## Edition

# Ps.-Theophili Alexandrini Sermo de Cruce et Latrone (CPG 2622): Edition of Pierpont Morgan M595 with Parallels and Translation

#### Alin Suciu

Hiob Ludolf Zentrum für Äthiopistik, Alsterterrasse 1, D-20354 Hamburg, e-Mail: al suciu@yahoo.co.uk

#### The Manuscripts

Codex A. De Cruce et Latrone (CPG 2622; clavis coptica 0395) is a Sahidic homily attributed to Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria between 385-412 C.E. The best preserved manuscript of this sermon is kept today in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York and is hereby edited for the first time. It is the last text in codex M595, consisting of eight leaves (ff. 141r°-148r°).¹ The facsimile is available in the monumental photographic edition of the Pierpont Morgan Coptic codices, published by Henri Hyvernat.² Although the codex is still in good condition, the gelatin applied on its leaves during the restoration séjour in the Vatican laboratories has darkened the parchment.³ As the facsimile was published at an early stage of the conservation process, it is nowadays more readable than the manuscript itself and consequently it was used for the present edition.

Like most of the Coptic documents that belong to the Pierpont Morgan collection, M595 comes from the Monastery of the Archangel Michael, situated in the Fayyum oasis, near present-day Hamuli. It is a *codex homiliarium patristicum* which comprises liturgical texts for the feast of Easter.

Leo Depuydt, Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library 1 (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts 4 = Oriental Series 1; Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 345-350 (= no. 170); Henri Hyvernat, A Check List of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library (New York: privately printed, 1919), 15-16 (= no. 39).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Henri Hyvernat, Bybliothecae Pierpont Morgan codices coptici photographice expressi 43 (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1922), plates 283-297.

The idea to apply gelatin on the manuscript was proposed by Franz Ehrle while the Pierpont Morgan Coptic codices were transferred to the Vatican for conservation; see Eugène Tisserant, "Notes sur la restauration à la bibliothèque Vaticane des manuscrits coptes de la Pierpont Morgan Library," in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (ed. M. Malinine; The Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute 2; Boston: The Byzantine Institute, 1950), 219-227.

On the circumstances of their discovery and acquisition by the magnate John Pierpont Morgan, see e.g. Henri Hyvernat, "The J. P. Morgan Collection of Coptic Manuscripts," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 31 (1912): 54-57.

They are pseudonymously ascribed to several Fathers of the Coptic Church, and are introduced as discourse, exegesis, homily or catechesis:<sup>5</sup>

- 1) Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, De Passione 1 (ff. 1r°-27v°) (CPG 3598; clavis coptica 0114);<sup>6</sup>
- 2) Ps.-Evodius of Rome, *De Passione* (ff. 28r°-51r°) (*clavis coptica* 0149);<sup>7</sup>
- 3) Ps.-John Chrysostom, De Resurrectione (ff. 51v°-67v°) (CPG 5150.11; clavis coptica 0167);8
- 4) Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, De Passione A (ff. 68r°-79r°) (CPG 3600; clavis coptica 0116);9

Although the *titloi* are diverse, the literary style of these documents is quite similar. It seems that there is no clear distinction between the various literary genres in the Coptic documents, sometimes the same work being entitled differently from one manuscript to another, see Paola Buzi, *Titoli e autori nella tradizione copta: Studio storico e tipologico* (Studi di egittologia e di papirologia, Biblioteca 2; Pisa: Giardini, 2005). For a different opinion, cf. Caspar D. G. Müller, *Die alte koptische Predigt: Versuch eines Überblicks* (Ph.D. diss., Heidelberg, 1954), 302-305, J. Mark Sheridan, *Rufus of Shotep: Homilies on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke: Introduction, Text, Translation, Commentary* (Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari; Rome: CIM, 1998), 39, and idem, "Rhetorical Structure in Coptic Sermons," in *The World of Early Egyptian Christianity: Language, Literature, and Social Context: Essays in Honor of David W. Johnson* (ed. J. E. Goehring and J. A. Timbie; CUA Studies in Early Christianity; Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007), (25-48) 28-29.

Another copy of this work, still unpublished, is found in Pierpont Morgan codex M594. Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem's homily is identifiable also in at least four fragmentary manuscripts from the ancient library of the White Monastery, see e.g. Hans Förster, "Ich habe dich dem Johannes gegeben, den ich liebe: Edition von P. Vindob. K. 2644," ZAC 7 (2003): 3-13; on the identification of the fragment published by Förster as Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, De Passione 1, see Enzo Lucchesi, "Identification de P. Vindob. K. 2644," Orientalia 76 (2007): 174-175. Lucchesi has already recognized other fragments of this work, previously attributed to a Life of the Virgin, in idem, "D'une vie de Marie à une homélie sur la passion," Analecta Bollandiana 114 (1996): 269-272. See also Alin Suciu, "The Borgian Coptic Manuscripts in Naples: Supplementary Identifications and Notes to a Recently Published Catalogue," Orientalia Christiana Periodica 77 (2011): (299-325) 314-316 (about the reconstruction of codex MONB.GD, which contains De Passione 1).

Edition: Ps.-Euodius of Rome, De passione et resurrectione (CSCO 524, Scriptores Coptici 43, 79-106 Chapman), English translation by Paul Chapman (CSCO 525, Scriptores Coptici 44, 83-114). Another copy, different in some regards, is part of the collection of Coptic documents in Turin and was published by Francesco Rossi, "Trascrizione con traduzione italiana di un testo copto del Museo Egizio di Torino," in Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino 2,42 (1892): 107-252; reprinted in idem, I papiri copti del Museo Egizio di Torino 2,3 (Torino: Clausen, 1892). The homily of Ps.-Evodius is attested as well in at least four other fragmentary codices, but a full directory of the fragments has not been published yet.

Edition: Ps.-John Chrysostom, De resurrectione et apostolis (CSCO 524, Scriptores Coptici 43, 56-75 Pleše), English translation by Zlatko Pleše (CSCO 525, Scriptores Coptici 44, 57-80).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Edition: Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *De passione A* (ed. and trans. A. Campagnano, *Ps. Cirillo di Gerusalemme*: Omelie copte: sulla passione, sulla Croce e sulla Vergine [Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità 66; Milano: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1980], 24-53).

- 5) Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, De Passione 2 (ff. 79r°-93v°) (CPG 3599; clavis coptica 0115);<sup>10</sup>
- 6) Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *De Passione B* (ff. 93v°-100r°) (CPG 3601; *clavis coptica* 0117);<sup>11</sup>
- 7) Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria, *De misericordia Patris: De Passione* (ff. 100v°-108r°) (CPG 2184; *clavis coptica* 0051);<sup>12</sup>
- 8) Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria, De Lazaro resuscitato: In Iohannem 11,1-44 (ff. 108r°-118r°) (CPG 2185; clavis coptica 0049);<sup>13</sup>
- 9) Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria, De Pentecoste (ff. 118v°-140v°) (CPG 2192; clavis coptica 0052);
- 10)Ps.-Theophilus of Alexandria, De Cruce et Latrone (ff. 141r°-148r°) (CPG 2622; clavis coptica 0395).<sup>14</sup>

The colophon of the manuscript mentions that the transcription was completed on the 8th of Pharmoute in the year 571 after Diocletian, which corresponds to 3 April 855 C.E. According to a cryptogram, <sup>15</sup> M595 was copied by the deacon Cyril and his son, Kyre. The colophon also says that

Two other Sahidic copies are part of the Pierpont Morgan codices: M596 (ff. 26r°-37r°) and M598 (ff. 9r°-21v°). This homily has not been edited in any modern language. It was composed for Thomas' Sunday (the first Sunday after the Resurrection). Fragments from the White Monastery are also attested.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Edition: Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *De passione B* (ed. and trans. Campagnano, *Omelie copte* [see note 9], 56-73).

Ed. and trans. in Joseph B. Bernardin, "A Coptic Sermon Attributed to St. Athanasius," Journal of Theological Studies 38 (1937): 113-129. There is a White Monastery fragment of this text (Cairo, Coptic Museum no. 9228), which was published (but not identified) a long time ago in Henri Munier, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 74: Nos. 9201-9304: Manuscrits coptes (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1916), 19-21. Enzo Lucchesi attributed this fragment to Ps.-Athanasius' homily De Lazaro resuscitato, although the text belongs in fact to De misericordia Patris, see Enzo Lucchesi, "Regards nouveaux sur la literature copte," in Christianity in Egypt: Literary Production and Intellectual Trends in Late Antiquity (ed. P. Buzi and A. Camplani; Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 125; Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2011), (369-414) 412; Lucchesi gives the correct parallel of the Cairo fragment as Pierpont Morgan M595, ff. 103r°-104r°, which proves that he made just a confusion and not a mistake. For the translation and the proper identification of the fragment see my site www.alinsuciu.com ("A Fragment from a Homily Attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria," published on November 27, 2011).

Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria, De Lazaro resuscitato (ed. J. B. Bernardin, "The Resurrection of Lazarus," American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures 57 [1940]: 262-290). This text was meant to be read during Lazarus' Saturday. For other manuscript testimonies of this sermon see Lucchesi, "Regards nouveaux," (see note 12), 411-413, from which should be eliminated, however, the Cairo fragment which I mentioned in the preceding note, and added University of Pennsylvania E 16262. Under this inventory number three palimpsest fragments are kept, whose scriptio superior has been identified by Janet Timbie as belonging to Ps.-Athanasius, De Lazaro resuscitato. These fragments have not been announced yet in any scholarly publication, but Robert Kraft is currently preparing a catalogue of the Museum manuscripts.

Edited and translated in the following pages, 201-225.

Arnold van Lantschoot, Les colophons coptes des manuscrits sahidiques (Vol. 1 of Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte; Bibliotèque du Muséon 1; Leuven: Istas, 1929), fasc. 1: Textes, no. VIII and IX, and fasc. 2: Notes et tables, 14. Cf. also Depuydt, Catalogue (see note 1), 348-349.

the codex was received by the Monastery of the Archangel Michael *ex dono* from Apa Kosmas and the deacon Thoter.<sup>16</sup>

The size of the leaves is  $342 \times 277$  mm,<sup>17</sup> with two columns of text varying between 33 and 36 lines. The scribes have not employed demarcation for word divisions, except for a few punctuation marks. The superlineation system does not conform to classic Sahidic orthography. The scribes inserted short strokes and dots above certain letters or groups of consonants. Like in other Sahidic documents copied in the Fayyum, the function of the superlinear strokes is similar to the *djinkim* of later Bohairic manuscripts. Usually, but not systematically, the strokes denote a group of consonants or a syllabic vowel, both in the Coptic (e.g. OYOEIN,  $EBO\lambda$ , OBBIO, E2OYN, TAOEOEIO), as well as in the Greek words (e.g. EIIIIMA, EZEXIA, OOEOC).

Codex B. Beside the copy in the Pierpont Morgan collection, the homily De Cruce et Latrone by Ps.-Theophilus of Alexandria is preserved in a papyrus codex kept in the archive of the Egyptian Museum in Turin (call number: Museo Egizio di Torino, cat. 63000, cod. 2). The manuscript is almost complete, except for the last folio, which has disappeared. It contains two works: a Coptic translation of the Acta Pilati (clavis coptica 0035),<sup>19</sup> followed by Ps.-Theophilus' homily on the Cross and the Thief. As with all the other Coptic papyri in Turin, the manuscript belonged once to a monastery in Tin.<sup>20</sup>

In 1861, Tischendorf published in his *Anecdota sacra et profana* Amedeo Peyron's partial Latin translation of the sermon *De Cruce et Latrone*, preceded by a brief introduction.<sup>21</sup> More than two decades later, Francesco

On this name, common in the Fayyum oasis, see Anne Boud'hors and Florence Calament, "Un ensemble de stèles fayoumiques inédites: à propos de la stèle funéraire de Pantoleos de Toutôn," in Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies: Leiden, 27 August - 2 September 2000 (ed. M. Immerzeel et al.; Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 133; Leuven: Peeters, 2004), (447-475) 459.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Cf. Depuydt, Catalogue (see note 1), 345.

Cf. William H. Worrell, "Bohairic versus Sahidic Pointing," Bulletin de la Societé d'Archéologie Copte 4 (1938): 91-95, Hans J. Polotsky, "Une question d'orthographe bohairique," Bulletin de la Societé d'Archéologie Copte 12 (1946-1947): 25-35; Hans Quecke, Untersuchungen zum koptischen Stundengebet (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 3; Leuven: Peeters, 1970), 359-371. Cf. also Ugo Zanetti, "Le roman de Bakhéos sur les trois jeunes saints de Babylone: Fragments coptes sahidiques," in Philomathestatos: Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts (ed. B. Janssens et al.; Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 137; Leuven: Peeters, 2004), (713-747) 724-725; Bentley Layton, "A Sahidic Manuscript with Djinkim Points: The Sahidic Coptic Apophthegmata Patrum Aegyptiorum," in Coptica-Gnostica-Manichaica (ed. L. Painchaud and P.-H. Poirier; Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, Section Études 7; Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 493-517.

Edition: Acta Pilati (ed. J. K. Thilo, "Evangelium Nicodemi cum epistolis Pilati," in idem, Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti 1 [Leipzig: Vogel, 1832], 487-802).

On the collection as a whole, cf. Tito Orlandi, "Les papyrus coptes du Musée Égyptien de Turin," Le Muséon 87 (1974): 115-127 and idem, "The Turin Coptic Papyri" (forthcoming). I am grateful to Prof. Orlandi for sharing his article with me before publication.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> L. F. Konstantin Tischendorf, Anecdota sacra et profana (Leipzig: Fries, 1861), 121-124.

Rossi finally edited the Coptic text.<sup>22</sup> Because of the numerous mistakes in rendering, editing and translating the text, Robert Atkinson replied with a critical article in which he proposed many improvements and ameliorations to Rossi's edition.<sup>23</sup> Recently, Norman Russell translated from Italian the homily of Ps-Theophilus for a popular Patristic series.<sup>24</sup>

The famous library of the White Monastery, situated near Sohag in Upper Egypt, possessed in its turn at least two copies of *De Cruce et Latrone* (codices C and D below). Unfortunately, they survived only fragmentarily, and the vestiges are scattered across several collections.

Codex C. Two folios which are kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (BNF Copte 131<sup>4</sup>, ff. 94-95) were announced for the first time in an article by Marcel Richard.<sup>25</sup> In a paper offered at the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies, held in Oxford in 1975,<sup>26</sup> Tito Orlandi codicologically connected these folios to BNF Copte 131<sup>3</sup>, ff. 40-41. Finally, Enzo Lucchesi added to this dismembered codex a fifth leaf (BNF Copte 131<sup>5</sup>, f. 37) from the same work.<sup>27</sup> In the current state of research, we know the following remains of the codex in question, which might be dated to the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century:

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Paris, BNF Copte 131<sup>3</sup>, f. 40 (pages 69-70)
Paris, BNF Copte 131<sup>4</sup>, f. 94 (pages 71-72)
Paris, BNF Copte 131<sup>4</sup>, f. 95 (pages 72-73, sc. 73-74)
Paris, BNF Copte 131<sup>3</sup>, f. 41 (pages 74-75, sc. 75-76)
Paris, BNF Copte 131<sup>5</sup>, f. 37 (pages 76-77, sc. 77-78)
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Francesco Rossi, "Trascrizione di un codice Copto del Museo Egizio di Torino," Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino 2,35 (1883): 64-83 (text), 84-90 (Italian translation); reprinted in idem, I papiri copti del Museo Egizio di Torino 1 (Torino: Loescher, 1887).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Robert Atkinson, "On Professor Rossi's Publication of South-Coptic Texts," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 3 (1893-1896): (24-99) 36-41.

Norman Russell, *Theophilus of Alexandria* (Early Church Fathers; London: Routledge, 2007), 63-70.

Marcel Richard, "Les écrits de Théophile d'Alexandrie," Le Muséon 52 (1939): (33-50) 43. Richard refers in a footnote to Walter E. Crum, Der Papyruscodex saec. VI-VII der Phillippsbibliothek in Cheltenham: Koptische theologische Schriften (Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg 18; Strasbourg: Trübner, 1915), xvi (note 7), but Crum does not make such an identification in that place. As Richard was not able to read Coptic and he could not identify these leaves on his own, I suspect that, after all, Crum was the one who told him privately about the existence of the fragments in question; Richard, "Les écrits" (see above), 34 (note 7) mentions that he took benefit from the personal help of Crum to write his article.

The volume was published only ten years later; see Tito Orlandi, "Theophilus of Alexandria in Coptic Literature," in *Studia Patristica: Papers Presented to the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies*, Oxford, 1975 (ed. E. A. Livingstone; TU 129; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1985), (100-104) 102.

Enzo Lucchesi, Répertoire des manuscrits coptes (sahidiques) publiés de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 1; Geneva: Cramer, 1981), 79.

*Codex D.* Three other White Monastery fragments of the Ps.-Theophilus sermon are traceable to another codex. These fragments are:

Cairo, Coptic Museum no. 2694 (no page numbers, last folio of the 12th quire)

Vienna, K 4856 (no page numbers)

Paris, BNF Copte 1318, f. 79 (no page numbers)

Except for Vienna K 4856, which was published without identification by Hans Förster, <sup>28</sup> the other two fragments are unedited. The paleographical data suggests that the manuscript to which they originally belonged was manufactured, like the previous one, in the 10th or 11th century.

A concordance of the four testimonies available thus far can be conveniently traced in the following synoptic table:

Codex A	Codex B	Codex C	Codex D
f. 141r°	Rossi p. 64-65	deficit	deficit
f. 141v°	Rossi p. 65-67	deficit	Cairo 2694
f. 142r°	Rossi p. 67-68	Paris 131 <sup>3</sup> , f. 40	Vienna K 4856
f. 142v°	Rossi p. 68-69	Paris 131 <sup>4</sup> , f. 94	Paris 1318, f. 79
f. 143r°	Rossi p. 69-71	Paris 131 <sup>4</sup> , f. 95	idem
f. 143v°	Rossi p. 71-72	idem	deficit
f. 144r°	Rossi p. 72-74	Paris 131 <sup>3</sup> , f. 41	deficit
f. 144v°	Rossi p. 74-75	Paris 131 <sup>5</sup> , f. 37	deficit
f. 145r°	Rossi p. 75-76	idem	deficit
f. 145v°	Rossi p. 76-77	deficit	deficit
f. 146r°	Rossi p. 77-79	deficit	deficit
f. 146v°	Rossi p. 79-80	deficit	deficit
f. 147r°	Rossi p. 80-81	deficit	deficit
f. 147v°	Rossi p. 81-83	deficit	deficit
f. 148r°	deficit	deficit	deficit

Finally, a homily *On the Apostles and the Thief on the Right* is attributed to Theophilus of Alexandria in Ethiopic,<sup>29</sup> but the text does not correspond to the Sahidic witnesses.<sup>30</sup> It is, however, nevertheless important to note that our homily is not the only text on the Good Thief ascribed to Theophilus of Alexandria.

Hans Förster, "Kestês und Dêmas, die beiden Schächer am Kreuz – aus einer koptischen Paraphrase der Acta Pilati," ZAC 11 (2008): 405-420. The fragment has been identified by me and Enzo Lucchesi, see Enzo Lucchesi, "Identification de P. Vindob. K 4856: À propos de Démas et Kestas," Orientalia 78 (2009): 421-422.

<sup>29</sup> Stefan Strelcyn, Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the British Library: Acquired Since the Year 1877 (London: British Library, 1978), 170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> I owe this information to Dr. Getatchew Haile (St. John's University), who kindly checked for me the microfilm of the Ethiopic manuscript.

#### Authorship

Theophilus, the twenty-third patriarch of Alexandria (385-412 C.E.), is commemorated by the Coptic church on the 28th of Babeh (October 15).<sup>31</sup> His polemic against John Chrysostom during the first Origenist crisis, which ultimately led to the exile and death of the latter, does not seem to have left significant traces in Coptic literature. An imaginary reconciliation between the two saints was operated later, as indicated by a text attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, the nephew of Theophilus and his immediate successor on the patriarchal see. Thus, according to Ps.-Cyril of Alexandria's *De hora mortis* (CPG 5275; *clavis coptica* 0097), Theophilus has repented on his deathbed for the excommunication of John Chrysostom, after he had a vision in which Epiphanius of Salamina appeared holding Golden Mouth's hand.<sup>32</sup>

However, even if Theophilus is indicated as the author of the sermon on the Cross and the Thief, there are arguments that the text was composed in Coptic, by an anonymous author who used the name of the Alexandrian patriarch in order to gain prestige for his writing and to praise the memory of this highly esteemed personage.

The Coptic provenance of *De Cruce et Latrone* is suggested by the fact that, throughout, the quotations from the Bible follow the same rendering of words as in the Sahidic version. For example, in one place the homilist records the name of the rich man from the Gospel of Luke 16:19-31 as "Nineve":

Verily in that hour he will make the earth to open its mouth and swallow them in the abyss ( $\chi \acute{\alpha} \circ 5$ ) and make them go down to the place of their brother Nineve and also ( $\mathring{\eta}$ ) of their other brothers who have been swallowed when the earth opened its mouth: Dathan and Abiram and the sons of Korah, the ones who rose up against Moses in the desert ( $\xi \circ \eta \iota \circ 5$ ).

The Coptic liturgical calendar dedicates him a notice: René Basset, Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite (rédaction copte) 1: Mois de tout et de Babeh (PO 1,3; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1904), 345-347 [131]-[133]. See also the section concerning Theophilus in Basil Evetts, Severus of Al'Ashmunein: History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria 2: Peter I to Benjamin I, 661 (PO 1,4; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1907), 425-430 [161]-[166].

Ps-Cyrill of Alexandria, De hora mortis (ed. É. Amélineau, Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne aux IVe et Ve siècles 1 [Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts 4,1; Paris: Leroux, 1888], 188-190). Similar hagiographic passages, in which Theophilus and John Chrysostom are reconciled, occur as well in some other authors, see Socrates, Historia Ecclesiastica 7,7 (GCS N.F. 1 352,21-353,8 Hansen); John Damascene, De imaginibus oratio 3 (PG 94:1409); George Kedrenos, Compendium Historiarum (PG 121:625); Nikephoros Kallistos, Historia Ecclesiastica 13,4; 14,28, quoted in Pierre Évieux and W. H. Burns, Cyrille d'Alexandrie: Lettres festales 1-6 (SC 372; Paris: Cerf, 1991), 27, 68.

<sup>33</sup> M595, ff. 144v°,61-145r°,9.

As already pointed out a long time ago by Louis-Théophile Lefort, it is the Sahidic version of the New Testament that calls the rich man from the parable of Lazarus "Nineve":<sup>34</sup> ΟΥΡΏΜΕ ΔΕ ΡΡΜΜΑΟ ΕΠΕΥΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΝΙΝΕΥΗ.<sup>35</sup> In Greek, only the Bodmer Papyrus XIV (\$\mathbb{P}^{75}\$) reads something similar: ἄνθρωπος δέ τις ῆν πλούσιος ὀνόματι Νευης.<sup>36</sup> Even though Neves has been connected by some scholars<sup>37</sup> with Nineve of the Sahidic version, the latter form of the name had an illustrious tradition only in Coptic homilies.<sup>38</sup>

## Ps.-Theophilus and the Patristic Tradition

The language of the homily is impregnated with Biblical references, which betray an author well-familiarized with the Christian scriptures. However, beside a good knowledge of the Bible, the author of the sermon *De Cruce et Latrone* shows awareness of certain Patristic literary *topoi*.

January Louis T. Lefort, "Le nom du mauvais riche (Lc 16.19) et la tradition copte," ZNW 37 (1939): 65-72.

<sup>35</sup> Hans Quecke, *Das Lukasevangelium saïdisch: Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr.* 181, mit den Varianten der Handschrift M 569 (Papyrologica Castroctaviana 6; Barcelona: Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 1977), 220.

Wictor Martin and Rodolphe Kasser, Papyrus Bodmer XIV: Évangile de Luc chap. 3-24 (Vol. 1 of Papyrus Bodmer XIV-XV: Évangiles de Luc et Jean; Cologne: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1961), 119. See also page 26, where it is stated that "La différence entre les deux noms propres" (i.e. Neves and Nineve) "peut provenir d'haplographie ou de dittographie."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> See e.g. Henry J. Cadbury, "A Proper Name for Dives: Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts VI," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81 (1962): 399-402, idem, "The Name for Dives," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 84 (1965): 73, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Papyrus Bodmer XIV: Some Features of Our Oldest Text of Luke," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 24 (1962): 170-179, Kendrick Grobel, "...Whose Name was Neves," *New Testament Studies* 10 (1964): 373-382, James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents 36; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 687-690.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> To the list found in Lefort, "Mauvais riche" (see note 34), 68 one could add Ps.-Chrysostom, De quattuor creaturis incorporeis 67 (CSCO 524, Scriptores Coptici 43, 45 Wansink; English translation by idem, CSCO 525, Scriptores Coptici 44, 46), and Ps.-Shenoute, De moribus Christianis 36 (CSCO 206, Scriptores coptici 29, 54 Kuhn; English translation by idem, CSCO 207, Scriptores coptici 30, 50). On the occurrence of the name of the rich man in this sermon see also Enzo Lucchesi, "Un nouveau témoin copte du Sermon sur la conduite chrétienne du Pseudo-Chenouté," Orientalia Christiana Periodica 66 (2000): (419-422) 421. Two acephalous manuscripts, mentioned by Lefort as containing Nineve's name, can be now attributed to the works of Shenoute. Thus, Paris BN 1314, f. 154 belongs to codex MONB.ZM, whereas Vienna K 9295 was part of codex MONB.DU. The text of the Vienna leaf is paralleled in another codex kept in the French Institute in Cairo. The Coptic text of the Cairo manuscript was published by Émile Chassinat, La quatrième livre des entretiens et épîtres de Shenouti (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 23; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1911), 153-209, esp. 158; translated into English by David Brakke, "Shenute: On Cleaving to Profitable Things," Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica 20 (1989): (115-141) 121-122 (and note 16).

#### The Sahek-Cross

One interesting example is the typological interpretation of the Sabek tree from the book of Genesis, as the Cross of Christ:

The main Biblical passage alluded to in this place is Gen 22:13, which says, according to the LXX version, that the ram sacrificed by Abraham in place of Isaac has caught his horns in a "Sabek" plant:

καὶ ἀναβλέψας Αβρααμ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ εἶδεν, καὶ ἰδοὺ κριὸς εἷς κατεχόμενος ἐν φυτῷ σαβεκ τῶν κεράτων καὶ ἐπορεύθη Αβρααμ καὶ ἔλαβεν τὸν κριὸν καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν αὐτὸν εἰς ὁλοκάρπωσιν ἀντὶ Ισαακ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.

According to the early Christian typological exegesis, there is a correspondence between certain figures and episodes of the Hebrew scriptures and those of the New Testament. One of the characters which prefigured Jesus was Isaac, whose binding and sacrifice, even if unfulfilled, were interpreted by some Patristic authors as representations of Christ's death on the Cross. 40 Interestingly enough, it was not only Isaac that announced in a symbolic way the Passion of Christ, but also the ram which appeared miraculously to Abraham and spared the life of his son. In this peculiar exegesis,  $\varphi v \tau \acute{o} v$  would represent the wood on which Jesus will be crucified, while  $\sigma \alpha \beta \acute{e} \kappa$  is the name of the Cross. If Christ is known as the lamb, he can also be represented by a ram, which, being caught by his horns on the Sabek tree with the forelegs remote and stretched, reminds one of the Savior suspended on the Cross.

In his *Adversus Iudaeos* (CPL 33), Tertullian thought that he had found in Gen 22:13 a reference to the crown of thorns that Jesus wore:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> M595, ff. 145r°,34-146v°,3.

The seminal study on this topic remains that of Jean Daniélou, "La typologie du sacrifice d'Isaac," in idem, 'Sacramentum futuri': Études sur les origines de la typologie biblique (Études de Théologie Historique; Paris: Beauchesne, 1950), 97-111; for an extensive list of the occurrences of this literary topos in Patristic literature cf. Isabel Speyart van Woerden, "The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Abraham," VigChr 15 (1961): (214-255) 251-253.

Sed quoniam haec fuerant sacramenta quae temporibus Christi perficienda servabantur, et Isaac cum ligno servatus est ariete oblato in vepre cornibus haerente et Christus suis temporibus lignum humeris suis portavit inhaerens cornibus crucis corona spinea capiti eius circumdata.<sup>41</sup>

A well-known passage, misattributed for a long time to Melito of Sardes but which belongs in fact to Eusebius of Emesa, is paradigmatic for the early Christian understanding of Gen 22:13 as a *testimonium* concerning Jesus' sacrificial death:

Τὸ Κατεχόμενος τῶν κεράτων, ὁ Σύρος καὶ ὁ Ἑβραῖος "κρεμάμενός" φησιν <...> ὡς σαφέστερον τυποῦντα τὸν σταυρόν. ᾿Αλλὰ καὶ τὸ κριὸς τοῦτο ἀκριβοῖ· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ἀμνός, νέος ὡς ὁ Ἰσαάκ, ἀλλὰ κριός, ὡς ὁ κύριος τέλειος. Ἅσπερ δὲ φυτὸν σαβέκ, τουτέστιν "ἀφέσεως", ἐκάλεσεν τὸν ἄγιον σταυρόν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἰεζεκιήλ, ἐν τῷ τέλει, ὕδωρ ἀφέσεως ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ἐκτυποῦν τὸ ἄγιον βάπτισμα. Δύο οὖν ἐστι τὰ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν χαριζόμενα πάθος διὰ Χριστὸν καὶ βάπτισμα.<sup>42</sup>

From the 4th century onwards, the typological interpretation of the Sabek tree became a stereotype or a school tradition transmitted from one author to another. One can find it, for example, in the pseudo-Athanasian Quaestiones in scripturam sacram (CPG 2260), which similarly says that Φυτὸν Σαβὲκ ὁ τίμιός ἐστι σταυρός. <sup>43</sup> In the Vita Pachomii Graeca Prima (BHG 1396), it is stated that Pachomius used to interpret the scriptures for the monks. One difficult passage was Gen 22:13, in which Pachomius saw a reference to the Cross:

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὁ κριὸς ὁ κατεχόμενος τῶν κεράτων ἐν φυτῷ σαβὲκ ξύλῳ ὄντι καὶ εἰς ὁλοκάρπωσιν ἀνενεχθεὶς ἀντὶ Ἰσαάκ, ἱκανῶς μάλιστα ᾿Αβραὰμ λέγοντος περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι· "Ὠφθη Κύριος ἐν τῷ ὄφει," σημαίνων τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. ⁴4

Tertullian, Adversus Iudaeos 13,21 (FC 75, 288 Hauses). Tertullian's metaphor is discussed by Daniélou, Sacramentum futuri (see note 40), 108, who gives also the reference to a similar theme in Augustine, De Civitate Dei 16,38 (CChr.SL 48, 543,1-545,71 Dombart/ Kalb).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> The text is taken from the Greek Catena in Genesim 1277 (ed. F. Petit, La Chaîne sur la Genèse: Édition integrale 3: Chapitres 12 à 28 [Traditio Exegetica Graeca 3; Leuven: Peeters, 1995], 236). The riddle of the authorship of the fragment was partially solved by Giovanni Mercati, "A quale tempo risale 'il Siro' dei commentatori greci della Bibbia," Biblica 26 (1945): 1-11, and finally illuminated by R. Bas ter Haar Romeny, "'Quis sit δ Σύρος' Revisited," in Origen's Hexapla and Fragments (ed. A. G. Salvesen; Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 58; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 360-398. Cf. also idem, A Syrian in Greek Dress: The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 6; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 326-331.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ps.-Athanasius, Quaestiones in scripturam sacram, Interpretationes in Vetus Testamentum 66 (PG 28:740c).

<sup>44</sup> Vita Pachomii Graeca Prima 56 (ed. F. Halkin, Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae [Subsidia Hagiographica 19; Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1932], 38,16-20). A French translation is available in André J. Festugière, La première vie grecque de Saint Pachôme

A similar interpretation of Gen 22:13 appears as well in certain Coptic sources. In an anonymous *Life of John Chrysostom* (*clavis coptica* 0632), preserved in Sahidic and Ethiopic, God addresses Abraham with the words: "Behold, a lamb (**ecooy**) which is not born (**atmice**) from a mother, is caught in a Sabek tree." A few lines later, the author underlines the supernatural condition of this lamb, which is "unborn" (**atmice**) and bigger than any other lamb. The "unborn lamb" is not only a Christological title, but, at the same time, reminds of a debate concerning the ontological status of the ram caught in the Sabek tree: was it part of Abraham's flock and transferred later on the mountain by God to be sacrificed or did it perhaps appear miraculously in that very moment, as the *Life of Chrysostom* seems to suggest?

Amphilochius of Iconium's sermon *On Abraham* (CPG 3240; *clavis coptica* 0016), whose Greek original is lost but which survived in a Bohairic translation,<sup>49</sup> contains in its turn most of the *clichés* usually applied by early Christian authors to Gen 22:13:

<sup>(</sup>vol. 4,2 of *Les moines d'Orient*; Paris: Cerf, 1965), 189; for English, see Apostolos N. Athanassakis, trans., Birger A. Pearson, ed., *The Life of Pachomius: Vita Prima Graeca* (Texts and Translations 7; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975), 84-85.

The fragment that contains the reference to Gen 22:13 was published by Noël Giron, Légendes coptes: Fragments inédits (Paris: Geuthner, 1907), 25-29; see also his comments on the Sabek tree, on pages 10-11. The text was reedited, translated into German and supplemented with other folios by Oskar von Lemm, Kleine Koptische Studien 1-58 (Subsidia Byzantina 10; Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1972), 483-516. Tito Orlandi identified additional material belonging to this vita, editing the whole in Vita Joannis Chrysostomi (ed. A. Campagnano, A. Maresca and T. Orlandi, Quattro omelie copte: Vita di Giovanni Crisostomo, Encomi di 24 Vegliardi [ps. Proclo e anonimo], encomio di Michele Arcangelo di Eustazio di Tracia [Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità 60; Milano: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1977], 11-44). Review of the dossier by Paul Devos, "De Jean Chrysostome à Jean de Lycopolis: Chrysostome et Chalkèdôn," Analecta Bollandiana 96 (1978): 389-403. Delio V. Proverbio, "Chrysostomus adversus Chalkedon: Note supplémentaire sur le codex FB du Monastère Blanc à la lumière du manuscrit éthiopien Comboniano H3," Orientalia 63 (1994): 57-67, announced the existence of an Ethiopic translation based on a lost, or not yet identified, Arabic version.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Vita Joannis Chrysostomi (28 C./M./O.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Vita Joannis Chrysostomi (28 C./M./O.).

In the 9th century, the Syriac author Isho'dad of Merv offered a good survey of the ancient opinions on this problem: Isho'dad of Merv, *In Genesim* (CSCO 156, Scriptores Syri 75, 189 van den Eynde).

This sermon is preserved in a single manuscript from Saint Macarius Monastery: Vat. Copt. 61, ff. 194r°-209v° (10th century); description in Adolphe Hebbelynck, "Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque Vaticane," in Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle: Scritti di storia e paleografia 5: Biblioteca ed archivio Vaticano: Biblioteche diverse (Studi e Testi 41; Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1924), (35-82) 44, and Adolphe Hebbelynck and Arnold van Lantschoot, Codices coptici Vaticani (vol. 1 of Codices coptici Vaticani Barberiniani Borgiani Rossiani; Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti; Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1937), 428-429. A German translation made by Adolf Jacoby is available in Gerhard Ficker, Amphilochiana 1 (Leipzig: Barth, 1906), 286-306. The Bohairic text of Amphilochius of Iconium, Oratio de Abraham patriarcha was edited for the first time by Lucas van Rompay in Cornelis Datema, Amphilochii Iconiensis Opera: Orationes, pluraque alia

(f. 198v°) at once, he (i.e. Abraham) looked behind him, as the scripture says, (and) he saw a sheep (εcωογ), which was caught by its horns (εγαμα21 μμου βεννείταπ) . . . Unintentionally the just man gave a look with his eyes and he saw a sheep that the Lord has sent, a sheep which was not lost, nor grazing, as it is written, but ensnared by its horns on the Sabek tree (πιφωή με Cabek).<sup>50</sup>

(f. 199v°) When the just man saw the sheep, held back by its horns, he thought at the hands of the Lord, (and) he said: "Hands that are stretched are to be bound on the Cross in the way of this sheep on this Sabek tree." For the interpretation (ΟΥΟΖΕΜ) of "Sabek" is: the remission (ΠΧΦ ΕΒΟλ), and (as for) the Cross, its interpretation is: the remission of the race of men (ΠΧΦ ΕΒΟλ ΜΠΓΕΝΟΣ ΝΝΙΡΦΜΙ).<sup>51</sup>

It is quite likely that, in the second passage quoted from Amphilochius' sermon, the Coptic translator translated the Greek ἄφεσις by **xω євоλ**, "remission." The same interpretation of the word "Sabek" occurs in a late Coptic manuscript (dated 1393 C.E.) which was edited by Adolph Hebbelynck under the title "Les mystères des lettres grecques." In the second part of this work, the author offers a mystical explanation of the last eight letters of the Greek alphabet, which would form the "mystery of Christ and the Church." Commenting upon the hidden meaning of the letter *tau*, he states that "in its turn, the ram which Abraham sacrificed, being entangled by its horns in the tree called Sabek, is another figure (τύπος) of the Cross of Christ. For we interpret (ἐρμηνεύσθαι) 'Sabek' as 'the remission' and 'the truth' (ΠΚω **євоλ ΜῆΤΜ€**)." <sup>553</sup>

quae supersunt, nonnulla etiam spuria (CChr.SG 3; Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), 271-307, who joined to it an English translation.

Amphilochius of Iconium, Oratio de Abraham Patriarcha (298-299 v. R. with a translation by idem).

Amphilochius of Iconium, Oratio de Abraham Patriarcha (302-303 v. R. with a translation by idem).

<sup>52</sup> Mysterium sive Thesaurus litterarum graecarum (ed. A. Hebbelynck, "Les mystères des lettres grecques d'après un manuscrit copte-arabe de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne d'Oxford," Le Muséon 19 [1900]: 5-36, 105-136, 269-300; Le Muséon 20 [1901]: 5-33, 369-414; reprinted in a single volume as idem, Les mystères des lettres grecques d'après un manuscrit copte-arabe de la bibliothèque Bodléienne d'Oxfort: texte copte, traduction, notes [Leuven: Istas, 1902]). Hebbelynck presented the manuscript in idem, "Une page d'un manuscrit copte intitulé 'Les mystères des lettres grecques' (description cosmologique)," in Mélanges Charles de Harlez (Leiden: Brill, 1896), 127-132; see also Émile Galtier, "Sur les mystères des lettres grecques," Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 2 (1902): 139-162. The original Greek version of this curious text has been published recently by Cordula Bandt, Der Traktat "Vom Mysterium der Buchstaben": kritischer Text mit Einführung, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen (TU 162; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), where the Coptic version is partly reedited; cf. also Jean Revnard, "Le Mystère des lettres grecques: Un inédit à paraître aux Sources Chrétiennes," in Studia Patristica: Papers presented at the Fifteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2007 (ed. J. R. Baun et al.; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 277-282. Hereafter I shall quote from the edition of the Sahidic text published by Hebbelynck in Le Muséon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Mysterium sive Thesaurus litterarum graecarum (Le Muséon 20, 11 H.).

The translation of "Sabek" as "remission" is widespread. Thus, the Greek *Catenae in Genesim* link together several related passages taken from Patristic authors.<sup>54</sup> Besides the occurrences available in the *catenae*, many other instances can be quoted. For example, Alexander of Cyprus relates in his *Inventio Crucis* (CPG 7398) to Σαβὲκ, ὅ ἑρμηνεύεται ἄφεσις.<sup>55</sup> Severus of Antioch employs the same meaning in the 41st cathedral homily: "the plant of Sabek is the holy Cross, because it is the wood of remission and of forgiveness."<sup>56</sup>

However, this is not what we find in Ps.-Theophilus' *De Cruce et Latrone*, because its author interprets the word "Sabek" as "the resting-place of the Savior." This meaning is based (from that author's perspective) on a symbolical understanding of the Cross, which is seen as Christ's resting-place:

He (i.e. Christ) reposed on it (i.e. on the Cross) like a man that has come from the field where he worked, he threw himself upon the bed and rested from his toil. This is how the Savior ( $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho$ ) has done when he rested on his bed, this being the Cross ( $\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\delta\varsigma$ ) of truth.<sup>58</sup>

Although the interpretation of Sabek as "the resting-place of the Savior" does not seem to be recorded elsewhere, the image of the Christ resting himself on the Cross is known from other Coptic sources. One can find it, for example, in Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem's homily *In Crucem* (CPG 3602; *clavis coptica* 0120):

The holy and glorious wood that becomes the dwelling-place of God ( $\pi M \lambda \bar{N}OYW2 \bar{M}\pi NOYTE$ ). The wood of the holy Cross that becomes the resting-place of God ( $\pi M \lambda \bar{N}MTON \bar{M}\pi NOYTE$ ) in the humiliation that he suffered for us. The wood of the Cross which becomes the resting-place of God ( $\pi M \lambda \bar{N}MTON \bar{M}\pi NOYTE$ ) by the fact that he bends his head on it and gives his spirit.<sup>59</sup>

Catenae in Genesim 1270-1278 (ad Gen 22:13) (231-237 P.); Catena Sinaitica G186-G189 (ad Gen 22:13) (CChr.SG 2 179-184 Petit). Cf. also Haar Romeny, A Syrian in Greek Dress (see note 42), 326-331.

Alexander of Cyprus, Inventio Crucis (PG 87,3:4024c). The Greek text was republished with an Italian translation by Pio Carmelo Pennacchini, Discorso storico dell'Invenzione della Croce del monaco Alessandro (Grottaferrata: Tipografia Italo-Orientale 'S. Nilo', 1913), 15.

<sup>56</sup> Severus of Antioch, Homiliae cathedrales 41 (PO 36, 26 Brière/Graffin). The Catenae in Genesim 1276 (235 P.) contain the same passage in Greek.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> The reading of M595, πΜΑ ΝΜΤΟΝ ΜΠΕϤCωΤΕ, "the resting-place of his salvation" does not make sense in this context. The Turin copy of the sermon has πΜΑ ΝΜΤΟΝ ΜΠΡΕϤCωΤΕ, "the resting-place of the Savior," which must be the correct reading.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> M595, ff. 145r°,57-145v°,3.

Ps.-Cyrill of Jerusalem, In Crucem 20 (ed. Campagnano, Omelie copte [see note 9], 90,2-5). Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem's homily on the Cross is preserved in several Sahidic manuscripts as well as in Arabic, see Enzo Lucchesi, "L'homélie copte de Cyrille de Jérusalem en l'honneur de la Sainte Croix: Nouveaux apports," Analecta Bollandiana 98 (1980): 83-84, Alin Suciu, "Borgian Coptic Manuscripts" (see note 6), 314-316.

Similarly, in an anonymous Coptic hymn, Christ sings to the Cross and calls it "my resting-place from the beginning, I came on the earth (and) I carried you."<sup>60</sup>

# The Anaphora of the Cross

Ps.-Theophilus' *De Cruce et Latrone* incorporates several anaphoras. One of them (M595, ff. 146v°,8-147r°,40) comprises an extensive *Laus Crucis*, which is an assembly of epithets and appellations for the Cross. The catalogue of qualities and virtues of the Cross must be connected with a similar composition from Ps.-Chrysostom's *In venerabilem crucem sermo* (CPG 4525).<sup>61</sup> This text had a wide diffusion, as testified by the numerous translations preserved in Latin,<sup>62</sup> Syriac,<sup>63</sup> Old Nubian,<sup>64</sup> Arabic,<sup>65</sup> Ethiopic,<sup>66</sup> Slavonic,<sup>67</sup> and Armenian.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Ps.-Chrysostom, In venerabilem crucem sermo (PG 50:815-820).

<sup>63</sup> Gerald M. Browne, "Ps.-Chrysostom, In venerabilem crucem sermo: The Syriac Version," Le Muséon 99 (1986): 39-59; idem, "Ps.-Chrysostom, In venerabilem crucem sermo: The Greek Vorlage of the Syriac Version," Le Muséon 103 (1990): 125-139.

65 Cf. CPG: Supplementum, 293.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Hermann Junker, Koptische Poesie des 10. Jahrhunderts 2: Text und Übersetzung (Berlin: Karl Curtius Verlag, 1911), 174.

André Wilmart, "La collection des 38 homélies latines de Saint Jean Chrysostome," JThS 19 (1918): (305-327) 315; Berthold Altaner, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der altlateinischen Übersetzungen von Väterschriften," Historisches Jahrbuch 61 (1941): 208-226.

Gerald M. Browne, Chrysostomus Nubianus: An Old Nubian Version of Ps.-Chrysostom, In venerabilem crucem sermo (Papyrologica Castroctaviana 10; Roma: Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 1984). The pseudo-Chrysostomic litany of the Cross is attached at the end of a revelation discourse of Jesus, known as the Stauros-Text, in another Old Nubian codex, see Francis L. Griffith, The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period (Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1913,8; Berlin: Verlag der Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1913), 41-53, and Gerald M. Browne, "Griffith's Stauros-Text," Studia Papyrologica 22 (1983): 75-119. The revelation discourse that opens the Old Nubian Stauros-Text is preserved also in Coptic, but this version replaces the pseudo-Chrysostomic piece with another hymn dedicated to the Cross; see the edition by Péter Hubai, A Megváltó a keresztről: Kopt apokrifek Núbiából (A Kasr El-Wizz kódex) (Cahiers Patristiques, Textes Coptes; Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2006), and now idem, Koptische Apokryphen aus Nubien: Der Kasr El-Wizz Kodex (trans. A. Balog; TU 163; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009). Interestingly enough, an expanded version of the hymn which occurs in the Stauros-text appears as well at the end of P. Berol. 22220, i.e. the so-called Gospel of the Savior (ed. C. W. Hedrick and P. A. Mirecki, Gospel of the Savior: A New Ancient Gospel [California Classical Library; Santa Rosa: Polebridge, 1999]). On the identity between P. Berol. 22220 and the Strasbourg Coptic Gospel, see Stephen Emmel, "Unbekanntes Berliner Evangelium = The Strasbourg Coptic Gospel: Prolegomena to a New Edition of the Strasbourg Fragments," in For the Children, Perfect Instruction (ed. H.-G. Bethge et al.; NHMS 54; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 353-374.

The Ethiopic translation is not mentioned in the clavis graeca, but see now Delio V. Proverbio, La recensione etiopica dell'omelia pseudocrisostomica De ficu exarata ed il suo tréfonds orientale (Äthiopistische Forschungen 50; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 75, 90, 96. Cf. also W. Witakowski, "John Chrysostom," Encyclopaedia Aethiopica 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007): (293-295) 294.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Cf. CPG 2, 548 and CPG: Supplementum, 293.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. CPG 2, 548.

A survey of the two litanies of the Cross reveals their similar content and favors the hypothesis that Ps.-Theophilus borrowed the hymnic material either directly from *In venerabilem crucem sermo*, or through an unidentified intermediary.

Ps-Theophilus	Ps-Chrysostom
The Cross purifies (καθαρίζειν) the man that pursues the energies (ἐνέργεια) cast forth from it	t.
The Cross is the holy mystery (μυστήριον) etc.	
The Cross is the consolation of those who are in distress ( $\lambda \acute{\nu} \pi \eta$ ) because of their sins.	Σταυρὸς ἀπηλπισμένων ἐλπὶς
The Cross is the straight way, not leading astray those who walk on it when they are estranged.	Σταυρὸς πεπλανημένων όδὸς
The Cross is the high tower (πύργος) which receives those who are running to it.	
The Cross is the ladder which raises the man to the sky.	
The Cross is the garment which the Christians are wearing.	Σταυρὸς Χριστιανῶν ἐλπὶς
The Cross is the helper (βοηθός) of the poor and the help (βοήθεια) for those who are distressed.	Σταυρός πενήτων παραμυθία Σταυρός ἀπηλπισμένων ἐλπὶς
The Cross is the one who has destroyed the temple of the Jews,	Σταυρὸς Ἰουδαίων σκάνδαλον
opened the Church and crowned (στεφανοῦν) it.	Σταυρὸς ναὧν καθαίρεσις
The Cross destroyed the demons (δαιμόνιος) (and) cast them away in fear.	Σταυρός τρόπαιον κατὰ δαιμόνων
The Cross is the stability of the ships that are sailing in beauty.	Σταυρὸς πλεόντων κυβερνήτης
The Cross is the establishment of the priests that are in the house of God with wisdom.	Σταυρὸς ἱερέων χαρὰ
The Cross is the immutable judge (κριτής) of the apostles	Σταυρὸς ἀποστόλων κατάγγελμα
The Cross is the lamp (λυχνία) of gold whose holy flame is shining (λαμπεύειν).	
The Cross is the father of the orphans (ὀρφανός), taking care of them.	Σταυρὸς πατὴρ ὀρφανῶν
The Cross is the judge (κριτής) of the widows	Σταυρὸς προστάτης χηρῶν
(χήρα), wiping out the tears from their eyes. The Cross is the consolation of the wanderers.	
The Cross is the companion of those who	Σταυρὸς μοναζόντων ἄσκησις

are in the desert.

Ps-Theophilus

Ps-Chrysostom

The Cross is the ornament (κόσμησις) of the holy altars (θυσιαστήριον).

The Cross is the sweetness of those who were bitter

The Cross is the help (βοηθεῖν) of the man in the moment of his necessity (ἀνάγκη), when he goes out from the body.

The Cross is the governor (διοικητής) of the compassionates.

The Cross is the administrator (οἰκονόμος) of those who have put their care in it.

The Cross is the chastity (ἁγνεία) of the virgins (παρθένος).

The Cross is the fortified wall.

The Cross is the physician who cures (θεραπεύειν) every sickness.

Σταυρός παρθένων σωφροσύνη

Σταυρὸς πολεμουμένων τεῖχος Σταυρὸς νοσούντων ἰατρός

As can be seen in the synoptic table above, the Coptic author does not follow the arrangement of the text in Ps.-Chrysostom, and often expands the description of the Cross' qualities. However, even though these parallels concur in showing that the anaphora of the Cross from Ps.-Theophilus reworks the material found in Ps.-Chrysostom's *In venerabilem crucem sermo*, they suffice to confirm the literary connection between the two pieces.

The Old Nubian, Arabic and Ethiopic versions of *In venerabilem crucem sermo* suggest perhaps the existence of a lost, or not yet identified, Coptic intermediary, which might have served as a source for Ps.-Theophilus' litany of the Cross.

The survival of other similar liturgical hymns of the Cross in Ethiopic might indicate that they come from Coptic via Arabic.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, portions of the pseudo-Chrysostomic litary of the Cross occur in certain Coptic liturgical books, which seems to indicate that such hymns were relatively widespread in Egypt. For example, a Coptic manuscript from Leiden (Rijksmuseum MS Insinger 92), which contains various liturgical hymns, offers an analogous litary:

<sup>69</sup> See the similar Ethiopic hymns of the Cross in Sylvain Grébaut, "Litanies de la Croix," Aethiopica 4 (1935): 187-190; Déborah Lifchitz, ed., Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Éthnologie 38; Paris: Institut d'éthnologie, 1940). On the general tenure of these Ethiopic texts, see Bogdan Burtea, "Haṣurä mäsqäl," Encyclopaedia Aethiopica 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005): 1045-1046.

Insinger 92 Ps.-Chrysostom

The Cross is the foundation of the Church, Σταυρὸς Ἐκκλησίας θεμέλιος

The Cross is the altar,

The Cross is the baptism,

The Cross is the holy temple,

The Cross is the proclamation of the apostles, Σταυρὸς ἀποστόλων κατάγγελμα

The Cross is the boast of the martyrs, Σταυρὸς μαρτύρων καύχημα

The Cross is the joy of the priests, Σταυρὸς ἱερέων χαρὰ

The Cross is the holy seal,

The Cross is the holy resurrection, Σταυρὸς νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις

The Cross is the one who made the water sweet through Moses (and) the people drank, The Cross filled the water with sweetness through Bachios<sup>70</sup> and the people drank,<sup>71</sup>

A similar sequence is to be found in a Greco-Coptic liturgical manuscript from the White Monastery:

BL Or. 3580A, f. 12<sup>72</sup> Ps.-Chrysostom

The Cross is the boast of the apostles. Σταυρὸς ἀποστόλων κατάγγελμα The Cross is the foundation of the Church. Σταυρὸς Ἐκκλησίας θεμέλιος

It is still unclear whether the pseudo-Chrysostomic piece directly influenced *De Cruce et Latrone* or only through an intermediary. Whatever the truth may be, the encounter of John Chrysostom and Theophilus of Alexandria, this time in the peaceful context of literary history, is not without a sense of irony.

The present edition collates all available testimonies of Ps.-Theophilus' homily *De Cruce et Latrone*. The base manuscript is Pierpont Morgan M595, ff. 141r°-148r° (codex A) whereas the critical apparatus records *variae lectiones* in codices B, C, D, except the minor orthographical variations.

This refers to an episode described in Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, *In Crucem* 14-29 (85,20-95,24 C.): Bachios, a monk from Ascalon, has a polemic with a certain Isaac the Samaritan, which ends with the conversion of the latter to Christianity. Bachios performs a miracle by the power of the Cross, making drinkable the infected water of the pool from Gabaon so that the crowd gathered there "found it sweet like honey." Isaac is persuaded by this miracle and converts to Christianity. The story of Isaac the Samaritan is mentioned in another hymn of the Cross, see Gabriele Giamberardini, "La Croce e il Crocifisso presso i Copti," in *Studia Orientalia Christiana*: *Collectanea* 7 (1962): (45-100) 63 [19]; De Lacy E. O'Leary, ed., *The Difnar (Antiphonarium) of the Coptic Church (First Four Months) from the Ms. in the John Rylands Library, Manchester: with Fragments of a Difnar recently Discovered at the Der Abu Makar in the Wadi n-Natrun* (London: Luzac & Co., 1926), 16.

Willem Pleyte and Pieter A. A. Boeser, Manuscrits coptes du Musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide (Leiden: Brill, 1897), 433-434.

The old call number of the fragment, before the current foliation of the British Library Coptic manuscripts, used to be Or. 3580A (15). Description in Walter E. Crum, Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum (London: British Museum, 1905), 47 (= no. 158).

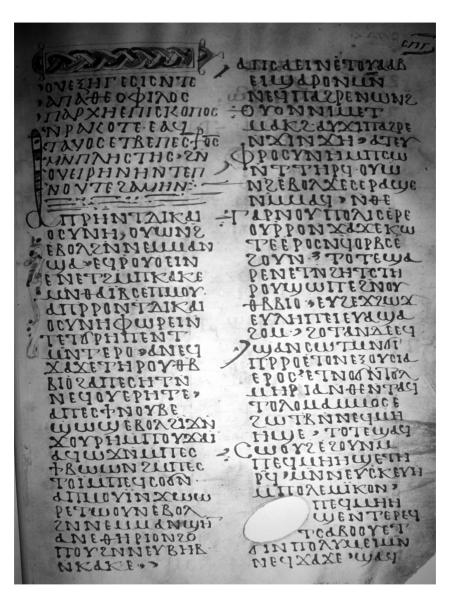


Abb. Codex A. New York, Pierpont Morgan M595, f. 141ro



Abb. Codex B. Turin, Museo Egizio Cat. 63000, cod. 2, page 84.



Abb. Codex D. Cairo, Coptic Museum 2694r°



Abb. Codex C. Paris, BnF Copte 1314, f. 94r°

#### Pierpont Morgan M595, ff. 141r°-148r°

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 $\overline{c}\overline{\pi}\overline{\epsilon}$ 

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	<b>ΑΥ†ΚλΨ ΕΣΝΤΑΠ</b> Ε		<b>Σ</b> Ε Μποογ ΚΝλ
10	Μπεγ∡οεις∙ λγ†	45	<b>ωωπε имма</b> ї
	ΝΟΥΚλΟΜ ÑϢΟΝ		2ΜΠΑΠΑΡΑΔΙΟΟΟ:
	τε έχωα· αγ†2ι		ΠΡΟ ΜΠΠΑΡΑΔΙ
	ωῶϤ ΝΟΥΧλΑΜΗΟ		COC GOTM. ĒXIN
	ΝΚΟΚΚΟC∙ ΑΥΤ		πεγοειφ πτα{α
15	им жмзүои раи	50	Δα}αΔαΜ παρα
	оүсіϣ€∙ наї тн		<b>Β</b> Α· ΑλλΑ †ΝΑ
	ρογ νεγειρε μμο		оүши ммоч нак
	ογ να4 πε· αγ		ταχιτκ έ20γη
	cfoy nmma4 n		<b>Ē</b> ΡΟϤ∙
20	ΚΕλΗСΤΗ <u>ς</u> ΕΝΑΥ	55	<b>ΠΧΙCE ΝΤΑΜΝΤ</b>
	ογὰ Δε π2ΗΤΟΥ π4		ΝΟΥΤ€∙ ΕΚ2ΪϪΜ
	Μπωα Μπεοογ		πε <del>cfoc</del> · κna
	Μπνογτε αν∙		ωωπε иммаї
	ΠΕΧΆΑ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΟ		NKOINONOC ZM
25	EANOQNEQ WWOA	60	πραφε Ντα <del>Μ</del> Ν
	ечх∞ ммос хе е҈о		τερο∙_ ακ†εοογ
	$\mathbf{x}$ $\mathbf{\varepsilon}$ $\mathbf{n}$ $\mathbf{t}$ $\mathbf{o}$ $\mathbf{n}$ $\mathbf{e}$ $\mathbf{n}$ $$		иаї г <u>йт</u> мнтє й
	NA2MEK∙ AYW NĪ		S€Nbeabnobe.
	nazmen zwwn		anok 2w tna
30	<b>λπκ</b> εογά_επιτι	65	†€OOY_NAK· 2NT
	MA NAY ZNOYOWNT		ΜΗΤЄ ΝΤΑΑΓΓΕ
	<b>Σ</b> € ΝΓΡ2ΟΤЄ ΝΤΟΚ		λικη∙ ωωπε_εκ
	<b>ΑΝ 2ΗΤ4 ΜΠΝΟΥΤ</b> €		THO EPOÏ ZIXM
2.5	anon fap en <u>xi</u> ka		πεςξος∙ εκεω _
35	та пемпфа ий	70	λό ερογη έροϊ επ

1 ΜΟΡϤ ] ĈŦΟΎ ΜΜΟϤ C; post πΡΡΟ add. Μπεοού Β, C || 2 ĈŦΟΎ] ΜΟΡϤ C || 4-6 λύτειβΤ usque ad ετογλαβ] αγεντείν $\bar{\mathbf{T}}$  ενδίχ μπεντανταμίου  $\mathbf{B}$ ; αγεντείβ $\bar{\mathbf{T}}$  νδίχ  $\mathit{etc}$   $\mathbf{C} \parallel \mathbf{6-8}$  αγγλας usque ad πενταμταμίσου] αγγίουε νίθενας εγούν εμπίο μπελασείς Β; αλή νίδνας  $\textit{etc} \ C \ \| \ 9 \ \mathsf{Tahe} ] \ \mathsf{Teyahe} \ B, C \ \| \ 10 \ \mathsf{mheyxoeic} ] \ \textit{om.} \ B, C \ \| \ 11 \ \bar{\mathsf{noy}} - \underline{]} \ \textit{om.} \ C \ \| \ 12 - 13 \ 2 \ \mathsf{lowwy} ] \ \textit{om.}$  $\mathbb{C} \parallel 13$  оүхламнс  $\bar{\mathsf{N}}$ коккос] оүхламүс  $\bar{\mathsf{N}}$ хноє  $\mathbb{B}$ ; оүхламіс  $\bar{\mathsf{N}}$ хные гішшч  $\mathbb{C} \parallel 16$  post маі add. бе  $B, C \parallel 18\ post\ \pi e$  ] add. енечк $\omega$  пр $\omega$ ч  $\pi e$  етве  $\pi e$ ноуха $\cdot$  хекас ечнасотп ΝΤΟΟΤΕ ΜΠΧΑΧΕ ΑΥΘ etc. C || 19-20 NMMA4 usque ad CNAY | ΜΜΟΗ ΜΝΠΛΗCTHC CNAY C  $\parallel$  20 kε om.  $B \parallel$  21-23 ογλ usque ad λη] πογλ δε πρητογ νε ογλτώπωλ πε ώπογωνξ євох їтєчмітноутє B; πογά σε їднтоу $\cdot$  єтє димас πε $\cdot$  оуа πε єнчмп $\omega$ а an NTE4MNTNOYTE  $C \parallel 24$  post πεχλ4 add. Δε  $C \parallel 26$  ε4χω mmoc om.  $B, C \parallel 28$ -29 Nλ2Mek usque ad 2ωων] ματογχοκ νώμαν Β; να 2μκ νώμαν || post απκεογα] add. Δε ογωφέν ετε κεστης πε  $C \parallel 30$ -31 επίτιμα να4] ογωψ $\bar{\mathbf{b}}$  αμεπίτιμα να4  $\mathbf{B}$ ; εμεπείτμα να4  $C \parallel 32$  χε] EYXW MMOC XE C || 32 NTOK] om. C || 33 post Mπnoyte] add. Eton C || 34-36 anon usque ad NOBE]  $\in \Pi \times I$  ANON  $\bar{\mathbf{M}}\Pi \in \mathbf{M}\Pi \oplus \mathbf{A}$   $\bar{\mathbf{N}}\Pi \in \mathbf{M}\Pi \oplus \mathbf{A}$   $\bar{\mathbf{M}}\Pi \in \mathbf{M}\Pi \oplus \mathbf{A}$  $C \parallel 38 \, \text{mpeqooy} \mid \text{nnobe } B, C \parallel 39 \, \text{mexa4 xe} \mid \text{ayw on a40ywgb xe pxoeic } C; post xe$  $add.\ \overline{\text{IC}}\ B \parallel 40\ \overline{\text{M}}\ \Pi \times \text{OEIC}]\ om.\ B,\ C \parallel 42\ post\ \overline{\text{IC}}]\ add.\ \Delta \varepsilon\ C \parallel 43\ 2\overline{\text{N}}\ \text{OYNO}\ \overline{\text{N}}\ \text{PAGE}]\ 2\overline{\text{N}}\ \text{OYPAGE}\ C$  $\parallel$  44 post xε add. 2amhn 2amhn †xω  $\bar{m}$ moc nak  $B \parallel$  44  $\bar{m}$ ποογ] xε ποογ  $B \parallel$  46 πa-] π-  $B \parallel$ 48 EXIN] XIN B, C || 52 NAK om. et post  $\bar{m}$ moy add.  $\bar{m}\pi$ ooy B, C || 54 post  $\bar{e}$ poy add.  $\bar{e}$ box X $\bar{e}$  B, С || 55-57 ΝΤΑΜΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ∙ ΕΚ2ΙΣΜΠΕΕΡΘΕΙ ΝΤΑΑΠΕ 2ΙΣΜΠΕΕΡΘΕ Β || 56-61 ΕΚ2ΙΣΜΠΕΕΡΘΕ usque ad Νταμντέρο] om. C || 57 post ξθος add. ακκοινώνει νώμα; επρίςε μπεζθος Β || 61 post akteooy] add. Fap  $C \parallel 62$  post naï] add. Tenoy  $C \parallel 62$  post 2\text{ntmhte} add. \text{ \text{\$\text{n2}}enpwme} Ναρά Β; Νονρή Ναρά C || 62-63 Νουρεμένοβε] Νορεμένοβε Β; Νρεμένοβε τεψαγμού C  $\parallel$  66 NTa- $\mid$  NT- B, C  $\parallel$  66-67 post NTaaffeaikh $\mid$  add. Thpc NNaf<r>eaoc mnnapxaffeaoc ετ2ντηε  $C \parallel 67$  ωωπε] ακωωπε  $B, C \parallel 69$  post πε $\bar{c}$   $\bar{foc}$ ] add. αγω  $C \parallel$ 

CΠZ

	πεκογωφ ñ2нт anok 2ω †name		ΤΗ <b>Ϲ ΝΡ</b> ϾϤϨϢΤΒ ΝΡϾϤϪΙΟΥϾ· ΝΡϾϤ
	ΡΙΤΚ• ΑΥϢ ΝΑΑΓ		вωσε πρεчτακο∙ αγω
	Γελος Νατακω		λΚ2ΟΜΟλΟΓ€Ι Μ
5	ΝΕΙ ΝΑΚ 2ΜΠΔΙΠ	40	ΜΟΪ ΣΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ Π
	ΝΟΝ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ·		ноүте∙ етве паї
	Ν€Κω ÑϢΒΗР Ñ		иекнове етнафф
	<b>Ρ</b> ΕϤϨϢΤΒ ΝϢΟΡΠ		OY KH NAK $ar{f e}$ BO $\lambda$
	єісеннте аїаак		<b>Σ</b> Ε λΚ2ΟΜΟλΟΓΕΙ
10	мфвнь €ьо <u>і</u> .	45	ΜΜΟΪ· †ΝΑΤΡΕΚ
	<b>λΝΟΚ ΠЄ ΠωΝ</b> Ξ		ωωπε μπολι
	ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ· ΝΕΚ		ΤΗС ΜΠΠΑΡΑΔΙ
	ΜΟΟϢЄ ΓΑΡ 2ΝΝΕΥ		COC∙ †ΝΑΤΡΕ ΠΕΚ
	ωооγ€ мілі		сшма фине еч
15	<b>ωнр</b> е мπкаке	50	<b>ΣΗΚ Ϣ</b> ልΝ†ΤΟΥ
	єісеннтє аїт		ΝΟΟΚ- ΠΑΪ ΔΕ ΝΤΑΥ
	рекмоофе им		apna mmoï na
	<b>Μ</b> ὰΪ· ὰΝΟΚ ΠΕ		ΝΑΥ Ε̈ΡΟΚ ΕΚΟΌΟ
	πογοειν Μπκος		λε νογέοογ∙
20	ΜΟC∙ Ν€ΚϪΙ ϢΟϪ	55	ΝΤΟϤ ΔΕ ΕϤϬΟΟλΕ
	и€ йфорπ мий		ΝΟΥϢωϢ∙ Μ̄Ν
	речаштв. аїлак		ουδισε. Δηγησή
	<b>П</b> ШВНР ЁРОЇ АНОК		εροκ εκσοολε π
	πε πρεчταν20		πογδειν. πτοч
25	ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΤΝΑΧΑ	60	Δε εчλπολλγε Μ
	ΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΑΚ		моч гмпкаке
	<b>Σ</b> Ε λΚ2ΟΜΟλΟΓΕΙ		<b>ϤΝ</b> ΑΝΑΥ Ε̈́ΡΟΚ
	ΝΤΑΜΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ		εκδοολε Μπρλ
	$ar{M} \Pi ar{M} TO \ ar{E} BO \lambda \ ar{N}$		ωε μππογνο4
30	N€Тарна ммої	65	ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΥΑΠΟ
	ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΥΝΑΥ		λαγε ΜΜΟϤ 2Ν
	ΕΝλσομ τηρογ		ΤλΗΠΗ ΜΝΠλ
	ΝΤΑΪΑΑΥ ΜΠΟΥ		Wa20M· 4Na
	πιςτεγέ εροϊ' κ		ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΚ 2ΜΠΟΥ
35	τοκ Δε ΝΤΚΟΥλΗΟ	70	ωωc εβολ MN

1 πεκούως νέλητ] πουώς πεκέλητ  $C \parallel 2$ ως ζωστ  $C \parallel 2$ -3 post μερίτκ add. Αύω παείωτ ναμέριτ $\bar{K}$  B, C || 3 να-]  $\bar{N}$ - B, C || 5-6 2 $\bar{M}$ πΔίπνον  $\bar{N}$ νετουάλβ] 2 $\bar{M}$ παλείπνον ETOYAAB B,  $C \parallel 8$  PE42 $\omega T\bar{B}$ ] PE4 $\omega T\bar{B}$ ] om. B  $\parallel 13$  Tap] om. et post Moowe add. NWOPH B, C || 15 post KAKE] add. AYW C || 16 post εισ2ΗΗΤΕ] add. ΤΕΝΟΥ C || 19-20 post KOCMOC add. THP $\bar{q}$  B || 20-21 NEKXI WOXNE NWOP $\bar{n}$ ] XI NEKXI WOXNE NWOP $\bar{n}$  C || 21-22 post νρεθρωτε add. εις 2μητε B; αγω εις 2μητε τένου  $C \parallel 24$  ταν 20] ταμίο B; ταν 20.  $\overline{\mathbf{M}}$ ΠΤΗΡ $\overline{\mathbf{U}}$   $\subset$   $\mathbf{U}$  25 post Nai add. Δε B,  $\mathbf{C}$   $\mathbf{U}$  27 Χε $\mathbf{E}$   $\mathbf{U}$  6Βολ Χε  $\mathbf{C}$   $\mathbf{U}$  27 post 20Μολογεί] add. Μ̄ΜΟΙ MNTA-  $C \parallel 29$  MITMTO EBOA] 2NTMHTE B,  $C \parallel 31$  AE] om. et post NTOOY add. MEN FAP B, C|| 32 ENA-] EN- B || 35-36 post AHCTHC add. ПРЕЧТЮРП В || 36 post 2WTB add. AYW C || 37-38 Moλεγει Μποί] ακμέριτ εμάτε  $B, C \parallel 46-47$  Μπολίτης]  $om. C \parallel 47$  Μ-] 2Μ-  $B, C \parallel 48-51$ tnatpe usque ad wantwoynock] tnaxωκμ μπεκςωμα σε ννεчκνος wanttoynock νώμαι σώμες φομτ νέουλ ταχίτε επχίσε νώμαι  $B, C \parallel 51$  παι δε] πκέουλ  $B, C \parallel 52$  $\overline{\text{MMOi}}$ ]  $\overline{\text{MMO4}}$  2ωω4  $C \parallel 52$  Na-] 4Na- B,  $C \parallel 54$   $\overline{\text{NOYEOOY}}$ ]  $\overline{\text{MΠEOOY}}$   $C \parallel 55$  post  $\Delta \varepsilon$ ] add. 2ωω4 C || 56-57 Νογωωφ· ΜΝογ2ΙCΕ | ΜΠ2ΙCΕ ΜΝΠCωφ Β; ΜΠφιπε etc C || 58 εκδοολε] om.  $C \parallel 58 \text{ m}$ -] 2 $\overline{\text{m}} \text{ } C \parallel 60 \text{ } \Delta \varepsilon$ ] om. B et post  $\overline{\text{n}}$ του add. 2ωων B,  $C \parallel 60$ -61 ευδαπολδύε  $\overline{\text{m}}$ μου] om. C || 61 2ΜΠΚΑΚΕ] εΨ2ΜΠΚΑΚΕ C || 63 ΕΚΟΟΟΛΕ] om. B, C || 63-64 ΜΠΡΑϢΕ ΜΝΠΟΥΝΟΨ] 2мпоуноч м $\overline{n}$ пра $\omega$ е B, С  $\parallel$  65  $\Delta$ е $\mid$  om. et post  $\overline{n}$ τοч add. 2 $\omega$  $\omega$ 4 B, С  $\parallel$  65-66 ечаполауе ммоч] om. С || 66-67 2NTAHTH] E42NTAYTH С || 65-68 E4ATOAAYE usque ad MNTAWA2OM] E42NOYPIME MNOYAWA20M B  $\parallel$  69-70 2MTOYWWC] EK2MTOYWWC B  $\parallel$ 

СПН			
	ΤΕΥΦΡΟ<ΟΥ>ΝΗ· Ν		2λλ MMON NCE
	TO4 2WW4 E42M		λλη Νώμμο έ
	<b>Π2λΧ2ЄΧ ΜΝΠ</b>		TENTA4TAMION.
	CA2OY ANANAY		<b>ЄТВЄ NЄNKA Й</b>
5	ерок еренагге	40	πειλιών ογπ
	λΟC COλCλ ΜΜΟΚ		20ΪΝ€ ϢΟΟΠ Τ€
	ΝΤΟΥ 2ωωΥ ΕΥ		ΝΟΥ ΕΥΆΡΝΑ Μ
	<b>ΨΟΟΠ 2ΜΠΤΑΡΤΑ</b>		THOYTE ETBE $2E(N)$
	POC · OYMONON X€		XPHMA· WAPE
10	Μπε420ΜΟλΟΓεΙ	45	TMNTMAIXPH
	ΜΜΟΪ· ΑλλΑ Α4		Μλ ΓλΡ· ΤωΜ
	apna mmoï mīta		ΝΝΒΑλ ΜΠΕΝ
	ΜΝΤΝΟΥΤ€∙ Α4		ͳϪϤϺϾΡΙΤϹ·
	<b>δω €4ΝΟδΝ€δ</b>		NTO4 2WW4 ON
15	аүш εчсшш м̄	50	<b>ФУАЧЖІ ЙТМЄРІС</b>
	мої. Єтве паі ёре		ΝΪΟΥΔΑС: ΚΑΙ
	πογλ πογλ ΣΙ Κλ		ΓΑΡ ΝΤΟϤ 2ωωϤ
	τα Νεч̄̄́́́внγε∙		<b>λ4† Μπε4</b> Σοεις
	<b>αΪΟΥΦ ΓΑΡ ΕΙΧ</b> Φ		€ΒΟλ∙ 2λΜλλΒ€
20	MMOC NAY 2NT	55	νς ατέξρε πρατ
	MHT€ NOYON NIM		ογαγαθον σε ναν
	∡ε πετνλ2ομο		πе∙ еифуииеѫ
	λοΓει ΜΜΟΪ ΜΠΜ		πενροογω Μπ
	ΤΟ Ε̈́ΒΟλ ΝΝρωΜ€		Χο€ΙC∙ ΝΤΟ4 ΓλΡ
25	†ΝΑ2ΟΜΟλΟΓΕΙ Μ̄	60	петначі рооуф
	моч мпмто євох		2ὰΡΟΝ∙ ΚὰΤὰ Π
	Μπλειωτ ετ <del>2</del> Ν		<b>ϣ</b> ልϫͼ Μπενειωτ
	νππηγε∙ τετν		петрос∙ ма
	ΝΑΥ σε ѿ ΝΕСΝΗΥ		ρενκτον σε έχπ
30	<b>Σ</b> Ε ΟΥΖΙΟΕ ΝΑϢ Ν	65	ΠΕΠΡΟΚΙΜΈΝΟΝ
	26 ПЕТНАТА26 П		єтвє пєс <del>тос</del> м
	PWME ETNAAPNA		$\pi \in N \times O \in IC \ \overline{IC} \ \pi \in IC$
	мπεч∡оєіс∙ єт		$\overline{XC}$ $\cdot$ $M\overline{N}TAHC$
	ве паї маренроєіс		ΤΗC∙ ΟΥϢ€ ΓλΡ
35	ερον ∡ε πνεγρ	70	πρε4†ωn2 πε

1-2 post ντομ add. Δε  $\mathbb{C}\parallel$  2-3 εμμπιζαχίσκ $\mathbb{C}\parallel$  εμφοοπ 2νντισμένος  $\mathbb{E}\parallel$  5-6 post ναγγέλος add. Μπαρχαγγελος  $C \parallel 7$  post πτο 4 add. Δε  $C \parallel 7$ -9 εφφοοπ 2Μπταρταρος ] ερεκεξους (1 ЙПКАКЕ ФТОРТР ЙМОЧ АҮШ ЕЧФООП 2ЙТМНТЕЇ ЙПХАЧ ЕРЕНЧИТ ЙАТЙКОТК ОҮШМ ЙСШЧ В;  $\epsilon$ 42 $\bar{n}$ тмнт $\epsilon$   $\bar{m}$ пхав etc С 11-12 ачарна] м $\bar{n}$ носа тр $\epsilon$ 4арна В, С  $\parallel$  12-15 м $\bar{n}$ там $\bar{n}$ тност $\epsilon$ usque ad  $\Delta Y \omega$ ] om. B || 16 ερε-] om. B || 17 x i] naxi B || 18 neqbhye] nentagaay είτε αγαθον EITE  $\pi \in \Theta \circ \circ \circ \cap \Pi = 0$  nay] epooy eiww ebod B; epooy ayw eixi wkak ebod  $C \parallel 25$  post 20ΜΟλΟΓΕΙ add. 2ω B || 28 post πηγε add. πετναρνα μμοϊ μπεμτο εβολ πύρωμε τναρνα  $2\omega$  ΜΜΟϤ ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟλ ΜΠΑΕΙωΤ ΕΤ2ΝΜΠΗΥΕ B; post ΜΠΗΥΕ add. ΜΝΝΕϤΑΓΓΕΛΟС  $C \parallel$ 28-29 TETNNAY] ATETNEIME C || 29 GE] om. B, C et post NAY add.  $\Delta \in B \parallel 30-31$  NZE TETNAтаге]  $\bar{\text{N}}$ бот пе натаге  $B, C \parallel 31-33$  проме  $usque\ ad\ \bar{\text{m}}$  печхоеіс] нетарна  $\bar{\text{m}}$  пхоєіс C $\parallel$  35 Ney- $\mid$  NNEY- $\mid$  B, C  $\parallel$  36 post MMON $\mid$  add. NCACA NIM C  $\parallel$  41 post 20 NE add. FAP B, C  $\parallel$  41 post ψοοπ] add. on C || 43 ετβε ε2εν-] om. Β; ετβε χρημα C || 44-45 ψαρετμήτμαϊχρημα] 2мпретм $\bar{n}$ тма $\bar{n}$ 20м $\bar{n}$  B, С  $\|$  47  $\bar{n}$  $\bar{n}$ ваа $\|\bar{n}$ 2 $\bar{n}$ 7  $\bar{n}$ 8  $\|$ 47-48  $\bar{n}$ 1 $\bar{n}$ 6  $\|\bar{n}$ 7  $\bar{n}$ 8  $\|\bar{n}$ 9  $\|\bar{n}\|$ 9 om.  $C \parallel 49-50$  ντου usque ad wayxi] ντοού σωού ον νετμμάν ψαύχι  $C \parallel 52$  ντου σωού] πετμμαγ 2ωω4 on  $B, C \parallel 53 μπε4- \mid π-B \parallel 54-55 2 μαλάβε νέατε ερενίζατ <math>\mid 2μ$  2 μαλάβ νέατ  $\mid 3μ$  $C \parallel 56$  on] om. B; on GE] om. et post nan add. Fap  $C \parallel 57$  Engan-] etpen-  $B \parallel 58$ -59 then pooying мпхоєіс] мпєнрооу $\bar{\mathbf{g}}$  тнр $\bar{\mathbf{q}}$  епноутє  $\mathbf{C}$ ; єпхоєіс  $\mathbf{B} \parallel \mathbf{60}$  пєтна-] пєт-  $\mathbf{B}$ ,  $\mathbf{C} \parallel \mathbf{61}$  гарон] EPON  $C \parallel 62\, \text{mpeneiwt}$  mpmakapioc etoyaab  $C \parallel 64\, post$  de  $add.\, \text{ntnei}$  ecpaï B  $et\, \text{tenoy}$ etc C  $\parallel$  65 post προκιμένον add. ετκή ναν εγραϊ B; ετκή ναν εγραι ντένωμας C  $\parallel$  66-70 Μπενχοεις usque ad πε] om. et post πεζ f o o d d. Τεσλοοσε γαρ εντα ιακών θεωρει ΜΜΟΟ ЄСΤΑΣΡΗΥ ΙΕ 2ΙΣΜΠΚΑ2 ϢΑ2ΡΑΪ ΕΤΠΕ ΕΡΕΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΒΗΚ Ε2ΡΑΪ ΑΥΟ εγνης επέςητ ζιχώς, έτε παϊ με μένασεις <u>τς μέχς</u> επάλης έχμμδε μμές <u>ξος</u> B, C  $\parallel$  68-69 MNTAHCTHC] om. C  $\parallel$ 

CΠΘ

	πωε Μπεζτος.		Μπεчσωντ∙ ογδε
	EPENALLEYOC.		ΜΠΕΊΚω ΝΟΎΚ
	EZPAÏ WATIELOT		PO4 2Mπε42HT E
_	λγω εγνην επε	40	2ΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΚΟΥ
5	СНТ ФАПФИРЕ	40	ωω εειμε cωτμ τατα
	2ΪϫΜπεϲΫος∙ εγ		мок. сфтм ероч
	<b>φωῶ⊥ εβο</b> γ 5Ι		$\epsilon$ 4 $\omega$ $\omega$ $\epsilon$ BO $\lambda$ $\Delta$ $\epsilon$ $\pi$ $\lambda$
	өн мπεчо∑ოѿ∙		ειωτ κω Νλγ ΕΒΟλ
	ANAY ETMNTWAN		x̄€ µc€cooλn yn
10	2ΤΗ4 ΜΠΝΟΥΤЄ	45	мпєтоуєїрє ммоч
	MNTE4ANOXH		<b>ΑΚΝΑΥ σε ετνοσ ν</b>
	EUGWWT EBOY ΣΜ		мйтфайгтнч
	$π$ $\mathbf{x}$ $\mathbf{i}$ $\mathbf{c}$ $\mathbf{e}$ $\mathbf{e}$ $\mathbf{n}$ $\mathbf{a}$ $\mathbf{y}$ $\mathbf{e}$		мπєιωт∙ мππεч
	ПЕЧМОНОГНИНС		<b>ωнр</b> ∈ €20γν €р0(ν)
15	$\bar{N}$ $\mathbf{Q}$ $HP$ $\mathbf{E}$ $Q$ $QB$ $T$ $\bar{E}$	50	ачалє ёхмпестос
	2ογη επες †ος∙ εч		ϢλΝΤϾϤϹϢΤϾ
	20PW N2HT ZNTE4		<b>Мπсωйт тн</b> РФ
	MNTXPHCTOC.		мпиаү ечафе ё
	Ρωως 34 ροτή		πε <del>cfoc</del> · λητβ
20	πενχοεις ις πε	55	ΒΟ ΜΠΟΟΝΤ
	$\overline{XC}$ EYTEIBT $\bar{E}$		ΤΗΡΊ ΝΑΤΠΕ ΜΝ
	Νεчσιχ. αγω εγ		ΝλΠΚλ2 λ4ΤΒ
	TAAC EZOYN ZM		во мпанр тнрч
	πε420. εγτκλΨ		ZМП€ЧСШМА N
25	2ΙΧΝΤΕΊΑΠΕ:	60	ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΑΥΚΑΘΑ
	ЕҮТСО ММОЧ		PIZ€ MMO4· 20
	ΝΟΥ2ΜΣ: ΜΝΟΥ		ΜΟΙΦΟ: ΑΠΕΊ ΕΝΟΊ
	νασα CIϢϾ· ϾΥΠϢϢ		ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΤΑΥ
	NNE420ITE E		πλ2ΤΫ ΕΒΟλ· λΥ
30	χωογ. εγνηχ	65	тр€пка2 твво €
30	КАНРОС ЄРООУ	03	ΒΟλ 2ΜΠΣω2Μ
	νασατ αγω εγείογε		ETZIXW4. VILI
	21 <sup>vacat</sup> XNTE4A		ON AUBUK ETTE
	ΠΕ N <sup>vacat</sup> ΟΥΚλω		CHT EAMNTE A4
35	2NNAI vacat THPOY	70	
33	ZNNAI	70	<b>ϣ</b> ωλ ΜΜΟϤ∙ ልϤ

1 πωε  $\bar{\mathsf{M}}$ πε $\bar{\mathsf{C}}$   $\bar{\mathsf{F}}$   $\bar{\mathsf{OC}}$  ] om.  $\mathsf{B}$  | 7-8 210h  $\bar{\mathsf{M}}$ πενούως επένούως δωώ $\bar{\mathsf{T}}$   $\mathsf{B}$ ; 2ητη  $\bar{\mathsf{M}}$ πενούως σωφτ  $C \parallel 9$  anay] ντετνήλα B,  $C \parallel 11$  τεμανοχή τεμνός ναλοχή  $B \parallel 11$  post ανοχή add. ετηλώως νθε etc C || 16 επες foc | επώε μπες foc B, C || 16-18 εμ2ορώ usque ad ΧΡΗCΤΟC] ΑΥΦ 640 ΝΖΑΡΝΖΗΤ ΖΝΤ64ΝΟΘ ΜΜΝΤΧΡΙCΤΟC Β; ΑΥΦ 6420ΡΦ ΝΖΗΤ ΖΝΤ64ΝΟΘ MMNTXPCTOC C || 20-21 πεχC | om. et post IC add. ετι B || 22 post Νεμσίχ add. ετογλλ Β Β, C et ayw npeutanzo C || 22 post ayw] add. on C || 22-23 ayw eytaac] eytac B || 24 post πευ20 add. αγω B,  $C \parallel 25$  2ΙΧΝΤΕυΑΠΕ $\mid$  εχωυ αγω B; εχντευΑΠΕ αγω on  $C \parallel$ 27-28 ἦογϩἦϫ $\cdot$  ოἦογϲιϣ $\mathbf{e}$ ] Μπϩϙϫ  $\mathbf{e}$ ϤτΗς ειτιω $\mathbf{e}$  Β,  $\mathbf{C}$   $\parallel$  28 post τιω $\mathbf{e}$ ] add. Αγω on  $\mathbf{C}$   $\parallel$ 29-30 post exwoy add. Lyw C || 31 epooy] exwoy C || 32-34 Lyw eyzioye zix $\bar{n}$ teuame νογκλω] εγρως $\bar{\tau}$  νογκλω εχντείλητε λύω  $\bar{b}$ ,  $\bar{c}$  νον  $\bar{b}$   $\bar{c}$  νον  $\bar{b}$   $\bar{c}$   $\bar{b}$   $\bar{c}$   $\bar{c}$   $\bar{d}$   $\bar{d$ мітечк $\omega$  поукроч] мікроч  $B, C \parallel 40\text{-}41$  с $\omega$ тм татамок $\cdot$  с $\omega$ тм єроч] ж $\varepsilon$  мімон анок †ΝΑΤΑΜΟΚ CWTM ΕΡΟ4 ΜΝΝΤCA ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ  $B, C \parallel 42 post$  εβολ add. ε4χω  $\overline{M}$ ΜΟC  $B, C \parallel 44$ **XE**] om. et post  $\bar{N}$ CECOOYN add.  $\bar{\Gamma}$ AP B, C || 46 post  $\bar{G}$ E add. TENOY et om. ETNOG C || 46  $\bar{N}$ -]  $\bar{\mathsf{M}}$ -  $\bar{\mathsf{B}}$ ,  $\bar{\mathsf{e}}$ т-  $\bar{\mathsf{C}} \parallel 50\text{-}51$  ачале ежипестос фантечссте] ентачале гар епестос етве πογχαϊ  $B, C \parallel 50 \ post$  thp $\overline{q}$  add. Nαμπηγε μπναπκάς  $C \parallel 53$ -67 μπναγ usque ad ετζίχων] πενισωμά μεν νησότε ουτ επεζρός ευτβρο μπτηρά αλώ ευκάθαριζε μφου 20μοιώς σε ον μκας αλτβρολ δωμελένολο ετολάβ μτεδελμάστ εβου δίπας € | 53 post мпнау add. гар В || 55 мп-] п- В || 57 напказ | напеснт В || 57-60 ачтвво мпанр ΤΗΡΊ 2ΜΠΕΊ ΕΜΕΙ ΝΙΟΥΤΕ] ΠΕΊ ΕΜΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΊΑΘΕ ΕΠΕΓΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΈΒΟ ΜΠΑΗΡ тнр $\bar{q}$  В  $\parallel$  62 а-] om. В  $\parallel$  63  $\bar{n}$ таү-]  $\bar{n}$ тереч- В  $\parallel$  64-65 ачтрепкаг] апкаг тнроу В  $\parallel$  66-67  $2\bar{\mathsf{M}}\pi\mathbf{x}\omega_2\bar{\mathsf{M}}$  ετειχων]  $2\bar{\mathsf{M}}$ νενχω $2\bar{\mathsf{M}}$  ετειωών  $\mathbf{B}\parallel 68$  post on] add. τενμήτνο τε  $\mathbf{B}$ ,  $\mathbf{C}\parallel 69$ -70 ачшил ммоч] ачшил еампте В, С∥

<del>C</del> 4			
	<b>Β</b> ωλ Ε̄ΒΟλ ΝΝΕΨΥ		ΜΝΤΕΥΜΝΤΑΥ
	<b>ΧΗ ĒΤΟΤΠ Ē2ΟΥΝ</b>		өатнс бүхш й
	ενταμίον πκακε		MOC∙ XE ENWI
	<b>λϤλλΥ ΝΡΜ2</b> ε· Ν		Νε Ναὶς πναζω
5	ΤΟϤ ΓΑΡ ΑϤЄΡΗΤ	40	ΡλΙΟC∙ λ4ΟΥω
	NAN 2NTE4TAΠPO		<b>ѿ</b> в €Ч <b>х</b> ѡ ммос
	ммє• таї єтмпє		<b>Σ</b> Ε
	<b>60λ ει έβολ π2</b> ΗΤΟ		ΚΤΙΝ Μπογο€Ι(Ν)
	ενές με ζοτάν εγ		<b>үоитим</b> рэти
10	<b>ψан</b> ⊻аст €воλ 2Ï	45	τε ρωςτ έςογη
	<b>ΣΜ</b> ΠΚΑ2 †ΝΑCEK		2Μπεγ2ο∙ λγ2ε
	ογον ΝΙΜ ϢΑΡΟΪ		еπеснт∙ 20мог
	2ΝΤΜΡΡ€ ΝΤΑΑΓΑ		ωс он ачтоγно
	πΗ∙ λϢ ϭϾ ΤϾ ΤΝΟϭ		соү битечиоб
15	ΝΑΓΑΠΗ· ΝΘΕ ΝΤΑΪ	50	ϻϻͷϫϭͺϫͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺͺ
	<b>ΝΤΈΡ</b> ΕΥΑλΕ ΕΧΝΟΥ		же арнү сепа
	ωє νċ҄†ос∙ νчсоν₂ч		Μ€ΤΑΝΟΪ∙ ΑΥΑ
	<b>Μ</b> λγλλ4· ĒΝΕΜ		магте ппечма
	πε4ογωω Γαρ αΝ		OHTHC SNOYMNT
20	πε· ΝΙΜ πετνλ	55	<b>ΑΤ</b> COΟΥΝ·
	<b>ω</b> ама2т€ ммо4∙		иаї б€ тнроү €4
	им гар πетиа		∈ір€ ммооү й
	ϢλΜλ2<ΤΕ> ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ		σιπνογτε∙ εч
	€τοη̄2∙ ΜπνλΥ _		ογωφ ετρερώ
25	ΓΑΡ ΝΤΑΥΚΟΠΊ ΝΟΙ	60	Με ΝΙΜ ΟΥΧΑΪ·
	ΝΑΤΝΟΥΤЄ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΪ		μμον μπησλ
	ληχνολολ δυολ		<b>ĒТ</b> ММАҮ· ЧИАТ
	NOG MMNTWAN _		ρε πκας ογ
• •	2TH4. <u>x</u> € €T€ <u>T</u> N		ων έρω4
30	WINE NCYNIM MN	65	ναομκόν επε
	<b>неіснче мінібе</b>		снт∙ ёпехаос∙
	Ρωβ· ΑΥΟΥω		NHTPEYB <sup>vacat</sup> ωK
	ФВ 2ЙТ€ҮМЙТ		€П€СНТ <sup>vacat</sup> €П
2.5	ATCOOYN MN	70	Mλ Μπ <sup>vacat</sup> €ΥCON
35	TEYMNTXACI2HT.	70	NIN€Y <sup>vacat</sup> H∙ H N€Y

1-2  $\bar{N}N$   τώπεσολ] ετε ώλλα νόδολ  $B, C \parallel 12 \ post$  ψαροϊ add. 4ch2 2νκεμα  $\mathbf{x}$ ε τναςοκογ φαροϊ Β, 4 CH2 Δε ον 2νκεφαχε∙ χε τναφοπογ εροι C || 13 2ντμβρε] 2νμμβρε Β, C  $\parallel$  15 post  $\bar{\text{N}}\Theta\varepsilon$  add. Fap  $\mathbb{C}\parallel$  16  $\bar{\text{N}}$ ΤΕΡΕΨΑλΕ $\mid$  ΕΤΡΕΨΑλΕ Ε2ΡΑ $\mid$   $\mathbb{B}$ ,  $\bar{\text{N}}$ ΤΑΨΑλΕ Ε2ΡΑ $\mid$   $\mathbb{C}\parallel$  17  $\bar{\text{N}}$ - $\mid$  $ar{\mathsf{N}}\mathsf{T}\mathsf{A}\mathsf{Y}\mathsf{-}\mathsf{C}\parallel \mathsf{17}\mathsf{-18}\,\mathsf{N}\mathsf{Y}\mathsf{C}\mathsf{ON2}\mathsf{Y}$  мауаач $\in$ 20үн ероч гапенноүжан С  $\parallel$  22 post gap add. Ener B, C  $\parallel$  24 etonz] Treycont B, treyconet mithry  $\parallel$  C  $\parallel$  25 fonz] κωτε ερο4  $B, C \parallel 26 \, \bar{N}$ ατνούτε] νεϊατώμε B, Nατώμε  $C \parallel 26 \, post$  ιούδαϊ add. ετρεύбоп $\bar{\mathbf{q}}$  В, С  $\parallel$  31-32 бер $\omega$ в $\mid$  мерес В  $\parallel$  32-33 аүоү $\omega$  $\omega$  $\bar{\mathbf{b}}$  $\mid$  йтооу де аүоү $\omega$  $\omega$  $\bar{\mathbf{b}}$  В, С  $\parallel$  33-34 ΜΝΤΑΤΟΟΟΥΝ] ΜΝΤΝΑϢΤ ΜΜΕ  $B\parallel 35$  ΜΝΤΧΑΟΙ2ΗΤ] ΜΝΤΟΥΑ2Ι2ΗΤ $B\parallel 40$ -41 post Α4ΟΥ $\omega$ ω $\overline{b}$  $add.\ \bar{\text{NOIIC}}\ B; \bar{\text{NTO4}}\ \Delta\varepsilon\ \text{a4000wb}\ \text{Nay}\ \bar{\text{NTEYNOY}}\ C\parallel 42\ post\ \pi\varepsilon \ ]\ add.\ \varepsilon\pi\varepsilon\tau\varepsilon\tau\bar{\text{N}}$  wine ncw4 αγω Ντεγνογ ετώπαγ etc C || 43 Μπογείν || om. C || 47 επές HT || om. B, νς απαξογ C || 48-50 ачтоүносоү гйтечноб ммйтфангтнч] гйтечмйтфангтнч етнаффс ачтоүносоү ezpaï  $B \parallel 51$  aphy] mewak  $B \parallel 552-53$  ayamazte] ntooy de aytwoyn ayamazte B|| 54-55 μντατοούν] μντναφατ μωε Β || 59-60 ετρερώμε νιμ ούχαι] ετρενούχαι Β  $\parallel$  61 ммон  $\parallel$  61 ммон  $\parallel$  6, С  $\parallel$  62-63 чнатре  $\parallel$  64 ершч  $\parallel$   $\parallel$  64 ершч  $\parallel$   $\parallel$   $\parallel$  65-68 ΝΦΟΜΚΟΥ ΕΠΕΌΗΤΟ ΕΠΧΑΟΟ ΝΦΤΡΕΎΒωΚ ΕΠΕΌΗΤ] ΝΟ ΕΒΟΚ ΕΠΕΌΗΤ ΕΠΕΧΑΟΜΑ Β;  $\bar{N}$ СЄВ $\omega$ К ЄПЕСНТ ЄПНОУН С  $\parallel$  70 Н NЄУ- $\parallel$  M $\bar{N}$ - B, С  $\parallel$ 

сча

	KECNHY∙ NAÏ Ñ		ΜΑΊλΟΓΟΟ: ΜΟΥ
	ΤΑΠΚΑ2 ΟΥϢΝ	35	ΤΕ ΝΑΪ ΕΠΜΑΪΝΟΥ
	έρωч αчομκογ		τε∙ αγω πμαϊλο
	έτε ταθαν πε∙		ΓΟC∙ λγω πρ€4
5	MNABIPWN· MN		ωωπ ёроч ннаг
	νώμьε μκολε∙		Γ€λΟС∙ €Τ€ ΠΑΪ
	ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΥΤΦΟΥ(Ν)	40	пе аврагам пеф
	εχΜΜωγchc 2N		BHP $\bar{M}$ ΠΝΟΥΤ $\epsilon$ ·
	т€РНМОС∙		маречеі нчтамо(н)
10	ΜΑΡΕΝΚΤΟΝ ΘΕ		ептүпос мпеі
	он еграї ежмпме		<b>ФНИ ЖЕ САВЕК</b>
	Γ€ΘΟC∙ Μπειλ	45	Ε̈́ΡΕΠΕΙΟΪλΕ ΜΗΡ
	20PATON CTOC N		<b>ēроч∙ ө€рмн</b> иіа
	ΤΝΌΑΧΕ Ε̈ΡΟΥ·		ГАР ИСАВЕК ПЕ П
15	ΤΗΝΟλΟΤΙΝ Ν		ma nāton āπe4
	ΤΝΕΙΜΕ ΕΝΕΠΡΟ		<b>cωτε∙ ēτε παϊ πε</b>
	<b>ΦΗΤΙ</b> Ά ΝΝΕΠΡΟ	50	пωє мπєстос∙ й
	ΦΗΤΗC· ΝΤΑΥΣΟ		ΤΑΠΕ2ΙΕΙΒ ΜΠΝΟΥ
	ΟΥ ΕΡΟ4 ΧΙΝ ΤΑΡ		TE ANE EZPAÏ EXWY
20	XH ϢλθλΗ· ΝΤϢ		2NOYNOO MMNT
	ΤΝ 2ωττηγτη		λλΜΠΡΟΟ: ΕΤΡΕΊ
	ῶ ΝΑΚΡωΑΤΗΟ·	55	<b>Χ</b> ωκ εβολ ΝΤΟΙ
	ογωως έβολ Νης		KONOMIA ETME2
	TNAICOHTHPION		ΝΟΥΧΑΪ. ΕΑΥΜ
25	NTETNXICMH 2N		TON MMO4 EZPAÏ Ē
	ογέζεχια· αγεις		χωч νθε νούρω
	ΝΤΝΟΥωΝ ΜΠ	60	ME. EAHEI EZPAI ZÑ
	Νοό Νθγελγρος		TEYCOUGE EYPZOB
	<b>ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ∙ ΝΤΝΕΙ</b>		NANY SIXW
30	ΝΕ ΕΒΟλ ΝΝΚΟΟΜΗ		ПЕЧМА ИЕМКАТК
	CIC MITNIKON		РОММ ИОТМРИ
	NTNKOCMEI NN	65	2Йπ€42ІС€∙ таї
	ΥΥΧΟΟΥ€ ΝΝΜ		ΤΕ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΠΟΩΤΗΡ
			AAC∙ NTA4MTON
			÷

1-2 ΝΑΪ ΝΤΑΠΚΑ2] ΕΝΤΑΥΤΡΕ ΠΚΑ2 Β || 3 ΕΡΦ4] ΝΡΦ4 Β || 4 ΕΤΕ ΤΑΘΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΝΑΒΙΡΦΝ ΜΝΝΦΗΡΕ ΝΚΟΡΕ] ΕΤΕ ΝΑΪ ΝΕ· ΔΑΘΑΝ ΜΝΑΒΙΡΦΝ ΜΝΝΦΗΡΕ ΝΚΟΡΕ Β, С || 7 ΤΦΟΥΝ ΕΖΡΑΪ Β || 8-9 ΣΝΤΕΡΗΜΟС] om. Β || 12-13 ΜΠΕΙΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΤΘΤΟ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΠΕΤΕΤΟΥΑΝ ΜΠΕΤΕΤΟΥΑΝ ΜΠΕΤΕΤΟΥΑΝ ΜΠΕΤΕΤΟΥΑΝ ΜΠΕΤΕΤΟΥΑΝ ΜΠΕΤΕΤΟΥΑΝ ΜΠΕΤΕΤΟΥΑΝ ΜΠΕΤΕΤΟΥΑΝ ΜΕΤΕΤΟΥΑΝ ΜΕΤΕΤΟΥΑΝ ΕΝΤΕΤΟΥΑΝ ΕΝΤΕΤΟΝ Ε

**CECOOYN AN ΜΠΕ** 

C4B			
	ммоч гіхмтєч		TOYEIPE MMO4. $x \in$
	ΜΑ ΝΚΑΤΚ ΕΤΕ		κας έκεειμε χε
	πε <del>с</del> †ос ммε πε∙		ογ πετερεπιωτ
	<b>ач</b> ωπ гісє п̄гнтч	40	<b>€ІРЕ ММОЧ∙ Е</b> АЧ
5	ϢλΝΤϾϤΤΟΥϪΟ		<b>λ</b> λ4 ΜπΝλΥ ĒΤΜ
	итмитрωмє тн		May. Nawenea
	PC· N4Ca@M an		ΜΝΤω ΑΝ2ΤΗ4
	ΟΥΔΕ ΝΥϢΤΕΡΤωΡ		ΓAP MMON 4NA
	λΝ∙ ΟΥΔ€ ΝΘΟΟΝΤ	45	ΤΝΟΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ Ε
10	<b>λΝ €Υ†€ΙΒΤ Ν</b> λ4∙		<b>Σ</b> ωογ ΝΤΟΡ
	ογδε ηθακανακ		ΓΗ ΝΑΤΤΑλδΟ · ϢΑ(N)
	τει αν· εγ†κλομ		тетесмн мпеч
	<b>νωαν</b> ∋τνοφν		моногеннс та
	ογδε Νάςαζογ αν εγ	50	204· Ν4Τω2̄M Ñ
15	<b>2ΙΟΥΕ̄ Ε̄2ΟΥΝ 2Μ̄</b>		течмптфаи2
	πε420 ογδε νάν		тнч∙ ичктє тєч
	какеі ан еүтса й		ορΓΗ ΜΝΠΕΥΘώΝΤ
	моч моүгмх ечтег		€па20ү∙ аүш ач
	эсіој⊛∙ и́чміф€	55	ΤΝΝΟΟΥ ΝΟΥΑΓ
20	ΓAP AN MNN€TNOÓ		Γ€λΟς ΝΣωωρ€∙
	иеб ммоч∙ оүде		<b>ΑΥΠ</b> ω2 Μπκλ
	ΝΦΟΝΤ ΑΝ ΕΥΠΟϢ		ΤΑΠЄΤΑСΜΑ ΜΠΡ
	йиєчгоїтє <u>ёх</u> шоγ		πε δ4ρζναγ∙ απ
	$\epsilon$ үм $\epsilon$ х канрос $ar{\epsilon}$	60	ΚΑ2 ΚΙΜ· ΑΜΠΕΤ
25	ΡΟΟΥ∙ ΚΟΥωϢ €		PA Πω2· ΑΠΡΗ P̄
	еіме же тме <u>т</u> е †		ΚΑΚΈ ΠΕΙΝΟΌ Ν
	хш ммос сштм		Ρε4ΡΟΥΘΕΙΝ∙ ΑΠ
	NTATAMOK·		KA2 THPŪ ĒPKA
	ΜΠΝΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΟΥΕΙ	65	ке жекас еческү
30	PE NNAÏ THPOY NA4·		πаζε Μπεчсωма
	дэ карэий їрра		ETOYAAB ZIXM
	ραι ωαπεчειωτ		πє <del>с†ос</del> ∙ євоλ <b>х</b> є
	<b>λ</b> 4πλρλκλλει Μ		<u>a</u> ykaay kazhy
	ΜΟϤ∙ ϪϾ Πλ€ΙϢΤ	70	NNE420ÏTE AY
35	$κω$ Νλ $γ$ $\bar{\epsilon}$ ΒΟλ $\_$ Χ $\epsilon$ Ν		ποφογ έχωογ.

1-7 2ΙΧΜΠΕΥΜΑ usque ad thpc] 2ΙΧΦΗ ΠΕΘΤΟΣ ΕΝΘΨΠ 2ΙCE ΑΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΫΤΚΑC ΑΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΫΒΑCANIZE ΑΝ Β  $\parallel$  7 ΝΫΓΚΑC ΑΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΕΨΝΟΘΕ ΑΝ ΑΝΕΤΡΕΙΡΤ ΕΝΕΥΘΙΧ Β  $\parallel$  12 ΑΥΤΚΑΟΜ Β  $\parallel$  14-15 ΕΥΖΙΟΥΕ ΕΝΕΤΙΚΑΟΚ Β  $\parallel$  17 post αν add. 2 $\mu$ ππεν2ητ Β  $\parallel$  17-19 ΕΥΤCA usque ad cime] ενεττ2μαχ 2ΙCIWE ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΥΤΑΠΡΟ ΕΤΟΥΑΛΑ Β  $\parallel$  19 ΝΫΜΙΨΕ] ΟΥΔΕ ΝΡΊΨΙΨΕ Β  $\parallel$  20 ΓΑΡ] ΟΜ. Β  $\parallel$  22 ΕΥΠΡΟΨ ΑΝΕΤΙΓΟΨ Β  $\parallel$  28 Ν-] ΟΜ. Β  $\parallel$  29 ΝΤΙΝΑΥ] ΕΤΙ Β  $\parallel$  29-34 ΕΤΟΥΕΙΡΕ USQUE ad ΧΕ] ΕΥΕΙΡΕ ΝΑΥ ΝΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΡΡΙΤΉ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΙΕ ΑΡΠΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΠΕΡΕΙΜΤ ΕΡΧΑΚΑ USQUE AD ΝΑΤΙΛΑΟΟ] 2ΦΟΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΑΚΕΙΜΕ ΧΕ ΕΡΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΙΦΤ CYMBOYΛΕΥΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΕΤΜΑΥ ΕΤΡΕΡΤΙΝΟΟΥ ΕΧΦΟΥ ΝΤΕΡΟΡΓΗ ΓΙΑΤΤΑΛΟΟ Β  $\parallel$  50-54 ΝΡΤΟΣ USQUE ad ΕΠΑΣΟΥ] ΝΫΤΦΒΣ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΆΚΤΕ ΠΟΦΝΤ ΝΤΕΡΟΡΓΗ ΕΠΑΣΟΥ Β  $\parallel$  55 ΝΧΦΟΡΡΕ] ΕΡΡΟΜΟΟΝ Β  $\parallel$  58-59 ΜΠΡΠΕ ΑΡΡΟΝΑΥ] ΧΙΝ ΤΠΕ ΕΠΕCHT ΑΡΑΛΑ USQUE AD ΕΧΦΟΥ) ΝΕΡΚΑΛΑΣ ΤΗΡΫ ΕΡΚΑΚΕ] ΑΠΚΑΚΕ ΜΟΥΣ ΜΠΚΟΟΜΟΟ Β  $\parallel$  69-71 ΑΥΚΑΛΑ USQUE ad ΕΧΦΟΥ) ΝΕΡΚΑΛΑΣΗΥ ΝΝΕΡΙΖΟΕΙΤΕ ΕΛΥΠΟΘΟΥ ΕΧΦΟΥ Β  $\parallel$  60-71 ΑΥΚΑΛΑ USQUE ad ΕΧΦΟΟΥ) ΝΕΡΚΑΚΑΣΗΥ ΝΝΕΡΙΖΟΕΙΤΕ ΕΛΥΠΟΘΟΥ ΕΧΦΟΥ Β  $\parallel$ 

CAL

	бишт и нам€ра	35	ρο4∙ πειωτ σωωτ
	τε πτετπλαγ ετ		євоλ 2́лтπє∙ єчθє
	ϻͲͳϢϪΝϨͳͰϤ		<b>шреі мітечфиье</b>
	<b>ΜΠΝΟΥΤЄ· ΠЄΤ</b> †		πечмоногеннс∙
5	ZBCW SIWWA WILL		αγω εч†εοογ Ναч
	<b>C</b> ωΝΤ ΤΗΡΎ· ΑΥ	40	панр тнрч хореүе
	каач кагнү ппеч		ПКА2 ТНР <mark>Ч</mark> ЄДЛОҮ
	2οϊτε 2ϊ <u>х</u> Μπε <mark></mark> ξ†ος		лаї ёвол же апеч
	ахха прн гшвс й		Ρρο πω2τ Μπε4̄
10	πεчχοεις 21ΤΜ		NOU EBOY SIXMA.
	πκакє πταчωω	45	ΝϢΗΝ ΤΗΡΟΎ ΤΑ $Υar{f e}$
	πε· Σε Νηεγνος		Shale $\underline{\epsilon}$ Boy. The lines
	MMHCTHPION N		εις λωε έχππωε
	τληώωπε διχώ		мπєс̂∱ос∙
15	πεστος έβολ με Ν		πωε νταφθαρςια·
	семпфа ммоч ап	50	$πω$ $\epsilon$ $\bar{N}$ κανοβ $\epsilon$ $\bar{\epsilon}$ ΒΟλ $\cdot$
	пентачмпфа гар		πωε πρέчταλδο.
	αчθεωρει Μπχωκ		πωε πρεч†ωπε·
	тнрч йтєчмйт		πωε πρεч†καρπος.
20	ΝΟΥΤЄ· ΜΠΝΑΥ ЄΤΜ		пфе мпемтом∙
	May· NIM σε πεν	55	πωє мπоγνοч∙
	тачмпфа мпеі		πωε Μπρλωε·
	ΝΟΌ ΝΤΑΪΟ∙ ΜΑΡ€(Ν)		πωε Μπογχλϊ·
	€ІМЄ ЁРОЧ∙ ПАНС		πω∈ мπ∈смоγ∙
25	тнс пє єчталнү		πωε ΜπωνΣ∙
	єп∡ісє_мπєс <del>†ос</del>	60	$πωε$ $\overline{n}τεχαρις$ $\overline{m}πε(n)$
	ачнаү ёгшв нім		$\mathbf{x}$ oeic <u>ic</u> $\mathbf{n}$ e $\overline{\mathbf{x}}$ e.
	Νταγωωπε∙ αγω		πενταγαφτά 2Ϊ
	ачтехна же ачпаү		∡мπωє мπєс <del>†</del> ос∙
30	<b>Ē</b> ΡΟΟΥ∙ ΟΥ ΠЄ ΝΤΑϤ		аїнаү єпсшит тн
	иаү ёроч∙ <u>е</u> імнтеі	65	ρά εчταζηγ Ερατά
	ΤΕСΤΡΑΤΙΑ ΝΝΑΓ		аγω €ЧСМОЙТ 2ТМ
	<b>Γ</b> ελος εγκωτε επε		πεπροςωπον Μ
	ċ∱ōċ εγ2γмνεγε ē		песॄ†ос∙ петефач
			р πрωмє ЙвРР€ Й

1 ω] om. et post σωφτ add. σε Β || 4 post πνούτε add. Μπτηρά Β || 8 post 20Ϊτε add. λύκααν ενσολή εβολ ζιχμπώς μπές  $\overline{f}$   $\overline{f}$ ΝΤΑΨΟΜΠΕ add. ΦΑΝΤΊΣΤΟΜΤΜ ΝΝΒΑΑ ΝΝΕΊΑΤΝΟΥΤΕ Β || 12-15 ΧΕ usque ad 21ΧΜΠΕΣΤΌΣ] **ΣΕ ΝΝΕΎΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΑ ΕΠΝΟΌ ΜΜΥ** CTHPION ΕΤΝΚΟΤΚ 21ΧΜΠΩΕ ΜΠΕΣΤΌΣ Β∥15-16 ΝΕΕΜΠΩΑ] CEΜπωλ  $\mathbb{B} \parallel 18-21$  αθθεωρει usque ad ετμμαλ $\mathbb{P} = \mathbb{P}$ ΕΤΡΕΘΕωρει μπλαλ ετμμαλ αλναλ επχωκ Μπμυτηρίον Ντεμμύτνουτε  $B \parallel 23$  Νταίο] Νεοού Μπναύ ετμμά  $B \parallel 24$  post epo4] add. пеют <math>eeopeї  $mmo4 ebo\lambda$  2nte B  $\parallel$  24-25 nahethe eetaahy] nahethe 2ωωч ταλην εζραϊ  $\mathbb{B} \parallel 27$ αчναν εζωβ νιμ νταγώωπε] 4θεωρει νζωβ νιμ ενταγώωπε B  $\parallel$  28-30 λυω usque ad epooy] λυω μράψε μτέληλ σε μναύ εροού Β  $\parallel$  30-35 ου usque ad epo4] ογ σε πετίναγ ερού τεστρατία νναιτέλος κώτε επέξρος σεργμιέγε ερού  $\mathbf{B} \parallel \mathbf{36-39}$  ευθέωρει usque ad nau] ευτέφου μπευμονογένης  $\mathbf{B} \parallel \mathbf{40}$  post χορεύε add. Σε πρωμά μπρεμρωπτ αφε εγραϊ  $B \parallel 41-42$  εφλογλαϊ εβολ] †λογλαϊ  $B \parallel 42-44$  $\bar{\text{N}}$  мунн  $usque\ ad\ \epsilon$  вол] анунн  $\bar{\text{T}}$  тен $\bar{\text{T}}$  оүш  $\epsilon$  вол  $\bar{\text{B}}$   $\parallel$  50  $\bar{\text{T}}$  ув  $\bar{\text{N}}$  ка нове  $\epsilon$  вол]  $\bar{\text{T}}$  ув  $\bar{n}$ РЕЧК $\omega$   $\bar{n}$ ОВЕ  $\bar{e}$ Вол  $\bar{B}$   $\parallel$  54  $\bar{m}$   $\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{m}$   $\bar{m}$ Тол  $\bar{D}$   $\parallel$  55  $\bar{m}$   $\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{m}$   $\bar{m}$ пфе етмер  $\bar{N}$  раук  $B \parallel 56$  пфе  $\bar{M}$  пфе  $\bar{M}$  пфе  $\bar{M}$  графе et post  $\bar{N}$  графе add. Пфе ετμές νέλος B || 57 πωε μπουχαϊ | πωε ετμές νουχαϊ B || 58 πωε μπέςμου | πωε єтмез  $\bar{n}$ смоу  $B \parallel 59$  тує  $\bar{n}$ тшох  $\bar{o}$  om.  $B \parallel 60-63$  тує usque ad  $\bar{n}$ тес  $f\bar{o}\bar{c}$  ] тує єтмез NXAPIC NIM EBOA 21TNIC TIEXC TAÏ NTAYAQTĀ ETIQE MTECPOC B  $\parallel$  64  $\varepsilon$ - $\mid$  0m. B  $\parallel$  66 CMONT] EYCMONT  $B \parallel 68-69$  hetewayp] hectoc he wayp  $B \parallel$ 

πεστος πε ππγρ

гос ечхосе ефач

3.5

СЧД	КЄСОП∙ МЙИСАЙ		ωωπ έροч πνετ
	CEPAC WAYT		THT $\bar{\mathbf{e}}_{\mathbf{p}}$
	MAEIN EPOU ZITM		πεζτος πε τεσλοοσε
	ПВАПТІСМА ЕТОУ		NPEYXI PWME E2
5	AAB. EWAYAA4 2M	40	Paï etπe.
3	лиег митесф	40	πε <del>cfoc</del> πε θεςω
	PARIC Mπexc.		EWAPENEXPHC
	тес <del>тос</del> пе фачка		
			ΤΙΆΝΟς Φωρει ΜΜΟς·
10	ΘΑΡΙΖΕ ΜΠΡωΜΕ ΝΊΠωτ ΝΟΑΝΕ	4.5	
10	_	43	пестос пе пвон
	ΝΕΡΓΙΑ ΝΦΝΑΧΟΥ		OC NEEBIHN.
	EBOA N2HT4.		аүш єтвоноїа 
	πес̄ <del>тос</del> πε πмнс		ĒN€T2HϢ·
1.5	тнріон ётоуаав	50	πεζτός πε Ντα4
15	20TAN FAP EYWAN	50	<b>ΦΟΡΦΡ ΜΠΡΠ</b> Ε
	<b>ΕΦΡΑΓΙΖΕ ΜΠΟΕΙΚ</b>		ΝΝΙΟΥΔΑΪ·_ΑΥΤ
	$\overline{MN}\overline{\Pi}$ TOTHPION		ρεγογων πτεκ
	<u> ϨΙϪΝΤ</u> ΕΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ _		KAHCIA· A4CTE
	<b>ͼτογ</b> λλβ∙ <u>λ</u> γω Ναε		фа <u>моү</u> ммос∙
20	επιτελει έχωογ	55	πεζ <u>τος</u> λαφορ
	ογκ ετει νογοεικ		<b>ϢP NNΔλIMONI</b>
	<b>ΑΝ Π€∙ ΜΝΟΥΗΡΠ</b>		ομ αθναχού εβολ
	ΝΚΕCOΠ· ΑλλΑ ΟΥ		2ΝΟΥ2ΟΤ€∙
	сωма πε млоус		пестос пе песмі
25	nou ечоүаав·	60	NE NNEEXHY Ē
	πεζ <del>γος</del> πε сολςλ		ΤΡ̃2ωΤ 2ΝΟΥΜΝΤ
	<b>ΝΝΕΤ2Ν2ΕΝ</b> λΥ		caïe∙
	TH ETBE NEYNOBE:		пє <del>с†ос</del> пє пєсмї
	пєс <del>тос</del> пє тєгій єт		ΝЄ ΝΝЄΟΥΗНВ
30	CΟΥΤώΝ∙ 2ΟΤΆΝ	65	<b>ετ</b> 2ππΗΪ ΜπΝΟΥ
	<b>ε</b> γωληρώμμο		T€ 2NOYMNTCAB€·
	ΜΕΎ C ϢΡΜ ΝΟΙΝΕΤ		πε <del>ζ σ</del> ος πε πεκ
	<b>Μ</b> ΟΟϢϾ_Ν2ΗΤϤ∙		PITHC NNAT

70

πωώνε ννα

ποςτολος.

сч€

	πεττος πε τλγχνια	35	Νεμπαρθενος∙
	Νογβ∙ Ερεπ2Η		пє <del>стос</del> пє псовт
	ΒΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ 2ΙΧως		$\varepsilon$ TT $\lambda$ XPH $\gamma$ $\cdot$
	$\epsilon$ C $\lambda$ $\lambda$ M $\pi$ $\epsilon$ $\gamma$ $\bar{\epsilon}$ $\cdot$		$\Pi \in \overline{C} + \overline{OC} = \Pi \in \overline{\Pi} \subset A \in I(N)$
5	πεζτος πε πειωτ		етөерапеүе и
	<b>ЙИОРФАИОС ЕЧ</b>	40	ŴIN€ NIM∙
	PO€IC EPOOY.		амнїт <u>и</u> мєфүлн
	πεζτος πε πεκρι		ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΚΑ2 ΡΑ
	THC NNEXHPA		ωε πτετπτέληλ
10	EUBOTE EBOX NNE		<b>Σ</b> E λΠΣΟΕΙΟ PPPO
	ΡΜειδογ€ ετ2Ν	45	€воλ 2мπω€ м
	ΝΕΥΒΑλ.		πεc̄ <del>foc</del> · netkim
	πεζτος πε ποολολ		THPOY ZNNEM
	ΝΝΡΜΝΟΟΪλ €·		ΜΟΥΝ€ΙΟΟΥ€∙ ΟΥ
15	пестос пе пефвнь		NO4 MMWTN X€
	иметфоош 5м	50	ΑΥΈΝΟΥ ΜΝΟΥΜΟ
	πχλΪε·		ογ ωρογό έβολ Μ
	πє <del>с∱ос</del> πε ткосмн		ΜΟϤ· Ν̄ϨλλὰΤϾ_ΤΗ
	CIC NNEOHCIAC		ΡΟΥ ΝΤΠ€∙ ΠΕΡϢ
20	THPION ETOYAAB.		NETNTNZ EBOX ZN
	πεζτος πε πείλος	55	ογογροτ Δε λαπω
	ΝΝ ΕΝΤΑΥ CIϢ E·		PW NNETNOIX EBOX
	πє <b>с†ос πє тво</b> н		2Ι <b>ϫ</b> Μπε̄Ċϯο̈Ċ·_
	οι επρωμε μπ		NEOHPION ETZN
25	ΝΑΥ ΝΤΕΥΑΝΑΓΚΗ		тернмос рафе й
	€ЧИНҮ ĒВОХ ZN	60	τετπογνου Δε
	C@MA∙		<b>λπ{ρ}ε</b> ϤΤλϢϾŌϾΙϢ
	πεζθος πε πδιοι		ωωπє интй и
	KHTHC NNNAHT.		ώмиоγв€∙
30	πεζτος πε ποικο		<b>ΑΤΈΤΝΝΑΥ ΣΕ ΟΥ</b>
	NOMOC NNEN	65	<b>λϢ ΝΌΟΤ ΠΕ ΠΜΕ</b>
	ταγνέχ πεγρο		reθoc Μπεc̄ <del>f</del> oc̄
	ογω ε̄ροч·		митєчноб нво
	πεζτός πε θαγνία		

аграфана єі фароч

**ΑΥΤΑλΚΟΥ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ** 

ΜΑΡΈΝϢλΗλ ΝΟΥ

οειώ νιμ άχνω

ΧΝ. ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΟΙΠΑ

3.5

CYC			
٠.5	нөіа ёхмпсшит		ποςτόλος δε ώλην
	ΤΗΡΊ· ΜΠΝΑΥ ΓΑΡ		<b>ΑΧΝΌΧΝ· ΝΑΪ</b>
	етереприме на		ΔΕ ΕΤΟ ΝΔΑΙΜώΝ
	περώ Νεчδιχ εβολ	40	πεωλην με ώγα
5	ΜΠΤΥΠΟC ΜΠΕC <del>Τ</del> ΟC		өерапече ммоч
	ΝΨωλΗλ 2ΝΟΥΠΙΟ		<b>ЕТВЕ ПАЇ ЕІСМ</b> ІТН
	τις. ωλρεπεчλΓ		<b>Ν200Υ ΤΝΝΕCΤΕΥΕ</b>
	ГЕХОС СОПС МПИОҮ		<b>ΑΥ</b> ω ΤΝΩλΗλ 2Μ
	те фантеч† нач	45	πμα έτογαλβ.
10	Йπ€4аітнма∙		<b>NTOK ЄК2ЙМА NIM</b>
	Ζαχαρίας αθώληλ α		ΜΑΡΕΠΕϢλΗλ ϢϢ
	Гавріна єї фароч		πе нак нфвнр∙
	ач† нач Мпечаі		<b>Ф</b> ХНХ ЕКНАЙКАТК
	THMA ĒTE IWZAN	50	ταρεκωωπε εκ
15	инс π€∙ π€трос		ογο $\mathbf{x}$ $\mathbf{\bar{\epsilon}}$ πιρλομος $\cdot$
	<b>ΑϤϢλΗλ ΑΠΑΓΓ</b> ΕλΟC		<b>ЄК2</b> МПДІКАСТН
	еі фароч ачтренга		ΡΙΟΝ ϢλΗλ· ΑΥϢ
	<b>ΣΗCIC ΜΠΕΝΙΠΕ Β</b> ωλ		пиоүте наміще
	$\bar{E}BO\lambda$ MNT $\Pi\gamma\lambda$ H $\bar{M}$	55	EZPAÏ EXWK.
20	πενιπε∙ 2ομοιως		<b>ЄКТАХНҮ ĒNЄМО</b> Ү
	он ачфана ачтоү		ΝΙΟΟΥΕ ϢλΗλ ΑΥω
	N€С ТАВІӨА∙ КОРNН		киамоγай ∈юмс∙
	λΙΟC ልዛወλΗλ ልπλΓ		<b>Ͼ</b> ϒϢ <b>ልΝΤ</b> λ2ΜϾΚ
	Γ€λος ει <u></u> ψλρο4∙	60	$\bar{\mathbf{e}}$ ΥΔΙΠΝΟΝ ϢλΗλ
25	παγλος Μηςιλάς αγ		ΜπλτεκογωΜ
	ωλην σμαιίενος <sub>-</sub>		<u>Τ</u> ΑΡΕ <u>Π</u> ΝΟΥΤΕ CMΟΥ
	ει ώγδοολ γλκιμ ν		Eπεκοεικ MNNE
	бісйтє мпєфтеко		ΤΕΚΝΑCΟΟΥΤΝ Ε
2.0	мшүснс ачшана ач	65	POOY THPOY. EITE
30	<b>σωτπ Μπαμαλεκ</b>		тетйоушм енте
	тшвіас ачшана		$\bar{\epsilon}$ T $\bar{\epsilon}$ T $\bar{\kappa}$ C $\omega$ . $\bar{\epsilon}$ IT $\bar{\epsilon}$

1 (βο)ηθία εχμπόωντ τηρή] βοηθεί ετώοοπ μπόωντ τηρή  $B \parallel 3.4$  ετέρεπρωμε ναπέρω] έρεπρωμε ναπρώ  $B \parallel 7.9$  ωαρέπεσαγγελός usque ad ναμ] ωαρέναγγελός ωτόρτη κανεύρητη ωαντούτ ναμ  $B \parallel 13$  αμτ ναμ] αμχρίζε ναμ  $B \parallel 19$  μντπύλη μπένιπε) ατπύλη μπένιπε ούων να μαλάλο  $B \parallel 21.22$  αμτούνες ταβίθα] αμτ πώνδ πλάβιθα  $B \parallel 22.23$  κορνηλίος αμώληλ] παλίν ον κορνηλίος αμώληλ εδούπιστις  $B \parallel 24$  εί ωαρόμ] ούωνδ ναμ έβολ et add. αμκατατοθούν ναμ μπέμαιτημα αμτέρ πέτρος εί ωαρόμ αμτ πουόειν ναμ  $B \parallel 25.28$  αυώληλ usque ad μπέμαιτημα αμτέρ πέτρος εί ωαρόμ αμτ πουόειν ναμ  $B \parallel 25.28$  αυώληλ usque ad μπέμαιτημα αμτέρ πέτρος εί ωαρόμ αμτ πουόειν ναμ  $B \parallel 25.28$  αυώληλ usque ad μπέμαιτημα αμτέρ πέτρος εί ωαρόμ αυώληλ ον μπέτριος μπέτριος δεπή αμεί ωαρόου αμκίμ επέματεκο ανώληλ ον μπέτριος μπέτριος αυώληλ αμόληλη δια τηρός ούων αμμάρτε κούληλη αμόληλη αμ

70

TETNEIPE NKE

2WB. APIZWB NIM

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ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΕΧΝΝΑΪ

<u>7</u>

τεοού Μπευραν ετούαδε εμπετ Νανούα νιμ πεν χοεις το πέχε παί 5 ετερεπεοού πρεπει Ναυ Μπταϊο Μπτεσκού ψα Νγεθα τηρού αύω ψαναιών 10 τηρού ναμν Νεσκού Ναυ Σαμην

## Translation of Pierpont Morgan M595, ff. 141ro-148ro

(f. 141 $r^{\circ}$ ) An exegesis (ἐξήγησις) of Apa (ἀββᾶ) Theophilus, the archbishop (ἀρχιεπίσκοπος) of Alexandria, which he pronounced concerning the Cross (σταυρός) and the thief (ληστής). In the peace (εἰρήνη) of God, Amen (ἀμήν)!

#### 1. Proemium: Christological hymn

The sun of righteousness (δικαιοσύνη)¹ has appeared from out of the Eastern places,²

Lightening those who are in the darkness and the shadow of death.<sup>3</sup> The king of justice (δικαιοσύνη)<sup>4</sup> has borne (φορεῖν) the crown of the kingdom

(And) all his enemies have been vanquished under his feet. The good odor has spread out on the altar of salvation (And) has dissipated the stench with the perfume of its ointment. The powerful lion has risen from the forests (And) the beasts ( $\theta\eta\rho$ iov) have hidden in their dark lair. The holy physician has come to us with his medicines of life (And) everyone who is afflicted has received the cure for free. The joy (εὐφροσύνη) of the whole creation was revealed: They rejoice with him!

# 2. The Parable of the two kings

For  $(\gamma \acute{\alpha} \rho)$ , just as if a hostile king encircles a city  $(\pi \acute{\alpha} \lambda_{15})$  and besieges it, then  $(\tau \acute{\alpha} \tau \epsilon)$  all those who are inside it are in subjugation, tormented,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mal 4:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Isa 41:2, 46:11; Ezek 43:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ps 106:14 (LXX); Isa 9:2; Matt 4:16; Luke 1:78-79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Heb 7:2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 1 Cor 15:25; Ps 46:2-3, 109:1 (LXX).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Rev 5:5.

grieving (λύπη) (and) groaning. But (δέ) when (ὅταν) the king that has authority (ἐξουσία) over it hears about the great effrontery (τολμηρία), just as he ventures (τολμᾶν) to kill his troops, then (τότε) he gathers his entire host and their war (πολεμικός) equipment (σκεῦος). After he instructed his host to fight (πολεμεῖν) with his enemies, he (f.  $141v^{\circ}$ ) marches in front of them with joy, knowing that he will vanquish his opponents with great power.

This is also the manner of our Lord Jesus Christ when he sees the enemy of the entire mankind, this being the Devil (διάβολος). He surrounded the entire inhabited world (οἰκουμένη), fafflicted everyone with his fetters full of sin, scattered them by his many plagues (πληγή), these being the idolatry (εἰδωλολατρεία), the robbery, the obscenity, the theft, the murder, the denunciation (καταλαλία), the envy, the hate, the wrath, the anger (ὀργή), the drunkenness, the witchcraft, the pollution, the guile (πανουργία), the trickery, the arrogance, the false oaths, the abominations, the fornications (πορνεία), the crookedness and those of the same kind, resembling them. These are the snares by which the Devil (διάβολος)<sup>8</sup> entraps humans until he leads them astray and brings them to naught. Come now to see in what way Christ, our King, fights (πολεμεῖν) with him until he takes away from him our souls (ψυχή) and makes them free.

#### 3. The Jews reject Christ

When it pleased him, God the Almighty  $(\pi\alpha\nu\tau\circ\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rho)$  sent his beloved Son to the world  $(\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\circ\varsigma)^9$  through his great love  $(\mathring{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta)$  with which he loved us. He went to the defiled people  $(\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\varsigma)$  (and) preached to them: "Repent  $(\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu\circ\epsilon i\nu)$ , for  $(\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho)$  the kingdom of heaven has drawn near!" But  $(\delta\acute{\epsilon})$  they did not pay attention to his holy advices  $(\sigma\iota\mu\beta\circ\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha})$ . (f.  $142r^o$ ) After these, he performed in their midst all the miracles which are numberless: he made the blind to see, 11 made the deaf to hear, made the cripples to walk, 12 cleansed the leprous, raised the dead, cast forth the demons  $(\delta\alpha\iota\mu\acute{o}\iota\iota\circ\varsigma)$ , straightened the withered hands, satisfied the poor with bread, purified the depraved  $(\pi\acute{o}\rho\iota\circ\varsigma)$ , forgave their sins through his Godhead (and) made them like virgins  $(\pi\alpha\rho\theta\acute{e}\iota\circ\varsigma)$ . For  $(\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho)$  that woman was worthy of a great honor <when> her hands anointed the feet of the one who created  $(\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu)$  her. When she partook  $(\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\epsilon\iota\nu)$  in the purity of his Godhead, then the voice  $(\varphi\omega\iota\acute{\eta})$  of God reached her: "Your faith  $(\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma)$  has saved you, go in peace  $(\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\nu}\nu\eta)$ ." Here  $(\epsilon\acute{\iota}\iota\acute{\rho}\iota\nu\eta)$ ."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Rev 12:9.

<sup>8 1</sup> Tim 3:7; 2 Tim 2:26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> John 3:16, 10:36, 17:21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Matt 3:2; Mark 1:15; Matt 4:17, 10:7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> John 9:1-12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> John 5:1-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Luke 7:36-50.

After all that he has done, they did not believe (πιστεύειν) in him, <sup>14</sup> but (ἀλλά) captured him, <sup>15</sup> handed him over (παραδιδόναι) (and) crucified (σταυροῦν) him. <sup>16</sup> When he entered into the palace (αὐλή) of the High Priest (ἀρχιερεύς), <sup>17</sup> they gave him blows instead of praise. Then (τότε) the word that was written was fulfilled: "They have done to me evil instead of good, and hate instead of my love." Which are the evils that these murderers (φονεύς) have done to their Lord when they arrested him? Come and let us know them, for (γάρ) they are fearful to express: my tongue suffers, my eyes weep, my spirit (πνεῦμα) groans, my soul (ψυχή) is troubled to express them. It is God that they seized, it is the Lord that they (f. 142 $v^o$ ) bound, it is the King that they crucified (σταυροῦν), it is Jesus Christ that they fettered! They nailed him in his holy hands, slapped the face that they fettered! They nailed him with a scarlet (κόκκος) robe (χλαμύς) (and) gave him vinegar and gall. All these things were done to him.

#### 4. The two thieves on the cross

They have crucified (σταυροῦν) him with two other thieves (ληστής). And (δέ) one of them, who was not worthy for the glory of God, said to the Lord mocking at him: "If you are the Christ, save yourself and save us too!" The other one rebuked (ἐπιτιμᾶν) him with fury: "Don't you fear God? For (γάρ) we are receiving according to (κατά) the merit of the sins that we have done but (δέ) this one has not done anything bad." And he said: "Remember me to the Lord when you enter into your kingdom." Jesus said to him with great joy: "Today you will be with me in my Paradise (παράδεισος). The gate of Paradise (παράδεισος) is closed since the moment when Adam transgressed (παραβαίνειν) but (ἀλλά) I will open it to you and receive you inside.

You have recognized the highness of my Godhead being on the cross (σταυρός), you will be my companion (κοινωνός) in the joy of my kingdom.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> John 12:37.

<sup>15</sup> John 18:12.

<sup>16</sup> John 19:18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Matt 26:3 (?).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ps 108:5 (LXX).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> John 18:12.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem, De Passione 1 (M595, f. 15v°): αλΗΤΏC ΠΑ2ΗΤ ϢΤΡΤΏΡ ΕΪΧϢ ΝΝΑΪ Ѿ ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ· ΑΥϢ ΤΑΥΧΗ ΤΑΡΑССЕ ΠΑΒΑΛ ΤΡΜΕΙΗ.

<sup>21</sup> Mark 14:65; Matt 26:67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Matt 26:67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> John 19:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Matt 27:28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> John 19:18.

You have glorified me in the midst of the sinners, I will glorify you in my turn<sup>26</sup> in the midst of my angelic host (ἀγγελική).

Stick to me on the Cross (σταυρός), being sweet towards me by (f.  $143r^{\circ}$ ) your heart's desire (and) I will love you in my turn and my angels (ἄγγελος) will serve (διακονεῖν) you at the feast (δεῖπνον) of the saints!

You used to be in the company of murderers, behold, I have made you my companion. I am the life of everyone.<sup>27</sup>

For  $(\gamma \acute{\alpha} \rho)$  you were walking in the nights with the sons of darkness (and) behold, I have made you walking with me. I am the light of the world  $(\kappa \acute{\alpha} \mu o_5)$ .<sup>28</sup>

First you were taking counsel with the murderers (and) I have made you my companion. I am the Savior.

I will grant (χαρίζεσθαι) you all these because you have confessed (ὁμολογεῖσθαι) my divinity in the presence of those who have denied (ἀρνεῖσθαι) me. They have seen all the miracles that I have done (and) they did not believe (πιστεύειν) in me.<sup>29</sup> But (δέ) you, although you are a thief (ληστής), murderer, robber, impetuous, briber, yet you have confessed (ὁμολογεῖσθαι) that I am God. Because of this, your numerous sins are forgiven for you have confessed (ὁμολογεῖσθαι) me.

I will make you to become inhabitant (πολίτης) of Paradise (παρά-δεισος),

I will make your body (σῶμα) to be perfect until I raise you up.

But (δέ) this one who has denied (ἀρνεῖσθαι) me will see you wrapped in glory while he is wrapped in shame and sufferance.

He will see you wrapped in light while he endures (ἀπολαυεῖν) the darkness.

He will see you wrapped in gladness and (f. 143 $\nu^{o}$ ) joy while he endures (ἀπολαυεῖν) the sorrow (λύπη) and the groan.

He will see you in dilation and joy (εὐφροσύνη), whereas he is in misery and curse.

He will see you while the angels ( $\mbox{\'{a}}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\sigma\varsigma$ ) are encouraging you, whereas he is in Tartar.

Not only (οὐ μόνον) that he has not confessed (ὁμολογεῖσθαι) me, but (ἀλλά) he has denied (ἀρνεῖσθαι) me and my divinity. He kept mocking and deriding me. Because of this everyone receives according (κατά) to his deeds. For (γάρ) I have already told them in the midst of everybody: 'The one who will confess (ὁμολογεῖσθαι) me in the front of men, I will confess (ὁμολογεῖσθαι) him in front of my Father who is in heaven.'"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> 1 Kgs 2:30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> John 11:25, 14:6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> John 8:12, 9:5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> John 12:37.

#### 5. Paraenesis

So you see, O brothers, how is the sufferance that will befall the man who will deny  $(\mathring{\alpha}\rho\nu\tilde{\epsilon}i\sigma\theta\alpha)$  his Lord. Therefore, let us guard ourselves so that they may not deceive us and estrange us from the one who has created us, by reason of the affairs of this world  $(\alpha\mathring{\omega}\nu)$ . There are some who deny  $(\mathring{\alpha}\rho\nu\tilde{\epsilon}i\sigma\theta\alpha)$  God for possessions  $(\chi\rho\tilde{\eta}\mu\alpha)$ . For  $(\gamma\hat{\alpha}\rho)$  the cupidity  $(\chi\rho\tilde{\eta}\mu\alpha)$  closes the eyes of the one who has desired. He takes in his turn Judas' part  $(\mu\epsilon\rho\hat{\epsilon})$  for  $(\kappa\alpha\hat{\epsilon})$   $\gamma\hat{\epsilon}$  $(\kappa\alpha\hat{\epsilon})$  he has also sold his Lord for thirty silver coins.

#### 6. The Cross. God's endurance and long-suffering

Now, it is good (ἀγαθόν) for us to cast our attention to the Lord, because (γάρ) he is the one who will take care of us according (κατά) to the word of our father Peter. Let us turn now to the exposition (προκείμενον) about the Cross (σταυρός) of our Lord Jesus Christ and the thief (ληστής) because (γάρ) a life giving wood is  $(f. 144r^o)$  the wood of the Cross (σταυρός).

The angels (ἄγγελος) ascend to the Father and descend to the Son³¹ on the Cross (σταυρός), looking forward to his will. Behold God's compassion and his forbearance (ἀνοχή): watching from the height he sees his only-begotten (μονογενής) Son nailed on the Cross (σταυρός) enduring in his goodness (χρηστός). As for him, our Lord Jesus Christ, they are nailing his hands and they are slapping his face, they are striking his head, they are giving him vinegar and gall to drink, they are dividing his garments among them, they are casting lots (κλῆρος) for them³² and they are striking his head with a reed; during all this he did not get angry nor (οὐδέ) had he guile in his heart against them. Do you want to know? Listen and I will inform you. Hear him declaring: "My Father, forgive them because they do not know what they are doing."³³ You have seen now the great endurance of the Father and of his Son toward us.

# 7. The crucified Christ purifies the creation

He ascended on the Cross (σταυρός) saving the entire creation. In the moment when he was hanged on the Cross (σταυρός) he purified the entire creation,<sup>34</sup> those of the heaven and those of the earth. He has cleaned the entire air (ἀήρ), purifying (καθαρίζειν) it with God's body (σῶμα). Likewise (ὁμοίως), his holy blood that was shed has cleaned the earth from the pol-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> 1 Pet 5:7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> John 1:51; Gen 28:12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> John 19:23-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Luke 23:34.

 $<sup>^{34}</sup>$  M575 f. 8v°: ачтвво мпікосмос птеречале ехмпестос.

lution which was on it.<sup>35</sup> Moreover ( $\xi\tau_1$ ), he descended into Amente (and) spoiled it. He (f. 144 $v^0$ ) freed the souls ( $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ ) that were imprisoned in the chambers ( $\tau \alpha \mu v \tilde{\xi} v \tilde{t}  

#### 8. Christ sacrificed himself willingly for our sake

#### 9. The punishment of sinners

Now God has performed all this wanting salvation for every man. Verily in that hour he will make the earth to open its mouth and swallow them in the abyss ( $\chi$ ćos) and make them go down to the place of their brother Nineve and also ( $\mathring{\eta}$ ) of their (f.  $145r^o$ ) other brothers who have been swallowed when the earth opened its mouth: Dathan and Abiram and the sons of Korah, the ones who rose up against Moses in the desert ( $\xi \rho \eta \mu o s$ ).

# 10. An Old Testament prophecy about the Cross

Now let us return again to the greatness (μέγεθος) of the invisible (ἀόρατος) Cross (σταυρός) and discuss it and know the prophecies (προφητεία) that the prophets (προφήτης) have said about it since the beginning (ἀρχή) until the end. You in your turn, O hearers (ἀκροατής), spread forth your senses

<sup>35</sup> Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria, In passionem et crucem Domini 21 (PG 28:224): Καὶ γὰρ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, τὸν μὲν ἀέρα ἐκαθάριζε τῆ ἐκτάσει τῶν χειρῶν, τὴν δὲ γῆν ἐλυτροῦτο, τῶ αἵματι καὶ τῶ ὕδατι τῆς πλευρᾶς ἀποπλύνων αὐτήν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> John 12:32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> John 18:12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Matt 26:55; Mark 14:48; Luke 22:52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> John 18:4-6.

<sup>40</sup> Num 16:1-30.

(αἰσθητήριον) and listen quietly (ἡσυχία). Come to open the great holy treasure (θησαυρός) and bring out the spiritual (πνευματικός) ornaments (κόσμησις) to adorn (κοσμεῖν) the souls (ψυχή) of the Logos(λόγος)-loving people.

Summon with me the God-lover, the Logos(λόγος)-lover and the one who is with the angels (ἄγγελος), this being Abraham, God's friend.<sup>41</sup> Let him come and teach us concerning the type (τύπος) of this tree, Sabek, that has caught the ram in it.<sup>42</sup> For (γάρ) the interpretation (ἑρμηνεία) of Sabek is "the resting-place of the Savior," this being the wood of the Cross (σταυρός) on which the lamb of God<sup>43</sup> has mounted in a great splendor (λαμπρός) in order to fulfill the *oikonomia* (οἰκονομία) full of salvation. He reposed on it like a man that has come from the field where he worked, threw himself upon the bed and rested from his toil. This is how the Savior (σωτήρ) has done when he rested (f. 145ν°) on his bed, this being the Cross (σταυρός) of truth. He suffered on it until he saved the entire human kind.

#### 11. Christ's mercy. The persecutors did not know who he was.

He has not been disheartened nor (οὐδέ) has he been troubled nor (οὐδέ) furious when they nailed him nor (οὐδέ) irritated (ἀγανακτεῖν) (when) they put a crown of thorns upon him<sup>44</sup> nor (οὐδέ) has he cursed<sup>45</sup> when they hit him in his face nor (οὐδέ) has he been coward (κακίζω) when they gave him to drink vinegar mixed with gall. For (γάρ) he has not opposed those who mocked him nor (οὐδέ) has he been furious when they divided his garments and cast lots (κλῆρος) for them.<sup>46</sup>

Do you want to know which is the truth? I am telling it, listen and I will inform you. In the moment when they have done all this to him, he raised his eyes toward his Father (and) begged (παρακαλεῖν) him: "My Father, forgive them for they do not know what they are doing." In this way you will know what the Father is doing and has done at that time, for (γάρ) his mercies to us are great, or else he would have sent upon them the incurable fury (ὀργή). Thus the voice of his only-begotten (μονογενής) reached him and summoned his mercy to turn back his fury (ὀργή) and wrath.

And he sent a powerful angel (ἄγγελος) (and) he cut in two the curtain (καταπέτασμα) of the temple. The earth moved, the rocks (πέτρα) split, 48

<sup>41</sup> Jas 2:23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Gen 22:13.

<sup>43</sup> John 1:29.36.

<sup>44</sup> John 19:2.

<sup>45 1</sup> Pet 2:23.

<sup>46</sup> John 19:23-24.

<sup>47</sup> Luke 23:34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Matt 27:51.

the sun grew dark.<sup>49</sup> This great luminary has darkened the entire earth in order to overshadow (σκεπάζειν) his holy body (σῶμα) on the Cross (σταυρός) because they have stripped off his clothes (and) divided them among them.<sup>50</sup> (f. 146r°) Look, O my friends, and see God's endurance. They have stripped off his garments on the Cross (σταυρός), the one who has clothed the entire creation, but (ἀλλά) the sun covered his Lord in darkness.<sup>51</sup> This has happened because they were not worthy for the great mystery (μυστήριον) which was on the Cross (σταυρός). But the one who was worthy has contemplated (θεωρεῖν) the entire perfection of his divinity in that moment.

#### 12. The vision of the Good Thief after his confession

Now who was worthy of this great honor? Let us know him. It is the thief  $(\lambda\eta\sigma\tau\dot{\eta}\varsigma)$  mounted on the height of the cross  $(\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\dot{\varsigma}\varsigma)$ . He has seen everything that happened and rejoiced because he has seen it. What has he seen if not  $(\epsilon i \, \mu\dot{\eta} \, \tau i)$  the army  $(\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\dot{\iota}\alpha)$  of angels  $(\check{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\varsigma)$  surrounding the Cross  $(\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\dot{\varsigma}\varsigma)$  (and) singing hymns  $(\dot{\upsilon}\mu\nu\epsilon\dot{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu)$  to it? The Father looks from heaven contemplating  $(\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\epsilon\dot{\imath}\nu)$  his only-begotten  $(\mu\upsilon\nu\varsigma\gamma\epsilon\nu\dot{\eta}\varsigma)$  Son and glorifying him. The entire air  $(\dot{c}\dot{\eta}\rho)$  sings  $(\chi\varsigma\rho\epsilon\dot{\upsilon}\omega)$ , the whole earth is shouting aloud because its king shed his blood on it. All the trees blossom because the Lord has mounted on the wood of the Cross  $(\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\dot{\varsigma}\varsigma)$ .

## 13. Hymn to the wood of the Cross

The wood of incorruptibility (ἀφθαρσία),
The wood of forgiveness of sin,
The wood of the healer,
The wood of the life-giver,
The wood of the fruit-giver,
The wood of relief,
The wood of gladness,
The wood of joy,
The wood of salvation,
The wood of blessing,
The wood of life,

The wood of the grace (χάρις) of our Lord Jesus Christ, the one who has been hanged on the wood of the Cross (σταυρός).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Matt 27:45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> John 19:23-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Matt 27:45.

#### 14. The confession of the Good Thief after the vision

"I have seen the entire creation established and arranged in the image  $(\pi\rho\delta\sigma\omega\pi\sigma\nu)$  of the Cross  $(\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\rho\delta\varsigma)$ ."

#### 15. The hymn of the Cross

(The Cross) is the one who makes a man young (f. 146 $\nu$ °) again after he grows old, signs him through the holy baptism (βάπτισμα) by marking him with the oil and Christ's seal (σφραγίς).<sup>52</sup>

The Cross (σταυρός) purifies (καθαρίζειν) the man that pursues the energies (ἐνέργεια) cast forth from it.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the holy mystery (μυστήριον). For (γάρ) when (ὅταν) they seal (σφραγίζειν) the bread and the chalice (ποτήριον) on the holy table (τράπεζα) and they accomplish (ἐπιτελεῖν) them, it is not anymore (οὐκ ἔτι) bread nor wine but (ἀλλά) it is holy body (σῶμα) and blood.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the consolation of those who are in distress (λύπη) because of their sins.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the straight way, not leading astray those who walk on it when (ὅταν) they are estranged.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the high tower (πύργος) which receives those who are running to it.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the ladder which raises man to the sky.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the garment which the Christians (χριστιανός) are wearing (φορεῖν).

The Cross (σταυρός) is the helper (βοηθός) of the poor and the help (βοήθεια) for those who are distressed.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the one who has destroyed the temple of the Jews (ἰουδαῖος), opened the Church (ἐκκλησία) and has crowned (στεφανοῦν) it.

The Cross (σταυρός) destroyed the demons (δαιμόνιος) (and) cast them away in fear.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the stability of the ships that are sailing in beauty.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the establishment of the priests that are in the house of God with wisdom.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the immutable judge (κριτής) of the apostles (ἀπόστολος).

(f. 147r°) The Cross (σταυρός) is the lamp (λυχνία) of gold<sup>53</sup> whose holy flame is shining (λαμπεύειν).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Eph 1:13, 4:30; 2 Cor 1:21-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Zech 4:2. The metaphor of the Cross as the lamp (λυχνία) whose flame is the crucified Christ appears elsewhere in Patristic literature. For some parallels taken from the Greek and Latin Fathers, see Michel Aubineau, Hésychius de Jérusalem: Homélies pascales: Cinq homélies inédites (SC 187; Paris: Cerf, 1972), 78-80. Cf. also O'Leary, Difnar (see Introduction note 70), 16a; Giamberardini, "La Croce e il Crocifisso" (see Introduction note 70), 64.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the father of the orphans (ὀρφανός),<sup>54</sup> taking care of them.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the judge (κριτής) of the widows (χήρα),<sup>55</sup> wiping out the tears from their eyes.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the consolation of the sojourners.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the companion of those who are in the desert.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the ornament (κόσμησις) of the holy altars (θυσιαστήριον).

The Cross (σταυρός) is the sweetness of those who were bitter.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the help (βοηθεῖν) of man in the moment of his necessity (ἀνάγκη), when he goes out from the body (σῶμα).

The Cross (σταυρός) is the governor (διοικητής) of the compassionates.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the administrator (οἰκονόμος) of those who have put their care in it.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the chastity (άγνεία) of the virgins (παρθένος).

The Cross (σταυρός) is the fortified wall.

The Cross (σταυρός) is the physician who cures (θεραπεύειν) every sickness.

Come, all tribes  $(\phi \nu \lambda \dot{\eta})$  of the earth, rejoice and jubilate because the Lord has reigned from the wood of the Cross  $(\sigma \tau \alpha \nu \rho \dot{\phi}_S)!$  Be glad all those who are moving in the waters because blood and water have flown from him. Spread your wings with gladness, all birds of the sky, because he has spread his arms on the Cross  $(\sigma \tau \alpha \nu \rho \dot{\phi}_S)$ . Be glad and rejoice, beasts  $(\theta \eta \rho i \nu)$  that are in the desert  $(\xi \rho \eta \mu \sigma_S)$ , because his preaching was good news for you. 56

You have seen of what sort is the greatness (μέγεθος) of the Cross (σταυρός) and its great (f.  $147v^{o}$ ) help (βοήθεια) for the entire creation.

## 16. Exhortation to prayer

For (γάρ) in the moment when man will spread his arms on the image (τύπος) of the Cross (σταυρός) and will pray with faith (πίστις), the angels (ἄγγελος) entreat God until he fulfills his demand (αἴτημα). Zechariah prayed (and) Gabriel came to him (and) fulfilled his demand (αἴτημα), this being John. <sup>57</sup> Peter prayed (and) the angel (ἄγγελος) came to him (and) made the chains (ἄλυσις) of iron to loosen and the gate (πύλη) of iron <to open alone>. <sup>58</sup> Likewise (ὁμοίως) again, he prayed (and) resurrected Tabitha. <sup>59</sup> Cornelius prayed (and) the angel (ἄγγελος) came to him. <sup>60</sup> Paul

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Ps 67:6 (LXX).

<sup>55</sup> Ps 67:6 (LXX).

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Ps 95 (LXX).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Luke 1:11-13.19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Acts 12:1-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Acts 9:36-43.

<sup>60</sup> Acts 10:3.

and Silas prayed and the angel (ἄγγελος) came to them (and) the foundations of the prison moved.<sup>61</sup> Moses prayed (and) he defeated Amalek.<sup>62</sup> Tobias prayed and Raphael came to him (and) healed him.<sup>63</sup>

Therefore, let us pray continually on every occasion. The apostle (ἀπόστολος) said: "Pray continually." <sup>64</sup> The prayer cures (θεραπεύειν) those possessed by demons (δαίμων). For this reason I have established today for us to fast (νηστεύειν) and pray in the holy place. Let the prayer be your companion everywhere you are. Pray when you lay down and you will be safe in the trial (πειρασμός). Pray while you are in the tribunal (δικαστήριον) and God will fight for you. Pray when you embark on waters and you will be safe from submerging. If they invite you to a feast (δεῖπνον), pray, do not eat, and God will bless your bread and everything that you will prepare. Whether (εἴτε) you eat, whether (εἴτε) you drink, whether (εἴτε) you do something else, do everything so as to glorify God. <sup>65</sup>

#### 17. Doxology

In all this, let us (f.  $148r^{\circ}$ ) glorify his holy name by every good thing, our Lord Jesus Christ, the one whom befits ( $\pi \rho \acute{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon i$ ) the glory and the honor and the blessing until all the generations ( $\gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \acute{\alpha}$ ) and until all the eternities ( $\alpha \acute{\alpha} \acute{\omega} \nu$ ) of eternities ( $\alpha \acute{\alpha} \acute{\omega} \nu$ ), Amen ( $\dot{\alpha} \mu \acute{\eta} \nu$ ).

#### ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Der vorliegende Beitrag bietet Edition und Übersetzung einer koptischen Homilie zum "Kreuz und dem guten Dieb" (CPG 2622; clavis coptica 0395), welche Theophilus von Alexandria zugeschrieben wird. Die Edition basiert auf dem Pierpont Morgan Codex M595, ff. 141r°-148r°, einem Pergament-Codex aus dem 9. Jahrhundert, der zum Kloster des Erzengels Michael bei Hamuli in der Fayyum Oase gehörte. Der kritische Apparat belegt die verschiedenen Lesarten der drei anderen verbliebenen Manuskripte dieser Predigt. In der Einleitung findet sich eine Beschreibung der Manuskripte sowie ein Kommentar, der die Predigt über das "Kreuz und den guten Dieb" von Pseudo-Theophilus ins Verhältnis zur patristischen exegetischen Tradition setzt. Auf literarische Verbindungen zwischen der langen Hymne auf das Kreuz im hier editierten Text und vergleichbarem Stoff im pseudo-Chrysostsomischen Werk *In venerabilem crucem sermo* (CPG 4525) wird hingewiesen.

<sup>61</sup> Acts 16:25-26.

<sup>62</sup> Exod 17:8-16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Tob 3:1-25.

<sup>64 1</sup> Thess 5:17.

<sup>65 1</sup> Cor 10:31.