨΗΝ ΕΥ
 ΡΟΥΤ ΖΙΔΝΟΥ
 ΜΟΥ. ΔΥΩ ΥΝΑ
 20 ΝΟΥΔΕ ΝΓΝΕΥ
 ΝΟΥΝΕ ΖΙΔΝΟΥ
 ΔΤΒΕΣ. ΝΥΝΑΡ
 ΖΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΔΝ ΕΥ
 25 ΨΑΝΕΙ ΕΔΩΥ Ν
 ΒΙΟΥΨΑΡΒΑ. ΣΕ
 ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΖΙΔΩΥ
 ΝΒΙΖΕΝΨΑΥ, ΕΥ



ΟΥ ΝΩΒΕ. ΝΥ
 ΝΑΡΖΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΔΝ
 ΕΡΨΑΝΤΨΠΖΟΥΜ
 ΠΕ ΕΙ ΝΟΥΡΟΥ
 ΠΕ. ΔΥΩ ΝΓΝΕΥ
 ΩΔΝ ΕΥΤΑΥΕΚΑΡ
 ΠΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ. ΟΥ
 ΨΠΗΡΕ ΠΕ ΠΕΥ
 ΖΗΤ' ΠΑΡΑΟΥΟΝ
 ΝΙΜ. ΔΥΩ ΟΥΡΩ
 ΜΕ ΠΕ. ΝΙΜΒΕ
 ΠΕΤΝΑΟΥΩΝΥ:
 ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΔΟΙΣ
 5 ΕΤΖΟΤΖΤ ΝΝ
 ΖΗΤ' ΔΥΩ ΕΤΔΟ
 ΚΙΜΔΖΕ ΝΝΕΒΛΟ
 ΟΤΕ; ΕΤΡΑΤ Ψ
 ΠΟΥΔ ΠΟΥΔ ΚΑ
 ΤΑΝΕΥΖΙΟΥΕ
 ΔΥΩ ΚΑΤΑΠΚΑΡ
 ΠΟΣ ΝΓΝΕΥΖΒΗΥΕ.
 10 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΤΝΤΟ
 ΕΤΟΥΤΥ ΨΠΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΨΠΠΕΥΧΣ
 ΔΥΩ ΠΕΝΡΟΥ[Ω]
 ΤΗΚ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΥ
 ΝΔΖΨΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ
 ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΘΟΥ.



shall be like a wild ass¹ 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 works²." Therefore we are in the hands of God and his Christ, and our care³ is cast on him,⁴ that he may deliver us from every evil thing,⁵

¹The LXX here reads ὑπὸ τρυφῆς "tamarisk".

²Jer.17.6-10.

³There is a small tear in the MS at this point. The last letter of ποσῶν is lost, and the penultimate is damaged.

⁴Perhaps cf. I Pet.5.7, but the phrase could alternatively be translated, "our concern is fixed on him".

⁵Cf. II Tim.4.18.

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 brethren² It is possible for us to tell you fully how those men acted, but now instead³ 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 house⁴."

Apa Besa.

¹I Kg.26.23.

²Cf. II Cor.11.26.

³Cf. 85v, note 3.

⁴Prov.17.13.

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