

UNIONE ACCADEMICA NAZIONALE
Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari

J. MARK SHERIDAN

RUFUS OF SHOTEP
HOMILIES ON THE GOSPELS OF
MATTHEW AND LUKE

INTRODUCTION, TEXT,
TRANSLATION, COMMENTARY

ROMA - C.I.M. - 1998

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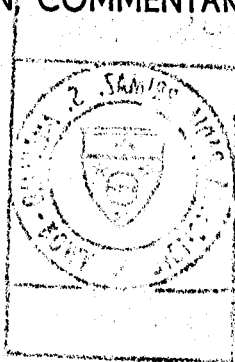
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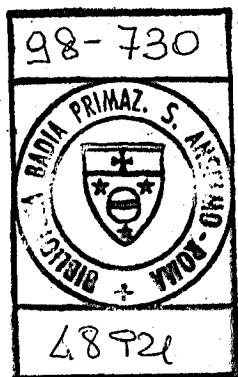
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PREFACE

This work was originally completed in 1989 as a doctoral dissertation for the Catholic University of America. Its publication has been delayed in part because of the need to include new material brought to my attention by Prof. Stephen Emmel (Münster). The inclusion of this material has rendered obsolete the original microfiche edition of the work because of the need to reorder and renumber the manuscript pages.

Because of the fragmentary condition of many of the manuscript leaves presented here, a decision was made at the outset to transcribe them in diplomatic format. This sometimes has the advantage of aiding in the reconstruction of the text. All references to the contents of the homilies, whether in the body of this work or in the indices, are to the numbers given the manuscript pages in the order in which they have been assembled in this edition, e.g., M.1, L.1 (and not to page numbers of this book). For the earlier designations of these manuscripts as given by Garitte, the reader is referred to the Introduction, pp. 20-31. The numbers in the text and translation sections correspond.

The existence of these homilies was first brought to my attention and suggested as possible material for a doctoral dissertation by the late Paulinus Bellet, O.S.B., for many years professor of Coptic at the Catholic University of America, who also introduced me to the study of Coptic. To him I am especially grateful and I only regret that he did not live to see the work brought to completion. To my dissertation director, Prof. David W. Johnson, S.J., I wish to express my thanks for his painstaking corrections and suggestions.

I am much indebted to Prof. Tito Orlandi of the University of Rome and the Patristic Institute «Augustinianum,» who placed at my disposal for several years his photographic archive of the manuscripts of the White Monastery from which these manuscripts originally come. The archive was indispensable for this work. To him I am also grateful for a number of useful suggestions and for publishing the work in this series. My thanks are likewise due to the director of the Papyrussammlung of the Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Dr. Hermann Har-

rauer, who was most helpful in allowing me to examine those portions of the manuscripts located in Vienna and to Mrs. Samiha Abdel-Shahid, who located and allowed me to examine several leaves in the Library of the Coptic Museum in Cairo. I am indebted also to Prof. C. Detlev G. Müller, who offered a number of helpful suggestions and brought to my attention a number of his own publications in this area. To Jeremy Driscoll, O.S.B., who read the last two chapters, I am also grateful for a number of useful suggestions.

Last but not least I must express gratitude for the more material support that made this work possible. To the former chairman of the Department of Semitic and Oriental languages at the Catholic University, Prof. Aloysius Fitzgerald, F.S.C, I am particularly grateful for the scholarship assistance which made it possible for me to pursue the necessary course work. My special thanks are due to my late mother, Mrs. James W. Sheridan, and to Dr. Helen E. Peixotto, who provided me with the hardware and software that enabled me to produce this work. I cannot fail to mention also the practical assistance provided me by the librarian of the Department of Semitic and Oriental Languages of the Catholic University, Miss Monica Blanchard, and by my former secretary, Dr. Leonard Maluf.

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used for the names of biblical books are those of *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly/The Journal of Biblical Literature*. The Psalms are numbered according to the Septuagint.

- AG — Arndt, William F. and Gingrich, F. Wilbur. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Second Edition revised and augmented by F. Wilbur Gingrich and Frederick W. Danker. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
- Budge — Budge, E. A. Wallis. *The Earliest Known Coptic Psalter: The Text, in the Dialect of upper Egypt, edited from the unique papyrus codex oriental 5000 in the British Museum*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd., 1898.
- Ciasca — Ciasca, A. and Balestri, J. *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta copto-sahidica Musei Borgiani iussu et sumptibus S. Congregationis de propaganda fide studio*. 3 vols. Rome, 1885-1904.
- Crum — Crum, W. *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939. The column numbers are given in square brackets: [45a]
- CSCO — Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
- GCS — Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
- Horner — Horner, G. *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920.
- Lampe — Lampe, G. W. H. *A Greek Patristic Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961.
- LSJ — Liddell, H. G. and Scott, R. *A Greek English Lexicon*. Revised and Augmented Throughout by H. S. Jones. With a Supplement, 1968. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- PG — J. Migne, *Patrologia graeca*
- PL — J. Migne, *Patrologia latina*
- PO — *Patrologia orientalis*
- SC — *Sources chrétiennes*
- Thompson — Thompson, H. *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect*. Cambridge: The University Press, 1932.

Till — Till, W. *Koptische Grammatik*. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopedie, 1966.

TU — Texte und Untersuchungen

Vaschalde-Till — Vaschalde, A. «Ce qui a été publié des versions coptes de la Bible.» *Revue Biblique* (1919): 220-243, 513-531; (1920): 91-106, 241-258; (1921): 237-246; (1922): 81-88, 234-258; *Le Muséon* 43 (1930): 409-431; 45 (1932): 117-156; 46 (1933): 299-313; Till, Walter C. «Coptic Biblical Texts Published After Vaschalde's Lists.» *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 42 (1959): 220-240.

Westendorf — Westendorf, Wolfhart. *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1965/1977.

Wutz — Wutz, Franz. *Onomastica sacra. Untersuchungen zum Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum des hl. Hieronymus*, I-II. TU III, 11. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1914-1915.

Zoega — Zoega, G. *Catalogus codicum copticorum manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Veletris adservantur*. Rome, 1810.

INTRODUCTION

Forty years ago G. Garitte published an article¹ in which he assembled and listed all the manuscript pages and fragments that could be identified as belonging to the two sets of homilies on Matthew and Luke by Rufus of Shotep as well as all the Coptic or Arabic written references to him and announced his intention to publish this material. This intention was never realized. Now after many years delay the text and a translation of these writings are offered in the present work.

In the intervening forty years, the establishment of the «Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari» by Tito Orlandi and the development of the special project of reassembling the codices of the White Monastery² have made it possible to search for additional material and to resolve certain cases of doubt that Garitte was unable to resolve due to lack of access to photographs of the manuscripts.³

Since the original publication of this work six years ago several ad-

1. G. Garitte, «Rufus, évêque de Sotep et ses commentaires des évangiles» *Le Muséon* 69(1956): 11-33. Cited hereafter as Garitte, «Rufus.»

2. T. Orlandi, «Un projet milanais concernant les manuscrits coptes du Monastère Blanc» *Le Muséon* 85 (1972): 403-413; *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari, Bollettino d'Informazione N.5* (Rome: C.I.M., 1987).

3. Garitte, «Rufus,» 29, also mentioned these other manuscripts as possibly belonging to Rufus: fragments of a commentary of John preserved in five leaves, Paris 131.6, f.22 and Zoega no. 289 (Naples I.B. 462). There is no title preserved in the text and the formulas of introduction are not the same as those used by Rufus. Hence there is no good reason to attribute them to Rufus. Zoega (618, no. 263) also assigned to Rufus fifteen leaves that treat of the account of the Last Supper but Garitte was of the opinion that they could not belong to Rufus because the manner of exposition is entirely different from that of the homilies explicitly attributed to Rufus and none of the formulas used by Rufus are found in this material.

Garitte also thought that the leaf Vienna K9135, which cites and comments on Luke 1:5-7, might contain a fragment of this commentary on Luke. This leaf has since been identified as belonging to Theodosius of Alexandria. T. Orlandi, *Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the Papyrussammlung Wien* (Microfiche KC.01; Rome: Centro Italiano Microfiches, 1984) attributes it to MONB.BL but gives no other indications.

ditional pages and fragments have been brought to my attention by Prof. Stephen Emmel. These have been noted and included in the appropriate place.

Rufus of Shotep

Rufus is described in the inscriptions of the homilies in these manuscripts seven times (M.48 and M.49 are of the same homily) as the bishop of Shotep. Shotep, known in Greek as Hypsele,⁴ is a town in upper Egypt (Thebaïs I) located about seven kilometers southeast of Assiut (Lycopolis). According to Ptolemy (*Geographia*, IV,5:31), it was a nome capital (metropolis).⁵

Garitte found four distinct references to Rufus in addition to those contained in the manuscript material attributed to Rufus himself. The first of these is preserved on a leaf (fol. 51) of a synaxarion consecrated to Constantine of Assiut (Paris, Arab 4895; 14th cent.).⁶ This notice contains the information that Constantine received the monastic habit at the hands of his brother, Anba Musas, and that ten received the habit that day including Anba Constantine and Anba Rufus.

The second is found in an encomium of Saint Claude attributed to Constantine of Assiut. The Coptic text of the encomium includes the autobiographical information that the author had traveled to Cappado-

4. For the location, see the map included in the Appendix, p. 309.

5. E. Amelineau, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte* (Paris, 1893), 423-424; J. Maspero, G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte* (1e série: Mém. publ. par les membres de l'Inst. Fr. d'Archéol. Or. du Caire, 36; Cairo, 1919), 113; A. Calderini, «Nella patria di Plotino, Licopoli,» *Aegyptus* 3 (1922): 261-262; A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano* (Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1987) 5:48-50; C. Schmidt, H. J. Polotsky, «Ein Mani-Fund in Aegypten,» 13-14 *Sitzungsb. d. Press. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1933 Philos.-hist Kl. (1933), 4-90; E. Honigmann, *Le Synekdemus d'Hiéroclès* (Bruxelles, 1939), 47, no. 731,2; H. Munier, *Recueil des listes épiscopales de l'Eglise copte* (Publ. de la Soc. d'Archéol. copte. Textes et Documents; Le Caire, 1943), 50, 56, 64; C. D. G. Müller, «Aegypten IV. Kirchengeschichtlich (bis zum 7.Jh.)» *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1977), 1:512-533 (see tables following 512); S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Aegypten in arabischer Zeit* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 41/1-6 (A-P); Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1984-92), 5:2415-2422.

6. G. Garitte, «Constantin, évêque d'Assiout» *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (Bull. of the Byz. Inst.; Boston, Mass., 1950), 300-301.

cia and to Jerusalem with «my brother Apa Rufus» before settling in Assiut.⁷ In the Arabic version the author speaks of his «brother Rufus, bishop of Shotep.»⁸ It is known that Constantine of Assiut was consecrated bishop by the patriarch Damian, who was patriarch from 578 to 604.⁹ Orlandi has also established that Constantine was still bishop in 598.¹⁰ Since Rufus was a contemporary of Constantine, it seems reasonable to presume that his activity as bishop of Shotep belongs also to the last quarter of the sixth century.

The third reference to Rufus is to be found in the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* where the biographer of Michael I (744-767) speaks of a bishop of Shotep named Stephen and recalls the memory of his predecessors «among whom was the bishop Abba Hesychius, the great Theomantis and confessor, who spoke of divine matters.»¹¹ Garitte, relying on the text of Seybold, has repointed the text of the History to read هروفيس, «Rufus.»¹²

The fourth reference comes from the Armenian Abu Sālih at the beginning of the 13th century who says that at a monastery near Assiut were preserved the bodies of Saint Théodore and of the bishop Rufus.¹³ Garitte concluded that, given the relative rarity of the name

7. The Coptic text reads: ΕΙΣ ΝΕΝΤΑΙΖΕ ΕΡΟΥΥ ΖΗΤΒΙΒΛΙΩΘΗΚΗ ΕΤΖΕΝ-ΤΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑ : ΜΠΕΥΟΕΙΩ ΕΙΒΗΚ ΜΝΠΑΟΝ ΑΠΑ ΖΡΟΥΦΟC ΕΝΟ ΝΑΠΟΤΑΚΤΙΚΟC · ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΕΝΒΗΚ ΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ · ΕΘΑΓΙΑ ΜΠΟΛΙC ΘΙΛΗΜ · ΕΤΡΕΝΟΥΩΩΤ ΕΠΕCΨΟC · ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΑΤΕΝΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΜΑ. G. Godron, *Textes coptes relatifs à saint Claude d'Antioche* (PO 35,4; Turnhout: Brepols, 1970), 615, ll. 24-27. Orlandi casts doubt on the idea that they would have been in Cappadocia on their way to Jerusalem: Constantini Episcopi Urbis Siout, *Encomia in Athanasium Duo* (ed. T. Orlandi; CSCO 349, 350; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1974) 350:vii, n. 9.

8. Garitte, «Constantin, évêque d'Assiout,» 290-292. The text is from the ms. Laurent. Orient. 204 (Medic. 125) cited by P. Peeters in *Analecta Bollandiana* 32 (1913): 467.

9. Garitte, «Constantin, évêque d'Assiout,» 297-298; G. Garitte, «Constantin, év. de Lycopolis-Assiout» *Dict. d'Hist. et de Géogr. Eccl.* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1954) 13:623.

10. *Encomia in Athanasium Duo* (CSCO 350), vi.

11. B. Evetts (ed.), *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria (Severus of Ashmunein)* (PO 1; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1910), 204 [458].

12. Garitte, «Rufus,» 13. See C. F. Seybold (ed.), *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* (CSCO 52,59; Paris: C. Poussielque, 1904, 1910). W. E. Crum (*The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 19 (1933): 198, n. 18) doubted that this Rufus could be the same as the contemporary of Constantine of Assiut. However, Garitte, «Rufus,» 13, argues convincingly that it could be.

Rufus among the Copts and the location of this monastery close to Shotep, the Rufus in question was likely the author of these works.¹⁴ What little can be gathered from these sparse references can be summarized thus: Rufus was a contemporary and friend of Constantine of Assiut who functioned as bishop of the nearby diocese of Shotep at some point in the last quarter of the sixth century.

The Manuscripts

The surviving works of Rufus of Shotep consist of the remains of two sets of homilies, one on the Gospel of Matthew and one on the Gospel of Luke. There are four principal manuscripts, all of which come from the White Monastery.¹⁵ These manuscripts have been designated with the sigla: BM, BN, BO, and BP by Orlandi in his photographic archive of the manuscripts of the White Monastery. Garitte had designated them by the letters A, B, C, and D. These sigla have been retained to designate the individual leaves but the manuscripts are designated in their entirety by the sigla of Orlandi. Thus, for example, the leaves designated by A1 etc. belong to BM. Within the present work, in order to make it easier to locate them, reference is made to the individual leaves of the manuscripts by the number given them in this edition, e.g., A1 = M.7. The reason for this is that the leaves are presented according to their position in the text of the homilies rather than according to the order of the manuscripts.

Two of the manuscripts, BM and BN, contain parts of the commen-

13. B. T. A. Evetts and A. J. Butler, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighboring Countries attributed to Abu Salih, the Armenian* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Sem. Ser., VII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895) fol. 88a, text p. 111, trans. p. 247.

14. Garitte, «Rufus,» 14.

15. A brief account of the history of the collections in which these manuscripts are located and of their derivation from the White Monastery is given by H. Hyvernât in his Introduction to E. Porcher, «Analyse des manuscrits coptes 131.1-8 de la Bibliothèque Nationale avec indication des textes bibliques» *Revue d'Égyptologie* 1 (1933): 105-116 [1-12]. See also H. Hyvernât, «Pourquoi les anciennes Collections de Manuscrits Coptes sont si pauvres» *Revue Biblique* 10 (1913): 422-428. Many of the Sahidic manuscripts of the White Monastery were written in the Fayyum. See A. van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte* (Louvain: Istas, 1929) I, fasc. 2:16f.

tary on Matthew and the other two, BO and BP contain parts of the commentary on Luke. The portions of the manuscripts that overlap in both commentaries can be seen from the tables that follow. They have been integrated and collated in the text section.

These manuscripts are presently located in eight different libraries in Vienna, Michigan, Naples, Paris, London, Berlin, Cambridge, and Cairo. The library designation of each leaf has been included along with the designation given by Garitte both in the heading of the leaf and in the table of contents. In the cases where a catalogue description exists, reference is made to this also at the beginning of each leaf. The correspondence between the library designations of Naples and that given by Zoega has been supplied from Sauget.¹⁶ Although the leaves from Naples are designated by the library numbers, the catalogue numbers of Zoega have been retained in the headings because they are more exact.

The additional leaves that Garitte identified as containing material by Rufus have been included after the two principal manuscripts of each commentary and are identified according to the library and manuscript from which they come.

BM

The manuscript designated «A» by Garitte and «BM» by Orlandi is of parchment and measures about 28 x 25.5 cm. The writing covers a surface of 22 x 18 cm. and is in two columns 75 mm. wide, each of which contains 25-28 lines. The ruling, which is quite visible on the leaves 1-4, is limited to the body of each column. The writing is straight and regular and rather serrated. Garitte dates it to the tenth century¹⁷ while Porcher assigned it to the 13th century.¹⁸ The lambda has a very characteristic form: its upper shaft is very short and is sharply curved downwards. In the top line of each column the upper stroke of the γ and the χ are continued quite high into the top margin.

16. Joseph-Marie Sauget, «Introduction historique et notes bibliographiques au Catalogue de Zoega» *Le Muséon* 85 (1972): 25-61.

17. Garitte, «Rufus,» 18.

18. Porcher, «Analyse,» [76]. The catalogue of Porcher appeared in *Revue d'Égyptologie* 1-2 (1933-1936) with continuous page numbering as well as the page number of each issue. It will be cited hereafter according to the continuous page numbers.

Likewise the upper part of the ρ and the σ are prolonged by a spiral into the top margin. At the end of the lines the λ and the μ are prolonged by a horizontal stroke toward the edge of the column with a hooked upward motion of the pen lifting off the parchment. The center stroke of a final ϵ in a column is sometimes prolonged. Larger initial letters are written partially in the left margin of both columns.

The titles of the homilies are written in an italic uncial that is more oval and is slanted toward the right. Biblical quotations are indicated by a « ∇ » in the left margin at the beginning of each line of the quotation.

This manuscript often has a dot for the supralinear stroke but sometimes a longer stroke is used. Often the dot is above but between the two letters. One peculiar feature of BM is the supralinear stroke over the negative particle $\lambda\bar{\nu}$. Two dots are usually placed over the «i».

The color of the ink used in BM is brown. Where it is heavier, it appears black.

BM uses the convention of slightly larger letters begun in the left margin of both columns to indicate the beginning of a paragraph or a rhetorical point. When space was available at the end of the previous line, the scribe followed the practice of beginning the sentence or word there and indicated the rhetorical division by the larger letter at the beginning of the following line. Thus one finds, e.g., $\epsilon\kappa\omega\lambda\alpha\pi\omega\zeta$ (M.9), $\lambda\pi\zeta\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\kappa\iota\alpha\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$, $\lambda\chi\omicron\upsilon\omega\varsigma\varsigma$ (M.13). These letters serve to distinguish or emphasize rhetorical points, e.g., $\bar{\nu}\dagger\mu\iota\kappa\epsilon$, $\pi\alpha\iota\bar{\nu}\dagger\mu\iota\kappa\epsilon$, $\pi\alpha\iota\bar{\nu}\dagger\mu\iota\kappa\epsilon$ (M.9) or contrasting thoughts, e.g., $\lambda\varsigma\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$ (M.12). Occasionally a larger more ornate initial letter is used to decorate the beginning of a new section, e.g., at the beginning of the title $\varsigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\eta$ (M.12), but such letters occur elsewhere as well, e.g. $\omicron\upsilon\rho\epsilon\chi\kappa\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (M.16), $\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\rho\epsilon\theta\eta$ (M.54) and the « $\dagger$ » of $\dagger\varsigma\omega\tau\mu$, which introduces a scriptural quotation (usually a further section of the text being commented on), sometimes extends a few lines in length in the margin, e.g., M.15, M.55, M.61. A decorative band with an interlaced design is used to surround three sides of the title passages introducing the homilies, e.g., M.25, M.49. In this case the band forms an extension of the initial « λ » that begins the homily. On this same page a large square with interlaced design fills the bottom of the left column. Similarly interlaced designs in the form of a cross, star or square mark the beginning of a quire, e.g. M.21, M.23. According to Crum, the designs are colored red and green.¹⁹

This manuscript contains a large number of errors, at least in comparison with the other manuscripts. Since they are distributed throughout the material, it is difficult not to conclude that the scribe was habitually careless. The errors include dittography, haplography and other omissions as well as errors of orthography. The following list is not exhaustive: M.9 $\bar{\rho}<\rho>\rho\omicron$; M.10 $\epsilon\rho<\omega>\alpha\eta$; M.13 omission of $\bar{\mu}\kappa\alpha\zeta$; M.35 $\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\theta\eta\rho$ for $\pi\epsilon\iota\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\varsigma$; M.37 omits $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\epsilon$; M.37 omits $\epsilon\gamma\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\mu\eta$ $\tau\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\mu\eta$ $\Delta\epsilon$; M.37 $\lambda\gamma\chi\iota\tau\varsigma$ for $\lambda\chi\chi\iota\tau\varsigma$; M.43 dittography: $\bar{\nu}\varsigma\epsilon\omega\omega\lambda$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma$; M.44 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}<\bar{\nu}>\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\mu$; M.49 $\chi\iota\eta\{\bar{\mu}\}\pi\epsilon\chi\mu\omicron\gamma\eta\gamma$; M.65 $\zeta\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta$ for $\zeta\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\omicron\epsilon\iota\kappa$; M.51 $\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\{\epsilon\}\tau\bar{\eta}\zeta\epsilon$; M.54 $\epsilon\beta\omicron\chi\epsilon$ for $\epsilon\chi\omicron\beta\epsilon$; M.55 $\eta\omicron\beta\epsilon$ for $\eta\omicron\beta\epsilon?$; M.56 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\chi\{\alpha\}\alpha\alpha\chi$; M.57 $\alpha\zeta\omicron\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\eta$ (cp. M.24 $\alpha\omicron\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\eta$) M.61 $\varsigma<\bar{\mu}>\iota\eta\epsilon$; M.61 $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\alpha<\alpha>\gamma$; M.62 $\epsilon\tau\eta\alpha\alpha<\alpha>\varsigma$. Greek words are also sometimes poorly spelled, e.g., M.35 $\epsilon\lambda\iota\chi\epsilon$ for $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\epsilon$; M.50 $\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\iota$ for $\epsilon\tau\iota$.

There are 21 surviving leaves of this manuscript, which, when the fragments are assembled, are more or less intact. Leaf A18 (M.57-58) of the manuscript is paginated 219-220 and contains a commentary on Matt 5:8. If the commentary was equally extensive and detailed for the rest of the Gospel, then it must have contained originally between 1100 and 1200 pages or about 600 leaves and was most likely divided into several codices.

The surviving leaves are now distributed among the libraries of Michigan, Vienna, Paris, London, Naples, Berlin and Cairo, as may be seen from the indications in the table that follows.

BN

The manuscript designated «B» by Garitte and «BN» by Orlandi is also of parchment and measures 35 x 29 cm. The writing covers a surface of 27 x 19 cm. in a single column of 30-35 lines. The ruling is limited to the written surface. The pagination of the recto side of the leaves is even and that of the verso is odd. The writing is in a small uncial inclined toward the right without ornaments. Biblical quotations are indicated in the left margin by an arrow or an angle with a dot inside (↗).

19. W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1905), 75 a-b.

The iota is usually accompanied by a dot above it or by a supralinear stroke. Sometimes a dot is used over other letters instead of a supralinear stroke. Larger letters (double size) are used at the beginning of several lines per page and extend into the left margin. They do not always begin a word and it is not clear that they always have more than a decorative function but sometimes they do announce the beginning of a phrase or seem to suggest emphasis. A large decorative design appears in the margin at the beginning of the ninth homily (M.41) as well as a large initial $\text{†}(\text{C}\omega\text{TM})$. A large decorative initial λ is used in the margin also at the beginning of the tenth homily (M.47) as well as three more large « λ »s also in the margin, which serve to emphasize the rhetorical structure of the passage (the word $\lambda\text{N}\lambda\text{Y}$ is repeated four times). In addition, on both of these leaves a design of three lines of dashes separated by three dots, similar to that used in BM, is used above and below to separate the inscriptions of the homilies from the rest of the text.

The color of the ink used is brown but it appears almost black where it is heavier.

This scribe had a proclivity for the use of «H», e.g. ϵCOYHN (ϵCOYEN) M.2, M.4; $\text{H}\omega$ for $\epsilon\omega$, M.34, M.41; CHBBE (CBBE), ωHPIT ($\omega\text{PTT-}$) M.47; $\omega\text{YHNT}\epsilon$, $\text{THN}\epsilon$ M.34. This may be the result of Fayyumic influence.²⁰ Fayyumic influence may account for some other forms as well, e.g., $\epsilon\text{EN-}$ for $\bar{\epsilon}\text{N}^{\text{21}}$ and $\bar{\text{N}}\text{TENN}\lambda\text{Y}$ as conjunctive ($\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\bar{\text{N}}\text{N}\lambda\text{Y}$).²²

There are 13 whole leaves and a small fragment remaining of this manuscript, which are presently distributed among the libraries of Vienna, Naples and Paris. The manuscript must have originally contained about 450 leaves since the first 97 pages (48 leaves) cover only the first three chapters of Matthew's Gospel.

Garitte dates this manuscript to the ninth century²³ while Porcher puts it in the 13th century.²⁴

20. See G. Steindorff, *Lehrbuch der Koptischen Grammatik* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951) #45. Steindorff says that the murmur vowel of Sahidic is replaced by H in Fayyumic. For the possible Fayyumic provenance of some of these manuscripts, see note (15) above.

21. See Crum [683] where $\epsilon\text{EN-}$ is given for F and O.

22. See W. Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1961) #267.

23. Garitte, «Rufus», 22.

24. Porcher, «Analyse», [72].

Another Fragment of the Homilies on Matthew

Another fragment of text that may belong to Rufus' commentary on Matthew but does not belong to the manuscripts described above is found on the verso of Vienna K9644, which was published by Wessely.²⁵ This leaf belongs to manuscript BE in the classification of the White Monastery manuscripts by Orlandi. The manuscript contains extracts of philosophers, a homily of Horsiesius, a prayer and this «catechesis» by Rufus.²⁶ On the recto of this leaf there is a prayer: ΟΥΩΛΗΛ ΕΧΜΠΜΟΟΥ ΜΠΩΛ ΝΤΩΒΕ. The «catechesis» contains a commentary on the beginning of Matthew's Gospel and may have been abstracted from the longer work. However, this is the only occurrence of the word ΚΛΘΗΚΗCIC in these commentaries. The other introductory passages of the commentary on Matthew (M.25; M.42; M.48[M.49]) all use ΛΟΓΟC (treatise) to describe the section of the commentary that follows. In the commentary on Luke (L.5; L.50) the word ΕΞΕΓΗCIC (explanation, interpretation) is used.

The side margins of the leaf are mutilated but the text is nearly intact. It measures 20.5 x 26.5 cm and is written in a single column of 28 lines. Garitte assigned it to the 11th century.²⁷

25. C. Wessely, *Griechische und Koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts*, V (Studien z. Pal. u. Papyrusk., XVIII; Leipzig, 1917) no. 276m, p. 85; cf. W. Till, «Die Coptica der Wiener Papyrussammlung» *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, 95 (1941): 165-218 (p. 206).

26. See Walter Till, «Griechische Philosophen bei den Kopten» *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* (Cairo) 67 (1934) [= *Mélanges Maspero* 2]: 165-175.

27. Garitte, «Rufus», 28.

Order of the Manuscripts BM and BN

The horizontal lines indicate different homilies. The libraries are designated according to the sigla used by Stephen Emmel, *An International Directory of Institutions Holding Collections of Coptic Antiquities Outside of Egypt*. (Rome: Centro Italiano Microfiches, 1990). The sigla are:

- AT-NB: Austria, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung.
 EG-C C.G.: Egypt, Cairo, Coptic Museum.
 DE-BS: Germany, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.
 FR-BN: France, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
 GB-BL: Great Britain, London, British Library.
 GB-CU: Great Britain, Cambridge, Cambridge University Library.
 IT-NB: Italy, Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III".
 US-MU: United States, University of Michigan Library.

Relationship and order of the manuscripts BM (A) and BN (B):

x leaves missing

B1 (AT-NB 9169r) p. ?

[Matt 1:1]

B1v (AT-NB 9169v) p. ?

[Matt 1:?]

x leaves missing

B2 (AT-NB K9171r) p. 18

[Matt 1:18-25?]

B2v (AT-NB K9171v) p. 19

[Matt 1:18-25?]

39 leaves missing

49 leaves missing

EG-C C.G.9300 +

EG-C inv. 2633/135; p. [99]

[Matt 2:18-20]

EG-C C.G.9300v +

EG-C inv. 2633/135v; p. [100]

[Matt 2:18-20]

- A1 (US-MU 158,25a +
EG-C inv. 2633/131) p. [101]
[Matt 2:18-20]
- A1v (US-MU 158,25b +
EG-C inv. 2633/131v) p. [102]
[Matt 2:18-20]
- A2 (US-MU 158,25c) p. 103
[Matt 2:22-23]
- A2v (US-MU 158,25d) p. 104
[Matt 2:22-23]
- A3 (US-MU 158,25e) p. 105
[Matt 2:22-23]
- A3v (US-MU 158,25f) p. 106
[Matt 2:22-23]
-

Concluding doxology followed
by Sabbatike section.

+inc. **CAΒΒΑΤΙΚΗ** +

- A4 (US-MU 158,25g) p. 107
[Matt 2:20]
- A4v (US-MU 158,25h) p. 108
[Matt 2:20]

1 leaf missing

- A6 (FR-BN 131.5,f.17) p. [111]
[Matt 2:23]
- A6v (FR-BN 131.5,f.17v) p. [112]
[Matt 2:23]

1 leaf missing

- A5 (AT-NB K9218) p. 115
[Matt 2:23]
- A5v (AT-NB K9218v) p. 116
[Matt 2:23]

1 leaf missing

A7 (FR-BN 131.6,f.33) p. 119

[Matt 2:23]

A7v (FR-BN 131.6,f.33v) p. 120

[Matt 2:23 des.hom. x]

3 leaves missing

A8 (FR-BN 131.6,f.47) p. 127

[Matt 3:4]

A8v (FR-BN 131.6,f.47) p. 128

[Matt 3:4]

A9 (GB-BL OR. 3581.A 33) p. 129

[Matt 3:4]

A9v (GB-BL OR. 3581.A 33v) p.

130

[Matt 3:4]

8 leaves missing

A10 (GB-BL OR. 3581.A 34) p. 147

(partly contained in B4)

[Matt 4:1, inc. hom. 8]

B4 (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. 98

[Matt 4:1]

A10v (GB-BL OR. 3581.A 34v)

p.148

(wholly contained in B4)

[Matt 4:1]

6 leaves missing

B4v (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p.99

[Matt 4:1]

B5 (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. 100

[Matt 4:2]

B5v (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. 101

[Matt 4:2]

B6 (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. 102

[Matt 4:2-4]

B6v (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. 103

[Matt 4:2-4]

B7 (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. 104

[Matt 4:5-6]

A11 (IT-NB 12,fasc.438) p. [161]
(Wholly contained in B7v and
B8)

[Matt 4:6-10]

A11v (IT-NB 12,fasc.438) p. [162]
(Wholly contained in B8
and B8v)

[Matt 4:6-10]

FR-BN 131.6 f.18; p. 163
(Wholly contained in B8v)

[Matt 4:6-10]

FR-BN 131.6 f.18; p. 164
(Wholly contained in B8v-9)
[Matt 4:6-10]

B7v (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. 105
[Matt 4:5-6]

B8 (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. 106
[Matt 4:6-10]

B8v (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. 107
[Matt 4:6-10]

B9 (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. 108
[Matt 4:11-12]

B9v (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. 109
Concluding doxology,
no $\text{C}\alpha\text{B}\beta\alpha\text{T}\iota\text{K}\text{H}$ section.

8? leaves missing

[Matt 4:11-12 inc. hom. 9]

A12 (IT-NB 12,fasc.438) p. ?
(partly contained in B10)
[Matt 4:12-13]

A12v (IT-NB 12,fasc.438) p. ?
(wholly contained in B10)
[Matt 4:12-13]

2? leaves missing

A13 (IT-NB 12,fasc.438) p. 187
Concluding doxology,

(wholly contained in B11v)
[Matt 4:17 inc. hom 10]

4 leaves missing

B10 (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. 118
[Matt 4:13-15]

B10v (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. 119
[Matt 4:13-15]

B11 (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. 120
[Matt 4:17]

B11v (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. 121
no $\text{C}\alpha\text{B}\beta\alpha\text{T}\iota\text{K}\text{H}$ section.

[Matt 4:17 inc. hom.10]

A13v (IT-NB 12,fasc.438) p. 188

(partly contained in B11v)

x leaves missing

12 leaves missing

A15 (DE-BS 1606.5) p. 213

[Matt 5:5]

A15v (DE-BS 1606.5) p. 214

[Matt 5:6]

A16 (FR-BN 136.6,f.42)p. 215

[Matt 5:6]

A16v (FR-BN 136.6,f.42v) p. 216

[Matt 5:6]

A17 (FR-BN 131.6,f.43)p. [217]

[Matt 5:7]

A17v (FR-BN 131.6,f.43v) p. [218]

[Matt 5:7]

A18 (FR-BN 131.5,f.41) p. 219

[Matt 5:8]

A18v (FR-BN 131.5,f.41v) p. 220

[Matt 5:8]

B3 (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. ?

[Matt 5:17]

B3v (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. ?

[Matt 5:17]

x leaves missing

A19 (AT-NB K9219) p. ?

[Matt 5:19-20]

A19v (AT-NB K9219) p. ?

[Matt 5:19-20]

A14 (AT-NB K9692) p. ?

(wholly contained in B12)

B12 (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. ?

[Matt 5:19-20]

A14v (AT-NB K9692v) p. ?

B12v (IT-NB 12,fasc.437) p. ?

Concluding doxology.

This section on the wrathful man appears to presuppose the reading of Matt 5:21-22.

[inc. CABBATIKH]

(wholly contained in B12 + B12v)

x leaves missing

[inc. CABBATIKH]

[Matt 5:21-22]

x leaves missing

B13 FR-BN 131.5, f.18; p. ?

B13v FR-BN 131.5, f.18; p. ?

(location uncertain)

B14 FR-BN 132.4, f.339; p. ?

B14v FR-BN 132.4, f.339; p. ?

(location uncertain)

US-PM M664B(23)B = BM [?]

(location uncertain)

Not part of BM or BN:

B1a AT-NB K9644v (Wessely)

BO

The manuscript designated «C» by Garitte and «BO» by Orlandi is of parchment and the written surface measures about 22 x 24.5 cm. It is written in two columns 10 cm. wide of 31-33 lines. The ruling on the parchment is not visible from the photographs. Garitte attributes it to the tenth century.²⁸ Porcher gives no indication of date.

The writing shows the following characteristics. The Υ at the end of the line is prolonged toward the right-hand margin in a very characteristic undulating stroke. The central stroke of the ϵ in the same position is prolonged horizontally toward the right with a sometimes very pronounced downward movement of the pen. The $\mathbf{M}$ at the beginning of a line is given a long horizontal stroke, which begins in the left margin and the left end of which is curved toward the bottom. There are many initial letters in the margin. The symbol used to indicate a quotation is a « ∇ » in the left margin. These symbols are colored blue and yellow. Some of the larger initials in the margin are also outlined in blue. In L.5 the decorative border above and below the inscription of the second homily is in blue and yellow as is also the first letter (whatever it may be) of the homily. The writing of the inscription is smaller and is slanted to the right.

Judging from the fact that the last of the surviving leaves contains a commentary on Luke 1:39 and is paginated 79-80 (L.47-48), the manuscript could have originally contained as many as 1000 or more leaves. None of the surviving leaves of this manuscript is intact and most are rather mutilated. They are presently found in the libraries of Paris, Vienna, Cambridge and Cairo.

This manuscript shows the following characteristics in orthography: there is a tendency to use Δ for τ in Greek words, e.g., L.3: $\chi\alpha\rho\lambda\eta\varsigma$ ($\chi\alpha\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$), $\delta\iota\mu\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ ($\tau\iota\mu\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$); L.7: $\pi\eta\mu\alpha\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$ ($\pi\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\chi\omicron\nu$); L.11: $\delta\alpha\zeta\iota\varsigma$ ($\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$), $\varsigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\delta\iota\kappa\eta$ ($\varsigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\iota\chi\eta$); L.12: $\pi\rho\phi\eta\delta\iota\kappa\eta$ ($\pi\rho\phi\eta\tau\iota\chi\eta$); L.47: $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\nu$ ($\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$); and in one case even for the article before a Greek word: L.48: $\epsilon\delta\omicron\rho\iota\eta$ ²⁹ ($\delta\omicron\rho\epsilon\iota\nu\eta$). However, one also finds τ for δ , e.g., L.6: $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\nu$ ($\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu$) and

28. Garitte, «Rufus,» 14.

29. The reason for this may be that it was not understood to be the article but rather the first letter of a place name. For other instances of the same, see C. Detlef G. Müller, *Die alte koptische Predigt (Versuch eines Ueberblicks)* (diss. Heidelberg 1953; Darmstadt 1954), 212, 255 n. 602.

L.47: ΚΑΤΑΤΥΛΟC (κατάδηλος). There is also a case of Τ for Θ, L.11: ΤΕΩΡΙΑ (θεωρία).

One finds Β instead of ϣ, e.g., L.3: ΩΒΩ, L.4: ΒΟΤΟΥ, L.16: ΩΜ-ΝΟΥΒΕ. One of the more notable features which ΒΟ has in common with ΒΡ but not with ΒΜ and ΒΝ is the use of ΜΗΤ for ΜΝΤ as the prefix for forming abstract nouns. But the manuscript is not consistent in this respect and sometimes has ΜΝΤ; e.g., ΜΝΤΡΡΟ. This would seem to indicate a common ancestry or provenance for these two manuscripts.

The supralinear stroke tends to vary in length and position, e.g., L.9: ΕΡΩΤΝ, ΝΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC, ΖΙΡΝΜ-, ΜΠΕCΝΑΥ. ΒΟ also frequently has Ε instead of a supralinear stroke, e.g., ΕΝΕΒΟΤ (L.16).

ΒΡ

The manuscript designated «D» by Garitte and «ΒΡ» by Orlandi is of parchment and measures 27 x 22 cm. with a written surface of about 21 x 17 cm. The text is written in two columns of 27-28 lines, each of which is about 7 cm. wide. The ruling is invisible in the photographs. The writing is straight and without ornaments except for some large Υ's in the first (top) lines. Garitte dates it to «about the tenth century»³⁰ whereas Porcher had attributed it to the thirteenth century.³¹

The initials in the margin are of small format; their height corresponds to about two lines of writing. The interior of an initial Ε in the margin is ornamented with two dots. A heavy black dot is employed as punctuation. The pagination is written only on the recto except for those versos that end a quire.

Judging from the fact that the sixth homily, which is on Luke 1:39, begins on p. 128 (leaf 64), the manuscript could have originally contained as many as 1500 leaves and certainly must have extended to more than one volume. The surviving leaves are presently located in the libraries of Paris, Naples and London.

Porcher³² notes that there are numerous Greek words, often badly rendered, e.g., ΠΑΡΑΔΥΡΙCΙC for παρατήρησις (L.28) and decadent orthography, e.g., Ε for Ν (ΕCΩϣ for ΝCΩϣ), Β for ϣ (ΖΟΒ for ΖΟϣ):

30. Garitte, «Rufus,» 26

31. Porcher, «Analyse,» [17].

32. Porcher, «Analyse,» [17].

L.28; L.37. There are a number of other examples of this latter characteristic: L.24: **ΜΑΥΛΑΒ, ΑΥΒΟΩΝ**; L.37: **ΠΩΕΜΝΟΥΒΕ**; L.39: **ΒΙ**. The fact that BP shares this trait with BO again suggests a common ancestry or provenance.

Another characteristic of BP is the use of **Ι** for **ΕΙ**, e.g., L.39: **ΕΤΙΝΕ**; L.42: **ΙΜΕ**; L.52: **ΜΑΡΕΝΙ**. Perhaps to this trait belongs also **ΖΝΝΙΚΟΟΥΕ** (L.46) where L.47 has **ΖΝΝΕΙΚΟΟΥΕ**.

BP also has **ΤΕ** for **ΔΕ** (L.23, L.50) and **Δ** for **Τ** (L.52: **ΔΩΔΗ**).

Other Fragments of the Homilies on Luke

An additional fragment that may belong to the commentary on Luke is to be found on the verso of Paris 131.1, f.24. The text deals with the incarnation and cites Luke 2:6. The leaf is 22 cm. high and is written in two columns. It is paginated 145-146. The interior column is seriously damaged. Garitte assigned it tentatively to the 11th century.³³ Porcher noted that this might be the «end of the preceding exegesis after a lacuna of 22 pages.»³⁴ This would place it in manuscript D (BP). However the recto contains the end of a homily that shows none of the characteristics of Rufus and it is clear from the photograph that it is not the same hand as BP. Orlandi has not assigned it to any other manuscript.

33. Garitte, «Rufus,» 28.

34. Porcher, «Analyse,» [17-18].

Order of the Manuscripts BO and BP

Relationship and order of the manuscripts BO (C) and BP (D):

- C1 (FR-BN 131.8, f.127) p. 3 [Γ].
 C1v (FR-BN 131.8, f.127) p. 4 [Δ].
 C2 (AT-NB K9658r) p. 5 [Ε]. Luke 1:1-4
 C2v (AT-NB K9658v) p. 6 [Σ].
 C3 (AT-NB K9659r) p. 7 [Ζ]. Luke 1:5,
 Concluding doxology.

inc. 2d Exegesis

- C3v (AT-NB K9659v) p. 8 [Η].
 C4 (AT-NB K9660r) p. 9 [Θ].
 C4v (AT-NB K9660v) p. 10 [Ι].

4 leaves missing

- C5 (FR-BN 131.6, f.51r) p. 19 [ΙΘ]. Luke 1:6
 C5v (FR-BN 131.6, f.51v) p. 20 [Κ].

2 leaves missing

- C6 (FR-BN 131.4, f.165) p. 25 [ΚΕ]. Luke 1:8,
 Concluding doxology.

inc. CABBATI KH

This section is on Luke 1:8, which is cited; reference to the morning synaxis to follow.

- C6v (FR-BN 131.4, f.165v) p. 26 [ΚΞ].

x leaves missing

-
- C7 (FR-BN 131.8, f.90) pp. ??-? Luke 1:11-12
 C7v (FR-BN 131.8, f.90) pp. ??-?

x leaves missing

C8 (FR-BN 131.7, f.12) p. 49? Luke 1:24-27
 C8v (FR-BN 131.7, f.12v) p. 50?

3 leaves missing?

C9 (FR-BN 131.6, f.84) p. 57 [N̄Z]. Luke 1:26-27
 C9v (FR-BN 131.6, f.84v) p. 58 [N̄H].

1 leaf missing (?)

EG-C 2707; p. (61) [Ξ̄Α]. Luke 1:27
 EG-C 2707v; p. (62) [Ξ̄Β]
 EG-C 2682; p. (63) [Ξ̄Γ]
 EG-C 2682v; p. (64) [Ξ̄Δ]
 inc. CΑΒΒΑΤΙΚΗ (Preceded by concluding doxology.)

7 leaves missing between EG-C 2682 and C10

D1 (FR-BN 131.1, f.16) p. 97 [Ϙ̄Z]. Luke 1:26 inc. 5th Exegesis
 D1v (FR-BN 131.1, f.16v) p. (98).
 D2 (FR-BN 131.1, f.17) p. 99 [Ϙ̄Θ].
 D2v (FR-BN 131.1, f.17v) p. (100).
 D3 (FR-BN 131.1, f.18) p. 101 [Ϙ̄Α].
 D3v (FR-BN 131.1, f.18v) p. (102).
 D4 (FR-BN 131.1, f.19) p. 103 [Ϙ̄Γ].
 D4v (FR-BN 131.1, f.19v) p. (104).
 D5 (FR-BN 131.1, f.20) p. 105 [Ϙ̄Ε]. Luke 1:28
 D5v (FR-BN 131.1, f.20v) p. (106).
 D6 (FR-BN 131.1, f.21) p. 107 [Ϙ̄Z].
 D6v (FR-BN 131.1, f.21v) p. (108).
 D7 (FR-BN 131.1, f.22) p. 109 [Ϙ̄Θ]. Luke 1:30
 D7v (FR-BN 131.1, f.22v) p. (110).
 D8 (FR-BN 131.1, f.23) p. 111 [Ϙ̄ΙΑ]. Luke 1:31
 D8v (FR-BN 131.1, f.23v) p. 112 [Ϙ̄ΙΒ].
 D9 (IT-NB 13, fasc. 439) p. 113 [Ϙ̄ΙΓ]. Luke 1:31-32
 D9v (IT-NB 13, fasc. 439) p. (114).

1 leaf missing

D10 (IT-NB 13, fasc. 439) p. 117 [P1Z]. Luke 1:34-35

D10v (IT-NB 13, fasc. 439) p. (118).

D11 (IT-NB 13, fasc. 439) p. 119 [P1Θ]. Luke 1:36-38

D11v (IT-NB 13, fasc. 439) p. (120).

D12 (IT-NB 13, fasc. 439) p. 121 [PKA].

D12v (IT-NB 13, fasc. 439) p. (122).

(partially contained in C10)

C10 (GB-CU Or. 1700M) pp. 79-80 [OΘ-π].

Concluding doxology.

[1699M, 1699M add.]

Luke 1:39 inc. Sabbatike

C10v (GB-CU Or. 1700M)

(He says they will hear more about it in the synaxis of
the "HolySunday.")

2 leaves missing between D12 and D13

D13 (IT-NB 13, fasc. 439) p. 127 [PKZ]. Concluding doxology.

D13v (IT-NB 13, fasc. 439) p. 128 [PKH]. Luke 1:39 inc. 6th Exegesis

28 leaves missing

D14 (GB-BL OR. 3581.A 35)

inc. CABBATIKH (Preceded by concluding doxology.)

D14v (GB-BL OR. 3581.A 35v)

Introduction to Luke 1:46

(Magnificat) ?

FR-BN 131.1,f.24v.

Luke 2:6 (not part of BOBP)

The Language of the Homilies

Coptic Original

There seems to be no reason to doubt that these homilies were composed and delivered in Sahidic by the bishop in his own diocese of Shotep and there is one piece of internal evidence that indicates conclusively that the Coptic text is the original one. In M.59, in his explanation of how Christ fulfilled the prophecies, Rufus cites John 19:28-30 and then says: «Observe how he said, 'they have been fulfilled,' for this reason, therefore, that he had fulfilled them all.» Since the Greek (τετέλεσται) is singular, this is clearly an exegesis of the Coptic text (ⲁⲓⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ).

Influence of the Greek Scriptures

On the other hand, it appears that Rufus knew Greek well enough to read and cite from the Greek New Testament. The word ΠΤΕΡΥΓΙΟΝ (περύγιον), for example, does not occur in the Sahidic version of Matt 4:5 and the scribe does not seem to have understood it, since he misspells it twice in M.34 (see the notes to the translation). Likewise the introduction of the words ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ and ΣΥΠΟΚΤΑCΙC in M.4 shows that Rufus was thinking of the Greek text since the Greek words do not occur in the Sahidic version of Heb 1:3. Similarly in M.21, the Greek words used by Rufus for belt (ΤΕΦΕΝΖΩΝΗ)³⁵ and food (ΤΡΟΦΗ) suggest that he was looking at or thinking of the Greek text rather than the Sahidic version of Matt 3:4, which has ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲭⲉ ⲛⲱⲁⲁⲣ and ⲉⲣⲉ respectively. In M.24 ⲉⲃⲉⲓⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲣⲓⲟⲛ is due to the influence of the Greek text (μέλι ἄγριον) of Matt 3:4. The Sahidic, which Rufus also cites, has ⲉⲃⲉⲓⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲧ. Also in L.4 the word ⲁⲥⲫⲁⲗⲓⲁ has come from the Greek text of Luke 1:4. In L.48 a chain of citations is built upon the idea contained in the phrase ΣΝΟΥC-ΠΟΥΔΗ from Luke 1:39 where the Sahidic has ΣΝΟΥCⲉⲡⲏ. However, the citations that follow contain both CΠΟΥΔΗ and Cⲉⲡⲏ, suggesting that they were synonyms for the hearers.

In this context it may be noted that the reason for this extensive influence of the Greek text may have been not only the learning of the

35. On this word, see p. 138, n. 75.

bishop but the liturgy itself, which may have remained at least partially in Greek. Müller is of the opinion that there never was an official liturgy in Sahidic.³⁶

Characteristic terminology

Rufus makes use of certain stereotyped phrases to address his hearers:³⁷

NAMEPATÉ «my beloved»: M.7, M.10, M.12, M.14, M.17, M.15, M.16, M.20, M.64, M.52, M.55, M.61, M.62, L.12, L.18, L.23, L.33.

NENMEPATÉ (NEMMEPATÉ) «our beloved»: M.25, M.27, M.29, M.30, M.31, M.32, M.33, M.34, M.44, M.46, M.55, L.15.

Ω ΠΑΚΡΟΔΤΗC «my hearer»: M.5, M.22, M.29, M.31, M.44, M.45, M.57, M.67.

ΝΕCΝΗΥ «brothers»: M.16, M.42, M.63, M.65.

ΝΑCΝΗΥ «my brothers»: M.12.

Ω ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΜΠΕΧC «O virgins of Christ»: L.45.

Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ «O man»: M.55, L.4.

Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΧΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟC «O Christian man»: M.26 (=M.27)

ΠΑΛΟC ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC «O just people»: M.41.

Rufus generally uses the verb **†CΩTM** (I hear) with numerous variations to introduce biblical citations:

†CΩTM «I hear»: M.42, M.58.

†CΩTM ON «I also hear»: M.24, M.30.

†CΩTM ΕΡΟC ΧΕ «I hear it that»: M.43, L.9, L.39, L.44.

†CΩTM ΕΡΟC ON ΧΕ «I hear it also that»: L.36, L.43.

†CΩTM ON ΕΡΟC ΧΕ «I also hear it that»: M.55, M.61(2x).

†CΩTM ΔΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕ «But I hear it that»: M.28.

†CΩTM ΔΕ ON ΕΡΟC ΧΕ «But I also hear it that»: L.14.

36. C. Detlev G. Müller, «La position de l'Égypte chrétienne dans l'orient ancien» *Le Muséon* 92 (1979): 121. He does not indicate to what extent there was an unofficial liturgy in Sahidic or to what extent Sahidic was used in the liturgy. The existence of bilingual lectionaries is relevant to this question but it remains uncertain how they were used. See, for example, E. Amélineau, *Notice des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque Nationale renfermant des textes bilingues du Nouveau Testament* (Paris, 1895); J. M. Heer, «Neue griechisch-säidische Evangelien-fragmente» *Oriens Christianus* 2 (1912): 1-47; K. Treu, «Griechische-Koptische Bilinguen des Neuen Testaments» *Koptologischen Studien in der DDR* (Halle-Wittenberg, 1965), 95-123; Peter Nagel, «Griechisch-Koptische Bilinguen des AT» *Graeco-Coptica* (Halle: VEB Kongress- und Werbedruck, 1984), 231-257.

37. Most of the items in this list were already compiled by Garitte, «Rufus,» 31.

†CΩTM ΔΕ ΕΡΟΨ ΜΝΝCΑΝΑΙ ΧΕ «But I hear it after these things that»: L.15.

†CΩTMΔΕ ΕΡΟΨ ΧΕ «I hear it therefore that»: M.1

†CΩTMΔΕ ON ΕΡΟΨ ΧΕ «I hear it therefore also that»: L.9.

†CΩTMΔΕ ON ΕΡΟΨ ΜΝΝCΑΝΑΙ ΧΕ «I hear it therefore also after these things that»: M.30.

†CΩTM ΓΑΡ ΕΡΟΨ ΧΕ «For I hear it that»: L.12, L.18.

†CΩTM ΕΡΟΨ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΧΕ «I hear it now that»: M.59, L.31.

ΛΟΙΠΟΝ †CΩTM ΕΡΟΨ ΧΕ «Further on I hear it that»: M.23, M.37, M.42, M.45, M.43, M.53, L.31.

ΛΟΙΠΟΝ †CΩTM ΕΡΟΨ ΜΝΝCΑΝΑΙ ΧΕ «Further on I hear it after these things that»: M.33.

ΠΑΛΙΝ ON †CΩTM ΕΡΟΨ ΧΕ «Again I hear it also that»: M.54.

†CΩTM ΕΡΟΨ ΖΝΝΕΝΤΑΥΚΑ[ΑΥ... ΧΕ «I hear it in those things that have been selected . . . that»: M.50.

†CΩTM ΕΡΟΨ ΖΜΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΤΑΥΚΑΑΨ ΝΑΝ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΜΠΕΠΡΟΚΙΜΕΝΟΝ ΧΕ «I hear it in the Gospel that has been selected for us in the text that»: L.28.

†CΩTM ΕΡΟΨ ΖΜΠΕΠΡΟΚΙΜΕΝΟΝ ΝΤΑΥΚΑΑΨ ΝΑΝ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΜΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΧΕ «I hear it in the text that has been selected for us in the Gospel that»: M.28.

ΤΑΙ ΕΤΕΤῆ CΩTῆ ΕΡΟC ΖῆΠΕΠΡΟΚΙΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΤΚΗ ΝΑΝ ΖῆΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΤῆΜΑΥ ΜΠΙΝΑΥ «This is what you hear in the text that is selected for us in that Gospel at this time»: L.48.

†CΩTM ΓΑΡ ΖΜΠΕΠΡΟΚΙΜΕΝΟΝ ΝΤΑΥΚΑΑΨ ΝΑΝ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΜΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΚΑΤΑΛΟΥΚΑC ΧΕ «I hear it in the text that has been selected for us in the Gospel according to Luke that»: L.50.

ΑΙCΩTῆ ΕΡΟΨ ΕΨΩ ΜΜΟC «I heard him saying»: M.59.

Similarly, Rufus often uses the word ΤΑΜΟ with numerous variations to introduce the explanation of a text:

ΕΨΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟΝ «(he/it) is informing us(you/them)»: M.21, M.24, M.36, M.42, L.9(2x), L.16(2x)

ΕΡΕΠΛΟΓΟC ΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟΝ «the text is informing us»: M.22, M.44(=M.45), L.10, L.11, L.15, L.31.

ΕΡΕΤΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟΝ ΕΡΟΨ «the Scripture is telling us»: M.39.

ΕΡΕΤΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΟΥΩΨ ΕΤΑΜΟΚ «the Scripture wishes to inform you»: M.34

ΝΤΑΥΤΑΜΟΝ «he has informed us»: M.31

ΞΕΚΑΣ ΕΦΝΑΤΑΜΟΚ ΝΟΠΛΟΓΟΣ «in order that the word (text) might inform you»: M.33

ΝΤΑΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΠΖΙΕΡΟΣ ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟΣ ΤΑΜΟΝ «the holy apostle Paul informed us»: M.36 (= M.37)

ΠΕΤΕΡΕΦΙΕΡΟΣ ΕΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟΣ ΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟΝ «the holy apostle in- forms us»: L.11

ΕΤΕΡΕCΟΛΟΜΩΝ ΠΠΑΡΖΟΙΜΙΑCΤΗC ΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟΝ «which Solomon, the author of Proverbs, is informing us»: L.48

†ΝΑΤΑΜΟΚ «I will tell you» M.64

ΑΝΟΚ ΦΑΙΤΑΜΟ ΕΡΟΦ «I would tell you about it»: L.42

Some additional typical phrases include the following:

ΟΥΝΟΥΑ ΝΑΧΟΟC ΝΑΙ ΧΕ «someone will say to me that»: M.22, M.29 (2x), M.32, M.34.

ΕΦΑΥΖΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΕ «which is interpreted»: M.9, M.47, M.6, L.11.

ΦΙΕΡΟΣ ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟΣ «the holy apostle»: M.17, M.21, M.23, M.35 + M.37 (= M.36), M.42, M.57, M.62, L.11, L.48.³⁸

Rufus also makes extensive use of the technical terminology of the Alexandrian exegetical tradition. This will be treated in detail in the final chapter.

The treatment of the *nomina sacra*

Seven of the *nomina sacra* are found in these manuscripts.³⁹ Roberts divides the *nomina sacra* into three groups: the first consisting of the four words Ἰησοῦς, χριστός, κύριος, θεός; the second of three words -

38. Garitte translates this phrase as «sacer apostolus.» Although ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟΣ is in the attributive position, it does not appear to be the modifier. See Till #76 who cites Luke 12:42: ΠΠΙCΤΟC ΝΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟC «der treue Verwalter» and #117 ΖΕΝCΑΒΗ ΝCΖΙΜΕ weise «Frauen» of which he says: «Gelegentlich kann auch der Ausdruck, der nach unserer Auffassung Attribut ist, als Regens auftreten.» For the most recent, thorough discussion of the subject, see Ariel Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories: Structural Studies in the Syntax of Shenoutean Sahidic* (Analecta Orientalia 53; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1986), 137-138, esp. 4.2.2.2.2. Perhaps this example should be regarded as an instance of a cliché, one of the cases enumerated by Shisha-Halevy.

39. The most recent and thorough treatment of the subject of the *nomina sacra* is to be found in Colin H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*, (London: The Oxford University Press, 1977), 22-48: Lecture II. *Nomina sacra*: Origins and Significance.

πνεῦμα, ἄνθρωπος, σταυρός; and the third of all others. He states that the abbreviation of the words in the first group in their sacral meaning is invariable and that of the words in the second group occurs relatively early and frequently.⁴⁰

In these manuscripts there are found two abbreviations from the first group. The abbreviation for Jesus, $\overline{\text{IC}}$, is always used with the exception of L.8 (BO) where the reference is in fact not to Jesus, but to Josue. The abbreviation for Christ, $\overline{\text{ΠΕΧC}}$, is always used with one exception, M.42 (BN) where it forms part of a quotation from Rom 8:34. In the text given by Horner and by Thompson the abbreviated form is used.

Neither the abbreviated form for $\overline{\text{ΠΧΟΕΙC}}$ nor that for $\overline{\text{ΠΝΟΥΤΕ}}$ are found in these manuscripts nor is a supralinear stroke placed over the words as in some manuscripts.⁴¹ Thus, in the first group, the Greek words are treated as *nomina sacra* but the Coptic ones are not.

From the second group there are found two abbreviated forms. The form $\overline{\text{CPOY}}$ occurs twice in M.3 (BN) in verbal forms that are a reference to Gal 6:14, but it is not used on the verso of the same leaf in reference to 1 Cor 1:22-24. The noun $\overline{\text{CTAYPOC}}$, which occurs in M.59, 15, 30, 46, 47, and 53 is not given special treatment as one of the *nomina sacra*. The word $\overline{\text{ΠΝΕΥΜΑ}}$ occurs only in the abbreviated form $\overline{\text{ΠNΔ}}$ but the adjective formed from it occurs in two different forms: $\overline{\text{ΠNΙΚON}}$ M.1 (BN), M.22 (BM, $\overline{\text{ΠNΙΚOC}}$), M.52 (BM), M.68 (BN) and $\overline{\text{ΠNMAΔΙΚON}}$ L.7 (BO, partially restored). No distinction is made in the use of the abbreviation $\overline{\text{ΠNΔ}}$ between sacral and non-sacral meanings. This appears to be true in general of the Sahidic New Testament.

From the third group there are found three abbreviations. The abbreviation for Jerusalem occurs only once, in M.34 (BN), in the context of a quotation from Matt 23:37. The form $\overline{\text{ΔΑΔ}}$ is used in L.15 (BO), L.23 (BP), L.25 (BP), L.29 (BP), L.32 (BP) and M.73 (B1a-Wessely). The name David is written out in full, $\overline{\text{ΔΑΥΕΙΔ}}$, in M.46 (BN), M.47 (BN), M.51 (BM), L.4 (BO), L.18 (BO), L.29 (BP), L.48 (BO). Thus the manuscripts BO and BP show no consistency in this regard. Twice the abbreviated form may have been used in BP to save space at the end of a line (L.23,25) but elsewhere this is not the case.

40. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, 27.

41. See Paul E. Kahle, *Bala'izah: Coptic Texts from Deir El-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 357ff.

In the one occurrence from the manuscript BE, the name is part of a quotation of the opening words of the Gospel of Matthew in which the other nomina sacra $\overline{\text{IC}}$ and $\overline{\text{ΠΕΧC}}$ also occur.

The name «Israel» occurs in abbreviated form but in three different versions. The standard form $\overline{\text{ICH}\lambda}$ is found in M.8 (BM), M.13 (BM), M.14 (BM), M.24 (BM). The form $\overline{\text{IC}\lambda}$ is found once in M.33 (BN) and the form $\overline{\text{IH}\lambda}$ is found twice: L.7 (BO) and L.52 (BP). The unabridged form is found in M.7 (BM) in a quotation from Matt 2:19.

The results of this investigation in these manuscripts do not bear out the statement by Roberts that «in Coptic manuscripts only the four basic words, together occasionally with $\overline{\text{πατήρ}}$ and $\overline{\text{πνεῦμα}}$ are abbreviated, more or less as in Latin.»⁴²

The Literary Genre

According to Jerome, Origen produced three distinct types of exegetical works.⁴³ The first of these consisted of collections of brief notes, known in Greek as $\overline{\text{σχόλια}}$, in which he dealt succinctly in short chapters with questions that appeared obscure to him or that contained difficult points of interpretation. This genre may have been based on the example of the *Questiones* of Philo and similar works.⁴⁴

The second type consisted of homilies that he preached at Caesarea. Eusebius informs us that these were taken down by stenographers.⁴⁵ In the homilies, Origen adapted himself to a mixed audience containing a majority of unlearned persons in a liturgical setting.⁴⁶ Most of these homilies may have been produced within a

42. Roberts, 43.

43. Jerome offers this analysis in the prologue to his translation of Origen's homilies on Ezekiel: PL 25, 585ff.; GCS 33 (Origenes Werke 8:318). On the terminology, see also R. Devresse, «Chaines Exégétiques grecques» *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1928), 1106-1107.

44. Manlio Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria: Un contributo alla storia dell'esegesi patristica* (Studia Ephemeridis «Augustinianum» 23; Rome: Institutum Patristicum «Augustinianum», 1985), 74.

45. Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.* 6, 36.

46. So Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 74, although he admits that the adaptation was quite relative. Müller, *Die alte koptische Predigt*, 10, doubts that Origen's homilies could have been directed to an average rural or working class community. The same would hold true for those of Rufus.

three year period in which Origen followed the cycle of liturgical readings.⁴⁷ In general Origen follows the traditional division of a public discourse into prologue, body and conclusion.⁴⁸ To introduce the first verse to be commented on, he may begin with a general idea, or the citation of a work, or a story that somehow relates to the text that will follow. The body of the homily is constituted by a series of quotations from the reading followed by interpretations. The same text may be quoted several times if different parts of it are to be explained successively or if a series of explanations is to be offered. In these homilies the moral and paraenetic tone is reduced and concentrated at the end. Origen always concludes his homilies with the same doxology borrowed from 1 Pet 4:11 : «To whom be the power and the glory for ever and ever. Amen.»⁴⁹ Sometimes this is simply attached to the explanation of the last verse cited but often it is preceded by a more elaborate conclusion.

The third genre of exegetical work was what Origen himself called *τόμοι* and Jerome called «commentaries.» In these, destined for a more select audience, Origen pursued the exegesis of individual books in a more systematic way, passage by passage, without regard to limitations of space or time and often with notable digressions.⁵⁰

The literary forms used and developed by Origen greatly influenced all subsequent patristic exegetical work. The homilies of Rufus belong to the second category described above and there are indications that suggest that they were taken down by scribes while they were being preached. Some of the moral lessons deduced from the texts are sometimes addressed to certain categories of listeners, e.g., to monks (M.31; M.54) or to virgins (L.45-46). There are also references to specific future liturgical celebrations, e.g., the following morning (L.13) and the following Sunday, which may also have been the following

47. See P. Nautin, *Origène: Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Christianisme Antique 1; Paris: Beauchesne, 1977), 389-412. Nautin argues for the period 239-242, suggesting that the information given by Eusebius, that Origen allowed stenographers to take down his homilies only after he was sixty years old, is misleading.

48. For a more detailed analysis of the structure of Origen's homilies, see P. Nautin, ed., *Origène: Homélies sur Jérémie* (SC 232; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1976), 123-131. What follows is a summary of the analysis offered by Nautin.

49. On the doxologies and the variant forms that occur in the translations by Rufinus, see H. Crouzel, «Les doxologies finales des homélies d'Origènes selon le texte grec et les versions latines» *Augustinianum* 20 (1980): 95-107.

50. See Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 75.

day (L.48). At the end of one homily (M.20), he seems to appeal to the listeners to pray that he may be inspired to say something in the next homily about John the Baptist. An additional indication of the preached character of the homilies is the number of biblical quotations that seem to be cited from memory.

One can also regard these homilies as a subgenre of liturgical preaching in general. A variety of terms are used to describe Coptic homilies: ΛΟΓΟΣ, ΖΟΜΙΛΙΑ, ΕΞΕΓΗCIC, ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ, ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ, ΒΙΟΣ, ΠΟΛΥΤΑ, ΚΑΘΗΚΗCIC.⁵¹ Three of these terms are found in the superscriptions of the homilies of Rufus. The superscriptions of the homilies on Matthew (M.25; M.42; M.48(M.49)) all use ΛΟΓΟΣ (treatise, homily) to describe the material that follows. In the homilies on Luke (L.5; L.50) the word ΕΞΕΓΗCIC (explanation, interpretation) is used. The word ΚΑΘΗΚΗCIC occurs only in the superscription of M.73 (Vienna K9644v), which belongs to a manuscript containing an odd collection of writings.⁵² The term ΛΟΓΟΣ is the most generic term used to describe a homily and does not indicate its content.⁵³ It is also used in patristic literature to indicate writings other than liturgical homilies such as theological treatises. The term ΕΞΕΓΗCIC, on the other hand, seems to indicate a scriptural homily.⁵⁴

The material attributed to Rufus belongs to about eighteen or nineteen different homilies. None of these, unfortunately, is complete. However, two of them, the eighth homily on Matthew (M.25-42) and the fifth one on Luke (L.23-49) are almost complete. The outlines that follow may give an idea of their structure.

51. See Müller, *Die alte koptische Predigt*, 302-303. Whether all of these terms should be grouped under the heading of «homily» (or *Predigt* in German) may be questioned, although it may be argued that all represent compositions destined for liturgical use. In any case the terms ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ, ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ, ΒΙΟΣ, ΠΟΛΥΤΑ designate more the content than the form and may be rather longer than the usual sermon.

52. See p. 125, n. 9, and p. 164, n. 223.

53. See Müller, *Die alte koptische Predigt*, 303-304.

54. This term does not occur in the superscriptions of the material studied by Müller, but none of the homilies included in his study formed part of a continuous series on biblical texts. For another instance of its usage, see E. Amélineau, *Oeuvres de Schenoudi*, 1 (Paris, 1907) where the word is used in a more general sense of «exposition» but having nothing to do with «exegesis» of a biblical text: ΟΥΕΞΕΓΗCIC ΜΝΝCΑ ΝΕΝΤΑΝΧΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΝCΑΖΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΤΤΑΙΟ ΝΖΕΝΚΕΕC ΝΚΩC ΕΥΤ ΝΟΥΡΑΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕCΩΟΥΕΙΤ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC.

The Eighth Homily on Matthew: «Then he was taken to the desert by the spirit to be tempted» etc. M.25-40

A. Introduction M.25 (part of left column missing)

1. Introductory exhortations:

- a. The bird of light taken/let those in the nest spread their wings. M.27
- b. Word taken to wilderness/let the spiritual man flee with him
- c. A God is being taken to be tempted (polemic against those who are unbelieving in the birth according to the flesh)

B. Text: (I hear) «Then Jesus was taken...» M.28

1. He put on the whole man for our salvation: series of contrasts.

- a. He covered himself with mortal nature to restore our life.
- b. He is raising us up on the degrees of knowledge.
- c. To build up our salvation, he put himself down.
- d. He is in the womb for the sake of those in womb of doctrine.
- e. He is wrapped in swaddling clothes for the sake of those wrapped in cares of life.
- f. He is in animals' manger to draw them forth from animal nature.
- g. He advances in age and wisdom that they might advance in age of virtue.
- h. He is baptized in Jordan to purify them.
- i. Now he is taken to mountain to be tempted to give strength to those tempted.

2. Text: (I hear) «Then Jesus was taken...» Do not be disturbed: hold fast to the dispensation according to the flesh of your Lord. M.29

a. It is as human that he is taken up.

- i. The desert is a figure for a state of desolation, a trial of strength («Someone will say: what is this desert»).
- ii. Not a test of his power but to reveal the defeat of the enemy («Someone will say: what is this desert»).

3. Next text: (I hear then) «he fasted forty days and nights and afterwards he was hungry» (Matt 4:2). M.31

- a. He set example of the annual fast - from the world and the flesh
- b. Forty symbolizes the whole sensible realm.
- c. «Afterwards he was hungry»: not the savior but the man he was wearing.

4. Next text: «let these stones become bread» (Matt 4:3). M.32

- a. The stones are figurative stones: they are hard and literal words.
- b. They are words of evil teaching.
- c. They are stones the Jews wanted to throw at Jesus.
- d. Exhortation: let us not eat them and become hard of heart like Pharaoh.
- e. Exhortation: let us be prepared to give an explanation to all who ask for a word of explanation.

5. Next text: (Further on I hear) «The devil took him to the holy city...» (Matt 4:5-6). M.33

- a. Principle: take away the veil of introductory teaching.
 - i. «The devil took him» - switch from impersonal (he was taken) to personal
 - ii. «The holy city» = Jerusalem and the soul
 - iii. «The wing of the temple» = the height of spiritual insight
- b. Conclusion: the enemy seeks to make each one fall down from the height of his virtue. M.34
- c. «If you are the son of God» - application of Psalm 90 to all the just; the role of the angels. M.36
- d. «It is written also» (Matt 4:7).
 - i. Exhortations: do not be fainthearted.
 - ii. Do not curse but answer with gentleness and wisdom. Cites Rom 5:3-4.

6. Next text: (Further on I hear) «He took him up on a very high mountain.» M.38

- a. «a very high mountain»: literal text = defectus litterae

- b. «Depart Satan...»
- c. The angels come and minister; examples of angels:
 - i. The angel that ministered to Elias.
 - ii. The one that ministered to Daniel.
 - iii. The one that dried up the fire around the three holy ones in the furnace.
 - iv. The angel that struck the camp of Sennacherib.
 - v. Eliseus: the mountain filled with horses and chariots of fire.
 - vi. The angel that let Peter out of prison and struck Herod.

C. Conclusion: no one can prevail against us. Cites Rom 8:34. M.39-40

D. Doxology

The Fifth Homily on Luke: «In the sixth month...» (Luke 1:26-27)[Luke 1:26-38]:L.19-43.

A. Introduction: L.19-24. Story of the Fall.

- 1. The envy of the devil.
- 2. We lost our humanity.
- 3. God shows mercy and sent His son in servile form (Phil 2:7).
- 4. He restored our humanity: «Wisdom has built herself a house» (Prov 9:1).
- 5. Contrast of Eve and Mary.

B. Text: (I hear it) «In the sixth month...» (Text of Luke 1:26-38 cited in its entirety) L.24-26.

- 1. (I hear it now) «In the sixth month» = that Elizabeth was pregnant. L.27
- 2. To a city of Galilee.
- 3. (Further on I hear) «when he went into her...» (cites Luke 1:28). L.27
 - a. What is this «going into her?» It is about her hidden life.
 - b. The angelic greeting: «Hail, you who have found favor.» A unique greeting. L.27-28
 - i. Because of holy undefiled virginity.
 - ii. «Hail. . .» You have given birth with ease.

- iii. «Hail...» Conceived in purity, gave birth in holiness.
 - iv. «Hail...» The Lord increased his mercy with you.
- 4. Mary's response: caution, contrast with Eve. L.28-30
 - a. The virgin is learned in Scripture. L.31
- 5. The angel: «Do not be afraid, Mary...» L.32
 - a. It was her thought he answered.
 - b. She is unique: Isa 7:14.
 - c. (I hear it again): she will take away fear of Eve.
 - d. «Behold, you will conceive...» (Luke 1:31).
 - e. «You will bear a son...» (Cites Isa 9:5) L.33.
 - i. Terminological security needed. L.34
 - ii. Son has received hypostasis from the fatherhood.
 - iii. «The angel of great counsel» (Isa 9:5): not like one of angels. Cites Heb 1:1-3. L.35
 - iv. Angel of great counsel = father.
 - f. Text: (I hear) «You will call his name Jesus...» Cites 1 John 2:14, Ps 109:3.
 - g. «This one will be great...» L.36
 - i. because of the greatness of his soul, because of greatness of the preaching of the gospel.
 - ii. Cites Eph 4:10: «...that he might perfect all things.» *one leaf missing*
 - iii. Cites 1 Cor 15:25 «It is necessary for him to reign...»
- 6. Mary consents: L.37.
 - a. «How will this happen...»
 - b. «It is a holy spirit...» L.38
 - c. He will be called son of God.
 - d. He has received the characteristics of humanity.
- 7. Text: (I hear also) «Behold, Elizabeth your kinswoman...» L.39
 - a. Nothing impossible with God.
- 8. Text: (I hear) «...Let it be done to me...» L.40
 - a. The angel leaves.
 - b. Transfiguration cited.
- C. Exhortations to virgins: L.41-42
 - 1. Emulate purity of this virgin.
 - 2. Guard against males.

3. Then bridegroom will come to your garden: Cant 5:1. L.42-43

D. Doxology.

From these outlines it may be seen that Rufus follows the classical division of prologue, body and conclusion. The introduction to the homily on Matthew consists of exhortations that set the tone for the reading of the text. That is, it is to be read chiefly on the spiritual (tropological) level with what happens to Jesus being taken as the type for everyone. In the homily on Luke, the text is introduced by a recapitulation of the fall story with particular emphasis upon the malice of the devil, the humanity of Jesus, and the contrast of Eve and Mary, all points that will be developed in the explanation of the Annunciation story that follows.⁵⁵ An odd feature of this homily is the quotation of the entire pericope after the introduction, since presumably this had just been read before the beginning of the homily.

In the body of the homilies, different sections of the text being commented on are generally introduced by the characteristic phrase, **†CΩTM**, or some variation of it. In the homily on Matthew, exhortations are dispersed throughout the body of the homily in conjunction with the explanations of the various sections of the text. In the one on Luke, on the other hand, the hortatory section, addressed to virgins, comes at the end. This difference may be explained by the different nature of the two texts being commented on.

The doxologies at the end of the homilies show the variations that occur in other Coptic homilies, including the designation of the Holy Spirit as **PECTANZO** and **ZOMOOYCION** (M.66).⁵⁶ Often the doxology is Trinitarian but sometimes only the Son is mentioned. Only once is the formula of 1 Pet 5:11 used (L.11). Where the two manuscripts of the same homily offer different doxologies, e.g., M.48 [B11v]; M.49 [A13] and M.63 [B12]; M.66 [A14v], the variations are obviously due to the scribes rather than to the author.

In his study of the Coptic homily, Müller concluded⁵⁷ that the Coptic biblical homily was normally divided into two parts, the first part

55. Similar introductory sections seem to be present in the other leaves that contain the opening portions of homilies: M.42 [B9v], M.48 [B11v] = M.49 [A13], and L.5 [C3].

56. See Müller, *Die alte koptische Predigt*, 340.

57. Müller, *Die alte koptische Predigt*, 308-309.

containing a brief introduction and the exegetical section, and the second (often longer) section containing exhortations including edifying stories. One homily that did not fit this pattern (Basil on the Ark of Noah) he designated as «unkoptisch» and suggested that the author may have been a Greek inspired preacher.⁵⁸ In this homily the exhortations were distributed throughout the exegetical section and the second major part consisting of exhortations and stories was missing altogether. The homilies of Rufus obviously follow more closely the classical pattern established by Origen rather than that described by Müller as traditionally Coptic. However, the biblical homilies studied by Müller do not form part of a continuous series. In fact, those of Rufus are the only ones of this genre known to have been composed in Coptic. There are of course translations, such as those of John Chrysostom, which do belong to this genre.

The Liturgical Context of the Homilies

Although the literary form of these homilies is fairly clear, the exact liturgical setting is more difficult to determine. It is best to begin with the sparse indications provided in the texts.

A peculiar feature of these manuscripts is the brief title **ϸΑΒ-ΒΑΤΙΚΗ**, which occurs twice in the homilies on Matthew (M.12; M.66 = M.64) and three times in the homilies on Luke (L.11; L.47; L.51). This word is not elsewhere attested in a liturgical context in Coptic.⁵⁹ It appears to be a formation parallel to **ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ** (found in L.48 and in the title of L.53[Paris 131.1]),⁶⁰ the common designation for Sunday. In all five places where this title occurs, it is preceded by a doxology marking the end of the previous homily. Unfortunately, none of the sections entitled **ϸΑΒΒΑΤΙΚΗ** is complete but all seem to have a hortatory character. The one following the fifth homily on Luke appears to

58. Müller, *Die alte koptische Predigt*, 312-313.

59. The adjective *σαββατικός* is found in Origen, fr. 6 in Lc 5:14 (GCS 9:235, 1.20) where it refers to the sabbath. See Lampe, s.v., for other references. For the known designations of the days of the week in Coptic, see Walter C. Till, «Die Wochentagsnamen im Koptischen» *Tome commémoratif du millénaire de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale d'Alexandrie* (Publications de l'Institut d'études orientales de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale d'Alexandrie; Alexandria, 1953), 101-110.

60. **ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ** in this context is elliptical for *ἡ κυριακή ἡμέρα*. See Lampe, s.v. 4.d.

eucharistic morning service for which the cycle of readings would have lasted three years, as was the custom also among the Jews. The entire Old Testament would have been read in order and the length of the readings would have been determined by the need to fit them into a three year cycle. Thus these readings were considerably longer than the New Testament ones, extending often to several chapters. The homilies that Origen preached on them were also relatively long. The morning service in which they were preached seems to have consisted of the reading, the homily and concluding prayers. Nautin estimates that it probably lasted about an hour.⁶²

The gospel texts were likewise read in a three year cycle fixed by analogy with that of the Old Testament. However, the gospel was read and explained only during the eucharistic liturgy, which was celebrated three times a week: Wednesday and Friday at the end of the fast and Sunday morning. Basing himself on the length of the pericopes on which Origen preached, Nautin estimates that the gospel cycle would have lasted nine years if Origen had preached only on Sundays. This is highly unlikely and could not be reconciled with other known data about his life.⁶³

The reading from the «Apostle» (Acts, the epistles, Revelation) formed a distinct cycle, which Nautin thinks probably also lasted three years.

The homilies of Origen on the Gospel of Luke are much shorter than those on the Old Testament books. Nautin explains this by the fact that at the eucharistic liturgy there were probably three readings and possibly three separate homilies that together would have equaled the length of the weekday homily on the Old Testament.⁶⁴

Although they are not identical, the pericopes on which Rufus preached appear to be approximately the same length as those on which Origen preached. The fifth homily on Luke by Rufus treats Luke 1:26-38, whereas the sixth homily of Origen covers Luke 1:24-33 (the seventh begins with vs. 39 as does the next one by Ru-

62. Nautin, *Origène*, 394-395, 400. Nautin also notes a connection with the practice of the catechumenate in this period, which lasted three years. The catechumens were not admitted to the celebration of the Eucharist where the gospel was read and were allowed to remain for the liturgy of the word before the Eucharist only in the last weeks before their baptism.

63. See Nautin, *Origène*, 398-400.

64. Nautin, *Origène*, 398.

fus). Not all the pericopes are of the same length; as is the case with Origen, they seem to vary from four or five verses to as many as fourteen. Given this rough equivalence between the pericopes covered by the two preachers, it seems likely that Rufus also preached not only on Sunday but also on Wednesday and Friday as well. These weekday celebrations are attested elsewhere in north Africa and in the East on these traditional fast days.⁶⁵ There is evidence that this custom was observed also in Egypt, at least in some places. Some texts suggest a Saturday celebration of the Eucharist as well.⁶⁶

As already noted above, the title **ϫⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲓⲕⲏ** and the comments of Rufus seem to imply a Saturday-Sunday liturgical celebration in which there were at least two meetings (synaxes) with some relationship between the readings and the homilies in the two meetings. Since the sections entitled **ϫⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲓⲕⲏ** are not given a full superscription and treated as separate homilies by the scribes, it seems reasonable to conclude that they were not distinct homilies at a separate eucharistic celebration but belonged rather to a preparatory celebration for the main one that occurred on Sunday. Such a service does exist in the later rites of the Coptic Church in the Evening Offering of Incense during which a gospel passage is read. In lieu of better evidence, one may at least hypothesize that this was the setting for these sections.

65. See Nautin, *Origène*, 392-393, who cites Tertullian, Epiphanius and Egeria as evidence for the celebration of the Eucharist on these days at the end of the fast. The fast on these days is mentioned already in *Did.* 8,1. For the sake of completeness, one must note also that the church historian Socrates says that, in his time in Alexandria, on Wednesday and Friday the Scriptures were read and the preachers explained them but the «mysteries» were not celebrated (*Hist. eccles.* 5,22 [PG 67, 636AB]).

66. See the collection of texts assembled by J. Muyser, «Le Samedi et le Dimanche dans l'Église et la Littérature Coptes» in Togo Mina, *Le martyre d'Apa Epima* (Cairo: Imprimerie nationale, 1937), 95, 101, 102. Some of these texts seem to indicate that the Eucharist was celebrated on Saturday as well as Sunday. On this subject the following should be consulted as well: Armand Veilleux, *La liturgie dans le cénobitisme Pachômien au quatrième siècle* (Studia Anselmiana 57; Rome: Herder, 1968), 230-235; Hans Quecke, *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Stundengebet* (Louvain: Institute Orientaliste, 1970), 2-13; Heinrich Bacht, *Das Vermächtnis des Ursprungs II* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1983), 135 n. 68; Antoine Guillaumont, «Histoire des moines aux Kellia» *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 8(1977): 187-203, reprinted in A. Guillaumont, *Aux origines du monachisme chrétien* (Bérolles en Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1979); C. Donahue, «The Agape of the Hermits of Scete» *Studia Monastica* 1(1959): 97-114.

The fact that this service would have been celebrated only on Saturday evening as preparation for the most important eucharistic celebration of the week would account for the fact that these sections are not found before all the homilies. Those without such preceding sections may have been preached during the Wednesday and Friday celebrations, which were held in the evening at the conclusion of the fast.⁶⁷

The existence of these manuscripts and a few notations on them make it clear that these homilies were later used in liturgical services but it is not possible to determine exactly what these were. From the marginal notations of BP (ΟΥΩΣΜ) it is obvious that the manuscript itself was used for liturgical purposes. This is the case also for Paris 131.1.24 (ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ, ΠΕΒΟΤ).⁶⁸

The Historical Context and Theological Concerns

Judging by what we know of the history as well as from the literary remains of the period, the last quarter of the sixth century was a particularly fruitful one for the church in Egypt.⁶⁹ It was the period of the patriarch Damian, whose long reign (578[577]-607[606]) of over twenty-five years seems to have been conducive to the stability and consolidation of the non-Chalcedonian church in Egypt.⁷⁰ This was also a time of renewed literary activity in which perhaps Damian led the way. A passage from the *History of the Patriarchs* states:

And Damian, the blessed patriarch, remained all his days composing letters and homilies and treatises, in which he refuted the heretics. And there were

67. On the origin of the evening and morning offering of incense (ΤΑΛΟ ΜΠΙΘΟΙΝΟΥΧΙ), see H. Quecke *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Stundengebet* (Louvain: Institute Orientaliste, 1970), 2-13. Quecke's hypothesis is that these services developed from common prayer services of the community rather than from the monastic tradition. See p. 11. For a description of the rites of the offering of incense, see O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church. A Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies Observed in the Administration of Her Sacraments* (Cairo: Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte, 1967), 35-45.

68. On the later systematization of homiletic material for liturgical purposes, see Tito Orlandi, «Coptic Literature» *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity* (ed. Birger A. Pearson & James E. Goehring; Studies in Antiquity & Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 80-81.

in his days certain bishops whom he admired, marvelling at their purity and excellence; and among them was John of Burlus, and John his disciple, and Constantine the bishop, and Cleistus, and many others who tended the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth.⁷¹

Although the author of the *History*, as Garitte pointed out,⁷² probably has in mind the ecclesiastical achievements of these bishops, each of them also engaged in literary activity.⁷³ These are the contemporaries of Rufus of Shotep and their works form the literary milieu into which his is to be inserted.

The beginning of this period actually should be dated a few years earlier to the installation of the previous patriarch, Peter IV

69. For this period see: Jean Maspero, Gaston Wiet and Ad. Fortescue, *Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie depuis la mort de l'Empereur Anastase jusqu'à la réconciliation des Églises Jacobites (518-616)* (Paris: Librairie ancienne Edouard Champion, 1923), especially 250-317; E. R. Hardy, *Christian Egypt: Church and People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952) especially chaps. 4 and 5; C. Detlef G. Müller, «Die koptische Kirche zwischen Chalkedon und dem Arabereinmarsch» *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 75 (1964): 271-308. The work by Maspero remains the most detailed modern treatment of this period in Egyptian church history. In addition to the *History of the Patriarchs*, Maspero relied chiefly upon the chronicles of John of Ephesus, Michael the Syrian, and John of Nikiou. However, the work of Maspero (completed and published after his death by Wiet and Fortescue) needs to be supplemented and corrected by the more recent material that can be found in Müller.

70. On the patriarch Damian, see especially: C. Detlef G. Müller, «Damian, Papst und Patriarch von Alexandrien» *Oriens Christianus* 70 (1986): 118-142. The term «non-Chalcedonian» has been used here to distinguish the Egyptian church from the Melchite one in Alexandria. By it is intended that portion of the church that the Copts designate as «the orthodox» and the later western tradition as the Monophysites. The terminology is imprecise and unsatisfactory. For a discussion of the problem, see: D. W. Johnson, «Anti-Chalcedonian Polemics in Coptic Texts, 451-641» *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 218-220.

71. B. Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria (Severus of Ashmunein)* (PO 1; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1910), 477.

72. Garitte, «Constantin, évêque d'Assiout», 298. On the question of the authorship of the *History of the Patriarchs*, see: D. W. Johnson, «Further remarks on the arabic History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria» *Oriens Christianus* 61 (1977): 103-116; J. den Heijer, «Sawirus Ibn al-Muqaffa', Mawhūb Ibn Mansūr Ibn Mufarriḡ et la genèse de 'l'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie'» *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 41 (1984): 336-347; idem, «L'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie: recension primitive et vulgate» *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 27 (1985): 1-29.

(576-578[577]), the first to be generally recognized by the non-Chalcedonians after a ten year period of ecclesiastical anarchy following the death of the patriarch Theodosius I in exile. It was the task of Peter IV to renew the hierarchy, since many of the bishoprics had fallen vacant.

There had in effect existed two rival hierarchies since the installation of Paul the Tabennesiot as Melchite patriarch (538-540) after Theodosius I had been sent into exile. However, the influence of the Melchite patriarch was generally restricted to Alexandria.⁷⁴ This meant, on the other hand, that the non-Chalcedonian patriarch had to reside outside of the city. In practice this situation developed only with the selection of Peter IV and Damian because, although Theodosius had been recognized by most of the Egyptian church as the only legitimate patriarch, most of his reign was spent in exile just outside of Constantinople.

During the previous period of anarchy the number of different Monophysite groups alone had increased to at least twenty and older schismatic groups such as the Meletians still existed. These Monophysite groups included Stephanites, Petrites, Tritheists, Acephalites, and Gaianites (Julianites). Against all of these Damian struggled and, through encyclicals, letters and journeys, he attempted to bring them back into unity.⁷⁵

To what extent the complicated political and theological struggles in Alexandria and the rest of the empire affected life in Upper Egypt in this period is difficult to tell. Although the authority of the patriarch's pastoral letters, his norm of faith and his canons were generally

73. For a recent survey and evaluation of the literary activity of this period, see Tito Orlandi, «Coptic Literature» *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity* (ed. Birger A. Pearson & James E. Goehring; Studies in Antiquity & Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 75-77. The works of these authors can be found in the following editions: Constantini Episcopi Urbis Siout, *Encomia in Athanasium Duo* (ed. T. Orlandi; CSCO 349, 350; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1974); G. Godron, *Textes coptes relatifs à saint Claude d'Antioche* (PO 35,4; Turnhout: Brepols, 1970); Gérard Garitte, «Panégyrique de saint Antoine par Jean, l'évêque d'Hermopolis» *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 9 (1943): 100-134; 330-365; Arnold van Lantschoot, «Fragments coptes d'une homélie de Jean de Paralos contre les livres hérétiques» *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati Vol. I* (Studi e Testi 121; Città del Vaticano: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1946), 296-326.

74. Müller, «Die koptische Kirche,» 276.

75. Müller, «Die koptische Kirche,» 279.

accepted and held in honor, each diocese was a world in itself and conditions seem to have differed noticeably in different dioceses.⁷⁶ The local bishops were generally drawn from the diocese or from the nearby area, and in this period it was a generally accepted condition that they be monks.⁷⁷ The archive of the contemporary Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis (600-609 or 584-624) gives a fairly rich picture of the activity of such a bishop.⁷⁸ He had been hegoumenos of the nearby monastery of Phoibammon where he also continued to live and function as hegoumenos even as bishop. The bishop watched over the activities of his clergy and held assemblies of them three times yearly. Candidates for ordination had to promise obedience and learn by heart an entire gospel, as well as observe the required fasts, vigils, prayers and other rules. It was the duty of the bishop to see that the liturgy was correctly carried out and to baptize those who had been prepared for baptism by others entrusted with the task. A special concern of the bishop was the maintenance of the sanctity of marriage.

The bishop also functioned as a judge in disputes among Christians⁷⁹ and the patriarch was the highest judge.⁸⁰ The hegoumenoi of the monasteries also functioned as lesser judges. The Greek courts of the Byzantine administration do not seem to have enjoyed the trust of the local population.⁸¹ A principal punishment was excommunication.

Another concern of the bishop was the building of new churches and preventing sectarian groups from building private churches. The bishop was also requested to act as intercessor with his prayers for particular causes, a task that had traditionally been performed by the ascetics. On the other hand, the monasteries had come to play not only

76. Müller, «Die koptische Kirche,» 282.

77. Müller, «Die koptische Kirche,» 283.

78. This archive has been edited by Martin Krause in a Berlin dissertation entitled *Apa Abraham von Hermonthis, ein oberägyptischer Bischof um 600*, which remains unpublished and which was inaccessible to me. What follows is from the summary of it offered by Müller, «Die koptische Kirche,» 283-291.

79. Müller, «Die koptische Kirche,» 288.

80. On the civil and economic role of the patriarch of Alexandria, see George R. Monks, «The Church of Alexandria and the City's Economic Life in the Sixth Century» *Speculum* 28 (1953): 349-362. It must be kept in mind, however, that the non-Chalcedonian patriarch did not enjoy the backing of the civil and military power and could not have played a role similar to that of the Melchite patriarch.

81. Müller, «Die koptische Kirche,» 289.

a spiritual role but, through gifts and inheritance, an important social and economic role as well⁸² and the bishops had become monks.

In these homilies of Rufus, however, there are few indications of contemporary social and pastoral issues. Apart from exhortations to nuns to avoid dangerous contacts with men, the mention that there were certain persons appointed to watch over the spiritual welfare of the nuns (L.45-46), and the mention of economic disparities (M.63), there is little that reflects the social and economic life of the times. Rufus' main interest as a preacher seems to be in developing the spiritual knowledge of his flock through allegorical exegesis. On the other hand, it must be kept in mind that we possess only a small portion of his original output, which might well have contained many more passages of topical interest and polemical content.

Still, there is some evidence of contemporary theological issues.⁸³ In the context of a comment on the introductory verse of Luke, Rufus mentions the existence of the Gospel of Marcion and that of «the Manichaeon» in addition to the four canonical ones (L.3). There are other contemporary Coptic texts that mention Marcion and Mani in the same breath.⁸⁴ However, Rufus seems to have a more specific knowledge of these than that revealed by the other texts. Speaking of the «Gospel of Marcion» he says: «He did not write it in order but what pleased him and what [...] him. Those things opposed to his blas-

82. Müller, «Die koptische Kirche,» 291.

83. Here will be mentioned only dogmatic theological issues. Rufus' principal interest lay in traditional exegesis and his principal interest for the historian lies in the fact that at the end of the sixth century a bishop in Upper Egypt shows a high level of culture and knowledge of the traditional exegetical methods and tradition. This area will be treated in the final chapter.

84. In the *Synodicon* of the patriarch Damian is found the following: «they that proclaim a mere phantom, namely Marcion and Valentinus and Manes and Eutyches.» See W. E. Crum and H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1926), 2:337. A similar grouping is found in the second *Encomium on Athanasius* by Constantine of Siout: «these who have gone mad with the madness of Mani, Valentinus, Marcion, Apollinaris, and Eutyches, unto Julian the wretched elder, that is, the Manichaeon Phantasiasts.» See D. W. Johnson, «Anti-Chalcedonian Polemics,» 222. The Coptic text is found in: Constantini episcopi urbis Siout, *Encomia in Athanasium duo*, (ed. T. Orlandi; CSCO 349; Louvain: Secretariat du CSCO, 1974). Another possibly contemporary text (Zoega, *Catalogus*, 618, no. 263) refers to «those belonging to the sect of Marcion and Valentinus and the Manichaeans.» Contrary to Zoega, Garitte («Rufus,» 29) sees no reason to attribute this text to Rufus.

phemy, he omitted, just like also those old women's fables, the Gospel of the Manichaeon, daring to say words that our Lord did not utter.» This does not necessarily suggest that he was personally acquainted with these writings. There are many other ancient witnesses from which he could have derived this information.⁸⁵ Nor does it mean that the writings of Marcion and Mani posed a contemporary threat. It is uncertain whether or not there were actual Manichaean communities in existence in Egypt at this time.⁸⁶ Still, it is of some interest that Assiut and Shotep seem to have been the center of Manichaean activity in Egypt in an earlier period.⁸⁷

Although there is no explicit mention of the Council of Chalcedon and condemnation of it as in other polemical works of the period,⁸⁸ it is clear that Rufus was concerned about correct belief and was well aware of the christological controversies of the period. One could reasonably assume that, as a bishop installed by Damian, he would reflect the theological line of the patriarch, which was also that of Severus of Antioch.⁸⁹ This excluded the positions of Nestorius and Chalcedon on the one hand and those of Eutyches and Julian of Halicarnassus on the

85. See A. von Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1921), which remains the standard and most complete investigation of the ancient witnesses to Marcion.

86. See D. W. Johnson, «Coptic Reactions to Gnosticism and Manichaeism» *Le Muséon* 100 (1987): 208-209. For a survey of the evidence of the Manichaean presence in Egypt, see Gedaliahu G. Stroumsa, «The Manichaean Challenge to Egyptian Christianity» *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity* (ed. Birger A. Pearson and James E. Goehring; Studies in Antiquity & Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 307-319.

87. See W. E. Crum, review of Schmidt-Polotsky «Ein Mani-Fund in Aegypten. Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler» *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* XIX (1933): 199 and Johnson, «Coptic Reactions,» 208. The Manichaean documents are in the dialect of this region, Sub-Akhmimic or Lycopolitan (Lycopolis = Assiut, which is just north of Shotep). See also pp. 296-297.

88. For collections of these, see Maria Cramer and Heinrich Bacht, «Die antichalkedonische Aspekt im historisch-biographischen Schriftum der koptischen Monophysiten (6.-7. Jahrhundert): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Entstehung der monophysitischen Kirche Aegyptens» *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart* (ed. Alois Grillmeier and Heinrich Bacht; 3 vols.; Würzburg: Echter, 1951-54) 2:315-338 and Johnson, «Anti-Chalcedonian Polemics.» To these should be added also the text published by Crum in *Der Papyruscodex saec. VI-VII der Phillipps-bibliothek in Cheltenham: koptische theologische Schriften, hrsg. und übersetzt von W. E. Crum; mit einem beitrage von A. Erhard* (Strassburg: Teubner, 1915), 43-45.

other. Both positions were seen to deny the full reality of the Incarnation and thereby also to lessen the soteriological value of Christ. There is nothing in Rufus' writing to indicate otherwise and there are many echoes that confirm this supposition. More than once he mentions those «who will believe that God came to a woman's womb» (M.4) or those who do not believe «in the birth according to the flesh of our savior, who say that he did not come to a woman's womb» (M.27). Müller assumes that this is anti-docetistic⁹⁰ but one wonders if it could not just as well be anti-Nestorian, since, from the Monophysite prospective, the Nestorian position was essentially a denial of the incarnation and the Chalcedonian position was essentially Nestorian.⁹¹

Similarly Rufus urges his listeners to «Be firm and hold fast to the matter of the dispensation according to the flesh of your Lord» (M.29). In explaining the temptations in the desert he is careful to insist that although the son of God may not be separated from his father, yet it is about «the man that he wears (ΕΤΕΥΦΟΡΕΙ) that all these things are said» (M.30). This phrase occurs again when he explains that the savior was not hungry but that the text is speaking about «the man that he was wearing (ΕΤΤΟ ΖΙΩΩΥ)» (M.31).⁹² The anxiety is to preserve the reality of the incarnation while avoiding the scandal of attributing weakness to the divinity.

89. See the *Synodicon* of Damian, (Winlock and Crum, *Epiphanius*, 2.333 [VI]) where Damian speaks of Severus as «the holy Severus in [whom] speak all our holy [fathers].» For the importance of Severus in Egypt, see also: C. Detlev G. Müller, «La position de l'Égypte chrétienne dans l'orient ancien» *Le Muséon* 92 (1979): 116-117; W. E. Crum, «Sévère d'Antioche en Égypte» *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 23 (1922): 92-104; De Lacy E. O'Leary, «Severus of Antioch in Egypt» *Aegyptus* 32 (1952): 425-436; E. Porcher, «Sévère d'Antioche dans la littérature copte» *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 12 (1907): 119-124.

90. Müller, «Die koptische Kirche,» 293. Although he is not specific, presumably he is referring to these texts.

91. See the *Synodicon* of Damian, (Winlock and Crum, *Epiphanius*, 2.335, which says of Chalcedon: «that Synod took as excuse that it would depose the impious Eutyches, yet it established the vain babble of Nestorius.» See also Maspero, *Histoire des Patriarches*, 252, who cites John of Nikiou in this sense, i.e., «Nestorian» equals «catholic» or the opposite of «orthodox» or «Jacobite.»

92. Compare similar expressions in Crum, *Papyruscodex*, 43 (translation p. 100), 45 (translation pp. 101-102). The question of whether or not Christ suffered hunger was regarded as a touchstone of orthodoxy. The Julianists denied it. See Müller, «La position de l'Égypte chrétienne,» 117.

Of particular importance to Rufus seems to be the text of Phil 2:7 to which he alludes or quotes several times. It is cited at length in the chain of quotations and praise of Paul that is found in the context of a homily on the Nativity narrative of Matthew:

It pleased, for his part, the one who knows the things that will be before they come to be that the one who is «in a form of God» (Phil 2:6), this one who according to his own will, «did not reckon it plunder to make himself equal with God but he poured himself out, and took a servile form, and became human (in) form and in the outward appearance was found like man» (Phil 2:6-7). [.....] a birth from the womb of a virgin [.....] be from the seed of the just and the kinship of the saints from the first in order that those who see him in a thought might see him face to face, taking a body, taking flesh, taking bone, taking sinews, taking skin with blood and flesh, «being tried in all things in our way» (Heb 4:15).

In explaining the temptations, he says that the devil was deceived by the fact that our Lord had «come to this life and had taken the form of man» (cf. Phil 2:7) (M.39). In the introductory section of the fifth exegesis on Luke he says: «He sent his son in servile form. He took a human body, precious and wonderful, having fashioned it for himself with your nature, O man. He appeared as man. He did not discard his prior divinity, but took a body and became man....» (L.27). He had already explained that, due to the fall, we had lost the humanity that was ours and become beasts (L.24-25). This is perhaps the context in which one should understand another passage in which Rufus says:

But he will be called the son of God, because of the one who has come down from heaven upon him. He has received the attributes of humanity and he has clothed himself (with them) except for sin alone (cf. Heb 4:15). He gave the attributes of humanity to his humanity. Therefore it is to sonship, that you have been called, you who have been a slave (L.43).⁹³

93. The phrase, «attributes of humanity» (ΝΑΤΜΕΤΡΩΜΕ), probably means «flesh and blood» and represents an emphasis on the reality of Christ's humanity against Eutyches and Julian of Halicarnassus who attributed to Christ a divine flesh that was impassible. See Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 209, for the same expression and emphasis in the writings of Severus of Antioch. The references to Heb 4:15 in these texts is to be understood in the same way. That is, the point of the citation is not so much on the phrase «except sin» as it is on the fact that he was like us in every way, i.e., really human. See also the *Synodicon* of Damian for the citation of Heb 4:15 (Winlock and Crum, *Epiphanius*, 2:334, 336 and Crum, *Papyruscodex*, 44 (translation p. 101)).

Here again the key role of Phil 2:7 in his thought is apparent. This is in accord with the Alexandrian and Monophysite tradition of emphasizing the divine *kenosis*.⁹⁴

In a couple of places Rufus gives evidence of anxiety over correct belief on the part of his flock. In commenting on the temptation scene, which he interprets as a paradigm for everyone, he says: «For it is everyone, if he hungers and is careful not to take from strange and changed teachings and not to be nourished by deceitful words» (M.41). He also says, when commenting on Luke 1:31 («you will conceive and bear a son»), that «He is a son, beloved, for whom your mind needs a terminological security lest robbers or thieves punch holes in the door of your faith and carry off the riches of your nobility» (L.37-38). He goes on to say in this context: «As for the fatherhood, it is from it that the son has received hypostasis.» This term is equated in the writings of Severus of Antioch with φύσις and πρόσωπον.⁹⁵

Another phrase that deserves mention in the context of the sixth century controversies is Rufus' description of the incarnation: «He became incarnate in her through a Holy Spirit, receiving a flesh that is consubstantial with ours» (ΟΥCΑΡΞ ΕCΗΠ ΕΤΕΙΟΥCΙΑ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΝΜΜΑΝ; L.53 [Paris 131.1 f.24v]). This is a phrase that is characteristic of the terminology of Severus of Antioch, although it is also found earlier, and is intended to rule out Eutychianism.⁹⁶

One final phrase that should be mentioned is found in Rufus' ingenious exegesis of Matt 5:18 (M.61) where he describes the iota as ΖΑΠΛΟΥΤΕ ΝΑCΥΝΘΗΤΟΝ, «uncomposed simplicity.» This he then appears to apply to Christ. Severus of Antioch, on the other hand, describes Christ as σύνθετος, «composed.»⁹⁷

Although we have only a small portion of the literary output of Rufus to judge by, it does seem that he was well acquainted with the theological terminology of the age. This is not consistent with a commonly held opinion that such concerns did not penetrate into Upper Egypt

94. See Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 210. Damian also cites Phil 2:7 in his *Synodicon* (Winlock and Crum, *Epiphanius*, 2:335).

95. See p. 233, n. 70.

96. See Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 209 (see p. 361 for this phrase in the *Henotikon*). The same terminology is found in the anti-Chalcedonian text edited by Crum, *Papyruscodex*, 44 (101): ΑΥΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ ΕΤΝCΑΡΞ ΟΥCΑΡΞ ΕCΤΒΗΗΥ ΕCΟ ΝΟΥΟΥCΙΑ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΑΥΖΚΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΤΗΖ.

97. See Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 211.

nor with the picture of Coptic bishops painted by Maspero.⁹⁸ Of course Rufus may have been exceptionally well educated for this period and he had traveled outside of Egypt (see above p. 3).

Evaluations of Rufus

Zoega offered the opinion that «homiliae istae solum ab argumento se commendant, non a stylo; linguae gratia nonnulla excerpta duximus.»⁹⁹ Porcher, commenting on the leaf A8, made the remark : «Allegories étranges; termes incohérents.»¹⁰⁰ Actually this leaf contains one of the more interesting comments that Rufus has to offer about the relationship of the Old and New Testaments and, in the context of the patristic tradition of allegorical interpretation, does not seem to be either strange or incoherent. One might even call it creative. Even the comment of Garitte,¹⁰¹ who regards the judgements of Zoega and Porcher as excessive, that the author in some places borders on nonsense, seems to me to be unnecessary if one understands the presuppositions of this exegetical tradition. The judgement of Müller in this regard is more favorable:

Er zeigt bei dieser Methode jedoch eine Meisterschaft und erhebliche Gelehrsamkeit. Dabei hält er sich durchaus an die Regeln guter Exegese. Er beachtet den Kontext und betrachtet einzelne Zitate keineswegs isoliert. . . . In der Darstellung der Heilsökonomie oder der Parallele zwischen Eva und Maria zeigt er sich auf der Höhe der theologische Bildung.¹⁰²

This evaluation seems amply justified by a more careful examination of the exegetical terminology and practice employed by Rufus. More will be said about this in the last chapters of this work where the exegetical theory and practice of Rufus will be discussed.

98. See Johnson, «Anti-Chalcedonian Polemics,» 229.

99. Zoega, *Catalogus*, 616.

100. Porcher, «Analyse,» [116] fol. 47.

101. Garitte, «Rufus,» 29.

102. Müller, «Die koptische Kirche,» 292-293.

Method and Principles of Transcription

1. The supralinear marks, which in the manuscripts vary between dots and lines of different lengths, have all been standardized and are indicated by a single supralinear stroke.

2. The marks over **I**, which in the manuscripts vary between a single dot (BN) and a double dot (BM, BO), are all indicated by **i**.

3. Some, but not all, ornaments such as **:~** and **÷** have been indicated.

4. The abbreviation for **N** at the end of a line has been indicated thus: **εPO** .

5. Marginal markings such as **>**, which indicate scriptural quotations, have been indicated.

6. The signs used to indicate defects in the manuscripts are:

- [] gap in the manuscript leaf
- [] illegible letters
- ⌞ ⌟ defective but readable letters
- <N> letters supplied in defective text
- { } superfluous letters

7. Where the manuscripts BM and BN overlap, the variants offered by BM have been noted at the end of the corresponding leaves of BN. Purely orthographical variants have not been included. In those cases where the text of a page of BM is wholly contained in BN, the text has been relegated to the Appendix. This may be seen from the table of contents and it is also noted in the text at the appropriate place. In general the text offered by BN is superior to that of BM, which contains numerous errors (see p. 17 above).

My dear Mr. [Name]

I have just received your letter of the 10th inst. and am glad to hear that you are well. I am also well and hope this letter finds you the same. I am sure you are enjoying the summer months.

I have just received your letter of the 10th inst. and am glad to hear that you are well. I am also well and hope this letter finds you the same. I am sure you are enjoying the summer months.

I have just received your letter of the 10th inst. and am glad to hear that you are well. I am also well and hope this letter finds you the same. I am sure you are enjoying the summer months.

THE HOMILIES ON MATTHEW: TEXT

1. B1 Vienna K9169; [?]

Garitte («Rufus,» 23) identified this as the verso. However, examination of the original revealed that there is the remnant of a number in the upper left corner of the verso, thus making it clear that this is the recto.

A large tear out of the right margin has removed several letters at the beginning of lines 7 - 13 and at the end of the same lines of the verso.

ΠΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΤCΑΡΞ ΤΕ4CΝΤΕΠΕ ΠΧΩ2Μ ΠΕ4ΛΩΒΩ
 ΠΕ ΠΤΩΛΜ Π,Μ,Ε ΔΕ ΝΤΟ4 ΜΠΝΙΚΟΝ ΝΟΥΤΕΙ
 ΜΙΝΕ ΑΝΠΕ . ΠΤΒΒΟΠΕ ΠΕ4ΡΟΟΥΩ
 ΠΟΥΟΠΠΕ ΠΕ4ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ . ΟΥΠΙ ΝΑΓΑΠΗ
 ΠΕ ΠΕ4ΑΣΠΑΣΜΟΣ . ΠΕΥΚΤΟ ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ
 ΠΕ ΤΜΡΡΕ ΝΤΙΡΗΝΗ ΠΑΪ ΔΕ Ε4ΩΑΝΝΑΥ
 [...]Υ,ΧΗ ΕΑΣΠΙΡΑ 2ΝΤΙ[.]ΜΤΙC 2ΕΝΤΕCΜΝΤΚΟΥΙ
 [.....]ΜΕCΜΕΛΟC 2ΕΝ[ΤΕ]ΓΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΑCCA
 [.....]ΤC ΝΟΙΠΛΟΓΟC ΕΤΟΝ2 4ΝΑΧΩ2
 [ΜΠΕΚΜ]Ε,ΕΥΕ Ν4CΟΚΚ Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΥΜΕΝΝΟΥΤΕ .
 [...]ΝΑΙ ΕΚΩΑΝΧΙ ΝΤΕ4ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΝΚ
 [ΒΩ]Κ ΝΜΜΑ4 2ΝΜΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΘΗΠ ΚΝΑ
 [Ω]Ω ΕΒΟΛ 2ΩΩΚ ΝΘΕ ΝΤΕΙΝΥΜΦΗ ΝΕΚΚΛΗ
 [C]ΙΑCΤΙΚΗ ΧΕ†ΧΝ{Τ}<Χ>ΗΥ ΑΝΟΚ 2ΕΝΤΕ4ΑΓΑΠΗ
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 ΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΕΤ2ΟΟΥ ΝΤΕΠCΩΜ[Α]
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 ΧΕΕΡΕΤΕ4ΥΧΗ ΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΕΙ 2ΩΩC
 2ΝΝΕΙΩΕΕΡΕ ΩΗΜ ΕΤΟΥΗ2 ΝCΑΝΕΥΩΒΕΕΡ
 ΝΑΪ ΕΤΡΑΩΕ ΝΜΜΑC ΕΡΕΠΝΥΜΦΙΟC ΝΑΧΙΤ[C]
 Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΠΕ4ΚΟΙΤΩΝ . 2ΜΠΤΡΕCΧΟΟC ΧΕ
 ΑΠΕΡΟ ΧΙΤ ΑΝΟΚ Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΠΕ4ΤΑΜΙΟΝ . ΠΕΧΑ4
 ΧΕΤ[Ν]ΝΑΤΕΛΗΛΘΕ ΝΤΕΝΕΥΦΡΑΝΕ Ν2ΗΤΕ
 †CΩΤΜΘΕ ΕΡΟ4 ΧΕΠΧΩΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΧΠΟ ΝΙC ΠΕΧC
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ΝΟΥΣ ΕΩΩΠΕ ΑΤΜΑΛΥ ΕΤΝΖΟΥΝ<ΟΥ>ΝΟΙΝ ΚΩΤ Μ
 ΠΕΝΤΑΥΧΙΤΨ ΝΑΣ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΟΥΚΩΤ ΕΝΑΝΟΥΨ
 ΤΡΕΨΩΠΕ ΝΝΕΡΩΟΥ ΜΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΜΤΟΝ
 ΤΑΙΘΕ ΤΕΘΕ ΝΤΑΨΤΖΜΟΤ ΝΑΝ Ν[ΟΙ]ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC

2. *Blv Vienna K9169; [?]*

In the upper left corner there is visible the remnant of a page number thus making it clear that this is the verso.

ΧΙΝΤΑΡΧΗ ΜΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΑΝΜΟΥΨΤ ΝΤΕΨ
 ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗ ΨΑΝΤΕΝΠΩΖ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΜΜΕΡΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΡΟ
 ΕΙC ΕΡΟΟΥ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΤCΩΨΕ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΕΜΕΡΕΟΥΟΝ
 ΝΙΜ ΕΨΘΜΘΟΜ ΕΜΩΨΤΟΥ ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΝΕΚΛΗΡΟ
 ΝΟΜΟΣ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΑΪCΩΤΜ ΓΑΡ ΕΡΟΨ ΕΨΝΑ
 ΚΑΠΡΩΜΕ ΖΜΠΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC ΕΨΖΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤΨ ΕΤΡΕΨ
 ΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΨΗΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΖΜ<Π>ΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟ[Α]C
 ΠΨΗΝ ΔΕ ΕCΟΥΗΝΠΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΨ ΜΝΠ[ΠΕΘΟΟΥ]
 ΕΤΡΕΨΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΨ ΕΤΜΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤ[Ψ ΑΥΩ Ε]
 ΝΕΨΜΟΥΖ ΕΝΤΕΨΜΝΤΑΚΡΙΤΟC ΜΝΝC[ΑΤ]
 ΡΕΨΠΑΡΑΒΑ ΝΤΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΑΨΤΡΕΠΕΧΑΙΡΟ[ΥΒΙΜ]
 ΜΝΤCΗΨΕ ΝCΑΤ ΕΡΟΕΙC ΕΤΕΖΙΗ ΜΠΨΗΝ ΜΠΩ[NΖ]
 ΧΕΝΝΕΨΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΨ ΝΨΩΝΖ ΖΝΤΕΙΠ[Α]
 ΡΑΒΑCΙC ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΨCΩΤΜ ΕΡΟΨ ΖΜΠΚΩ[Τ
 ΜΠΗΪ ΖΝΪΕΖΕΚΙΗΛ ΕΨΝΟΥΨΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΕΝΤΟΠΟC
 ΕΤΡΕΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ
 ΔΕ ΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥC ΜΜΑΤΕ ΠΕ
 ΨΑΨΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΤΠΥΛΗ ΕΤΖΙΠΕ
 [Ι]ΗΨΤ ΤΑΪ ΕΤΕΜΕΡΕΨΜΜΟ ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟC Η Ν
 CΕΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤC ΕΙΜΗΤΕΪ ΠΕΤΝΑΟΥΩΜ Μ
 [Π]ΕΨΟΕΙΚ ΝΖΗΤC ΜΑΥΑΑΨ ΝΨΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ~ ΝΘΕ ΓΑΡ
 ΝΟΥΗΪ ΝΡΜΜΑΟ ΕΡΕΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΒΗΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΨ
 ΘΑΕΙΤ ΠΕΘΡΙΝΟΝ ΠΕΤΡΙΚΛΙΝΟΝ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ
 ΕΤΒΗΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΤΗΠ ΕΠΟΙΚΩΔΕCΠΟΤΗC
 ΕΙΤΕ ΖΜΖΑΛ ΕΙΤΕ ΡΜΖΕ ΜΝΠΕΤΚΩΛΥ ΜΜΟΟΥ
 ΠΜΑΝΕΝΚΟΤΚ ΔΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΜΠΗΪ Η ΜΜΑΝ
 ΖΩΠ ΝΝΕΨΕΙΔΟC ΝΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ ΜΝΡΩΜΕ
 ΝΙΜ ΝΑΕΨΒΩΚ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΤΑΙΤΕΘΕ Ν
 ΝΑΠΟΚΡΥΨΟΝ ΜΠΟΥΤΑΑC ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΘΕΨΡΕΙ
 ΜΜΟΟΥ Η ΕΧΟΟΥ : ΝΑΪ ΖΩΩΝ ΟΝ ΝΤΑΝΕΙ ΕΖ
 ΡΑΪ ΕΧΨΟΥ ΕΤΕΝΑΪΝΕ ΝΤΟΠΟC ΝΤΝΟC ΝΕΥΧΗ
 ΤΑΪ ΝΤΑΨΨΩΠΕ ΝΖΗΤC ΑΨΨΛΗΛ ΝΖΗΤC ΕΖΡΑΪ
 ΕΠΕΨΕΙΩΤ ΝCΠCΩΤΗΡ ΤΑΪ ΕΝΤΑΝΠΩΖ ΕΡΟC

ΕΝΩΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΗΤΝ ΑΝCΑ2Ω[ω]Ν ΕΠΑ2ΟΥ ΤΕΝΟΥ
ΡΩ ΨΑΝΤΕΝΝΑΥ ΧΕΤΕΝΝΑΕΩΕΡΡΜΝΗΙ

(x leaves missing)

3. B2 Vienna K9171; IH.

ΠΕΧC ΕΑ4ΩΠΕ ΝΑΝΟΜΟC ΧΕΕ4Ε†2,ΗΥ ΝΝΑΝΟ
ΜΟC · Α4ΩΠΕ <N>ΝCΩΒ 2ΩC CΩΒ ΧΕΕ4Ε†2ΗΥ ΝΝ
CΩΒ · ΠΕΝΤΑ4ΕΡCΜΟΤ ΝΙΜ ΜΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΧΕ
ΚΑC ΠΑΝΤΩC Ε4ΕΤΟΥΧΕ 2ΟΙΝΕ · ΠΕΝΤΑ4ΝΟΥ
ΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΒΑΛ ΝΤΜΝΤΑΤCΟΟΥΝ Α4ΧΠΟ ΝΑ4
ΜΠCΟΟΥΝ ΝΤΕΧΑΡΙC - ΠΕΝΤΑ4ΙΕΡ2
ΠΕΟΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ 2ΕΝΟΥ2Ο Ε4CΟΛΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΑ4
ΧΙ2ΗΡΒ ΝΤΕΙ2ΙΚΩΝ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΕΝΟΥΕΟΥ
ΕΥΕΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΘΕ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΙΤΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΕΠΕΠΝΑ ·
ΕΑ4ΑΠΟΒΑΛΕ ΜΠΚΑ{ΤΑ}ΛΥΜΜΑ ΜΠΕC2ΑΙ ΕΤΚΗ
Ε2ΡΑΙ ΕΧΜΠ2Ο ΜΠΝΟΜΟC - ΠΕΝΤΑ4ΡΕΤ
ΤΝ2 ΤΗΡ4 2ΝΝΑΡΕΤΗ ΕΑ4ΕΡΒΑΛ ΤΗΡ4 2ΜΠΟΥC
ΕΙΝ ΝΤΕΓΝΩCΙC · ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΑ ΝΝΖΩΟΝ ΕΤ2Α
Π2ΑΡΜΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ - ΠΕΝΤΑΥΤΟΡΠ4
2ΕΜΠΑCΑΙ ΜΠΕ4ΝΟΥC ΕΑΥ2ΑΡΠΑΖΕ ΜΜΟ4
2ΕΜΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΕ4ΠΝΑ ΕΙΤΕ Ε42ΜΠCΩΜΑ
ΕΙΤΕ ΠΒΟΛ ΜΠCΩΜΑ ΨΑΝΤΕ4ΠΩ2 ΕΠΠΑΡΑ
ΔΙCΟC ΝCΤΙΝΟΥ4Ε ΝΝΑΡΕΤΗ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ·
ΤΑΝCΗΒ ΝΜΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ·
ΠΜΑΝΧΙCΒΩ ΝΝΩΑΧΕ ΝΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΟΝ ·
ΠΕΝΤΑΥCΨΟΥ ΝΑ4 ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC ΑΥCΨΟΥ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC Ν[ΤΟ4]
ΠΕΙΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC · ΠΕΙΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC · ΠΕΤΕΜΠΕ[....]
ΜΕ ΕΤΑCΠΕ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΝΤΑΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΡΑΤCΟ,Μ, [Ε....]
ΤΟΟΤ4 ΟΥΤΕ ΕΕΡΛΑΑΥ ΝΝΑ2ΡΑ4 ΕΤΒΕΤΑΓΑ,Π, [Η]
ΜΠΕΧC ΕΤΩΑΧΕ Ν2ΗΤ4 ΠΑΙCΕ Χ[Ε]
[Ν],Ν,ΕΝΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΕΝ2Α2 Ν,Ω,[Α]ΧΕ Ε4ΝΑΥ[....]
[..]C ΧΕΑ4ΩΠΕ ΝΑΘΗΤ ΑΥΩ ΝΡ,Ω,[.....]
[..]ΜC 2ΜΠ2ΟΕΙΜ ΝΤΜΝΤCΟC ΑΥΩ Ε,4,[.....]
[.]ΝΤΕΙΚΕ2Ε ΜΠΕCΟΒΩ,C, ΕΡΟΝ ΝCΙΤΕ[ΤΡΙΑC ΕΤ]
CΜΑΜΑΑΤ ΑΛΛΑ ΑCΩΒΤC ΕΥCΙΝΕΡ[2ΩΒ....]
2ΕΝΟΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΝCΟΦΙΑ ΧΕΝΝΕCΚΑΑΝ Ν,C,Ω,[C....]
ΘΑΗ ΜΜΝΤΑΤCΩΤΜ ΝΤΑΝΕΙ Ε2ΡΑΙ ΕΡΟC ·
Α4C2ΑΙCΕ ΝΝΚΟΡΙΝΘΟC Ε4ΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕΕΠΙΔΕ
ΓΑΡ 2ΕΝΤCΟΦΙΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΕΠΚΟCΜΟC CΟΥΝ
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ 2ΙΤΝΤCΟΦΙΑ Α4ΕΡ2ΝΑ4 ΔΕ ΝCΙΠΝΟΥΤΕ

4. B2v Vienna K9171v; 10.

>ΕΤΟΥΧΕ Ν₁ΕΤ,ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΖΙΤ̄ΝΤΜ̄ΝΤΣΟΘ ΜΠΤΑΦΕΘ
 >ΕΙΩ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ Ζ̄ΝΤΕΙΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΝΟΥΩΤ
 4ΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟC ΧΕΕΠΙΔΗ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΖΕΝΜΑΕΙΝ ΝΕ
 >{Ε}ΤΟΥΑΙΤΕΙ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ · Ν̄ΖΕΛΛΗΝ ΔΕ ΕΥΩΙΝΕ
 >Ν̄CΑΟΥCΟΦΙΑ ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΝΤΑΦΕΘΕΙΩ ΜΠΕ
 >Χ̄C ΕΑΥCΤΑΥΡΟΥ Μ̄ΜΟ4 ΝΙΟΥΔΑΪ ΜΕΝ ΟΥ
 >CΚΑΝΔΑΛΟΝ ΝΑΥ ΠΕ ΟΥΜ̄ΝΤCΟΘ ΔΕΠΕ ΝΝ
 >ΖΕΘΝΟC ΝΙΟΥΔΑΪ ΔΕ ΕΤΤΑΖ̄Μ Μ̄Ν̄ΖΕΛΛΗΝ
 >ΠΕΧ̄C ΟΥΘΟΜ ΝΑΥ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕΠΕ
 ΝΙΜ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΝΑΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΧΕΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΙ ΕΥΘ̄Θ
 ΤΕ ΝCΖΙΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΤΑΝΖΟΥΤ4 ΧΕ
 ΑΥCΤΑΥΡΟΥ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΝΕΝΤΑΠΕΧ̄C
 ΕΡΟΥΘΟΜ ΝΑΥ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΕΝΑΪΝ,Ε, ΝΙΟΥ
 ΔΑΪ ΕΤΤΑΖ̄Μ Μ̄Ν̄ΖΕΛΛΗΝ:~ ΕΠΙΔΗ [CΕ]
 ΜΠΕΠΡΩΜΕ CΟΥΗΝΠΕΖΟΥΕΙΤ ΝΚΛΑΔΟC Ν[Τ]Α4
 †ΟΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΕΝΤ̄Μ̄ΝΤΑΤΜΟΥ
 ΜΠΟΥΧΙΪΗΡΖΕ ΜΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝCΕCΟΥΗΝΠΕΘΟΥ
 ΜΠΟΥΟΥΩ ΕΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ
 Ν̄CΕCΟΥΗΝΘΥΠΟCΤΑCΙC ·
 ΜΠΟΥΟΥΩ ΕΘΕΩΡΕΙ ΝΘΙΚΩΝ
 ΝCΕCΟΥΗΝΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΙΑΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟ4
 [Α]₁C,ΕΡΑΝΑ4 ΔΕ ΜΠΕΤCΟΟΥΝ Ν̄ΝΕΤΝΑΦΩΠΕ ΖΑ
 [Θ]Η ΕΤΡΕΥΩΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΠΕΤΩΟΠ ΖΕΝΟΥΜΟΡ
 [Φ]Η ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΘΟΥΩ ΜΜΙΝ
 [ΜΜ]Ο4 ΜΠΕΘΟΠ4 ΕΥΤΩΡ̄Π ΕΩΑΩ4 Μ̄Ν̄ΠΝΟΥ,Υ,
 [ΤΕ] ΑΛΛΑ Α4ΠΩ2,Τ Μ,ΜΟ4 ΕΒΟΛ Α4ΧΙ ΝΟΥ,Μ,₁[ΟΡΦ]
 [Η Ν2]₁Μ,ΖΑΛ Α4,ΩΩ,ΠΕ ΝCΜΟΤ̄Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ ·
 [ΑΥΩ ΖΜΠ]ΕCΧΗΜΑ ΑΥΖΕ ΕΡΟ4 ΖΩC ΡΩΜΕ ·
 [.....]ΕΙ ΝΑ4 ΝΟΥΜΙCΕ ΖΕΝΤΟΟΤΕ Ν̄ΟΥΠΑ,Ρ,₁[ΘΕΝΟC]
 [.....]ΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ̄ΠΕCΠΕΡΜΑ Ν̄ΝΔΙ
 [ΚΑ]₁ΙΟC, ΜΝΤΡΑΪΤΕ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΧΙΝΤΕΖΟΥΕΙΤΕ·
 ,Χ,ΕΚΑC ΠΕΤΟΥΪΩΡ̄2 ΜΜΟ4 ΖΕΝΟΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΥΕ
 ΝΑΥ Ε,Ρ,Ο4 Ν̄2Ο ΖΙ2Ο Ε4ΧΙCΩΜΑ Ε4ΧΙCΑΡ̄3
 Ε4ΧΙΚΑC Ε4ΧΙΜΟΥΤ Ε4ΧΙΩ[Α]ΑΡ ΖΕΝ
 ΟΥCΝΟ4 ΖΙCΑΡ̄3 Ε4ΧΟ[N]Τ ΖΕΝ2Ω[B] ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕΝ2Ε

(39 leaves missing)

5. EG-C C.G.9300 + inv. 2633/135; [ῥῥ].

The following ten pages are from three double leaves from the inside of a quire. The other half of the first of these (EG-C C.G.9300 + inv. 2633/135) has been lost. The text of C.G.9300 published by Munier has been recollated with the photograph.¹ A2-4 all have a large hole in the middle of their exterior half which has caused more or less the complete disappearance of about 4 or 5 lines.

[.....]	ΕΦΕΧ ₁ Ω ₁ Κ ΕΒΟΛ ₁ Ν ₁
[.....]	>ΘΙΠΕΝΤΑΥΧΟ ₁ Ο ₁ Σ ₁
[.....]	>ΖΙΤΝΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ
[.....]	>ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ
[.....]	>ΧΕΟΥΣΜΗ ΑΥΣΩ
[.....]	>ΤΗ ΕΡΟ ₁ Σ ₁ [2ΝΡ]Α
[.....]	>[Μ] ₁ Α ₁ ΟΥΡ ₁ Ι ₁ [Μ] ₁ Ε ₁ ΜΝ
[.....]	>ΟΥΤΟΕΙΤ ΕΝΑΩΩ ₁ Υ ₁
ΝΤΑΥ[.....]	>ΖΡΑΧΗΛ ΕΣΡΙΜΕ
Νῤ̄ ΧΙΝ[...]	>ΕΝΕΣΩΗΡΕ ΑΥΩ
ΧΙΝΡῤ̄ΠΕ Cῤ̄	>ΜΕΡΕΣΟΥΩΩ ΕΣ ₁ Λ ₁
ΤΕ ΕΠΕCΗΤ	>ΣΩΛΣ ΧΕΝΝΟΥΣ
ΑΡΙΑΠΑΤΟΟΤΚ	>ΑΝ ΝΕ· ΑΖ[ΡΟ ΤΕΡ]
ΔΕ Ω ΠΑΚΡΟΑΤΗΣ	[ΙΜΕ] Ω ΖΡΑΧ ₁ ΗΛ ₁
ΕΤΡΕΚΠΩΤ ῤ̄	ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΕΟΥ
ΤΟΟΤΣ ῤ̄ΤΕΙΖΥ	ΤΟΕΙΤ ₁ Ν ₁ ΤΕCΖ ₁ Ε ₁
ΛΗΚΙΑ ΕΤCΟΒῤ̄	ῤ̄ΤΑΥΜΕΡΙΤC
ΕΑΚΟΥΩΤῤ̄ ΝΤCῤ̄	Ε ₁ ΙΡ ₁ Ι ₁ Μ ₁ Ε ΧΕΑΥΤΩ
ΤΕ ΑΚΝΟΥΖῤ̄ ῤ̄	ΡΠ ῤ̄ΝΑΩΗΡΕ ΖΜ
ΤCΗΒΕ ῤ̄ΖΗΡΩ	ΠΑΖΑΜΗΡ ΑΥΜΟΥ
ΔΗC ΑΚΕΡΒΟΛ	ΟΥΤ ῤ̄ΠΚΑΡΠΟC
ΕΠΩΩῤ̄ ῤ̄ΠΕΙ	ΝΖΗΤ ΕCΑΩΝ
ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟC · †CΩ	ΤΑΕΚΙΒΕ · ΟΥΟΙ
ΤΜCΕ ΕΡΟC ΜΝῤ̄	ΝΑΙ ἈΝΟΚ ΧΕΖΗΤ
CΑΝΑΙ . <ΧΕ>ΧΕΚΑC	

1. H. Munier, *Manuscripts coptes* (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 9201-9304) (Cairo, 1916), 179-181. I am indebted to Dr. Stephen Emmel for drawing my attention to the Cairo fragment inv. 2633/135, which belongs to this page.

6. EG-C C.G.9300v + inv. 2633/135; [P].

[C]†TKAC EPOT AYW
 NAAICΘYTHPION
 WTOTTP MMOI
 [2]W EPOT W 2PAHXH
 [†]MTON EPOY2PO
 [O][Y] EBOL 2MPIME
 AYW NOYBA,Λ MA,
 POYLO EY†PM,EI,[H]
 AYMOYOT NNOY
 WHPE 2NOYXIN
 OONC NTE[TN]ANO
 XOY EBOL A,N, PEI
 OT MPENTAAYMO,Y,
 OYTOY ETBHHT4
 PETNAΠAΛAWOY
 NTO MEN TELYΠ,EI,
 EXMPKAPPOC
 N2HTE XE AYBI
 T4 EBOL 2M
 PKA2 NT,O,OY ΔE
 CECANW MMOY
 2NKOYN4 NABPA
 2A,M, · MPIME
 XEAYCHTOY EYCOBK
 EYNAXEKTEY2Y
 AHKIA EBOL 2NNAI

W,N, NATPO[OYW]
 EΩXE ABHΘ[ΛEEM]
 PXAIE MMOY [A],Λ,
 ΛA 2APW4 MPE
 ΘYCIACTHPION
 [..]2[...N,E[...OΛ,[]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]EPTAIO
 [.....]TON AYW
 EP,K,OT NTPE
 XIC · 4I MPK
 NOYC EPTICE
 W PETCOOYN N
 2WΛ · PENTANE4
 MH2E PWT 2NTEC
 BΩ · PETHT EPY
 A24 NCAPETEIEWT
 NPE42WΛ NKNAΥ
 XE NIM TE T2IME
 ECAWKAΚ EBOL
 WANTOYCWTM
 ETCCMH · TEICMH
 ETXIWKAΚ EBOL
 TA2PAHXH TE TAI
 EΩAY2EPMHNEYE

7. *A1 Michigan 158,25a + EG-C inv. 2633/131; [P̄A].*

ḿΜΟC ΧΕΤΕ2ΕΪΑΪ
 ΒΕ ΤΕ2ΕΪΑΪΒΕ
 ΡΙΜΕ ΑΥΩ CΝΕ2ΠΕ
 ΧΕΑΠΟΥΩΝΩ ΤΑ
 ΚΟ ḿΝΕCΩΗΡΕ Τ[.]
 ΟΕ ḿΤΑΥC,ΩΤ,ḿ,
 ΕΤΕCСМΗ 2Ν2,Ρ,[ΑΜ]
 ΜΑ ΕΤΕ,Π,[ΑΙΠΕ]
 ΝΤΟΠΟC[.....]
 CΕ·2[.....]
 ΝΑΜΕ[ΡΑΤ]Ε [ΟΥ]
 CМΗ ΑΥCOT[MC]
 2ḿ2ΡΑМ,М,Α · ΝΙ[М]
 ΤΕ ΤΕ2ΕΪΑΪΒΕ 2ΡΑ
 ΧΗΛΤΕ ΤΕΚΚΛΗ
 CΙΑ ΤΚΟΥΪ ḿCΩ
 ΝΕ ḿΛΪΑ ΕΤΕΤΑΪ
 ΤΕ ΤCΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ
 ḿΤΑΥΚΑΤΕΧΕ ḿ
 ΤΕCΟΟΤΕ ḿΠΕCМΙ
 CΕ ḿΠΕΙΝΟC НΟΥ
 ΟΕΙΩ ΤΑΪ ΕΤΡΙΜΕ
 ΕΝΕΙΩΗΡΕ ΚΟΥΙ
 ḿΤΑ2ΗΡΩΔΗC
 2ΟΤΒΟΥ ΕΤΕΠΑΪ

ΠΕΠЕСНОC ḿḿМ[ΑΡ]
 ΤΥΡΟC ḿΤΑΥΠ[Α2]
 Τḿ ΕΒΟΛ· ΑΥ[CΩ]
 ТМ ОЕ ΕΤΕCС[МΗ]
 2ḿΠΧΙC,Ε, [...]
 ΤΕ Θ,Ε, ΕΛ[....]
 [.,]ΡΑΩ, . [...]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [ΕΙC ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC]
 [ḿΠΧ][ΟΕΙC Α4]
 ΟΥΩΝ,2, [ΕΒΟΛ]
 2НΟΥРАCΟΥ 2НΚΗ
 ΜΕ Ε4ΧΩ ḿΜΟC
 ΧΕ ΤΩΟΥΝ ḿΚ4Ι
 >ḿΠΩΗΡΕ ΩΗМ
 >ḿḿТЕCМΑΑΥ ḿḿ
 >ВΩК Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΠΚΑ2
 >ḿΠΙCΡΑΗΛ ΑΥМОУ
 >ΓΑΡ ḿΟΙΝΕΤΩΙΝΕ

9. A2 Michigan 158,25c; P^Γ.

ΜΟC ΜΝΤΕΚΔΙΑ
 ΝΟΙΑ ΝΚΒΩΚ ΕΞΡΑΪ
 ΜΠΚΑΖ ΜΠΟΥΩ
 ΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ · ΕΚΩΑΝ
 ΠΩΖ ΕΞΡΑΪ ΕΤΟΥ
 ΔΑΙΑ ΝΚΩΤΜ
 ΧΕΑΡΧΗΛΑΟC ΟΝ Ρ<Ρ>
 ΡΟ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΖΗΡΩ
 ΔΗC ΠΕΧΕΙΩΤ ΠΕΙ
 ΜΟΥΙ ΕΤCΟΟΥΝ Ν
 ΤΕΧΜΝΤΑΓΝΟC
 ΤΑΪ ΓΑΡ ΤΕΘΕ ΕΩ[ΑΥ]
 ΖΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΕ ΜΜ[ΟΥ]
 ΧΕΠΜΟΥΪ ΕΤCΟΟΥ
 ΠΑΪΠΕ ΠΜΑC ΜΜΟΥΪ
 ΕΤΖΜΖΜ ΖΙΠΑΖΟΥ
 ΝΝΖΜΖΑΛ ΜΠΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΕΥΩΙΝΕ ΝCΑ
 ΩΜΚ ΝΝΕΥΨΥ
 ΧΗ · ΑΡΧΗΛΑΟC
 ΟC ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΖΗΡΩ
 ΔΗCΠΕ · ΝΙΜ
 ΠΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΕΝ
 ΑΝΤΙΚΙΜΕΝΟC
 ΑΝΟΚ †ΝΑΧΟΟC ·

ΖΝΟΥΜΝΤΑΤ†
 ΖΤΗC ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΖΝ
 ΟΥΩΑΧΕ ΝΤΕΠΕΝ
 CΩΤΗΡ · ΧΕΠΩΗ
 ΡΕ ΜΠΕΝΑΝΤΙΔΙ
 ΚΟCΠΕ ΠΔΙΑΒΟ
 ΛΟC ΝΚΕΟΥΑ ΑΝ ΠΕ
 ΝCΑΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΠΕΝ
 CΩΤΗ[Ρ C]ΗΜΑΝΕ
 ΜΜΟΥ ΖΜΠΚ[Α]
 [Τ,Α ΪΩ[ΖΑΝΝΗC]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 >Π, [.....]
 >ΒΟΛ[.....ΤΕΤΝ]
 >ΟΥΩΩ [ΕΡΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ,
 >ΜΠΕΤΝΕΙΩΤ ΠΕ
 >ΤΜΜΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΝΕΟΥ
 >ΡΕΥΖΕΤΒΡΩΜΕΠΕ
 >ΧΙΝΝΩΟΡΠ ΑΥΩ
 >ΜΠΕΥΑΖΕΡΑΤΨ
 >ΖΝΤΜΕ ΕΝΕΖ ΧΕ
 >ΜΝΜΕΩΟΟΠ ΖΡΑΪ
 >ΝΖΗΤC · ΖΟΤΑΝ

10. A2v Michigan 158,25d; PΔ.

>ΕΡ<Ω>ΑΝΤΙΘΟΛ ΨΑΧΕ
 >ΕΨΑΧΨΑΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ
 >Ζ̄Ν<Ν>ΕΤΕΝΟΥΧΝΕ
 >ΧΕΟΥΡΕΧΙΘΟΛ
 >ΠΕ Μ̄ΝΠΕΚΚΕΙΩΤ
 ΠΑΪΘΕ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ
 ΕΡΟΧ ΧΕΠΘΟΛ ΕΚ
 ΨΑΝCΩΤΜ ΧΕΑΧ
 Π̄ΡΡΟ ΑΠΘΟΛ ΟΜ
 ΟΟ]Μ ΖΙΣ̄ΜΠΚΑΖ
 [ΤΟΤΕ] ΒΩΚ Ν̄ΤΓΑ
 [ΛΙΛΑΙΑ] CK[...]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]ΜΟΧ
 Μ̄ΝΝΕ4ΠΑΘ_ΟC Μ̄Ν
 ΝΕ4ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΝΚ
 ΒΩΚ Ν̄ΚΟΥΩ2
 Ζ̄ΝΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ ΕΤΕ
 ΤΑΪΤΕ Τ̄ΤΒΒΗΥ
 Ν̄ΚΟΥΩ2 Ζ̄ΜΠ̄ΤΒ
 ΒΟ Ν̄ΚΑΠΕΚΜΑ Ν
 ΨΩΠΕ Ζ̄ΜΠΟΥΟΠ ·
 ΧΕ4CH2 ΧΕΨΩΠΕ

ΤΕΤ̄ΝΟΥΑΑΒ ΧΕ
 ΑΝΟΚ ΤΟΥΑΑΒ
 ΜΑΡΕΝΡΑΠΑΤΟΟΤΝ
 ΟΕ ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ
 ΕΤΡΕΝ†2ΤΗΝ
 ΕΡΟΝ Ζ̄ΝΝΕ20ΟΥ
 Μ̄ΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ · ΕΡ
 ΨΑΝΠΝΟΒΕ ΜΟΥ
 ΝΤΕΠΘΟΛ Ε̄Ρ̄ΡΡΟ
 ΜΑΡΕΝΚΑΠΚΟC
 ΜΟC Ν̄CΩΝ Μ̄Ν
 [Ν]Ε4ΡΟΟΥΨ Μ̄Ν
 Ν̄Ε4ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ
 ΝΕ4ΟΥΩΜ Μ̄Ν
 ΝΕ4CΩ ΝΕ4†2Ε÷
 Μ̄ΝΝΕ42ΥΔΟΝΗ
 ΝΕ420ΟΥ Ν̄ΨΑ
 Μ̄ΝΝΕ420ΟΥ Ν̄2Η
 ΒΕ · ΤΕΝΚΩ ΝΑΝ
 Μ̄Π̄ΤΒΒΟ Μ̄ΜΑΝ
 ΨΩΠΕ ΠΕΤΝΑ
 ΨΩΠΕ ΓΑΡ Ζ̄Μ
 Π̄ΤΒΒΟ ΕΥΝΑΜΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΕΡΟΧ ΧΕΠΝΑ
 ΖΩΡΑΪΟC · ΠΑΪ ΔΕ

11. A3 Michigan 158,25e; P^ε.

N̄tMINE ε4NAΩ
 ΠΕ 2̄MΠT̄BBO M̄
 ΠΕX̄C 2̄NΟΥCΠΕP
 MA NOYOT ε4NA
 †ΩOM̄NT N̄KAP
 ΠOC ε4NA†EOOY M
 ΠNOYTE ε4NA†
 KOT N̄TEKKΛH
 CIA ε4NA TOYXOY
 N̄qTAZOY MAΥAAOY
 ΠAΪ N̄tMINE ε4NA
 XIBEKE N̄ΩM̄NT
 CΩΩΠ EBOL ZITO
 OT̄C N̄TETPIC ET
 CMAMAAT ε4NA
 XI M̄ΠNOHMA
 2̄MΠE4ΠN̄A N̄q
 XITΩOPT NEIΩ
 P̄2 <2>N̄TE4YXH
 N̄qXIOYΠOMONH
 2̄MΠE4CΩMA
 ΠAΪ N̄tMINE ε4NA
 XI NOYCMOY E4
 KHB N̄ΩM̄NT

CΩΩΠ · 4NAXI M̄
 >ΠEOOY M̄ΠKA2 N̄q
 XITO 2̄NTANAC
 TACIC N̄qXITA
 NAPAYCIC 2̄NM̄
 ΠHYE · ΠAΪ N̄t
 MINE 4NAΩΩΠE
 N̄2AK
 N̄PMPAΩ
 E4ΘBBIHY ·
 NNANT
 N̄ΔIKAΪOC
 E4ΩΠ2ICE M̄NNET
 ZO[CE.....]
 N̄E,[.....]
 ΠK[.....]
 ΛOTP,I,[.....]
 ΠBIOC E4MOOΩE
 M̄MA TE 2̄NOY2I
 KΩN 2I X̄MΠKA2
 EPENE4ΠOΛHTIA
 2̄NM̄ΠHYE ΠAΪ
 ETENΩAHA ETPE
 M̄MAΪNOYTE CΩ
 TP NAΥ M̄ΠT̄BBO

12. A3v Michigan 158,25f; $\overline{\text{P}\zeta}$.

ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΧΕΕΝΕΕΡ
 ΡΕΧΙΤΟ Μ̄ΝΝΕ
 ΤΟΥΑΑΒ Ζ̄ΜΠΟΥΟΠ
 ΤΕΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ
 Ν̄ΝΕΙΑΤΤΑΚΟ Ζ̄Μ
 ΠΜΑ Ν̄ΝΕΤΝΑΤΑ
 ΚΩ ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΤΝΧΙ
 Ν̄ΝΕΙΑΤΜΟΥ Ν̄ΤΟ
 ΟΤ4 Μ̄ΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ
 ΕΤΟΥΗ2 Ζ̄ΝΝΕΤΟΥ
 ΑΑΒ ΠΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗC
 Ν̄ΛΟΓΟC ΙC ΠΕΧC
 ΠΑΪ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥΤ4
 [ΠΕΟΟΥ Μ̄ΠΝ]ΟΥΤΕ
 [ΠΕΧΕΙΩΤ Μ̄Π] Π,ΝΑ
 [ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΨΑΕ]ΝΕ2
 [ΝΕΝΕ2 ΖΑΜΗ]Ν ~
 —...—...—...—
 —...—...—...—
 CABBATIKH
 —...—...—...—
 —...—...—...—
 ΑCΕΙ Ν̄ΟΙΤΕΝΤΟΛΗ
 ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΑΠΝΟ
 ΒΕ ΩΝ2 ΑΠΡΩΜΕ
 ΜΟΥ ΠΕΧΑ4 Ν̄ΟΙ
 ΠCΟΦΟC ΝΑΠΟCΤΟ
 ΛΟC · ΑCΕΙ Ν̄ΟΙΤΕ÷
 ΧΑΡΙC Μ̄ΠCΩΤΗΡ

ΑΠΝΟΒΕ ΜΟΥ ΑΠΡΩ
 ΜΕ ΩΝ2 ΚΑΤΑ
 ΤCΙΝΡ2ΩΒ Ν̄ΤΕΝ
 ΤΟΛΗ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕ
 Μ̄ΝΝΟΜΟC Ν̄ΖΗΤ4
 Μ̄ΝΠΑΡΑΒΑCΙC
 ΚΑΤΑΤΜ̄ΝΤΜΑΪ
 ΡΩΜΕ Μ̄ΠΕΝCΩ
 ΤΗΡ ΕCΤΜΑΪΟ
 Μ̄ΜΟΝ Ν̄ΧΙΝΧΗ
 Ζ̄ΝΤΕΧΧΑΡΙC
 ΑΥΩ ΠΕΙΚΕΤ ΝΟΥ
 ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΜΟΝ ΑΝ ΠΕ
 ΠΤΑΪΟ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΠΕ · ΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑ
 >ΧΟΟ4 ΝΑCΝΗΥ
 ΑΖΗΡΩΔΗC ΜΟΥ
 ΑΥΩ ΑΥCΪ Ζ̄ΝΤΜΗ
 ΤΕ Μ̄ΠCΑ2 ΝΑΝΤΙ
 ΚΙΜΕΝΟC ΕΤΔΙΩ
 ΚΕΙ Ν̄CΑΝ2Μ2ΑΛ
 Μ̄ΠΠΟΥΤΕ · ΑΥ
 ΒΩΚ Ν̄ΟΙΝΕΦΑ
 ΡΙCΑΪΟC ΑΥΕΙΡΕ
 ΝΟΥΨΟΧΝΕ ΕΡΟ4
 ΧΕΚΑC ΕΥΕCΟΠ4

13. A4 Michigan 158,25g; PZ.

Ζ̄ΝΟΥΩΑΧΕ ΑΥΧΟΟΥ
 ΝΑϞ Ν̄ΝΕΥΜΑΘΗ
 ΤΗC Μ̄Ν̄ΝΖΥΡΩ
 ΔΙΑΝΟC · ΑΠΖΕ
 ΡΑΙCΙΑΡΧΗC Ν̄ΡΕϞ
 ΑΠΑΤΑ ΤΑΚΟ
 ΑΤΒΑΩΑΡ ΩΧ̄Ν
 Ζ̄ΜΠΚΩΖΤ ·
 ΝΕCΝΑΥΖ ΑΥΩΠΕ
 Ν̄ΝΕΙΚΟΥΙ Ν̄ΒΑ
 ΩΟΡ · Ν̄ΒΑΩΟ
 ΟΡ ΚΟΥΙ ΕΤΤΑΚΟ
 Μ̄ΠΜΑΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ
 Ν̄ΤΕΙΝΥΜΦΗ ·
 ΜΑΡΕΤΒΩ ΝΕΛΟ
 ΟΛΕ †ΚΑΡΠΟC ΤΕ
 ΝΟΥ ΧΕΛCΑΜΨΩΝ
 ΤΑΚΟ Ν̄ΝΕΤΒΛΑΠ
 ΤΕΙ Μ̄ΜΟC · ΜΑΡΕ
 ΙΩCΗΦ CΙ Μ̄ΠΩΗ
 ΡΕ ΩΗΜ Μ̄ΝΤΕϞ
 ΜΑΑΥ Ν̄ΚΒΩΚ
 ΕΖΡΑΙ Ν̄ΤΟΥΔΑΙΑ
 ΑΥΜΟΥ ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΟΙ
 ΝΕΤΩΙΝΕ Ν̄CΑΤΕ

ΨΥΧΗ Μ̄ΠΩΗΡΕ
 ΩΗΜ ΕΤΑΚΟC ·
 ΑΠΝΟΒΕ ΜΟΥ Ω
 ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΑΖΗ
 ΡΩΔΗC ΟΥΩC̄Ϟ
 ΠΕΤΕΠΕΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΕ
 ΕΠΚΑΡΠΟC Ν̄ΖΗΤΕ
 ΑΠ̄Ρ̄Μ̄ΝΩΑΡ ΕΤ
 ΧΙΕΟΟΥ ΤΑΚΟ
 ΤΩΟΥΝ CΙ Μ̄ΠΙΛΟ
 ΓΟC Ν̄ΤΑϞΡ̄CΑΡ̄Ξ
 ΜΟΟΩΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ Μ̄
 ΠΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ
 Ν̄,Τ[.....]
 Μ̄[.....]
 ΧΡ[.....]
 ΩΑΕΝ,ΕΖ, [.....]
 ΧΕΠΝΟΥ[ΤΕ ΟΥΩΝ̄Ζ]
 ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν†ΟΥΔΑΙΑ
 ΟΥΝΟΟΠΕ ΠΕϞΡΑΝ
 Ζ̄ΜΠΙCΗΛ · ΑϞΟΥ
 ΩC̄Ϟ Ν̄ΟΙΠΝΟΒΕ
 ΖΙΤ̄Μ̄ΠΕΙΜΟΝΟ
 ΓΕΝΗC Ν̄ΛΟΓΟC ΖΙ
 Τ̄ΝΤΕϞΘΥCΙΑ Ν̄ΘΕ÷

14. A4v Michigan 158,25h; $\overline{\text{PH}}$.

ΕΤΗ2 · ΜΑΡΕΠΟΥΑ
 ΠΟΥΑ ΜΜΟΝ ΝΑΜΕ
 ΡΑΤΕ ΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΖΜΠΚΑ2 ΜΦΑΡΑΩ
 ΝΨΠΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ
 ΤΕΧΩΡΑ ΝΝΒΑΡ
 ΒΑΡΟC ΝΨΩΜΜΟ
 ΕΤΙ2ΡΩ ΜΠΕΝΙΠΕ
 ΕΤΕΤCΑΡΞΤΕ ΜΝ
 ΝΕC[Π]ΑΘΟC ΜΝΝΕC
 ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΝΨ
 ΒΩΚ ΝΑΨ Ε2ΡΑΪ
 ΕΠΚΑ2 ΜΠΙCΗΛ
 ΝΨΡΠΟΛΙΤΗC ΜΝ
 [.....]ΝΨ
 [.....]ΜΝ
 [.....]ΨΞΕ
 [.....]ΝΝΕ
 [.....]ΟΥΕΤΒ
 ΝΕΤ2ΗΝ Ε2ΟΥΝ
 ΜΝΝΕΤΟΥΗΥ
 ΕΒΟΛ · ΝΨΘΕΩ
 ΡΕΙ ΜΠΤΗΡΨ ΝΨ
 ΕΙΕΡ2ΝΕΦΩCΤΗΡ
 ΝΨΚΑΤΑΝΟΙ ΝΝΕΨ
 ΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΜΝΝΕΨ
 ΑΚΤΙΝ · ΝΨΘΕΩ

ΡΕΙ ΜΠΕΨΧΙCΕ ΜΝ
 ΠΕΨ2ΒΒΕ · ΝΨ
 CΟΥΝΤΕΨCΙΜΠΕΙ
 ΡΕ ΜΝΤΕΨCΙΜ
 ΠΩΤ · ΜΠΕΡΤΡΕ
 ΟΥΑ ΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΑΜΕ
 ΡΑΤΕ ΞΕΝΨΚΩ2
 ΝΗΤΝ Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΥ
 CΒΩ ΝΨΜΜΟ ΕΝ
 ΤΑΛΟ ΜΜΩΤΝ ΑΝ
 Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΞΝΟΥΔΙΑ
 ΤΟΧΗ ΝΑΛΛΟΤΡΙ
 ΟC ΑΛΛΑ ΑΝΟΝ
 ΕΝΟΥΩΨ ΕΤΡΕΝ
 ΒΑΛ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ
 ΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΟΥΟ
 ΕΙΝ ΝΤΕΚΙΒΕ Ν
 ΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ · ΠΕΤ
 ΟΟΛΧ ΝΤΠΙCΤΙC
 ΜΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΕΤΡΕΨΠΩΤ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΤΕΞΟΥCΙΑ
 ΜΠΚΑΚΕ ΝΨΧΙ
 ΜΠΕΙΩΡ2 ΝΑΨ
 ΜΠΙCΗΛ · ΝΨΧΙ
 ΜΠΒΑΛ ΜΠΕΙΡΕΨ

(1 leaf missing)

15. A6 Paris 131.5, f. 17; [P1A].

The upper part of this leaf is damaged. Garitte («Rufus,» 19) identified this as the verso but it must be the recto since a fragment of the page number is visible in the upper left corner of the verso.² The first four lines of the first column and the beginning of lines 5 and 6 are lost. See Porcher, «Analyse,» [70-71].

[.....]
[.....]
[.....]2N
[.....]Y,C
[.....]COC 2N
[....]KIA, MPWP
N,AMEPATE MP
TPENWOTE N
TWOYN ENBHA
[E]B,OL XEOYPTANOYP
Γ,OCPE ΠXAXE · OY
PE4PKPOCTE ΠPE4
†TWN NMMAN
EWA4PPE42WB
2MPKAKE AYW
TECTEXNH 2M
ΠPEΘHT · E4X
OYE 2NN[O]YWOOYE
>E4CYAA 2IXNM
MANNKOTK
MAPENPOEIC NTEN
NHΦE NECNHY
TAPENPBOL ENKO
T,C MPPEICANKOTC

N[.....]OYAM ETO
O,T,[....]CAP3 NNEI
ΠA,Θ,[OC] MNNEC
EΠIΘ[YM]IA NTN
ΠWT N,T,OOTC N
ΘYΛH NTNXA
XEINOY MPPEIKOYI
MMELOC ETXE
NOO NWAXE
PKOCMOC NTADIK
KIA ETTM2O M
ΠETPOXOC MPE
XΠO NTNCΩN2
MPKW2 AYW
NTNMOYP MPE
ΦΘONOC NAİ ETXE
PO MP2HT AYW
ETBWA EBOL N,T,E4
COM NTNCOAXN
MPPEIZAYCAX ETO
P3 NTNTAXPON
E3N†ΠETPA N[A]T
KIM · ΠEIOΓOC
NPE4TAN2O ΠEN
XOEIC IC ΠEXC

2. I am indebted to Dr. Stephen Emmel for suggesting (on the basis of the skin pattern - hair/flesh - and the trace of the final digit of the page number) that this leaf comprises pp. 111-112 rather than pp. 117-118 as surmised by Garitte.

16. *A6v Paris 131.5, f.17v; [P1B].*

ΠΕΙ20 ΕΤ[.....]ΩΕ ·	[.....]
ΠΕΙΠΡΟCΩΠΟΝ ΕΤ]	[.....]
CΜΑΜΑΑ,Τ,[...]·Χ,Ε ΕC	[.....]
ΝΑ† ΝΟΥ[ΩΑ]ΧΕ ΝΑΝ	[.....]
ΝCΟΦΙΑ ,Μ,ΝΟΥCΩ	†CΟ ΕΤΕΠΑ[.....]
ΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΝCΕ[.]Ν	ΕC2ΛΟΟΛΕ Μ[....]
ΧΕΕΡΕΝΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΝ	ΡΕ ΕCΠΩ,Ν[Ε]
2ΗΤ ΧΕ[Ο]ΥΟΕΙΝ Ν	ΕΒΟΛ 2ΝΟΥΧΩΡΑ
ΤΝΕΙΜΕ ΕΝΕΤΕΡΕ	ΕΥΧΩΡΑ · Α2[ΗΡΩ]
ΜΑΘ[Θ]ΑΙΟC ΚΙΜ	ΔΗC ΜΟΥ <Ε>†Π,ΜΑ,
ΕΡΟΟΥ [Ν]ΑΝ ΜΠC[ΟΠ]	ΕΤΡΕΚΕΟΥΑ ΕΡΡΟ
2ΜΠ[ΕC]ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ·	ΠΑΪ ΕΤΕΝΨΝΑΕΠΙ
†CΩ[Τ]Μ ΔΕ ΕΡΟC	ΒΟΥΛΕΥΕ ΑΝ ΕΠΩ
>ΧΕΑCΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ	Ν 2ΜΠΙΚΟCΜΟC
>ΕΒΟΛ 2ΝΤΓΑΛΙΛΑΪΑ	ΝΪΔΙΩΚΕΙ ΑΝ Ν
>ΑC[ΕΙ] ΑCΟΥΩ2 2Ν	CΑΠΕΙΜΙCΕ ΝΨΠΗ
>Ν[ΑΖ]ΑΡΕΘ ΧΕΕCΕ	ΡΕ ΑΡΗΥ 2ΕΝΜΥC
>ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΙ	ΤΗΡΙΟΝΝΕ ΝΑΪ
>ΝΕΝΤΑΥΧΟΟC 2Ι	ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ · ΜΑΡΕ
ΤΝΗCΑΪΑC ΠΕΠΡΟ	2ΗΡΩΔΗC ΡΡΟ ΧΕ
>ΦΗΤΗC ΧΕCΕΝΑ	ΕΡΕΠΕΙΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΜ
>ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕ	ΒΩΚ Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΚΗΜΕ
>ΠΝΑΖΩΡΑΪΟC ~	ΝΨΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΙ
Α2ΗΡΩΔΗC ΜΟΥ	ΠΕΤCΗ2 · ΧΕΑΙ
ΟΥΟΝΤΕ†CΥΓΧΩ	ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΠΑΩΗΡ[Ε]
ΡΗCΙC ΧΕΕΡΕΠΕ,4,	>ΕΒΟΛ 2ΝΚΗΜΕ · Ε,Ρ,
	ΩΑΝ2ΗΡΩΔΗC Δ,Ε, ~

(1 leaf missing)

17. A5 Vienna K9218; $\overline{\text{PIE}}$.

The upper part of this leaf is intact except for a small hole in the exterior column. The bottom part is missing: on the recto there is missing at least one line of the first column and at least six of the second.

ΠΕΥΑΥΑΝΚΡΟΜ
 $\overline{\text{PM}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{C}}$ ΠΕΙΡΕ ΟΝ
 $\overline{\text{ZM}}$ ΠΜΟΟΥ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΤΜΕ
 ΤΑΝΟΙΑ $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{C}}$ Ω
 ΠΕ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΚΑΘΑΡΙΣΜΟΣ
 $\overline{\text{M}}$ ΠΤΗΡ $\overline{\text{C}}$ $\overline{\text{Z}}$ ΙΤ $\overline{\text{M}}$
 ΠΜΟΥ $\overline{\text{M}}$ ΠΕ $\overline{\text{C}}$ ΣΤΑΥ
 ΡΟΣ · ΑΥΩ ΕΩΧΕ
 ΑΥ $\overline{\text{P}}$ ΝΟΒΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΑΥΩ ΣΕΩΑΑΤ $\overline{\text{M}}$
 ΠΕΟΥ $\overline{\text{M}}$ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΚΑΤΑΠΩΑΧΕ $\overline{\text{N}}$
 Τ $\overline{\text{C}}$ ΙΝΕΙΩΡ $\overline{\text{Z}}$ $\overline{\text{M}}$
 Π $\overline{\text{Z}}$ ΙΕΡΟΣ ΝΑΠΟCΤΟ
 ΛΟΣ ΤΑΪ ΟΝ ΤΕΘΕ
 $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΤΑΥΤ $\overline{\text{P}}$ Ι $\overline{\text{N}}$ $\overline{\text{C}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}$
 ΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ ΧΕΕΡΕ
 ΝΕΙΚΟΟΥΕ ΝΑΤ
 ΜΑΙΟ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΧΙΝΧΗ
 $\overline{\text{Z}}$ ΝΤΕ $\overline{\text{C}}$ ΧΑΡΙC
 $\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{P}}$ ΗΥΘΕ ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ
 ΕΤΒΕΠΗ ΕΤΕ $\overline{\text{M}}$
 ΠΕ $\overline{\text{C}}$ ΩΡΟΕΙC ΕΤΕ $\overline{\text{C}}$
 ΑΠΕ ΕΤ $\overline{\text{M}}$ ΤΡΕΤΑ
 ΛΙΛΑ ΖΟΟΚΕC $\overline{\text{M}}$ ΝΝΕΙ
 ΚΟΟΥΕ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΤΑΠ $\overline{\text{C}}$ ΕΥ $\overline{\text{C}}$
 ΑΥΑΝ $\overline{\text{K}}$ $\overline{\text{J}}$ [ΡΟΜΡΜ]

$\overline{\text{N}}$ ΤΑ $\overline{\text{C}}$ ΕΙ Ε $\overline{\text{Z}}$ ΡΑΪ ΕΝΑ
 ΖΑΡΕΘ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΟΙΠΕΙΚΟΥΪ
 ΝΑΛΟΥ ΧΕΕΥΝΑ
 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟ $\overline{\text{C}}$ ΧΕ
 ΠΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ · $\overline{\text{N}}$
 ΘΕ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΤΑΤΕΤ $\overline{\text{N}}$ CΩ
 Τ $\overline{\text{M}}$ ΕΤΒΗΗΤ $\overline{\text{C}}$
 $\overline{\text{Z}}$ Ν $\overline{\text{Z}}$ Α $\overline{\text{Z}}$ ΜΜ $\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{Z}}$ Ν
 ΤΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑ[ΘΗ]
 ΚΗ ΕΡΕΠΕΤΡΟΣ
 ΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΙ $\overline{\text{C}}$ ΠΝΑ
 ΖΩΡΑΪΟΣ Α $\overline{\text{Y}}$ Ω ΟΝ
 $\overline{\text{ZM}}$ ΠCΑΛΕ ΕΤ $\overline{\text{X}}$ $\overline{\text{J}}$
 $\overline{\text{M}}$ ΝΤΝΑ $\overline{\text{Z}}$ ΙΡ $\overline{\text{N}}$ $\overline{\text{J}}$ ΤΠΥ
 ΛΗ $\overline{\text{M}}$ ΠΕΡΠΕ ΠΕ
 ΧΑ $\overline{\text{C}}$ ΧΕ $\overline{\text{ZM}}$ Π $\overline{\text{P}}$ ΑΝ
 ΝΙC ΠΝΑΖΩΡ $\overline{\text{A}}$ ΙΟΣ
 ΜΟΩΕ ΑΥΩ ΟΝ
 $\overline{\text{ZM}}$ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΕCΝΑ
 ΒΩΚ ΕΔΑΜΑΣΚΟΣ
 $\overline{\text{ZM}}$ Π $\overline{\text{Z}}$ ΟΡΟΜΑ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΤΑ $\overline{\text{C}}$
 ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟ $\overline{\text{C}}$ ΠΕΧΑ $\overline{\text{C}}$
 Ν $\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{C}}$ ΧΕ CΑΥΛΕ, [CΑΥΛ]Ε
 [Α $\overline{\text{Z}}$ ΡΟΚ ΕΚΠΗΤ ΝCΩΪ]
 [ΠΕΧΑ $\overline{\text{C}}$ ΧΕΝΤΚΝΙΜ Π]
 [ΧΟΕΙC ΠΕΧΕ ΠΧΟ]
 [ΕΙC ΝΑ $\overline{\text{C}}$ ΧΕΑΝΟΚ]

18. A5v Vienna K9218v; P15.

ΠΕ ΙC ΠΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟC
 ΠΕΤΕΚΠΗΤ ΝΤΟΚ
 ΝCΩC ΑΥΩ ΖΕΝ
 ΚΕΜΗΗΩΕ ΜΜΑ
 ΧΕΙC ΠΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟC
 ΠΑΙ ΝΑΜΕΠΕ ΠΝΑ
 ΖΩΡ[ΑΙΟC] ΝΤΑC
 ΧΕ[ΚΠ]ΝΟΜΟC ΝΝΑ
 [ΖΩΡΑΙ]ΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΕΑC
 [Ω]ΩΠΕ ΜΑΥΑΑC Ν
 ΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟC ΕCΖΑ
 ΡΕΖ ΕΠΒΩ ΝΤΕCΑΠΕ
 ΕCΤ[Ο]ΥΧΗΥ · ΕΑC
 ΖΑΡΕ,Ζ,ΠCΑΩC ΝΛΑ
 ΑΥ ΝΒΩ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ
 ΕΤΟ ΝΑΤΤΩΛΜ
 ΕΤΕΝΑΙΝΕ ΠΕΙCΑ
 ΩC ΜΠΝΑ ΝΤΑΥ
 ΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΙ
 ΕΧΩC ΜΠΕCΑΥ
 ΠΗ ΜΜΟΟΥ
 ΟΥΠΝΑ ΝCΟΦΙΑ
 ΠΕΙΠΝΑ ΜΜΝΤ

ΜΕΖCΑΩC ΕΤΕΠΑΙ
 ΠΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΝΘΟΤΕ
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΙ
 ΟΕ ΜΑΥΑΑCΠΕ ΝΤΑC
 ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΤΑΠΕ Μ
 ΜΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΕC
 ΜΕΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΙCΑ
 ΩC ΝΛΟΟΥ ΝΑΤ
 ΜΟΥ ΕCCOΟΥΝ ΧΕ
 ΤΕCΑΠΕΠΕ ΠΕC
 ΕΙΩΤ · ΕΩΧΕ
 ΟΥΝΟΥΑ ΝΑΧΟC
 ΧΕΕΝΧΙ ΜΠΕΖΡΗ
 ΤΟΝ ΝCΟΝC ΕΝΕΙ
 ΝΕ ΜΠΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟC
 ΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΜ
 ΠΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟC ΕΤ
 ΖΗΠ · ΜΑΡΕC
 ΧΟΟC ΝΑΙ ΧΕΑΩΤΕ
 ΤΑΡΕΤΗ ΕΚΩΑΝ
 ΟΥΕΖΠΕΚΒΩ · ΕΩ
 ΧΕ ΟΥΑΡΕΤΗΠΕ Ο,Υ,
 ΕΖΠΕΚΒΩ ΕΙΕ ΖΕ,Ν,
 ΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟC ΤΗ
 ΡΟΥΝΕ ΝΕΖΕΙΟΜΕ
 ΕΤΩΜΩΕ ΜΠΕΥ
 ΒΩ, ΖΝΖΕΝC†ΝΟΥ
 [CΕ ΜΝ],ΖΕΝ,COON
 [.....]ΤΝ

(1 leaf missing)

19. A7 Paris 131.6f.33; $\overline{\text{P10}}$.

This leaf is intact except for the loss of its upper inner corner with the first letters of lines 1-8 of the first column of the recto.

[...]ΕΝΘΟΜΤ[...]C,
 [...]ΤΜ†ΖΙΝ[...]
 [...]N,ΒΑΛ ΡΕΚΡΙΚΕ
 [N]Z,ΕΝΒΟΥΖΕ ΕΝCΙ
 [...]M,ΜΟΝ ΕΤΕΖΙΗ
 [...]ΧΕΙΜΑΡΡΟC
 [...]ΗΧ ΝΤΝ
 [T]M,Ζ,ΩΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 [ΕΠ]ΤΙΜΕ ΝΤΑΛΙΑ
 ΤΕΙC,ΟΡ,C ΝΑΤΝΑ
 ΕΤΜΜΑΥ · ΤΕΙΔΥ
 ΝΑΜΙC ΝΑΝΤΙΚΙ
 ΜΕΝΗ · ΤΕΠΕΙΒΟΥ
 ΛΕC ΝΝΕΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ
 ΤΑΪ ΕΤΖΥΠΟΚΡΙ
 ΝΕ ΖΝΟΥΜΝΤΩΒΗΡ
 ΝΩΟΡΠ ΩΑΝΤΕC
 CΕΛΧΚ ΖΜΠΠΑΩ
 ΝΘΥΔΟΝΗ ΝCΩΩC
 ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC ΝΝΑ
 ΡΕΤΗ ΜΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ
 ΜΜΟΝ ΝCΩΟΟΝΕΝ
 ΕΝΕΙΖΜΟΤ ΝΤΜΝΤ
 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΚΑΑΝ
 ΚΑΖΗΥ ΝΤCΟΜ
 ΜΝΤΜ,ΟΤΝ,ΕC Ν
 ΤΜΝΤΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟC
 ΝCΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΥ Μ

ΜΟΝ ΕΝΝΟΘΝΕC
 ΝCΩΒΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΟ
 ΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΙΧΑΧΕ
 ΕΤΖΗΤ ΝΡΕCΖΩ
 ΤΒ · ΑΥΩ ΝΑΪ
 ΝΕ ΝΕΩΒΕΕΡ ΜΠΚΑ
 ΚΕ ΜΝΠCΟΜΟΜ
 ΝΩΑΥ†ΜΠΕΥ
 ΩΟΡΠ ΝΟΥΟΪ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 ΕΝΒΑΛ ΝCΕΩΩΡΤ
 ΜΠΕΝΔΙΟΡΑΤΙ
 ΚΟΝ ΝCΕΡΠΒΑΛ
 ΜΠΕΝΝΟΥC ΝΒΑ
 ΛΕ ΕΤΜΤΡΕΝΝΑΥ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ
 ΝΤΕΓΝΩCΙC ΝCΕ
 † ΕΖΗΤΝ ΜΠΕΚ
 ΛΑΛ ΕΤΖΟΡΩ ΝΤΕΥ
 ΚΑΚΙΑ ΝCΕΜΟΥΡ
 ΝΤΕΝΨΥΧΗ ΝΕ
 ΒΙΗΝ ΝΖΕΝΠΑΪΔΕC
 ΝΖΟΜΝΤ ΝCΕΚΑ
 ΑΝ ΜΝΝΕΤΒΗΚ
 ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΜΠΚΑΖ
 ΝΑΪ ΕΤΟΤΠ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 ΩΑΕΝΕΖ ΖΝΑΜΝΤΕ
 ΠΚΑΚΕ ΕΤΖΤΜ
 ΤΩΜ ΝCΕΤΑΑΝ Μ
 ΜΑΝΝΟΥΤ ΜΠΤΑΡ

20. A7v Paris 131.6.f.33v; PK.

ΤΑΡΟΣ Ν̄ΣΕΩΩΤΜ
 Ν̄ΡΩΝ Ν̄ΜΠΥΛΗ
 Ν̄ΖΟΜΝΤ Ν̄ΣΕΚΑ
 ΑΝ Μ̄ΝΝΕΤΒΗΚ
 ΕΠΕCΗΤ Μ̄ΠΚΑΖ}
 Ν̄ΣΕΡΟΕΙC ΕΡΟΝ ΕΜΑΥ
 ΩΑΝΤΕCΦ̄ΖΝΑC
 Ν̄CΙΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ζ̄Μ
 ΠΕΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΕΤΕC
 CΟΟΥΝ Μ̄ΜΟC Ν̄C
 CΕΤ̄Ν ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΝΤCΙΧ
 ΝΑΜ̄ΝΤΕ ΕCΩΑΝ
 ΧΙΤ̄Ν · ΝΑΪΑΤC
 ΔΕ Μ̄ΠΕΤΕΡΕΠΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΝΑΝΑΖΜ̄C ΕΤ[Ε]
 CΖΙΜΕ ΕΤCΑΩΕ [Τ][ΑΙ]
 ΕΤΟ Ν̄CΟΡCC ΧΕC
 ΝΑΕΡ̄ΒΟΛ ΕΝΕΙΑΝΑΓ
 ΚΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ
 ΠΩΑΧΕ Μ̄ΠΕΚΛΗ
 CΙΑCΤΗC ΧΕΠΑ
 ΓΑΘΟC Μ̄ΠΕΜΤΟ
 >ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 >CΕΝΑΝΑΖΜC ΕΡΟC
 >ΠΕΤ̄ΡΝΟΒΕ ΔΕ ΖΩ
 >ΩC CΕΝΑCΟΠ̄C Ν̄
 >[ΤΟΟΤC] ΕΙC ΝΑΪ ΑΝ
 Χ[ΟΟ]Υ [Ν]ΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ·

[...]ΕΙ[...]ΚΟ[...]
 ,ΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟC[....]
 ΠΑΪ Ν̄ΤΑCΑΝ[ΑΧΩ]
 ΡΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΝΤΓ[Α]
 ΛΙΛΑΙΑ ΑCΕΙ [Ε]
 ΕΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ [Χ][ΕCΕ]
 ΝΑΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡ[ΟC]
 ΠΝΑΖΩΡΑ[ΙΟC]
 ΛΟΙΠΟΝ †ΜΕΕΥ[Ε]
 ΑΠΡΩΩΕ ΩΩΠΕ
 ΕΤΡΕΝΚΤΟ Ν̄Τ̄Ν
 †ΕΟΟΥ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΠΑΪ ΕΤΝΑ†ΖΟΥΕΜΕ
 Ν̄ΝΕΨΥΧΗ Ν̄Μ
 ΜΑΪCΩΤΜ ΕΤΡΕΥ
 ΤΩΒ̄Ζ ΖΑΡΟΝ ΖΜ
 ΠΕΥCΟΠ̄C ΧΕΕCΕ†
 CΟΜ ΝΑΝ ΟΝ ΧΕΕΝΕ
 ΧΩ ΝΗΤΝ ΕΖΝΑC
 Ν̄ΖΕΝΚΟΥΪ ΕΤΒΕ
 ΤΠΑΡΡΟΥCΙΑ Μ̄
 ΠΕΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟC ΪΩ
 ΖΑΝΝΗC · ΖΙΤ̄Ν
 ΤΕΧΑΡΙC Μ̄ΝΤΜΝΤ
 ΜΑΪΡΩΜΕ Μ̄ΠΕΝ
 ΧΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧ̄C
 ΠΑΪ ΠΕ[Ο]Ο,Υ ΝΑC
 ΩΑΕΝΕΖ ΖΝΕΝΕΖ
 ΖΑΜΗΝ ·

.....

(3 leaves missing)

21. A8 Paris 131.6f.47; PKZ.

In the upper outside corner of the verso, the number $\bar{H}$ (8) marks the end of the quire; the quires were thus formed of regular quaternions ($16 \times 8 = 128$). In the middle of the top margin of the verso there is a square ornamented with laces marking the first page of the quire. See Porcher, «Analyse,» [116] (13th century).

ΕΤΕΡΕΤΓΡΑΦΗ
 $\bar{P}$ MNTPE AY M
 ΠENCωTM EP00Y
 EYPMNTPE $\bar{N}$ †2B
 Cω $\bar{N}$ CAΠAYΛOC
 Π2IEPOC NAΠOC
 TOLOC ΠAΪ $\bar{N}$ TAY
 $\bar{P}$ MNTPE 2AP00Y
 KOINWC · XEEY
 MOOΩE $\bar{Z}$ $\bar{N}$ ZENBA-
 >λOT MNZENΩA
 >AP NBAMΠE MA
 ΘAIOC ΔE $\bar{N}$ T0Y
 $\bar{M}$ ΠEIMAY AY
 $\bar{M}$ NTPE 2AIW2AN
 NHC MNTE42B
 Cω $\bar{M}$ NTETEEN
 ZΩNH $\bar{M}$ NTET
 TP0ΦH E4TA
 MO MMON XEZEN
 KAΪΦAλλAΪON
 NEETE4XW MMOOY
 NAN $\bar{Z}$ NTETPA
 ΦH · $\bar{N}$ T0Y ΔE÷
 IΩ2ANNHHC NEPE
 TE42BCW ΩO0Π

EBOL $\bar{Z}$ $\bar{N}$ ZENBΩ
 $\bar{N}$ σAMOYΛ · A2POK
 $\bar{M}$ $\bar{N}$ NEIBW $\bar{N}$ σA
 MOYΛ ω IΩ2AN
 NHC EPETA2B
 Cω ΠEXAY $\bar{Z}$ $\bar{N}$ NEI
 Bω $\bar{N}$ σAMOYΛ
 EBOL XE $\bar{M}$ ΠATE4
 PWTCPOT $\bar{N}$ Y
 2ΩWKE $\bar{N}$ σIΠE
 2IEIB XEEPENE
 2IOME NAWO2
 $\bar{N}$ CEPEIOΠE $\bar{N}$ CE
 TCAVO ETCP0ΦIA
 MΠCΩ2E $\bar{N}$ CEOY
 ωWXE $\bar{N}$ TEIΩ
 THN $\bar{N}$ CA2T ΠE
 TAΪ ETE $\bar{M}$ MA
 TOI NAWΠAZC
 $\bar{M}$ $\bar{N}$ CTPA TEYMA
 NAWΠOΩC EIMH
 TEI ΠETEPETEK
 λHPOC NATAZOY
 $\bar{N}$ YXITC · OY $\bar{N}$
 OYA NAXOOC NAΪ
 XEMATA MOΪ $\bar{Z}$ $\bar{N}$
 OYWN2 EBOL ETPE,

22. A8v Paris 131.6.f.47v; $\overline{\text{PKH}}$.

$\overline{\text{TKXW}}$ ΜΜΟϢ
 CΩTM ω πακρο
 αTHC ΘBCW ΝΙΩ
 ΖΑΝΝHC ΟΥΕΒΟΛΤΕ
 ΖΝΝΒW ΝΒΑΜΟΥΛ
 ΠΒΑΜΟΥΛ ΝϢΠW
 TCEIB $\overline{\text{AN}}$ 4CΑTBE
 ΔΕ · ΠΝΟΜOC ΟΥ
 ΠΝΙΚOCΠE ΝϢ
 ΠWTCIB ΔΕ $\overline{\text{AN}}$
 ΧΕΕΡΕΝΕΤΟΛX
 ΜΜΟϢ ΟWΛX
 ΜΜΟϢ ΑXΝΔΙΑ
 ΚΡHCIC · ΕΡΕΠΛΟ
 ΓOC ΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟΝ
 ΕΤΕCΒW ΝΝΕICΖΑΙ
 ΝΑC ΤΑΙ ΕΤΟΥXΙ
 CBW ΝΖΗTC ΝCΙ
 ΝΕΙΩΟΡΠ ΖΝΟΥ
 CΖΑΙ ΑXΝΔΙΑΚΡΗ
 CIC ΕCΟ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥ
 ΑΠΛΑCΤΟΝ ΝΖW
 ΟΝ ΑΥW ΝΑΛΟΓΟΝ
 ΝΑΖΡΑΥ ΕΤΕΠΑΙ
 ΠΕ ΠΒΑΜΟΥΛ ΠΑΙ
 ΕΝϢΠWTCIB $\overline{\text{AN}}$
 ΕΤΡΕϢΖΙΕΥCYN
 ΛΟΓΙZE { $\overline{\text{AN}}$ } ΜΠΕ

ΖΡΗΤΟΝ ΕΤΖΟΡW
 ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΥΛΥΠ
 ΤΑΝΕ ΜΠΕϢΟΥ
 ΜΟΤ ΑϢΟΥΩΜΕ
 ΝΤΕϢΩIH ΕΤΡΕϢ
 ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΝ
 ΤΟΥΑΤΒΕ ΝΟΥΖΑΜ
 ΝΤWΠ ΝCΙΠΛΟ
 ΓOC ΝΒΡΡΕ ΕΑϢ
 ΤΡΕΠΕΙΩΜWΕ Ν
 ΤΕΙCΟΤ ΝCΑΡΚΙ
 ΚΟΝ ΟΥΩCϢ ΜΠCΒ
 ΒΕ · ΝCΟΥΑ ΝWΑ
 ΠΕΡΠΕ · ΜΝΠΚOC
 ΜΙΚOC ΠΕΘΥCΙ
 ΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΝ
 ΝΕϢCΚΕΥΗ · ΝΑΙ
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑϢΛΥΠ
 ΤΑΝΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΖΙ
 ΤΜΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΡΕΥ
 ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖΙΤΝ
 ΤΔΙΑΚΡHCIC
 ΝΤΑΛΗΓΟΡΙΑ
 ΝΤΕΡΕϢΠΡΟΚΟΠ
 ΤΕ ΔΕ ΖΝΘΥΛΗ
 ΚΙΑ ΜΝΤCΟΦΙΑ
 ΝCΙΠΕΖΙΕIB Μ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΡΕΤ

23. A9 BL OR 3581.A 33; $\overline{\text{PK}\Theta}$.

This leaf is nearly intact. A hole in the middle of the upper part has mutilated the beginning of lines 6-8 of the second column of the recto and the end of the same lines of the first column of the verso. Since the text follows that of A8, the pagination must have been 129-130. Crum (*Catal. Br. Mus.*, 75a) gives the pagination $\overline{\text{PK}\Theta}$ - $\overline{\text{P}\Lambda}$ which is not visible in the photographs. In the top margin of the recto there are the remnants of two designs (a cross and star heavily ornamented with lacing and colored red and green according to Crum) which mark the beginning of the ninth quire. See Crum, *Catal. Br. Mus.*, 75 a-b.

COPT THPOY $\bar{\text{N}}\text{C}\bar{\text{I}}$
 NEIΛE NECOΟΥ 2M
 ΠΤΑΩΕΟΕΙΩ $\bar{\text{N}}\text{B}\bar{\text{P}}$
 PE $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\text{ON}$
 $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{F}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}}$
 $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{F}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{C}}$
 ΠΩΜΩΕ ΜΠΝΟ
 ΜΟC $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}}$
 ΝΑΡΧΑΪΟC · ΑΥΛΟ
 ΕΥΟ $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{I}}$ ΑΥΡ $\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}$
 ΑΥΛΟ ΕΥΟ $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}}$
 ΑΥΡΑΛΗΘΙΑ
 ΑΥΧΙ $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Θ}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{W}}$ ΜΠΕ
 COΟΥ $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{L}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}$
 ΟΥΚΕΤΕΙ $\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{W}}$ $\bar{\text{N}}$
 ΟΑΜΟΥΛ · ΟΥΚΕ
 ΤΕΙ $\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{E}}$ $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{C}}$
 ΜΙΚΟΝ ΑΛΛΑ 2B
 CΩ NECOΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ
 ΠΩΑΧΕ ΜΠΖΙΕΡΟ
 ΨΑΛΤΗC · ΧΕΑ
 >NEIΛE $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}$ ΡΩΤ
 >ΑΥΧΙΩΚΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ
 >[KA]I ΓΑΡ C[ENA]CΜΟΥ
 ΧΑ[F]ICTE ΖΙΑΛΗΘΙΑ

ΚΑΤΑΠΩΑΧΕ Μ
 ΠΖΙΕΡΟC ΝΑΠΟCΤΟ
 ΛΟC ΧΕ†ΖΙΩΩΤ
 ΤΗΥΤ $\bar{\text{N}}$ ΜΠΕΝ
 [X]OEIC IC ΠΕΧC ΛΟΙ
 [ΠΟΝ] [†C]ΩΤΜ ΕΡΟC
 [NE]CMHP ΝΟΥΜΟ
 [XZ] ΝΩΑΑΡ ΕΧ $\bar{\text{N}}$
 ΤΕC†ΠΕ ΠΑΪΠΕ
 [ΠΜΟ]X $\bar{\text{Z}}$ ΕΤΕΡΕΝΕ
 ΤΟΥΩΜ ΜΠΠΑCΧΑ
 X[ΠI]ΜΟΡΟΥ ΜΜΟC
 ΕΤΕΤΑΪΤΕ ΤΕΓΚΡΑ
 ΤΙΑ $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{F}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{C}}$
 ΑΥΩ ΠΤΩΩΒΕ
 ΜΠΑΝΚΙΟΝ $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}$
 ΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ · ΑΛΛΑ
 ΕΠΙΔΗ ΟΥ $\bar{\text{N}}$ ZAZ
 ΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕΤ $\bar{\text{N}}$
 ΜΗΡ ΖΩΩΝ CΕ
 ΜΗΡ ΜΕΝ · ΕΥΜΗΡ
 ΔΕ $\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{N}}$ ΝΟΥΜΟX $\bar{\text{Z}}$
 $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{R}}$ ΧΕ ΜΠΟΥ
 ΕΩΕΡΠΜΕΛΟC ΕΤ $\bar{\text{M}}$
 ΜΑΥ $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{L}}$ ΝΑΥ
 ΪΩΖΑΝΝΗC ΔΕ ΝΤΟC

24. A9v BL OR 3581.A 33v; P̄λ.

αϣ†μαειν ερωϣ
 χεοϣμοχ2 νω[λ]
 αρ πετεϣμhr m
 μοϣ · εϣταμ[ο]
 ḡmon χεογαω
 ḡmine τετ[....]
 cic ḡnπmo[....]
 ταϣḡτϣ εχμ,
 πλαος ετḡμα[γ]
 τεϣτροφη δε
 οντε 2ενωχε
 ḡnoγεβεie2ooγt
 μαρειω2ανnhc
 ογεμωχε 2ιεβεie
 2ooγt ḡτεπα
 cωτηρ ογωm
 ḡποεικ ḡπωḡ2
 μαρεπλογοc ḡπρο
 φḡtikon xi
 βοc ḡπετπε ḡ
 πκα2 ḡϣεω2ωλ
 αḡ επϣice ḡθε ḡ
 πεωχε · ḡτεπco
 ογν ḡτεχαpic xi
 ce αγω ḡϣ2ωλ ε
 tπε ḡϣρωbhr

canḡ ḡnπαhr
 εταcωογ nϣωi
 ne 2ḡnneiαοpαton
 nϣ2oτ2t ḡnei
 ατναγ ερωογ · μα
 ρειω2ανnhc ογεm
 ωχε τεime2ωμογ
 ne ḡπαληγh nταϣ
 nτc εχḡφαpαω
 πεταμα2τε εχḡ
 πλαος ḡπiτchλ
 ετpeγaaγ ḡ2m2αλ
 χεεϣnaογωm 2m
 πεχπiο ḡnpeϣ
 pnoβe nϣcaanḡ
 2ḡnaππειλη ḡnei
 ατνα2τε ḡϣαπi
 λει επλαοc · χene
 χπο ḡne2βογi nim
 >πentaϣtcabe
 >thγtḡ επωt
 >εβολ 2ḡtc ḡtop
 >γh εtnḡy †cω
 tm on χeeβ[eiε] na
 κpion ταpeϣka

(8 leaves missing)

25. A10 BL OR 3581.A 34; $\overline{\text{PMZ}}$.

This is the upper half (10-12) of a leaf paginated $\overline{\text{PMZ}}$ - $\overline{\text{PMH}}$ (147-148). A hole in the corner has mutilated the middle of the first three lines of the first column of the recto and of the second column of the verso. The first column of the recto containing the title of the eighth homily is bordered on the top and on the left with an interlaced band. See Crum, *Catal. Br. Mus.*, 75 a-b, no. 187.

π[με][ζωμου]ν νλο
[roc][εαγτ]αγογ νσι
πco[φ]oc νογωτ
α[πα ζ]ρογφοc πε
π[ic]κοροc ντπολιc
ω[ω]τπ εcβωλ μ
πεγαγγελιον κατα
μαθαιoc επεζρητον
δε παι · xετοτε
[αγχι]τc εζραι ετε
[pHMOc] ζιτμπεπνα
[ετρ]εγπιραζε μ[μοc]

πλογοc εζραι επχαie
μ[αρε]πλογικωc
πωτ εμαγ νμ
μαγ · αγχιπεν
cωτηρ ετερη
μοc ζιτ[μπ]επνα
μαρενετζοπν
ζνταπατη μ
πβιοc ρχαie εβολ
ζννεγροογω ·
[αγχι νic] επιραζε
[μμοc μα]ρενετ
[ναζτε ειc] xixnit
[ντεγδομ] ογ πε
[†ναχοοc nenμερ]ατε

26. A10v BL OR 3581.A 34v; $\overline{\text{PMH}}$.

Since the text of M.26 is wholly contained in M.27, it has been omitted here. The variants are given in M.27; the text will be found in the appendix.

27. B4 Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.1r); 4H.

This page is very dark and difficult to read.

2ΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΜΜΑϢ ΑΥϢΙ ΜΠ2ΑΛΗΤ ΜΠΟΥΟ
 ΕΙΝ ΕΠΕΤ2ΛΟΥΛΩΟΥ ΜΑΡΕΝΕΤ2ΕΝΝΕΥΜΑ2
 2ΡΟΠΡΕΠ ΝΝΕΥΤΝ2 ΑΥϢΙ ΜΠΛΟΓΟC Ε2ΡΑΪ
 ΕΠΧΑΙΕ ΜΑΡΕΠΛΟΓΙΚΟC ΠΩΤ ΕΜΑΥ ΝΜΜΑϢ
 ΑΥϢΙΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ ΕΤΕΡΗΜΟC ΜΑΡΕΝΕΤ2ΟΠΝ
 2ΕΝΤΑΠΑΤΗ ΜΠΒΙΟC ΕΡΧΑΙΕ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΕΝΝΕΥΡΟΟΥϢ·
 ΑΥϢΙ ΝΙC ΕΠΙΡΑΖΕ ΜΜΟϢ ΜΑΡΕΝΕΤΝΑ2ΤΕ ΕΙC
 ΧΙΧΝΙΤ ΝΤΕΥCΟΜ·~ ΟΥ ΠΕ†ΝΑΧΟΟϢ
 ΝΕΝΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΑΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΕΡCΟC ΕΒΟΛ 2ΜΠCΟΟΥΝ·
 Α2ΑΥΝΟΥΒ ΝΙΜ ΧΙϢΠΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΕΝΝΕΥΜΟΥΝΚ
 ΝΟΙΧ CΕΧΙ ΝΙC 2ΙΤΜΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΠΙΡΑΖΕ Μ
 ΜΟϢ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΙΤΜΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC
 Ω ΝΕΙΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΤΕΙCΟΤ · ΠΕΤΧΙ ΕΥΧΙ ΜΜΟϢ·
 ΟΥΠΝΑ ΠΕΤΧΙ · ΟΥϢΗΡΕ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΤΟΥΧΙ
 ΜΜΟϢ·~ ΕϢΑΥΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ ΜΠΕΤΕΝCΕΤΗΚ
 Ν2ΗΤ ΑΝ ΕΧΩϢ ΕϢΑΥΧΕΝΤΠΕΤΕΝCΕCΟ
 ΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΝΤΕϢΔΟΚΙΜΗ CΕΧΙ ΝΟΥΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΕΠΙΡΑΖΕ ΜΜΟϢ·~ ΕΥΤΩΝ ΝΕΤΟ ΝΑΤ
 ΝΑ2ΤΕ ΕΠΕΧΠΟ ΚΑΤΑCΑΡΞ ΜΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ ΝΕΤ
 ΧΩ ΜΜΟϢ ΧΕΜΠΕϢΕΙ ΕΥΟΟΤΕ ΝC2ΙΜΕ ΜΑΡΟΥΕΙ
 ΝCΕΝΑΥ Χ,ΕΕΝΕϢΑΥΠΙΡΑΖΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 Η ΜΜΟΝ ΜΑΡΟΥΑΡΝΑ ΝΝΕΙΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΜΝ
 ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙCΤΗC ΠΛΗΝ †ΜΕΕΥΕ
 [.....]ΧΕΑΠΕΤΕΝ2ΗΤ [.]ΩΤ ΧΕΑΥ
 ΠΛΑΝΑ[.]ΙΝ[.]ΜΜΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΕΝΤ2ΙΗ ΝΤΜΕ
 ΝΤΟΚ ΔΕ Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΧΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟC ΤΕΚΠΕΚ2ΗΤ
 ΝΚCΟΥΕΝΠΡΩΜΕ ΠΕΧCΙC ΠΕΝΤΑϢΤΑΑϢ Ν
 CΩΤΕ 2ΑΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΝΤΑΟΥΜΗΗϢΕ
 ΠΩϢC ΕΧΝΤΕϢΔΙΝΕΙ ϢΑΡΟΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΧΕ
 ΚΑC ΝΝΕΝΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΕΝΟΥΑϢΗ ΝϢΑΧΕ·
 CΩΤΜ ΕΤΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΝΝΕΙΚΕΠΙΡΑC,Μ,Ο]C ΝΤΑΥ
 ΠΙΡΑΖΕ Ν2ΗΤΟΥ ΜΠΕΙϢΗΡΕ ΝΝΟΥ[ΤΕ]
 ΠϢΗΡΕ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΠΕΤΟΥΧΙ ΜΜΟϢ Ε[.....Τ]ΟΟΤϢ

Variants of M.25:

1.5 ΕΤΕΡΗΜΟC] +ΖΙΤ[ΜΠ]ΕΠΝΑ

1.6 ΜΒΙΟC] ΜΠΒΙΟC

Variants of M.26:

1.15 ΕΨΑΥΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ] ΝΨΑΥΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ

1.16 ΝΖΗΤ ΔΝ] ΔΝ ΝΖΗΤ

ΕΨΑΥΧΕΝΤ-] ΝΨΑ[Υ]Χ,ΕΝΤ-

1.17 CEXI] NЧXI

1.26 ΤΕΚΠΕΚΖΗΤ] ΤΕΤΠΕ[ΚΖΗΤ] Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ [ΝΧ]ΡΙCΤΙΑΝΟC

1.27 ΝΚCΟΥΕΝΠΡΩΜΕ] ΝΚΕΙΜΕ ΕΠΡΩΜΕ

28. B4v Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.1v); 4Θ.

ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟC~ †CΩΤΜ ΔΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕΤΟΤΕ ΙC
 ΔΥΧΙΤC ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΕΡΗΜΟC ΖΙΤΜΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΠΙΡΑΖΕ Μ
 ΜΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC ΠΕΙCΩΤΗΡ ΝΑ
 ΓΑΘΟC ΠΕΝΤΑC†ΠΡΩΜΕ ΤΗΡC ΖΙΩΩC ΕΤΒΕΠΕΝ
 ΟΥΧΑΪ ΑCΘΟΟΛΕC ΝΤΕΦΥCΙC ΝΡΕCΜΟΥ
 ΕΤΒΕΤCΥCΤΑCΙC ΜΠΕΝΩΝ2 ΕCΤΑΛΟ ΜΜΟΝ
 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΝΝΤΩΡΤΡ ΝΤΕΠΙCΤΗΜΕΙ ΕCΚΩ
 ΜΜΟC ΝΑΝ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΝCΚΟΠΟC ΕΠΚΩΤ ΜΠΕΝΟΥΧΑΙ
 ΕCΟ ΝΟΥΕΒΡΕΦΟC ΖΕΝΤΟΟΤΕ ΕΤΒΕΝΕΤΝΑΩΩ
 ΠΕ ΖΕΝΤΟΟΤΕ ΝΤΕCΒΩ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΕΡ2ΜΜΕ
 ΜΜΟΟΥ ΖΜΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΡΕCΘΑΛΠΕΙ
 ΑΥΩ ΕΥΕΡ2ΑΪΒΕC ΕΡΟΟΥ ΖΕΝΤΟΙΧ ΕΤΧΟCΕ ΕΤΚΕ
 ΒΕΡΝΑ ΜΠΤΗΡC ΨΑΝΤΟΥΧΕΚΠΑΖΕ ΝΤΜΗΤΡΑ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝCΕΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΜΠΕΙΚΑ2 ΝΟΥΩΤ ΕCΟΥ
 ΛΩΛ ΝΖΕΝΤΟΕΙC ΕCΚΗ ΖΕΝΟΥΟΥΟΜC ΕΤΒΕΝΕΤ
 CΟΥΛΩΛ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΙΚΕΚΕ ΝΑΝΟΗΤΟC ΖΕΝΝΡΟ
 ΟΥΩ ΜΠΒΙΟC ΕCΧΤΗΥ ΖΜΠΟΥΟΜC ΝΤΕΒΝΗ·
 ΧΕΕCΝΑΤΟΚΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΕΝΤΕΥΜΝΤΤΕΒΝΗ ΝC
 ΠΟΟΝΟΥ Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΠΖΩΟΝ ΝΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ ΕCΠΡΟ
 ΚΟΠΤΕ ΖΕΝΘΥΛΗΚΙΑ ΜΝΤCΟΦΙΑ ΕΤΡΕΥΠΡΟΚΟΠ
 ΤΕ ΖΕΝΘΥΛΗΚΙΑ ΝΤΑΡΕΤΗ ΕCΝΗΥ ΕΧΜΠΙ
 ΟΡΔΑΝΗC ΕΤΡΕCΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ ΕΜΝΧΩ[2Μ] ΕΜΝΤΩ
 ΛΜ ΖΙΩΩC ΑΛΛΑ ΧΕΕCΕΤΒΒΕΝΕΝΤΑΥΧΩ
 ΖΜ ΜΠΕΡΠΕ ΜΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΑΥΤΩΛΜ ΜΠΚΑ

ΤΑΞΙΚΩΝ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ
 ΕΥΧΙ ΜΜΟ4 ΕΧΜΠΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΡΑΖΕ ΜΜΟ4 ΕΜΕ4
 ΠΙΡΑΖΕ ΝΤΟ4 ΝΛΑ4Υ ΕΠΠΕΘΟΥ ΧΕΕ4ΝΑ†
 ΜΝΤΧΑΡ2ΗΤ ΖΙΝΟΜΤΕ ΖΙΘΟΜ ΖΙΑΠ,Ο,ΛΟ]ΓΙΑ
 Ε4ΧΟΚΡ Ν2ΜΟΥ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ ΑΥΩ
 ΕΤΟΥΠΙΡΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΙΤΜΠΕΥΑΝΤΑΓΩΝΙC
 ΤΗC †CΩΤΜ ΕΡΟ4 ΖΜΠΕΠΡΟΚΙΜΕΝΟΝ
 ΝΤΑΥΚΑ44 ΝΑΝ Ε2ΡΑΪ ΖΜΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΧΕ
 ΤΟΤΕ ,ΙC Α,ΥΧΙΤ4 Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΤΕΡΗΜΟC ΖΙΤΜΠΕΠΝΑ
 ΕΤΡΕ[ΥΠΙΡΑΖΕ] ΜΜΟ4 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC
 Ω Ν[ΕΙ.....]Ε ΝΝΟΥΤΕ Ω ΝΕΙΔΙΑΤΟΧΗ ΜΠΝΑ.

29. B5 Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.2); P̄.

ΑΥΧΙ ΝΙC Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΤΕΡΗΜΟC ΖΙΤΕΠΠΕΠΝΑ
 ΠΕΤΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΜΠΡΗ ΧΕΜΠΕΡΩΑ ΑΥΩ ΜΕ4ΩΑ
 ΠΕΤ2ΩΝ ΜΠΟΥ2 ΧΕΜΠΕΡΕΡΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ ΜΕ4ΕΡΟΥΟΕΙΝ·
 ΠΕΤ2ΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝCΙΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΠΕΤΧΟΥ ΝΝΚΕΡΑΥΝΟC ΜΝΝΕ2ΡΟΥΒΒΑΪ ΜΝΝΕΒ
 ΡΗΘΕ CΕΧΙ ΜΜΟ4 ΖΙΤΜΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΠΙΡΑΖΕ ΜΜΟ4·
 ΠΕΝΤΑ4ΤΑ2ΕΤΠΕ ΕΡΑΤC ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΚΗΠΕ CΕΧΙ Μ
 ΜΟ4 ΕΠΙΡΑΖΕ ΜΜΟ4 ΖΝΤΕΡΗΜΟC
 ΕΡΕΠΑΣΩΤΗΡ 2Ε ΝΑΩ Ν2ΙΒΕ Η ΕΡΕΠΕΙΩΗΡΕ
 ΝΝΟΥΤΕ 2Ε ΝΑΩ ΝΘΕΒΙΟ ΧΕΕΡΕΠΕΠΝΑ ΝΑΧΙΤ4
 Ε2ΡΑΪ~ ΜΠΕΡCΩΤΜ ΝΚΩΤΟΡΤ̄ Ω ΠΑΚΡΟ
 ΑΤΗC~ CΜΝΠΕΚ2ΗΤ ΝΚΕΙΜΕ ΕΠCΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΕΚΠΙCΤΙC
 ΤΑΧΡΟΚ ΝΚΚΑΤΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΕ ΜΠ2ΩΒ ΝΤΟΙΚΟΝΟ
 ΜΙΑ ΜΚΑΤΑCΑΡ̄ ΜΠΕΚΧΟΕΙC ΧΕΝΘΕ 2ΩC ΡΩ
 ΜΕ ΝΤΑ4ΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΕ 2ΕΝΘΥΛΗΚΙΑ ΜΝΤCΟΦΙΑ
 ΤΑΪ ΟΝ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΚΑΤΑ2ΩΒ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑΥΧΙΤ4 Ε2ΡΑΪ·
 ΟΥΝΟΥΑ ΝΑΧΟΟC ΝΑΪ ΧΕΕΩΧΕ Ε2Ε ΝΤΑΥΧΙΤ4 Ε2ΡΑΪ·
 2ΩC ΡΩΜΕ ΟΥ ΟΝΤΕ ΤΕΙΕΡΗΜΟC ΕΤΕΙCΩΤΜ ΕΡΟC·
 ΑΡΗΥ ΝΟΥΕΡΗΜΟC ΑΝΤΕ ΝΕΜΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΟΙ
 ΝΕΡ2ΩΒ ΤΕΤΕ4ΤCΑΒΟ ΜΜΟΝ ΕΡΟC ΧΕΠΕΤΝΑΧΙ
 ΜΠΧΩΚΜ ΜΠΕΧΠΟ ΝΚΕCΟΠ Ν4ΩΩΠΕ ΝΤΕΙ2Ε
 ΝCΕΒΙΤ4 Ε2ΡΑΪ ΖΙΤΜΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ Ε4ΝΑΩΩ
 ΠΕ 2ΕΝΟΥΕΡΗΜΙΑ ΝΤΕΒΟΗΘΙΑ ΝΙΜ CΑ2ΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΜΜΟ4 ΩΑΝΤΕCΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΙΤΔΟΚΙΜΗ
 ΝΤΕ4ΜΝΤΧΩΩΡΕ ΧΕΕ4ΝΑΑΜΑ2ΤΕ ΖΙΒΟΛ ΕΤ
 ΡΕΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΙ ΝCΕΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΝΑ4 ΧΙΝΜΜΟΝ
 Ε4ΝΑΑΝΔΙΔΟΥ Ν4CΩΤΠ Ν42Ε ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕ4
 ΧΙCΕ ΝΤΑ4ΤΑΛΕ Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΡΟ4· ΟΥΝΟΥΑ ΝΑ

ΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΪ ΧΕΜΑΤΑΜΟΪ ΕΠΒΩΛ ΜΠΩΛΧΕ ΧΕΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΤΕΙΕΡΗΜΟΣ ΝΤΑΥΧΙΠΕΙΩΗΡΕ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ
 ΕΡΟΣ~ ΕΖΕ ΦΑΡΕΠΕΤΝΑΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ ΕΡ
 ΕΡΗΜΟΣ ΕΒΟΗΘΙΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΒΕΤΔΟΚΙΜΗ ΝΤΕΥΜΝΤ
 ΧΩΩΡΕ. ΜΗ ΝΤΑΠΕΙΩΗΡΕ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΩΩΥ [Ε],[Ρ]
 ΕΡΗΜΟΣ ΕΤΒΟΗΘΙΑ ΜΠΕΧΕΙΩΤ ΧΕΕΥΝΑΩΩ[ΠΕ]

30. B5v Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.2v); Pā.

ΖΕΝΤΕΡΗΜΟΣ. ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ ΝΕΝΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΕΤΡΕ
 ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΩΡΧ ΖΕΝΝΛΑΑΥ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΕΠΕΥ
 ΕΙΩΤ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕΥΦΟΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΠΕΤΟΥ
 ΧΩ ΝΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΥ ΕΩΧΕ
 ΚΟΥΩΥ ΕΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ ΖΕΝΤΕΡΗΜΟΣ ΝΟΥΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΜΑΥ
 ΑΑΥ ΣΩΤΜ ΕΡΟΥ ΖΜΠΜΕΖΧΟΥΤΟΥΕ ΝΨΑΛΜΟΣ
 ΠΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΥΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΑΠΣΩΤΗΡ . Μ
 ΠΕΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΜΠΕΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ ΕΥΩΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΑΨΖΤΗΚ ΕΡΟΙ ΕΤΒΕΟΥ ΑΚΚΑ
 ΑΤ ΝΣΩΚ~ ΑΥΧΙΤΥΘΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΕΡΗΜΟΣ
 ΖΙΤΜΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΠΙΡΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΙΤΜΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ
 ΕΥΠΙΡΑΖΕΘΕ ΜΠΣΩΤΗΡ ΖΩΣ ΕΥΧΙΟΝΙΤ ΑΝ ΝΤΕΥ
 ΣΟΜ ΑΛΛΑ ΧΕΕΥΕΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΣΑΤΠΣ ΜΠΧΑ
 ΧΕ ΣΟΠ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΚΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΚΩΟΟΠ ΖΝ
 ΜΠΕΡΙΣΤΑCΙC ΜΝΜΠΕΡΙCΠΑCΜΟΣ ΜΠΕΡΩΝΑΤ
 ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΕΡΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΧΙ ΓΑΡ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 ΕΝΠΙΡΑCΜΟΣ ΖΙΤΝΝΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΕΤΧΟCΕ ΕΥΔΟΚΙ
 ΜΗ ΝΝΜΝΤΧΩΡΕ †CΩΤΜ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΥ
 ΕΥΩΛΧΕ ΜΝΠΔΙΚΑΪΟC ΪΩΒ ΠΩΟΕΙΧ ΝΤΜΕ ΧΕ
 ΕΚΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕΝΤΑΪΡΝΑΙ ΝΑΚ ΝΚΕCΜΟΤ ΕΙΜΗΤΕΙ ΧΕ³
 ΕΚΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC †CΩΤΜ ΟΝ
 ΕΠCΩΤΗΡ ΕΥΤCΑΒΟ ΝΝΕΥΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΕΠΖΩΒ Ν
 ΤΠΙCΤΙC ΖΡΑΪ ΖΕΝΤΔΙΔΑCΚΑΛΙΑ ΝΤΕΥΧΗ ΕΥ
 ΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕΕΤΕΤΝΩΛΗΛ ΑΧΙC ΧΕΜΠΕΡΧΙ
 >ΤΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΙΡΑCΜΟC ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΖΜΕΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜ
 >ΠΠΟΝΗΡΟC ΕΙΕ ΠΟΥΑΘΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΕΜΜΕΡΑ
 ΤΕ . ΝΕΝΤΑΥΕΡΤΕ ΝΖΟΚΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΠΟΛΕΜΟC
 ΝΕΝΤΑΥΕΓΛΑΒΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΙΘΟC ΧΙΝΧΟΥ
 ΩΤΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΕΤΠΕ ΕΥΤΕΚΜΧΗΕ ΕΥΝΑΧΙ
 ΧΝΙΤ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΙΤΝΖΕΝΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΕΥΧΟCΕ ΝCΕ

3. The letters ΝΑΙ have been added above the line to remedy an obvious case of haplography.

ΤΑΖΟ ΜΜΟϢ ΕΡΑΤϢ ΖΕΝΤΜΗΤΕ ΜΠΕΣΚΑΜΜΑ ΝΣΕ
 ΣΑΖΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟϢ ΨΑΝΤΕΣΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΙ
 ΤΔΟΚΙΜΗ ΝΤΕΥΦΙΛΟΠΟΝΙΑ ΧΕΕϢΝΑΑΜΑΖΤΕ
 ΣΙΝΜΜΟΝ †ΣΩΤΜ ΟΝ ΕΡΟϢ ΜΝΝΣΑΝΑΪ

31. B6 Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.3); P^B.

ΧΕΑϢΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ Ν2ΜΕ Ν2ΟΟΥ ΜΝ2ΜΕ ΝΟΥΩΗ · ΜΝ
 ΝΣΩΣ ΑϢ2ΚΟ:~ Ω ΝΕΙΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ
 ΝΕΜΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΠΕΝΣΩΤΗΡ ΑϢΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ Ν
 ΖΜΕ Ν2ΟΟΥ ΜΝ2ΜΕ ΝΟΥΩΗ:~ ΠΕΤΕΡΕΝΒΑΛ
 ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΣΩΨΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤϢ Ε†ΤΕ2ΡΕ ΝΑΥ ΜΠΕ
 ΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΠΕΧΑϢ ΧΕΑϢ2ΚΟ · ΟΥΠΕ ΠΕΙ2ΜΕ
 Ν2ΟΟΥ ΜΝΤΕΙ2ΜΕ ΝΟΥΩΗ· Ε†ΤΣΑΒΟ ΜΜΟΚ
 Ω ΠΑΚΡΟΑΤΗΣ ΕΤΟΙΝΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΤΣΜΟΝΤ ΤΑΪ
 ΝΤΑϢΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΟΙΜΩΥΧΗΣ ΜΝ2ΗΛΙΑΣ
 ΕΑΥΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΜΝΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΣΑΡ̄Ξ·
 ΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΑΥ ΝΑΚ ΝΣΒΩ ΖΩΩΚ ΕΤΕΠΕΙ2ΜΕ Ν2ΟΟΥ
 ΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ<ΠΕ> ΕΤΡΕΚΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΜΝΝΕϢΡΟ
 ΟΥΩ ΜΝΝΕϢΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΕΤΡΕΚΒΕΣΤΣΑΡ̄Ξ ΝΤΕΣ
 ΤΡΟΦΗ ΜΝΝΕΣΖΥΔΟΝΗ · ΠΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΕΤΧΗΚ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝϢΤΟ ΝΔΕΚΑΣ ΠΑΪ ΕΤΟ ΜΜΗΤ ΕΠΣΥΝΓΕ
 ΝΗΣΠΕ ΝΤΕϢΤΟ ΜΜΟΝΑΣ ΕΤΒΕΠΕϢΤΟΟΥ ΝΣΤΟΙ
 ΧΙΟΝ ΕΤΕΡΕΠΑΙΣΘΗΤΟΝ ΤΗΡ̄Ϣ Α2ΕΡΑΤϢ Ν2ΗΤϢ·
 ΝΑΪ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΝΤΑϢΧΟΚΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΡΟΝ ΝΟΙΠΣΩ
 ΤΗΡ ΑΥΩ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΤΟϢ ΕΤϢΕΙΜΕ ΕΡΟϢ
 ΜΝΝΣΩΣ ΑϢ2ΚΟ · ΝΤΑϢ2ΚΟ ΑΝ ΝΟΙΠΣΩ
 ΤΗΡ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑϢΤΑΜΟΝ ΝΨΟΡΠ ΕΤΒΕΠΡΩΜΕ
 ΕΤΤΟ ΖΙΩΩϢ ΧΕΨΑϢ2ΚΟ ΝΘΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ
 ΜΝΝΣΩΣ ΕΤΒΕΤΕΦΥΣΙΣ ΝΑΠΕΦΟΡΟΝΟΣ ΝΤΜΝΤ
 ΡΩΜΕ ΧΕΕΥΨΑΝΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ ΜΠΕΙ2ΜΕ Ν2ΟΟΥ
 ΜΝΝΣΩΣ ΟΝ ΨΑΥ2ΚΟ · ΠΕΤΕΨΑϢΟΥΩΝ
 ΓΑΡ ΝΤΕϢΟΙΧ ΝΤΕΠΣΩΝΤ ΤΗΡ̄Ϣ ΜΟΥ2 ΖΕΝΤΕϢΜΝΤ
 ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕΑϢ2ΚΟ:~ ΜΠΕΡ2ΚΟ
 ΝΚΨΙΝΕ ΝΣΑΟΥΩΜ Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑϢΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ Ε
 ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΜΝΝΕΤ2ΜΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΜΜΟΝ ΕΚΨΑΝ
 ΖΚΟ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΟΝ ΝΕΝΤΑΚΝΗΣΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΟΝ
 ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ϢΝΑ†ΠΕϢΟΥΟΪ ΕΡΟΚ ΝΟΙΠΕΤΠΙΡΑΖΕ
 ΝΚΣΩΤΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤϢ ΝΝΕΤΧ2 ΜΠΕΙΤΥΠΟΣ·
 ΠΕΧΑϢ ΧΕΑϢ†ΠΕϢΟΥΟΪ ΕΡΟϢ ΝΟΙΠΕΤΠΙΡΑΖΕ

32. *B6v Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.3v); P̄Γ.*

<ΠΕΧΑÇ> ΧΕΕΩΧΕ ΝΤΟΚΠΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΧΙC
ΜΑΡΕ

ΝΕΙΩΝΕ ΕΡΟΕΙΚ ΕΩΧΕ ΝΤΟΚΠΕ ΖΩC ΕΩΧΕ ΝÇ
CΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΚΕΠΕΡ ÇCΟΟΥΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΕÇΟΥΩΩ ΕΤ
ΡΕÇΧΟΟC ΧΕΑΝΟΚΠΕ Η ΝÇΧΟΟC ΧΕΜΜΟΝ
ΝÇΑΡΝΑ ΝΘΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΝΤΕÇΜΝΤΩΗΡΕ
ΟΥΝΟΥΑ ΝΑΧΟΟC ΝΑΪ ΧΕΟΥΠΙΡΑCΜΟC ΝΑΩ ΝΖΕ
ΠΕ ΠΑΪ ΧΕΑΧΙC ΧΕΜΑΡΕΝΕΙΩΝΕ ΕΡΟΕΙΚ
ΟΥΝΟC ΜΠΙΡΑCΜΟCΠΕ ΝΕΝΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΝΖΕΝΩΝΕ
ΓΑΡ ΑΝ ΝΕΤÇΩΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΟΙΠΕΤΠΙΡΑΖΕ ΧΕΜΑ
ΡΟΥΕΡΟΕΙΚ ΑΛΛΑ ΖΕΝΩΝΕΝΕ ΝΤΡΟΠΙΚΟΝ ΝΑΪ
ΜΠΕΠΕΙΩΤ ΝΤΟÇ ΤΑΑΥ ΜΠΕÇΩΗΡΕ ΕΠΜΑ Μ
ΠΟΕΙΚ ΕΤÇΑΙΤΕΙ ΜΜΟÇ - ΑΧΙC ΠΕΧΑÇ ΜΑΡΕΝΕΙ
ΩΝΕ ΕΡΟΕΙΚ · ΟΥΤΡΟΦΗ ΕCΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Μ
ΠCΩΜΑ ΝÇΝΑΕΩΩΝΖ ΑΝ ΑΧΝΤC ΟΥΝΟΥΕΙ
ΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΝΑΕΩΟΥΧΑΪ ΑΝ ΝΒΕΛΛΑC·~
ΝΘΕCΕ ΕΤΕΟΥΝΟΥΖΡΕ ΝΘΑΝΑΤΙΚΗ· ΕCΟ ΝΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΝ
ΜΠΩΝΖ ΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ · ΤΑΪ ΟΝ ΤΕΘΕ ΟΥΝΟΥ
CΒΩ Ν{Ε}ΒΛΑΒΕΡΑ ΕCΑΖΕΡΑΤC ΟΥΒΕΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΝΛΟΓΙ
ΚΗ ΤΑΪ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΝΤΑΠΕΤΠΙΡΑΖΕ ΠΡΟΔΕΙΝΑ ΜΜΟC
ΜΠΕΙΩΗΡΕ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΕΕÇΝΑΧΟΟC ΝΤΕΝΕÇ
ΩΑΧΕ ΝCΚΛΗΡΟC ΜΝΝΕÇΩΑΧΕ ΝΑΙCΘΗΤΟΝ
ΕΡΤΡΟΦΗ ΝΝΕΤΝΑΖΚΟ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕΜΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ Ν
ΝΕΥΑΙCΘΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΡΕΥΓΥΜΝΑΖΕ ΝΤΜΗΤΕ Μ
ΠΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥÇ ΜΝΠΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΜΠΕÇΕΙΜΕ ΝΟΙ
ΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC ΝΒΛΛΕ ΧΕΠΔΙΑΚΡΙΤΙΚΟC ΠΕΤÇΩΑ
ΧΕ ΝΜΜΑÇ ΠΕΤΕΡΕΠΖΑΖ <2>ΕΝΤΕÇΟΙΧ ΕÇΠΩ
Ρ̄Χ ΜΠΕCΟΥΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠΤΩΖΠΕ ΠΕΤΕÇΠΙΡΑΖΕ Μ
ΜΟÇ ΠΑΪ ΕΝΤΑÇΟΥΩΩΒΕÇ ΖΕΝΟΥΕΝΩΟΤ ΑΝ
ΟΥΤΕ ΖΕΝΟΥΛΥΠΗ ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΖΩC ΡΩΜΕ ΕÇΘΕΒΙΗΥ
ΖΕΝΖΕΝΩΑΧΕ ΝΘΕΒΙΟ ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΖΩC ΟΥΑ ΖΩΩÇ
ΠΕ ΖΕΝΝΕΤΧΙCΒΩ ΕΠΝΟΜΟC ΕÇΧΩ ΝΟΥΜΑΡ
ΤΥΡΙΑ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΜΠΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝΟΜΙΟΝ ΧΕΕΡΕΠΡΩ
ΜΕ ΝΑΩΝΖ ΑΝ ΕΟΕΙΚ ΜΑΥΑΑÇ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΩΑΧΕ ΝΙΜ

33. *B7 Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.4); P̄Δ.*

ΕΤΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΕΝΤΤΑΠΡΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΓΑΡ
ΠΑΠΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝΟΜΙΟΝΠΕ · ΑΥΩ ΧΕΚΑC ΕÇΝΑ

ТАМОК ΝΟΙΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΧΕΝΩΝΕ ΕΤΨΑΧΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ
 ΝΨΑΧΕΝΕ ΝΤΕСВΩ ΕΤΒΟΟΝΕ · ΝΑΙ ΟΝΝΕ ΝΩΝΕ
 ΕΤΕΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΙΟΥΔΑΪ ΕΥΟΥΩΨ ΕΝΟΥΧΟΥ ΝСА
 ΠΕΙΩΗΡΕ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ- ΜΑΡΕΝΕΡΑΠΑΤΟΟΤ̄Ν
 ΕСОУΩΝΟΥ ΧΕΝΝΕΝΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΤΕΝΟΥΩΜ
 ΝΤΕΝΕΡСКΛΗΡΟΣ Ζ̄ΜΠΕΝΖΗΤ ΝΤΕΝΕΝΩΟΤ̄ Ζ̄М
 ΠΕΝΖΗΤ ΝΘΕ ΜΦΑΡΑΩ ΝΤΕΝΚΑΤΕΧΕ ΜΠΙСА ΜМЕ·
 ΝΤΕΝΑΜΑΖТЕ ΜΠРЕЧНАУ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΡΕΝΘΕΒΙΟЧ ΖΕΝ
 ΝΕΝΖΒΗΥΕ ΕΤΝΑΩΤ̄ Ζ̄МΠΟМЕ ΜΝΠΠΑΠΕΤΩΒΕ·
 ΝСΕΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΝ ΝΟΙΤΜΗΤΕ ΜΠΛΗΓΗ ΜΠΕΝΕΙΜΕ·
 ΑΥΩ ΝСΕТАΚΟ ΝΝΕΜΜΝΤΩΗΡΕ ΠΜΙСЕ ΝΤΕΙΟΥΩΗ
 ΜΜΝΤΑТСОΟΥΝ ЕСМЕЗ ΝΧРОП ΖΙСКΑΝΔΑΛΟΝ
 ΝТАНКААC НАН · ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΡΕΝΩΩΠΕ ΕΝСЕВ
 ТΩТ ΕΨΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙМ ΕΤΑΙΤΕΙ ΜΜΟΝ ΕΨΩΑ
 ΧΕ ΝΤΕСВΩ · ΛΟΙΠΟΝ †СΩТ̄М ΕΡΟЧ·
 Μ̄ΝΝCΑΝΑΪ ΧΕΑЧИТЧ ΝΟΙΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΠΟ
 ΛΙC ΕΤΟΥΑАВ АЧТАЗОЧ ΕРАТЧ ΕΧ̄МΠТНН₂ ΜΠΕΡΠΕ
 ПЕХАЧ НАЧ ΧΕΕΨΧΕ ΝТОКΠЕ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΝΟХК ΕΠЕСЧТ ΖΙХ̄МΠЕΙМА ЧСН₂ ΓАР ΧΕЧНА
 ΖΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΕЧАГГЕЛОС ΕΤΒННТК ΕΤРЕУ
 ЗАРЕЗ ΕΡΟК ΖΕΝНЕК₂ΙООУЕ ТΗРОУ ΝСЕЧИТК ΕХ̄Н
 НЕУСИХ ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝΚΧΩР̄П ΝТЕΚΟΥΕРΗТЕ ΕΥ
 ΩΝΕ:~ ΟΥΑΖΙΟΝΠΕ ΝΕΝΜΕРАТЕ ΕΤРЕУΟΥ
 ОН ΝΙМ ΕΤΕРЕΠΕΙΚΑΛΥΜΑ ΝΤΕΙCΑГΩГΙΚΗ ΝСВΩ
 КН ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕХ̄МΠЕΥΔΙΟРАТІКОН ΕΤРЕΥКОТОУ Ε
 ПХОЕIC ΕΤΕПАΪΠЕ ПЕП̄НА ΧΕЕЧНАВІ ΜΠΚΑΛΥ
 МА ММАУ ΝСЕЕΙΩР̄₂ ΜΠЕООУ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΕНОУ
 ΖО ЕЧСОЛ̄П ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΕΥНАКАТАΛΑМΒАНЕ Ν̄Н
 ΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΕΙΕΥΑГГЕΛΙОН · ПЕХАЧ ΔΕ ΧΕ
 АЧХИТЧ ΝΟΙΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΠΟΛΙC ΕΤΟΥААВ
 АЧТАЗОЧ ΕРАТЧ ΕХ̄МΠТНН₂ ΜΠΕΡΠЕ:~
 ΑЧЛО ΕЧО ΜΠΕΡΙСТАCIC АЧЕРΔΙΑΒΟЛОС·

34. B7v Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.4v); ē.

ΟῩΝΟΥΑ ΝΑΧΟΟC ΝΑΪ ΧΕΟΥΕΤ ΠΕΙΠΙΡΑCΜΟC
 ΑΛΛΑ ΕΡΕΤΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΟΥΩΨ ΕΤΑМОК ΕΤΠΟΝΗΡΙΑ Μ̄
 ПХΑΧΕ ΧΕΠΕΤΠΙΡΑΖΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΔΙΑΒΑΛΕ Ν
 ТОЧΠЕ ПСАТАНАC ΑΨΤΕ ΤΕΙΠΟΛΙC ΕΤ̄ММАУ
 ΜΗ †НАЕΨΧΟΟC ΧΕΘІΛΗМТЕ ТАΪ ΕΤΖΩТВ ΝΝΕ
 ПРОФΗТНС ΕΤΖΙΩΝΕ ΕΝΕΝТАΥТ̄ННОΟΥCΟΥ ΨΑ

ΡΟC ΑΛΛΑ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΜΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑΤΕ ΤΕΨΥΧΗ·
 ΤΑΪ ΕΤΕΡΕΠΕΝΤΑΨΤCΑΒΟ ΕΚΩΤ ΝΑΚΩΤ ΜΠΕΨ
 ΝΟΥC ΝΟΥΕΡΠΕ ΝΨΚΑΟΥ{ΤΕΤΑ}<ΠΤΕ>ΨΥΓΙΟΝ ΖΙΧΩΨ·
 ΠΜΕΤΕΨΡΟΝ ΝΨΝΟΗΜΑ · ΑΨΧΙΤΨ ΕΖΡΑΪ
 ΕΤΠΟΛΙC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΨΤΑΖΟΨ ΕΡΑΤΨ ΕΧΜΠΤΗΝΖ
 ΜΠΕΡΠΕ ΑΡΗΨΘΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΝΕΜ
 ΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΟΨΗΝΤΨ ΟΨΚΩΤ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΠΟΛΙC ΕΡΕΠΚΕ
 ΕΡΠΕ ΝΖΗΤΨ ΕΡΕΟΥ{Ε}ΠΤΕΨΥΓΙΟΝ ΖΙΧΩΨ ΠΑΪ
 ΕΤΕΡΕΠΕΨΧΑΧΕ ΠΕΨΑΝΤΑΓΩΝΙCΤΗC ΕΨΑΜΑΖ
 ΤΕ ΝΤΟΟΤΨ ΕΤΡΕΨΠΡΟΚΟΠΤΕ ΝΨΑΛΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΜ
 ΠΤΗΝΖ ΜΠΕΡΠΕ ΜΝΠΕΨΚΩΤ ΕΤΕΠΑΪΠΕ ΠΧΙCΕ
 ΝΨΑΡΕΤΗ ΖΩC ΧΕΝΨΜΕ ΜΜΟΨ ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΧΕΚΑC
 ΕΨΝΑΕΡΑΠΑΤΟΟΤΨ ΕΤΡΕΨΒΟΟΨ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΖΙΧΜΠΕΙ
 ΝΟΟ ΝΧΙCΕ ΧΕΕΡΕΠΕΨΠΤΩΜΑ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΝΟΟ
 ΠΑΪ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΝΤΑΠΕΙCΩΤΗΡ ΟΨΑΖΨ ΝCΩΨ ΕΨCΩ
 ΒΕ ΝCΩΨ ΕΡΕΠΗ ΜΕΕΨΕ ΕΡΟΨ ΕΨΝΟΟ ΝΖΕ ΠCΩ
 ΤΗΡ ΔΕ ΖΩΩΨ ΖΩC ΕΨCΟΟΨΝ ΝΝΕΨΜΝΤCΑΝΚΟΤC
 ΑΨΩ ΧΕΟΨΚΩΩCΤΕ ΤΕΨΘΟΜ ΑΨΟΥΑΖΨ ΝCΩΨ
 ΕΨΤΗΚ ΝΖΗΤ ΧΕΝΝΕΨΨΑΧΕ ΝΑΗΨΑΠΑΤΑ ΜΜΟΨ
 ΑΝ · ΠΕΧΑΨ ΔΕ ΝΑΨ ΝΟΪΠΕΚΡΟΨ ΧΕΕΨΧΕ
 ΝΤΟΚΠΕ ΠΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΟΧΚ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΖΙΧΜ
 ΠΕΙΜΑ· ΛΟΪΠΟΝ ΧΕΕΨΝΑΚΟCΜΕΙ ΝΝΕΨΨΑ
 ΧΕ ΝΚΡΟΨ ΑΨΕΙΝΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΟΥΜΑΡΤΨΡΙΑ ΠΕ
 >ΧΑΨ ΧΕΨΧΗΖ ΓΑΡ ΧΕΨΝΑΖΩΝ ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΨ
 >ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ ΕΤΡΕΨΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΚ ΖΕΝΝΕΚ
 >ΖΙΟΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝCΕΨΙΤΚ ΕΧΝΝΕΨΨΙΧ ΜΗΠΟ
 >ΤΕ ΝΚΧΨΡΠ ΝΤΕΚΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΕΨΩΝΕ~

Variants of M.35:

l.304CH2 ΓΑΡ ΧΕ] >

l.312ΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΚ ΖΕΝΝΕΚΖΙΟΟΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝCΕ] >

l.33ΝΤΕΚΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΕΨΩΝΕ] ΕΨΩΝΕ ΝΤΕΚΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ.

35. *All Naples I.B. 13, fasc.438 (Zoega 261,f.2); [P̄C̄A].*

Since the text of M.35(A11) is completely contained in M.34(B7) and M.36(B8), it has been omitted here. The variants are given in the apparatus to M.34 and M.36; the text will be found in the appendix.

36. B8 Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.5); $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{C}}$.

CΩT̄M̄ ΕΠΑΤCΩ XEECHNA†CΩ M̄ΠPε†CΩ.
 TEIΛEZIC OYŃOM̄ NCAΠATA N̄2A2 XEECCH2 NAME
 ETBEPENCΩTHP. ZOΠOY ΔE ΠEIPAAIMOC ΠEI
 MEZΠCTAIOY E4CH2 AN EXM̄PCΩTHP AΛΛA EΧN̄
 N̄ΔIKAIOC THPOY ETAΓWNIZE EOYΩ2 ZENTBOHΘIA
 M̄ΠETXOC E NAΩ ΓAP N̄2E KNA TOΛMA ECHOOC
 EΠEICΩTHP XEEPEΠEIPAAIMOC NHY EΧΩ4 . ZO
 >ΠOY E4CH2 XEΠETOYH2 ZENTBOHΘIA M̄ΠETXO
 >CE 4NAΩΠE ZATZAIβEC M̄ΠNOYTE NTΠE 4NA
 >XOOC M̄ΠXOEIC XENTKΠAPε4ΩOPT EP04 AYΩ
 >ΠAMA M̄ΠWT ΠANOYTE EINANA2TE EP04 .
 A4KAPΩ4 ΔE NETNAEΛEΓXE MM04 A4ΘEΠNEI
 ΛEZIC ZENTMHTE M̄ΠEIPAAIMOC XE4NA2ΩN
 >ETOOTOY N̄NE4AΓΓEΛOC ETBHHTK NCEBITK
 >EΧN̄NEYOIΧ EIMHTEI N4MATE NTOIΧ N̄NAΓ
 ΓEΛOC NAĪ N̄TAΠAYOC ΠZIEPOC NAΠOCTOΛOC
 TAMON EΠEYΘΩXB̄ NNA2PM̄TTAIO M̄ΠΩHP
 E4C2AĪ E4XΩ MMOC XENTA4XOOC ΓAP NNIM
 N̄NE4AΓΓEΛOC ENE2 XENTOKΠE ΠAΩHP ANOK
 AĪXΠOK M̄ΠOY ΠAHN EΠIDH ΠXAXE
 ΠΔIABOLOC E4OYΩ ETPEPOME NIM ZE EΠECHT
 EB04 Z̄M̄PKWT M̄N̄PXICE N̄TEYARETH
 ΠEXA4 XEEΩXE NTOKΠE ΠΩHP M̄ΠNOYTE NOXK
 EΠECHT. ΠCΩTHP ΔE ZΩΩ4 N̄PM̄PAΩ N̄2A
 P̄Ω2HT N̄XPC̄TOC EΠMA ETPE4OYOΩBE4 ZEN
 OYΘWNT N̄TA4OYOΩBE4 ZENOYMNTPM̄PAΩ
 XE4CH2 ON XENNEKΠIPAZE M̄ΠXOEIC ΠCKΠNOYTE.
 E4TAMO MMOK XEŃNEKEPKOYĪ N̄2HT ZENM̄PI
 PACMOC OYTE N̄NEKΘAΠΘEΠ ZENNEΘAIPIC
 NKZOYΩ EΠET†TΩN N̄MMAK. AΛΛA ZEN
 OYMNTPM̄PAΩ M̄NOYMN̄TCABE EKEOYΩWB̄
 NA4 EKCOOYN XETEΘAIPIC ECEP2ΩB EY
 ZYΠOMONH ΘYΠOMONH ΔE EYΔOKIMH.

Variants of M.35:

- 1.1 $\chi\epsilon\epsilon\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\beta\omega$ $\mu\pi\rho\epsilon\chi\tau\epsilon\beta\omega$] $\chi\epsilon\epsilon\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\beta\omega$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon\beta\omega$
 1.2 $\eta\sigma\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\alpha$] $\epsilon\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\alpha$
 $\epsilon\sigma\chi\eta$] $\epsilon\sigma\chi\eta$
 1.5 $\zeta\epsilon\eta\tau\beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$] $\zeta\alpha\tau\beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$
 1.6 $\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\chi\omicron\sigma\epsilon$] $\mu\pi\pi\epsilon\tau\chi\omicron\sigma\epsilon$
 1.7 $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho$] $\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho$
 $\pi\epsilon\iota\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\varsigma$] $\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho$
 1.8 $\zeta\epsilon\eta\tau\beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$] $\zeta\alpha\tau\beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$
 $\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\chi\omicron\sigma\epsilon$] $\mu\pi\pi\epsilon\tau\chi\omicron\sigma\epsilon$
 1.9 $\chi\eta\alpha\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$] $\epsilon\chi\eta\alpha\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$
 $\zeta\alpha\tau\zeta\alpha\iota\beta\epsilon\varsigma$] $\zeta\alpha\theta\alpha\iota\beta\epsilon$
 1.10 $\eta\tau\kappa$] $\eta\tau\kappa\pi\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\rho\omicron\chi$] $\epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$
 1.11 $\pi\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\iota\alpha\lambda\alpha\zeta\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\chi$] >
 1.12 $\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\epsilon$] $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\epsilon\lambda\iota\chi\epsilon$
 1.15 $\epsilon\chi\eta\eta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\iota\chi$] $\mu\eta\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ $\eta\kappa\chi\omega\rho\tau$ $\epsilon\gamma\omega\eta\epsilon$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$

Variants of M.37:

- 1.24 $\Delta\epsilon$] >
 1.25 $\eta\chi\rho\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$] $\chi\rho\varsigma$
 1.31 $\mu\eta\omicron\upsilon\mu\eta\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\epsilon$] >
 1.33 $\epsilon\gamma\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\mu\eta$] >

37. *A11v Naples I.B. 12, fasc. 438 (Zoega 261, f.2v); [P^{CB}].*

Since the text of M.37(A11v) is wholly contained in M.36(B8) and M.39(B8v), it has been omitted here. The variants are given in the apparatus to M.36 and M.39; the text will be found in the appendix.

38. *FR-BN(Paris 131.6 f.18); P^{CG}.*

Since the text of M.38 is wholly contained in M.39(B8v), it has been omitted here. The variants are given in the apparatus to M.39; the text will be found in the appendix.

39. *B8v Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.5v); P^Z.*

$\tau\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\mu\eta$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\zeta\epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\varsigma$ $\Delta\epsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\sigma\chi\iota\omega\pi\epsilon$
 $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\omicron\eta$ $\tau\epsilon\omega\tau\eta\mu$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\chi$ $\zeta\mu\pi\tau\mu\epsilon\zeta\omega\mu\eta\tau$ $\mu\pi\iota\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$
 $>\chi\epsilon\alpha\chi\iota\tau\epsilon$ $\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\chi\chi\omicron\sigma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon$
 $>\lambda\chi\tau\varsigma\alpha\beta\omicron\chi$ $\epsilon\mu\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\upsilon$ $\tau\eta\rho\omega$ $\mu\pi\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$
 $>\mu\eta\pi\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\chi$ $\eta\alpha\chi$ $\chi\epsilon\eta\alpha\iota$ $\tau\eta\rho\omega$ $\tau\eta\eta\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\upsilon$
 $>\eta\alpha\kappa$ $\epsilon\kappa\omega\alpha\eta\pi\alpha\zeta\tau\kappa$ $\eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omega\omega\tau$ $\eta\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\omega\chi\epsilon$

ΖΕΝΩΑΧΕ ΝCΒΩΝΕ ΕΧΩ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΟΙΠΧΑΧΕ ·
 ΕΠΡΕCΩΝΤ ΝΤΠΕ ΜΝΠΚΑΖ ΠΡΕCΤΑΧΡΟ
 ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC ΜΝΝΕΤΕΝΖΗΤC ΕΚΩΑΝ†ΖΗΚ
 ΓΑΡ ΕΠΕΖΡΗΤΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΧΕΟΥΝ
 ΤΟΟΥ ΕΧΧΟCΕ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΕΟΥΝCΟΜ ΜΠΕΤΝΑΑΛΕ
 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩC ΕΝΑΥ ΕΜΜΝΤΕΡΩΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΚΑΖ·
 ΤΑΜΠΕΡCΟC · ΤΑΝΕΖΡΩΜΑΙΟC· ΤΑΝΕΝΖΗΝΤΟΥ·
 ΤΑΝΕCΚΥΘΟC· ΤΑΝΕΒΡΗΤΤΑΝΟC· ΤΑΜΜΑΥΡΟC·
 ΜΝΝΕCΟΟΩ· ΧΙΝΜΜΟΝ ΟΥΩΑΧΕ Ν
 ΩΟΥΖΕΤΖΩΤC ΠΕΤΕΡΕΤΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟΝ
 ΕΡΟC ΜΠΕΙΜΑ~ ΑΡΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ
 ΜΠΕΙΔΙΩΝ ΠΑΪ ΕΝΤΑCΧΟΟC ΧΕ†ΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΖΕΝΤΑ
 >CΟΜ ΑΥΩ ΖΕΝΤΑΜΝΤΡΜΝΖΗΤ · †ΝΑΒΙ ΝΝΖΕΘ
 >ΝΟC ΤΑΩΩΛ ΝΤΕΥCΟΜ †ΝΑΧΙ ΝΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΕ
 >ΝΗ ΤΗΡC ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΜΑΖ ΝΖΑΛΗΤ ΖΕΝΤΑCΙΧ·
 >ΑΥΩ †ΝΑCΙΤΟΥ ΝΘΕ ΝΖΕΝCΟΟΥΖΕ ΕΑΥΛΟ ΖΑΡΟΟΥ·
 ΕΑCΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΕΑCΕΙ ΕΠΕΙΒΙΟC ΑΥΩ ΑCΧΙ
 ΠΕCΧΗΜΑ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΒΕΠΟΥΧΑΪ ΝΤΜΝΤΡΩΜΕ·
 ΕCΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕΕCΝΑΕΩΕΡΖΑΛ ΜΜΟC ΖΕΝΝΕCΩΑ
 ΧΕ ΝCΟΛ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΑCΟΥΩΩΒ ΝΑC ΖΝΤΕC
 ΜΝΤΧΡΗCΤΟC ΝΟΙΠΧΟΕΙC ΕCΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕΒΩΚ
 >ΠCΑΤΑΝΑC CCHΖ ΓΑΡ ΧΕΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΕΚΝΟΥΤΕ
 >ΠΕΤΕΚΝΑΟΥΩΩΤ ΝΑC ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟC ΜΑΥΑΑC
 >ΠΕΤΕΚΝΑΩΜΩΕ ΝΑC· ΠΕΙΖΡΗΤΟΝ ΝΤΑC
 ΧΙΤC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝΟΜΙΟΝ ΝΕΝΤΑCΖΥ
 ΠΟΓΟΡΕΥΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΖΜΠΕΠΝΑ ΕCΖΥΠΟΒΑΛΕ ΜΜΟ
 ΟΥ ΜΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΖΩC ΡΩΜΕ· ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ
 ΝΤΕΡΕCΑΠΙΛΕ ΕΡΟC ΜΠΕCΚΟΤC ΕΕΡΖΑΛ ΜΜΟC

Variants from M.37:

I.1 ΤΑΟΚΙΜΗ ΔΕ] >
 I.3 ΑCΧΙΤC] ΑΥΧΙΤC

40. FR-BN(Paris 131.6 f.18); PC⁵Δ.

Since the text of M.40 is wholly contained in M.39(B8v), it has been omitted here. The variants are given in the apparatus to M.39; the text will be found in the appendix.

41. B9 Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.6); PH.

ΖΕΝΝΕΨΑΧΕ ΝΚΡΟΨ· ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΕΨΗΨΤΑΥΟΨ
 ΕΠΕΨΤ ΖΜΠΚΩΤ ΝΤΑΡΕΤΗ· ΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΕΨΗΨΩ
 ΡΩ ΕΡΟΨ ΖΜΠΨΟΥΨΟΥ ΜΠΒΙΟΨ · ΖΜΠΤΡΕΨ
 ΧΟΟΨ ΝΑΨ ΧΕΒΩΚ ΠΨΑΤΑΝΑΨ ΑΝΑΓΚΗΤΕ ΕΤΡΕΨ
 ΒΩΚ ΑΥΨ ΕΙΨΖΗΗΤΕ ΕΙΨ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΨ ΑΥΕΙ ΑΥΔΙΑΚΟ
 ΝΕΙ ΝΑΨ·~ ΜΑΡΕΨΡΑΨΕ ΝΨΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ ΝΟΙ
 ΠΕΤΝΑΨΡΟ ΧΕΕΥΝΑΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΝΑΨ ΖΙΤΝΝΑΓΓΕ
 ΛΟΨ ΟΥΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΜ ΕΨΨΑΝΖΚΟ ΝΨ†ΖΤΗΨ ΕΡΟΨ
 ΕΤΜΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ <ΖΕΝ>ΖΕΝΨΒΩ ΝΨΜΜΟ ΑΥΨ ΕΥΨΟΒΕ·
 ΑΥΨ ΕΤΜΤΡΕΝΨΑΝΨ ΖΕΝΖΕΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΨΟΛ· ΑΥΨ
 ΠΕΤΝΑΑΛΕ ΕΧΜΠΤΗΝΖ ΜΠΕΡΠΕ ΜΠΕΡΤΡΕΨΕΙ Ε
 ΠΕΨΤ ΖΜΠΨΙΨΕ ΝΤΕΨΑΡΕΤΗ ΑΛΛΑ ΜΑΡΕΨΚΑΤΑ
 ΦΡΟΝΕΙ ΜΠΕΟΟΥ ΕΤΨΟΥΕΙΤ ΜΠΕΙΚΟΨΜΟΨ ΝΨΨΩ
 ΒΕ ΝΨΑΠΨΑΧΕ ΜΝΝΕΨΠΙΡΑΨΜΟΨ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΨ
 ΝΑΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΝΑΨ ~
 ΑΤΕΤΝΨΩΤΜ ΕΤΒΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΨ ΝΤΑΨΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΕΖΗ
 ΛΙΑΨ ΕΨΕΝΟΕΙΚ ΝΑΨ ΕΨΟΥΨΜ ΖΙΜΟΟΥ ΕΨΨΩ ~
 ΑΤΕΤΝΨΩΤΜ ΕΤΒΕΠΕΝΤΑΨΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ ΕΔΑΝΙΕΛ
 ΕΑΨΒΙ ΝΑΜΒΑΚΟΥΜ ΜΝΠΑΡΙΨΤΟΝ ΕΑΨΧΙ ΜΜΟΨ
 ΨΑΡΟΨ ΕΠΨΗΨ ΝΜΜΟΥΨ ~
 ΑΤΕΤΝΨΩΤΜ ΕΤΒΕΨΨΟΜΝΤ ΝΖΑΓΙΟΨ ΝΘΕ ΝΤΑ
 ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΨ ΒΩΚ ΕΠΕΨΤ ΕΤΕΖΡΨ ΑΨΨΨΜ Μ
 ΠΨΑΖ ΜΠΚΩΖΤ ΖΑΡΟΟΥ ~
 ΑΤΕΤΝΨΩΤΜ ΕΤΒΕΝΕΖΟΟΥ ΝΨΕΝΑΧΕΡΙΜ ΝΘΕ ΝΤΑ
 ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΨ ΜΠΨΟΕΙΨ ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΨΜΟΥΟΥΤ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΖΕΝΤΠΑΡΕΜΒΟΛΗ ΝΝΑΨΨΥΡΙΟΨ ΜΜΝΤΨΜΗΝ
 ΝΤΒΑΟΥΨΟΨ ΝΟΥΟΥΨΗ ΝΟΥΨΤ ~
 ΑΤΕΤΝΨΩΤΜ ΖΙΕΛΙΨΨΑΙΟΨ ΧΕΝΕΡΕΠΤΟΟΥ ΜΕΖ Ν
 ΖΤΟ ΖΙΖΑΡΜΑ ΝΚΩΖΤ ΕΥΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΕΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΨ ~
 ΑΤΕΤΝΨΩΤΜ ΕΤΒΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΨ ΝΤΑΨΟΥΨΝ ΝΝΡΟ
 ΜΠΕΨΤΕΚΟ ΝΤΕΥΨΗ ΑΨΕΝΠΕΤΡΟΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΨ
 ΑΨΠΑΤΑΨΨΕ ΝΖΗΡΨΔΗΨ ΑΨΕΡΒΝΤ ΑΨΜΟΥ·
 ΤΑΨ ΟΝ ΤΕΘΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΕΝΕ ΜΝΠΕΤΜΙΨΕ ΕΧΩΝΠΕ
 ΕΨΨΠΕ ΑΥΟΜΚΕΝ ΕΝΟΝΖ ΝΨΙΝΕΤΨΟΥΒΗΝ·
 ΡΑΨΕΨΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΠΛΑΟΨ ΝΔΙΚΑΨΟΨ ΝΚΟΜΨΟΜ ΖΨΝ[...].

42. B9v Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.6v); $\overline{\text{P}}\Theta$.

ἸΚΣΜΟΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΤΜΙΩΕ ΕΧΩΝ ΕΜΝΠΕΤΝΑ
ΕΩΨΟΥΒΗΝ ΠΕΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΠΕΝΤΑΨΜΟΥ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΔΕ
ΠΕΝΤΑΨΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΕΝΝΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ ΠΑΪ ΟΝ ΕΤ
ΖΙΟΥΝΑΜ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΣΜΜΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΖΑΡΟΝ·
ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΠΟΡΣΝ ΕΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ·
ΠΑΪ ΠΕΟΟΥ ΝΑΨ ΜΝΠΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΝΤΕΖΟΥΨΙΑ ΖΑΘΗ Ν
ΝΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΝΠΕΨΕΙΩΤ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΜΝΠΕ
ΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΨΑΕΝΕΖ ΝΕΝΕΖ ΖΑΜΗΝ ~

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— ··· — ··· — ··· — ··· — ··· —
— ··· — ··· — ··· — ··· — ··· —
>ΠΜΕΖΨΙΣ ΝΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΙΣΟΦΟΣ ΝΟΥΩΤ
>ΑΠΑ ΖΡΟΥΦΟΣ ΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΨΩΤΠ ΤΠΟ
>ΛΙΣ ΕΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΚΑΤΑΜΑΘΑΙΟΣ
>ΕΠΕΖΡΗΤΟΝ ΔΕΠΕ ΠΑΪ ΑΨΩΤΜ ΔΕ ΧΕ
>ΑΥΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΥ ΝΨΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ ΑΨΒΩΚ
>ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΑ ΑΨΚΩ ΝΨΩΨ ΝΝΑ
>ΖΑΡΕΘ ΜΝΝΕΤΝΗΨ ΜΝΝCΑΝΑΪ·

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— ··· — ··· — ··· — ··· — ··· —
†CΩΤΜ ΕΠΖΙΕΡΟΣ ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΕΨΝΕΖCΕ
ΜΜΟΝ ΖΜΠΜΕ ΝΝΕΘΕCΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΨC ΠΑΪ ΕΤΕ
ΟΥΕΝΤΑΨCΨ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΖΑΜΑ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΤΑΓΑ
ΠΗ ΕΤΕΟΥΕΝΤΑΨC ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΨΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟ
ΟΥ ΕΡΟΣ ΕΨΩΠ ΜΠΕΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΤΗΡΨ ΝΤΑΨΑΑΨ
ΜΠΕΨΒΟΛ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΟΥΝΟΥ ΝΟΥΩΤ· ΕΨCΖΑΪ
ΝΑΨ ΖΕΝΤΕΨΨΟΡΠ ΕΝΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ ΕΨΧΩ ΜΜΟC
ΖΙΝΑΪ ΧΕΝΕCΝΗΨ ΕΑΝΕΡΠΕΤΕΝΒΟΛ ΠΡΟC
ΠΕΨΟΕΙΩ <Ν>ΝΑ<ΟΥ>ΟΥΝΟΥ ΖΜΠΖΟ ΖΜΠΖΗΤ ΑΝ·
ΕΨCΟΟΥΝ ΧΕΠΠΨΡΨ ΜΠCΨΜΑ ΟΨΗΝΤΑΨ Μ
ΜΑΨ ΝΟΥΑΨΗ ΝΨΡΟΠ· ΝΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΜΝΤΡΕ
ΖΕΝΖΑΖ ΜΜΑ ~ ΕΨCΖΑΪ ΜΕΝ ΝΝΕΖΡΨΜΑΙ
Ο, C ΧΕΑΪΚΑΑC ΖΑΪΑΤΝ ΖΑΖ ΝCΟΠ ΕΕΙ ΨΑΡΨΤΝ
Α, ΨΩ ΑΨΚΩΛΨ ΜΜΟΪ ΨΑΤΕΝΟΥ ΧΕΚΑC ΕΙΕΨΠΟ
[Ν]ΟΥΚΑΡΠΟC ΝΖΗΤΤΗΨΤΝ ΝΘΕ ΟΝ ΕΤΕΨ

[four leaves are missing from the manuscript BN]

43. A12 Naples I.B. 13, fasc.438 (Zoega 261,f.3); [?].

The text is nearly intact but the upper part is shriveled and darkened. The top external corner with the pagination is lost. See Zoega, *Catalogus*, 618.

†CΩTM EP[OC TENOY]	[ΛACCA ETOMC]
>XENTEPE[4CΩTM ΔE]	[2NMMOYNI0OYE]
>XEAY[ΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟΥ]	ΕΤΩ [XE AINAY]
>NIW[2ANNHC A4A]	EZENOWZE 2M
>NAX[ΩPEI EZPAI]	ΠMA ETMMAY EY
>ETΓAΛIΛ[AIA]	COOYN ET0INP2WB ·
O[.]NTET[...]Y	2NΘAΛACCA · EYNA
[.....]	ΩMC ΩAΠHΪ MTE
OEIΩ Ω[.....]	ΔPAKΩN EYNAΩ
[.....]2N	BOK ΩAΠPPO N
†OYΔAIA MMON	NET2NMMOOY
ΠEXA4 AΛΛA EINA	NCEΩWA MMO4
BOK ETΓAΛIΛAΪA	NCEΩWA NNETHA
BOK EZPAΪ ETΓAΛI	MION · 4NAZE
ΛAΪA NNZEΘNOC	EPOΪ N0ITETPOC
XEMTPPO NABOK	MNANΔPEAC IAK
AN EΠΠOΛEMOC XΩ	KWBOC MNIW
PIC CTPA TEYMA	2ANNHC EYCOBTE
MEPEPEΦΩCTHP	NNEYΩNHY XE
ΠIPE AXNNE4AKTIN	EYNAΩWTE NOY
TAITEΘE ETNABOK	ΩZE NPE40ETPPO
ETΓAΛIΛAΪA XE	ME · ΛOITON †CΩ
EPETAPOLYMOC OY	>TM EP04 XEAYKΩ
BEPAPOXON NTKA	>NCΩ4 NNAZAPEΘ ·
KIA · ΠAΪ NTAC	>AYEI AYOWZE 2NKA
KATECHΪ 2NΘA	

44. A12v Naples I.B. 13, fasc.438 (Zoega 261, f.3v); [?].

Since the text of M.44 is wholly contained in M.45, it has been omitted here. The variants are given in M.45; the text will be found in the appendix.

45. B10 Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.7); P1H.

ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΤΚΑΚΙΑ ΠΑΪ ΝΤΑΥΚΑΠΕΥΗΪ 2N
 ΘΑΛΑCCA ETOMC 2NMMOYNI0OYE ETΩ XE
 AINAY EZENOWZE 2MΠMA ETMMAY EYCOOYN

ΕΤΟΙΝΕΡΩΒ ΖΕΝΘΑΛΑССΑ· ΕΥΝΑΩΜC ΦΑΠΗ
 ΜΠΕΔΡΑΚΩΝ · ΕΥΝΑΕΩΒΩΚ ΦΑΠΕΡΟ ΝΝΕΤ
 ΖΝΜΜΟΟΥ ΝCΕΩΛ ΝΝΕ4ΤΑΜΙΟΝ· 4ΝΑΖΕ
 ΕΡΟΪ ΝCΙΠΕΤΡΟC ΜΝΑΝΔΡΕΑC ΙΑΚΚΩΒΟC ΜΝ
 ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗC ΕΥCΟΒΤΕ ΝΝΕΥΩΝΗΥ ΧΕΕΥΝΑ
 ΩΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΩΖΕ ΝΡΕ4ΘΕΠΡΩΜΕ · ΛΟΙΠΟΝ
 †CΩΤΜ ΕΡΟ4 ΧΕΑ4ΚΩ ΝCΩ4 ΝΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ
 Α4ΕΙ Α4ΟΥΩΖ ΖΕΝΚΑΦΑΡΝΑΟΥΜ ΤΕΤΖΑΤΝΘΑ
 ΛΑССΑ ΖΝΝΤΩ ΝΖΑΒΟΥΛΩΝ ΜΝΝΕΦΘΑΛΕΙΜ
 Α4ΚΩ ΝCΩ4 ΝΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ ΠΤΙΜΕ ΕΤ†ΡΑΝ ΕΠΕΤ
 ΝΑΟΥΩΖ ΜΜΑΥ ΧΕΠΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟC Α4ΚΩ
 ΝCΩ4 ΝΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ· ΕΡΕΠΛΟΓΟC ΤΑΜΟ Μ
 ΜΟΝ ΧΕΑ4ΚΑΠΤΩ ΜΠΛΑΟC ΝCΩ4 Α4ΒΩΚ
 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΕΘΝΟC ΕΩΧΕ ΚΝΑCΩΤΜ ΔΕ ΟΝ
 ΝΚ4Ι ΕΡΟΚ Ω ΠΑΚΡΟΑΤΗC · ΑΡΗΥ ΕΡΕ
 ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙCΤΗC †ΜΑΕΙΝ ΝΑΝ ΕΥΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ
 ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΧΕΑ4ΚΑΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ, ΝCΩ4
 ΠΜΑΝΩΠΕ ΝΝΖΕΒΡΑΙΟC ΝΕΙΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΖΝ
 ΝΕΥΤΩ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΕΜΕΥΩΩΒ ΜΠΒΩ ΜΠΕΥΕΡΗΤ.
 ΖΕΝΟΥCΙΑ ΓΑΡΝΕ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΝΑΪ ΝΤΑ4
 ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΤΟΠΟC ΝΝΕΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟC
 Α4ΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΚΑΦΑΡΝΑΟΥΜ ΠΑΪ ΕΩΛΥΜΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΕΡΟ4 ΧΕΧΩΡΙΟΝ ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗCΕΩC ΤCΩΩΕ
 ΜΠCΟΛCΛ ΜΝΤΕΤΕΙCΩΩΕ ΝΕΝΜΕΡΑΤΕ
 ΝCΑΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΕΤΝΑΩΠΕ ΝΟΥCΩΩΕ ΜΠΛΟ
 ΓΟC ΕΤΡΕ4CΚΑΪ Ν4ΩΛ Ν4ΕΙΡΕ ΝΤΕ4ΜΝΤ
 ΟΥΟΕΙΕ ΝΖΗΤC ΕΤΡΕCΕΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΚΑΡΠΟC
 ΝCΟΛCΛ ΤΑΪ ΕΤΕΡΖΗΒΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΠΕΝΘΕΙ
 ΩΑΖΡΑΪ ΕΤΑΠΟΔΗΜΙΑ ΜΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ ΠΡΩΜΕ
 ΜΠCΟΛCΛ ΖΑΘΗ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΑΠΟΔΗΜΙΑ

Variants of M.44:

1.6 ΖΝΜΜΟΟΥ] + ΝCΕΩΛ ΜΜΟ4

46. B10v Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.7v); $\overline{\Pi\Theta}$.

$\overline{\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\eta\rho\epsilon} \ \overline{\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon} \ \overline{\mu\mu\epsilon\theta\omega\rho\iota\omicron\eta} \ \overline{\eta\zeta\alpha\beta\omicron\upsilon}$
 $\overline{\lambda\omega\eta} \ \overline{\mu\eta\eta\epsilon\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\mu} \ \overline{\eta\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho\zeta\eta\beta\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon} \ \overline{\epsilon\gamma\omega\omicron\omicron\pi}$
 $\overline{\zeta\alpha\tau\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha} \ \overline{\mu\pi\alpha\rho\chi\omega\eta} \ \overline{\eta\alpha\tau\eta\alpha} \ \overline{\pi\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\omega} \ \overline{\mu\pi\epsilon\varsigma}$
 $\overline{\kappa\lambda\alpha\lambda} \ \overline{\epsilon\varsigma\tau\zeta\omicron\omega} \ \overline{\mu\pi\epsilon\varsigma\eta\alpha\zeta\beta} \quad \alpha\omega \ \overline{\gamma\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon}$
 $\overline{\pi\kappa\epsilon\zeta\eta\beta\epsilon} \ \overline{\epsilon\varsigma\omicron} \ \overline{\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma} \ \overline{\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota} \ \overline{\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\pi\rho\omega\mu\epsilon} \ \overline{\pi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\eta\eta\varsigma}$
 $\overline{\pi\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\zeta\iota\kappa\omega\eta} \ \overline{\mu\pi\eta\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon} \ \overline{\eta\chi\omega\iota\beta\epsilon} \ \overline{\eta\tau\epsilon\chi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon}$
 $\overline{\eta\iota\alpha} \ \overline{\eta\chi\omicron\upsilon\omega\omega\tau} \ \overline{\eta\zeta\epsilon\eta\omega\epsilon} \ \overline{\mu\eta\zeta\epsilon\eta\omega\eta\epsilon} \ \overline{\mu\eta\zeta\epsilon\eta}$
 $\overline{\phi\alpha\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha} \ \overline{\eta\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omega\eta} \ \overline{\zeta\epsilon\eta\kappa\epsilon\mu\eta\eta\omega\epsilon} \ \overline{\eta\zeta\omega\beta}$
 $\overline{\eta\alpha\delta\iota\kappa\iota\alpha} \ \overline{\epsilon\chi\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon} \ \overline{\mu\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon} \ \sim \quad \overline{\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma\omicron\epsilon} \ \overline{\eta}$
 $\overline{\eta\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\alpha} \ \overline{\pi\omicron\upsilon\alpha} \ \overline{\eta\eta\epsilon\zeta\beta\eta\upsilon\epsilon} \ \overline{\eta\beta\omicron\tau\epsilon} \ \overline{\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon}$
 $\overline{\mu\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon} \ \overline{\zeta\mu\pi\omega\mu\omega\epsilon} \ \overline{\eta\eta\iota\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\eta} \cdot \quad \overline{\pi\alpha\iota\pi\epsilon}$
 $\overline{\pi\zeta\eta\beta\epsilon} \ \overline{\eta\tau\alpha\chi\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon\pi\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma} \ \overline{\eta\omega\omicron\rho\pi} \cdot \quad \overline{\pi\alpha\iota} \ \overline{\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu}$
 $\overline{\pi\epsilon\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma} \ \overline{\mu\pi\eta\alpha} \ \overline{\omicron\mu\omicron\omicron} \ \overline{\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\lambda\varsigma\omega\lambda\chi} \cdot \quad \alpha\gamma$
 $>\omega\omega \ \overline{\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda} \ \overline{\chi\epsilon\alpha\eta\epsilon\rho\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon} \ \overline{\epsilon\tau\beta\alpha\beta\upsilon\lambda\omega\eta} \ \alpha\gamma\omega \ \overline{\mu}$
 $>\overline{\pi\epsilon\varsigma\chi\iota\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon} \ \overline{\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\eta\kappa\alpha\alpha\varsigma} \ \overline{\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda} \ \overline{\chi\epsilon\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma\pi\lambda\upsilon\gamma\eta}$
 $>\alpha\omega\alpha\iota \cdot \quad \overline{\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\eta} \ \overline{\omicron\eta} \ \overline{\chi\epsilon\mu\eta} \ \overline{\mu\eta\eta\varsigma\omicron\eta\tau\epsilon} \ \overline{\zeta\epsilon\eta\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha}$
 $>\alpha\delta \ \overline{\eta} \ \overline{\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\eta\varsigma\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta} \ \overline{\zeta\mu\pi\mu\alpha} \ \overline{\epsilon\tau\mu\mu\alpha\upsilon} \ \overline{\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon} \ \overline{\mu\pi\epsilon\varsigma}$
 $>\overline{\epsilon\iota} \ \overline{\epsilon\zeta\rho\alpha\iota} \ \overline{\eta\omicron\iota\tau\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron} \ \overline{\eta\tau\omega\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon} \ \overline{\mu\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma} \cdot$
 $\overline{\eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\kappa\alpha\phi\alpha\rho\eta\alpha\omicron\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon} \ \overline{\epsilon\rho\zeta\eta\beta\epsilon} \ \overline{\omega\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota} \ \overline{\eta\omicron\iota}$
 $\overline{\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron} \ \overline{\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\eta} \ \overline{\pi\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma} \ \overline{\epsilon\tau\omicron\eta\zeta} \ \overline{\eta\chi\eta\alpha\zeta\mu\epsilon\varsigma}$
 $\overline{\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda} \ \overline{\zeta\epsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\zeta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\alpha} \ \overline{\mu\pi\kappa\alpha\kappa\epsilon} \ \overline{\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\eta\eta}$
 $\overline{\eta\tau\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\chi\omega\mu\omega\epsilon\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\eta} \ \overline{\eta\chi\pi\epsilon\epsilon\eta\epsilon\pi\zeta\eta}$
 $\overline{\beta\epsilon} \ \overline{\mu\pi\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma} \ \overline{\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\omicron\lambda\varsigma\alpha} \ \overline{\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon} \ \overline{\mu\pi\zeta\iota\epsilon}$
 $>\overline{\rho\omicron\varsigma\alpha\lambda\tau\eta\varsigma} \ \overline{\delta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\delta} \ \overline{\chi\omega\kappa} \ \overline{\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda} \ \overline{\chi\epsilon\pi\prime\iota\mu\epsilon} \ \overline{\eta\alpha}$
 $>\overline{\omega\omega\pi\epsilon} \ \overline{\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\zeta\epsilon} \ \overline{\eta\tau\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\lambda\eta\lambda} \ \overline{\omega\omega\pi\epsilon} \ \overline{\epsilon\zeta\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon}$
 $\overline{\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\varsigma\alpha\iota\alpha\varsigma} \ \overline{\epsilon\rho\mu\eta\tau\epsilon} \ \overline{\zeta\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\alpha} \cdot \quad \overline{\chi\epsilon\alpha\pi\epsilon\mu\kappa\alpha\zeta}$
 $\overline{\eta\zeta\eta\tau} \ \overline{\pi\omega\tau} \ \overline{\mu\eta\tau\lambda\upsilon\pi\eta} \ \overline{\mu\eta\pi\alpha\omega\alpha\zeta\omicron\mu}$
 $\overline{\varsigma\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon} \ \overline{\tau\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon} \ \overline{\epsilon\kappa\alpha\phi\alpha\rho\eta\alpha\omicron\upsilon\mu} \ \overline{\chi\epsilon\tau\varsigma\omega\omega\epsilon}$
 $\overline{\mu\pi\varsigma\omicron\lambda\varsigma\alpha} \ \overline{\tau\alpha\iota} \ \overline{\epsilon\tau\zeta\eta\eta\eta\tau\omicron\omega} \ \overline{\eta\zeta\alpha\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omega\eta} \cdot$
 $\overline{\mu\eta\eta\epsilon\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\mu} \ \overline{\epsilon\tau\epsilon\eta\alpha\iota\eta\epsilon} \ \overline{\mu\pi\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\varsigma} \ \overline{\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda} \ \overline{\zeta\mu}$
 $\overline{\pi\chi\eta\beta\beta\epsilon} \ \overline{\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha} \ \overline{\tau\eta\rho\varsigma} \ \overline{\eta\eta\zeta\epsilon\theta\eta\omicron\varsigma}$
 $\overline{\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\theta\epsilon} \ \overline{\eta\tau\alpha\chi\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma} \ \overline{\eta\omicron\iota\eta\varsigma\alpha\iota\alpha\varsigma} \ \overline{\pi\epsilon\pi\rho\omicron\phi\eta\tau\eta\varsigma}$
 $>\overline{\chi\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota} \ \overline{\eta\omega\omicron\rho\pi} \ \overline{\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma} \ \overline{\omicron\epsilon\pi\eta} \ \overline{\tau\epsilon\chi\omega\rho\alpha} \ \overline{\eta\zeta\alpha\beta\omicron\upsilon}$
 $>\overline{\lambda\omega\eta} \ \overline{\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta} \ \overline{\eta\eta\epsilon\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\mu} \ \overline{\pi\kappa\epsilon\omega\omega\chi\pi}$

47. B11 Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.8r); PK.

>ΕΤΟΥΗ2 ΖΕΝΤΠΑΡΑΛΙΑ ΜΝΠΕΚΡΟ ΜΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗC
>ΤΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΑ ΝΝΖΕΘΝΟC ΠΛΑΟC ΕΤ2ΜΟΟC 2̄Μ
>ΠΚΑΚΕ Α4ΝΑΥ ΕΥΝΟC ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΕΤΩΟΠ ΖΕΝ
>ΤΕΧΩΡΑ ΜΝΑΪΒΕC ΜΠΜΟΥ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Α4ΩΑ ΝΑΥ
ΖΑΒΟΥΛΩΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΩΑΥΖΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΕ ΜΜΟC ΧΕΠ2Α
ΤΕ Η ΠΩΟΡΩΡ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ ΑΩΠΕ Π2ΑΤΕ ΝΤΕΥ
ΩΗ ΝCΑΠΩΜΩΕ ΜΠΕΕΒΟΛ 2̄ΜΠCΗΒΒΕ ΠΑΪ Ν
ΤΑ4ΑΡΧΕΙ ΡΩ ΝΩΟΡΠ Α4ΩΟΡΩΡ ΑΥΩ Α4ΩΕΡ
ΩΩΡ4 ΖΑΘΗ ΝΤΑΠΟΔΗΜΙΑ ΜΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ ΚΑ
ΤΑΘΕ ΝΤΑ4ΧΟΟC ΧΕΤΝΑΩΟΡΩΡ ΝΤΕ4ΧΟ Ν4
>ΩΩΠΕ ΕΥΤΩΡΠ ΧΕΕ4ΕΤΑ2ΕΠΩΜΩΕ ΝΑΛΗ
>ΘΙΝΟΝ ΕΡΑΤ4 ΚΑΤΑΘΕ ΕΤCΗ2 ΧΕΤΝΑΚΩΤ
>ΝΤΕCΚΥΝΗ ΝΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΤΕΝΤΑC2Ε~ ΝΕΦΘΑ
ΛΕΙΜ ΔΕ ΧΕΠΟΥΩΩC ΕΒΟΛ ΑΩΠΕ ΠΟΥΩΩC
ΕΒΟΛ ΝCΑΠΛΑΟC ΝΝΖΕΘΝΟC ΠΑΪ ΝΤΑΝΩ2Ε ΩΗΡΠ
CΗΜΑΝΕ ΜΜΟ4 ΖΕΝΝΕCΜΟΥ Ε4ΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ
>ΟΥΩΩC ΕΒΟΛ ΝΙΑΦΕΤ ΑΥΩ ΜΑΡΕ4ΟΥΩ2 2̄Ν
>ΝΗΪ ΝCΗΜ~ ΝΑΪΝΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ CΝΑΥ ΝΤΑΥ
ΖΩΒC ΜΠΚΩΚΑ2ΗΥ ΜΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ ΕΥΘΩΩΤ ΕΠΑ
ΖΟΥ ΩΑΝΤΟΥΖΩΒC ΜΠΚΩΚΑ2ΗΥ ΜΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ
Α4ΟΥΩ2 ΔΕ ΝCΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ ΖΕΝΚΑΦΑΡΝΑΟΥΜ
ΖΕΝΕΝΤΩ ΝΖΑΒΟΥΛΩΝ~ ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΕΙ ΝΚ
ΝΑΥ ΕΤΑΚΡΙΒΙΑ ΝΝΕΙΛΟΓΟC ΖΕΝΕΝΤΩ
ΠΕΧΑ4 ΝΖΑΒΟΥΛΩΝ ΜΝΝΕΦΘΑΛΕΙΜ
ΕC2Ε ΝΑΩ ΝΤΩ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝCΙΤΕΙΚΑΦΑΡΝΑΟΥΜ
ΝΤΑΚΟΥΩ2 Ν2ΗΤC Ω ΠΑCΩΤΗΡ ΕΤΒΕΟΥ Μ
ΠΕΚΟΥΟΝ2C ΕΒΟΛ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΚΤΑΑΥ ΕΝΤΩ ΜΝ
ΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ΕΩΧΕ ΑΝΟΚΠΕ ΤΑΠΕ ΝΩΝΕ
ΝΚΟΟ2 ΠΕΧΑ4 ΠΑΪ ΕΤΕΡΕΠΚΩΤ ΤΗΡ4 ΩΟΝ4 Ν
>2ΗΤ4 Ε4ΑΥΞΑΝΕ ΕΥΕΡΠΕ Ε4ΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC
ΕΙΜΕ ΟΝ ΧΕΝΤΑΪΟΥΩ2 ΖΕΝΚΑΦΑΡΝΑΟΥΜ ΤΕΤ
ΩΟΟΠ 2̄ΝΤΜΗΤΕ ΜΠΤΩ CΝΑΥ ΧΕΕΙΕΩΕΝ4
ΖΑΒΟΥΛΩΝ ΤΑΤΩΘΕ ΝΤΒΩ ΝΧΙΤ20ΟΥΤ ΕΤ
ΒΩ ΝΧΙΤΝΟΥΤΜ ΝCΕΩΩΠΕ ΝΚΟΙΝΩΝΟC

48. B11v Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.8v); PKA.

ΕΤΕΙΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ ΝΟΥΩΤ ΤΑΩΩΝΗ ΝΝΕΙΒΗΡΕ
 ΜΝΝΕΙΑΣ ΤΑΩΩΠΕ Μ<Π>ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΜΠΝΟΜΟΣ
 ΜΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΝΚΥΡΞ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟΣ
 ΝΘΟΜΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΜΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΤΑΤCΑΒΕΝΕΤ
 ΝΑΟΥΑΖΟΥ ΝCΑΠΤΑΩΕΟΕΙΩ ΕΖΕΤΡΝΕCΖΑΪ ΜΠΝΟ
 ΜΟΣ ΕΝΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΑ ΝΝΕΠΡΟ
 ΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΤΕCΒΩ ΝΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟΣ ΤΑΖΟ[Τ]ΠΟΥ
 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΖΙΤΜΠΑCΝΟΥ ΖΙΠΕCΤΑΥΡΟ[C].
 ΕΥΕΟΟΥ ΝΤΕΤΡΙΑC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΨΑΕΝΕΖ ΝΕΝΕ,2, Ζ[ΑΜ]ΗΝ:~

ΠΜΕΖΜΗΤ ΝΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΑΥΤΑΥΟΥ ΝΟΙΠΕΙCΟΦΟΣ
 >ΠΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΡΟΥΦΟΣ ΠΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΩΩΤ⁴
 >ΤΠΟΛΙC ΕΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΚΑΤΑΜΑΘΘΑΙΟC
 >ΕΠΕΖΗΤΟΝ ΔΕΠΕ ΠΑΪ ΧΙΝΠΕΥΟΕΙΩ ΕΤΜ
 >ΜΑΥ ΑΥΑΡΧΕΙ ΝΟΙC ΕΤΑΩΕΟΕΙΩ ΑΥΩ ΕΧΟΟC
 >ΧΕΜΕΤΑΝΟΪ ΑCΖΩΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΟΙΤΜΝΤΕ
 >ΡΟ ΝΜΠΗΥΕ · ΜΝΝΕΤΝΗΥ ΜΝΝCΑΝΑΪ.

ΑΝΑΥ ΕΠCΟΤΒΕC ΜΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ ΧΕΟΥΖΟΤΕΠΕ ΝΑΩ
 ΝΖΕ ΧΙΝΠΕCΜΟΥΝΚ ΜΠΑΤΟΥΧΡΩ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΕΙΡΕ
 ΝΤΕCΕΡΓΑCΙΑ· ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥCΗΒΕ ΜΝΟΥΜΕΡΕΖ
 ΕΩΑΚΖΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΥΖΑΖΟΤΕ [Μ]ΠΑΤΕCΧΙΤΟΥ ΕΤΟ
 ΟΥC ΕΠΟΛΕΜΕΙ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΟ[Ι]ΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΤΝΑ
 ΑΝΑΥ ΖΩΩC ΕΠΕΘΡΟC ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC ΝΘΕ ΕΩΑCΕΙ
 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕCΡΟΟΥΤ ΧΙΝΤΕCΖΟΥΕΙΤΕ ΜΠΑΤΕCΝΟΥ
 ΧΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΜΠΕCΚΑΡΠΟC.

ΑΝΑΥ ΟΝ ΕΠΟΥΡΟΤ ΜΠΕΚΛΟΜ ΜΝΤΕCΤΕΡΨΙC
 ΧΙΝΕΡΕΠΤΕΧΝΙΤΗΣ ΕΡΖΩΒ ΕΡΟΥ ΜΠΑΤΕ
 ΠΕΤΝΑΦΟΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΤΑΛΟΥ ΕΧΝΤΕCΑΠΕ.
 ΑΝΑΥ ΕΪΩΤΕ ΜΠΕΒΙΩ ΧΕΩΑCΧΙΖΛΟC ΝΑΩ
 ΝΖΕ ΧΙΝΕCΖΝΤΠΕ ΕΤΪ ΕCΖΝΤΜΗΤΡΑ ΜΠΑΗΡ
 ΜΠΑΤΕCΕΙ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΧΜΠΕΧΟΡΤΟC ΕΤΡΕCΒΙΤC
 ΝCΕΠΕΞΑΡΓΑΖΕ ΜΜΟC ΖΜΠΤΙΖΜΕC ΝΟΙΠΑC

4. The «T» in the manuscript is raised and may be from a different hand. The scribe seems to have omitted the letters ΤΠ of ΩΩΤΠ out of haplography.

Variants of M.49:

1.8 ΖΙΠΕCΤΑΥΡΟC] ΖΙΤ̄ΜΠΕCΤΑΥΡΟC

1.9 ΕΥΕΘΟΥ Ν̄ΤΕΤΡΙΑC] ΠΕΘΟΥ Μ̄ΠΕΙΩΤ Μ̄ΝΠΩΗΡΕ Μ̄ΝΠΕΠ̄ΝΑ

1.13 ΤΠΟΛΙC] + ΕCΒΩΛ ΜΠΕΖΡΗΤΟΝ ΕΤΖΜ-

1.14 ΠΑΙ] + ΧΕ

1.17 Μ̄ΝΝCΑΝΑΙ] + Ζ̄ΝΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ · ΖΑΜΗΝ

Variants of M.50:

1.23 ΕΥΖΑΖΟΤΕ] ΕΥΜΕΖ ΝΖΟΤΕ

1.24 ΕΠΟΛΕΜΕΙ Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ] ΕΡΖΩΒ ΝΖΗΤΥ

1.29 ΧΙΝΕΡΕΙΠΤΕΧΝΙΤΗC] ΧΙΝΕCΡ̄ΖΩΒ ΕΡΟΥ Ν̄ΟΙΠΤΕΧΝΙΤΗC

49. *A13 Naples I.B. 13, fasc.438 (Zoega 261,f.1), ΠΠΖ.*

Since the text of M.49 is wholly contained in M.48, it has been omitted here. The variants are given in M.48; the text will be found in the appendix.

50. A13v Naples I.B. 13, fasc.438 (Zoega 261, f.1v); $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{H}}$.

ΓΑC[IA NΘE NOYCH]
 BE MN[OYMEPE2]
 ΕΩΑΚ2Ε ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΥ
 ΜΕ2 · Ν2ΟΤΕ ΜΠΑ
 ΤΕ4ΧΙΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΟΤ4
 ΕΡ2ΩΒ Ν2ΗΤ4 Ν
 ΟΙΠΕΙΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΤ
 ΝΑ ΑΝΑΥ 2Ω
 Ω4 ΕΠΕΘΡΟΘ ΕΤΝΑ
 ΝΟΥ4 ΝΘΕ ΕΩΑ4
 ΕΙ Ε2ΡΑΪ Ε4ΡΟΟΥΤ
 ΧΙΝΤΕ42ΟΥΕΙΤΕ
 ΜΠΑΤΕ4ΝΟΥΧΕ
 Ε2ΡΑΪ ΜΠΕ4ΚΑΡ
 ΠΟC · ΑΝΑΥ ΟΝ
 ΕΠΟΥΡΟΤ ΜΠΕΚ
 ΛΟΜ ΜΝΤΕ4ΤΕΡ
 ΨΙC ΧΙΝΕ4Ρ2ΩΒ
 ΕΡΟ4 ΝΟΙΠΤΕΧΝΙ
 ΤΗC ΜΠΑΤΕΠΕΤ
 ΝΑΦΟΡΕΙ ΜΜΟ4
 ΤΑΛΟ4 ΕΧΝΤΕ4Α
 ΠΕ " ΑΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΙ
 ΩΤΕ ΜΠΕ4ΕΙΩ ΧΕ
 ΩΑCΧΙ2ΛΟΘ ΝΑΩ
 Ν2Ε ΧΙΝΕC2ΝΤΠΕ
 ΑΪΤΕΙ ΕC2ΝΤΜΗΤ

[ΡΑ ΜΠΑΗΡ ΜΠΑΤΕ]
 [CΕΙ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΧΜ]
 ΠΕ[ΧΟΡΤΟC ΕΤΡΕ4ΒΙ]
 [ΤC Ν4ΕΠΕΞΑΡΓΑ]2Ε
 [ΜΜΟC 2ΝΠΤΙ2]Μ4
 ΝΟΙΠΑ4[ΝΕ2ΕΙΩ....]
 [.....ΑΝΑΥ] 2Ω
 Ω4 ΕΠΙΛΟΓΟC Ε4ΟΝ2
 ΝΘΕ ΕΤΕ4†2ΛΟΘ
 ΕΠΜΑΑΧΕ ΝΝΕΤCΩ
 ΤΜ ΧΙΝΤΕ2ΟΥΕΙ
 ΤΕ ΜΠΑΤΕ4ΤΑΩΕ
 ΟΕΙΩ ΜΠΑΤΕ4ΘΩ
 ΑΠ ΜΠΤΙ2Μ4 Μ
 ΠΕ4ΕΙΩ ΝΤΕCΒΩ
 Ν4† ΕΡΩΟΥ ΝΝΕΤ
 ΝΑΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ν2ΗΤΟΥ
 ΝΑΪ ΕΤΩΩΤ 2Η
 Τ4 ΜΠΙΛΟΓΟC ΕΤΟ
 Ν2 ΕΥΩΑΝΧΙ†
 ΠΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΩΑΥΩΩ
 ΕΒΟΛ · ΧΕΑΝΕΚ
 ΩΑΧΕ 2ΛΟΘ 2ΝΡΩΪ
 ΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΡΑΠΕ4
 ΕΪΩ · †CΩΤΜ
 ΕΡΟ4 2ΝΝΕΝΤΑΥΚΑ

(12 leaves missing)

51. A15 Berlin 1606.5; C17.

The text is rather effaced on the recto, especially in the second column. A hole in the middle of the page mutilates the end of lines 12-16 of the first column of the recto and lines 13-15 of the second column of the verso.

Αἰ̅ω̅τε̅μ ON 2̅NN̅ω

ΔΗ ΝΑΝΑΒΑΘΜΟΣ

>ΧΕΠΧΟΕΙC ΑΡΙΠΜΕ

>ΕΥΕ ΝΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΜΝ

>ΤΕCΜΝΤΡΜΡΑΩ

>ΤΗΡC · Αἰ̅ω̅τε̅

ON Αἰ̅ζε̅ ΕΠΡΜΡΑΩ

ΠΑΡΑΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΙC

ΠΕΧC ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC

2ΕΝΡΜΡΑΩ ΜΕΝ

NE ΝΕΝΤΑΝΧΟΟΥ

ΟΥΡΜΡΑΩ ΔΕ Ν

2ΗΤΠΕ ΠΕΝ[CΩΤΗΡ]

ΠΑΡΑΟΥΟ[N ΝΙΜ]

[ΕΙ]ΤΕ 2ΝΤ[ΠΕ]

ΕΙΤΕ 2ΙΧΜΠ[ΚΑ]2

>ΠΕΧΑ9 ΓΑΡ ΧΕΕΙΜΕ

>ΕΒΟΛ Ν2ΗΤ ΧΕΑΝ

ΚΟΥΡΜΡΑΩ ΑΥΩ

†ΘΒΕΙΗΥ 2ΜΠΑ

2ΗΤ ΤΑΡΕ{ΤΕ}ΤΝ2Ε

ΕΥΜΤΟΝ ΝΝΕΤΜ

ΥΥΧΗ · ΠΑἰ̅ ΝΘΕ

>ΝΟΥΕCΟΟΥ ΕΑΥΝΤ9

ΕΚΟΟΝC9 ΑΥΩ Ν

ΘΕ ΝΟΥ2ΙΕΙΒ ΝΒΑΛ

>2ΗΤ ΜΠΕΜΤΟ Ε

>ΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΤ2ΩΩΚΕ

>ΜΜΟ9 Ν9† ΑΝ Ν

>ΤΕCΜΗ ΤΑἰ̅ΤΕ

>ΘΕ ΜΠΕCΟΥΩΝ Ν

>ΡΩ9 2ΜΠΕCΘΒΒΙΟ

>ΑΥCΙ ΜΠΕC2ΑΠ

>ΤΕCΓΕΝΑἰ̅Α ΝΙΜ

>ΠΕΤΝΑΩΤΑΥΟC

ΠΑἰ̅ ΜΑΥΑΑCΠΕ ΠΡΜ

ΡΑΩ ΝΒΑΛ2ΗΤ ΠΑἰ̅

[ΕΥCΑ]2ΟΥ ΜΜΟ9 Μ

ΠΕCΑ2ΟΥ ΕCΩΠ

2ΙCΕ ΝCΝΟC9 ΑΝ

ΕCΚΩ ΝΡΩ9 2ΝΝ

CΩΩ ΝΝΙΟΥΔΑἰ̅

ΜΝΝΑ[ΠΕΙ]ΛΗ Ν2Η

ΡΩΔΗC [ΜΝ]ΤΑΠΟ

ΦΑCΙC ΜΠΜΟΥ Μ

ΠΕCΤΑΥΡΟC ΜΠΙΛΑ

ΤΟC [2ΩC]ΤΕ ΕΧΝ

ΝΑἰ̅ ΝΤΕΠΡΗ ΡΚΑ

ΚΕ ΝΤΕΠΚΑ2 ΚΙΜ

ΝΤΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΠΕ2

ΠΚΑΤΑΠΕΤΑCΜΑ

52. A15v Berlin 1606.5v; C1Δ.

ΤΕΙΝΟΣ ΝΩΠΗΡΕ
 ΠCΩNT ΘΗΡῆ ΠΡΕC
 CΩNT ΚΩ ΝΡΩC
 ΟΥΖΩCΤΕ ΤΜΝΤ
 ΡΜΡΑΩ ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ
 ΝCΕ ΛΑΔΥ ΑΝΤΕ ΤΜΝΤ
 ΡΜΡΑΩ ΝCΑΤΜΝΤ
 ΑΤCΩNT ΜΝΤΜΝΤ
 ΑΤΝΟΥCC ΠΕΙΩΤ
 ΓΑΡ ΜΠΤΗΡC ΠΠΑΝ
 ΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΜΝ
 ΠΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗC ΝΩΗ
 ΡΕ ΝΡΜΡΑΩ ΠΑ[Ι] [Ε]Μ
 ΠΕΝΕΝΝΟΒΕ ΕΩΝΕC
 ΝΟΥCC ΜΠΕΝΕΝΑ
 ΝΟΜΙΑ ΩΤΡΤΩΡC
 Μ[Ο]Ν ΕΙC ΠΚΕΑΠΚΟC
 ΜΟC [C]ΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΙ
 C ΟΥΝΟ[C] Ν]ΟΥΟΕΙΩ
 ΕΤΒΕΝ[Ε]ΝΝΟΒΕ
 CΟΥΟΝΖCΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΝ
 ΡΜΡΑΩ Ε[Τ]ΕCΩΑ
 ΧΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ[ΝΕ Ν]ΕΝ
 ΤΑΥΟΥΕΜΠCΩNT
 ΑΥΝΕΧΤΟΡΓΗ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΕΤΕΜΕ
 ΡΕΝΟΥCC ΝΟCΟΥ

ΕΜΕΡΕΔΙΑΒΟΛΗ
 ΝΧΡΗΜΑ ΟΥΤΕ
 ΜΟΥ ΜΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΕΩ
 ΝΤΕΥΟΡΓΗ ΑΛΛΑ
 ΕΥCΟΡΕΖΤ ΕΥΤΕ
 ΛΗΛ ΝΝΑΥ ΝΙΜ
 ΕΥΡΑΩΕ ΖΝΟΥΝΟC
 ΝΡΑΩΕ ΝΤΕΠΕΠΝΑ
 ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΕΔΥ
 ΠΩΤ ΝΤΟΟΤC Ν
 ΤΕΠΕΙΒΟΥΛΗ Μ
 Π,ΝΟΒΕ ΧΕΕΥΝΑ
 [ΚΛΗ]ΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ Μ
 [ΠΚΑΖ Ν]ΝΡΜΡΑΩ
 ΠΚ[ΑΖ Ν]ΑΓΑΘΟΝ
 ΝΑΤΖΩCΒ ΝΑΤ
 ΤΑΚΟ ΠΚΑΖ ΝΤΕ
 ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ
 ΝΝΔΙΚΑΪΟC ΠΚΑ[Ζ]
 ΕΤΩΟΥΟ ΕΒΟΛ Μ
 ΠΕΡΩΤΕ ΝΛΟΓΙ
 ΚΟΝ ΕΤΕΜΝΚΡΟC
 ΝΖΗΤC ΑΥΩ ΠΕ
 ΒΙΩ ΜΠΝΙΚΟΝ
 ΠΚΑΖ ΜΠΩΝΖ
 ΩΑΕΝΕΖ ΠΑΪΤΕ Ν

53. A16 Paris 131.6.f.42; $\overline{\text{CIE}}$.

A16 and A17 form two consecutive leaves with the text intact but the upper outer corners have been lost and with them the pagination. Porcher («Analyse,» [115]) gives for A16, according to Amélineau, the pagination $\overline{\text{CIE}}-\overline{\text{CIS}}$ (215-216). A17 would then have been paginated 217-218.

ΨΑΡΕΝΡΜΡΑΩ
 ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ Μ
 ΜΟΥ · ΛΟΙΠΟΝ
 †CΩTM ΕΡΟΨ ΧΕ
 >ΝΑΪΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΤ
 >ΖΚΑΕΙΤ ΕΤΟΒΕ Ν
 >ΤΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ
 >ΧΕΝΤΟΟΥ ΝΕΤΝΑ
 >CΕΙ · ΕΨΑΥΖΚΟ
 ΝΑΩ ΝΖΕ ΝΤΔΙΚΑΪ
 ΟCΥΝΗ ΕΨΑΥΧΙ†
 ΠΕ ΜΜΟC ΝΑΩ ΝΖΕ
 ΠΑΪ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΧΕΟΥΤΡΟΦΗ Ν
 CΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ ΑΝΤΕ
 ΑΛΛΑ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΕΖ
 ΚΟ ΝΤCΑΡΞ ΠΟΥΑ
 ΠΟΥΑ ΝΝΖΩΟΝ
 ΕΨΑΥΖΚΟ ΝΤΕΨ
 ΤΡΟΦΗ ΤΑΪΤΕΘΕ
 ΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΝΛΟ
 ΓΙΚΗ ΕΨΩΠΕ CΤΗΚ
 ΑΥΩ CΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΝΟ
 ΒΕ · ΕΨΑCΖΚΟ Ν

ΤΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ
 ΝΤΟC ΤΕ ΤΕCΤΡΟ
 ΦΗ · ΝΑΪΑΤΨ ΔΕ
 ΜΠΕΤΖΚΑΕΙΤ ΕΤΟ
 ΒΕ ΝΤΔΙΚΑΙΟCΥ
 ΝΗ ΤΕΤΡΟΦΗ Ν
 ΤΑCΤΟΨC ΠΚΑ
 ΘΙΚΩΝ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ
 ΝΤΑΨΤΑΜΕΟΟΥ
 ΝΟΙΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥ ΔΕ
 ΠΕ ΤΔΙΚΑΙΟCΥΝΗ
 ΛΝΟΚ †ΝΑΧΟΟC ΟΥ
 ΕΙ ΜΕΝΤΕ ΖΝΝΑΡΕ
 ΤΗ ΕCΤCΑΒΟ Μ
 ΠΚΕCΕΕΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ν
 ΖΗΤC · ΤCΥΝΗΘΙΑ
 ΓΑΡΤΕ ΝΤΕΓΡΑ
 ΦΗ ΕΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΑΡΕ
 ΤΗ ΝΙΜ ΧΕΔΙΚΑΙ
 ΟCΥΝΗ ΝΘΕ ΕΤCΗΖ
 ΧΕΑΟΥΩΝ ΝΑΪ ΝΜ
 ΠΥΛΗ ΝΤΔΙΚΑΪ
 ΟCΥΝΗ ΤΑΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΤΑΟΥΩ

54. A16v Paris 131.6, f.42v; C15.

[N], 2, ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΠΧΟΕΙC
 >ΤΑΪΤΕ ΤΠΥΛΗ Μ̄
 >ΠΧΟΕΙC Ν̄ΔΙΚΑΪΟC
 >ΝΕΤΝΗΥ Ε2ΟΥΝ
 >Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄C · ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ
 †CΩΤΜ ΕΡΟC ΧΕΟΥ
 ΔΙΚΑΪΟCΠΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC
 Ζ̄ΝΝΕC42ΒΗΥΕ ΤΗ
 ΡΟΥ ΖΩCΤΕ ΧΕCΜΕ
 ΝΑΡΕΤΗ ΝΙΜ · ΤΕΙ
 ΔΡΕΤΗCΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΧΕ
 ΤΔΙΚΑΙΟCΥΝΗ Μ̄Ν
 ΛΑΛΥ ΕΡΕΤΕC42ΕΞΙC
 ΩΤ̄ΡΤΩΡ ΝΑ2ΚΟ
 ΜΜΟC ΑΛΛΑ ΕΩΩ
 ΠΕ CΟΥΟΧ Ν̄CΙΘΕΞΙC
 ΕCΔΙΑΚΡΙΝΕ Ν̄ΤΜΗ
 ΤΕ Μ̄ΠΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC
 Μ̄ΝΠΠΕΘΟΥ ΕΙΕ
 ΟΥΝ̄CΟΜ ΜΜΟC Ε2ΚΟ
 ΑΥΩ ΕΕΙΒΕ Ν̄ΤΔΙΚΑΪ
 ΟCΥΝΗ ΝΟΥΩΜ Μ
 ΜΟC ΑΥΩ Ε2ΚΟ Μ̄
 ΜΟC ΠΑΪCΕ ΕCΝΑ
 ΩΩΠΕ ΕΝΑΪΑΤ̄
 ΠΕΤΕC42ΚΑΕΙΤ Μ̄

ΜΟC ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟCΕ
 Μ̄ΜΟC CΕΝΑΤCΙΟC
 Μ̄ΜΟC · Μ̄Π̄ΡΤΡΕ
 ΛΑΛΥCΕ ΜΕΕΥΕ Ν̄C
 CΟΥΤ̄ΝΤΟΟΤC ΕΒΟΛ
 Ζ̄ΝΟΥΑΜΕΛΙΑ ΧΕ
 ΕCΤ̄Μ2ΚΟ Μ̄ΜΟC
 Ν̄ΘΕ Μ̄ΠΟΕΙΚ ΑΥΩ
 Ν̄CΕΙΒΕ Μ̄ΜΟC Ν̄
 ΘΕ Μ̄ΠΜΟΟΥ ΧΕCΕ
 ΝΑΤCΙΟC Μ̄ΜΟC
 ΕΩΩΠΕ ΚΟΥΕΩ
 ΕΝΚΡΑΤΕΥΕ Μ̄ΜΟC
 Ν̄ΚΤ̄Μ2ΚΟ ΑΥΩ
 Ν̄ΚΕΙΒΕ Ν̄ΤΕΓΚΡΑ-
 ΤΙΑ CΕΝΑΤΑΑC ΝΑΚ
 ΑΝ̄ · ΕΚΩΑΝΟΥ
 ΩΩ ΕΝΑ2Κ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΡ
 ΜΟΝΑΧΟC Ν̄ΚΤΜ
 2ΚΟ Ν̄ΚΕΙΒΕ ΝΤΜΝΤ
 ΜΟΝΑΧΟC Ν̄CΕΝΑ
 ΤΑΑC ΝΑΚ ΑΝ̄ ΤΑΪ
 ΤΕΘΕ Ν̄ΤΔΙΚΑΙΟ
 CΥΝΗ ΝΕΤ2ΚΑΕΙΤ
 ΕΤΟΒΕ Ν̄Ν2ΑΠ Μ̄ΜΕ

55. A17 Paris 131.6.f.43; [C1Z].

ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΟΥ
 ΝΕΤΝΑCΕΙ ΝΝΑΓΑ
 ΘΟΝ ΝΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ · ΝΙΜ
 ΟΕΝΕ ΝΑΪ ΝΕΝΜΕΡΑ
 ΤΕ ΝCΑΝΕΤΩΩΤ
 ΕΝΕ2ΒΗΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕCΚΩ
 ΜΜΟΥ ΝΤΟΟΤ4
 ΖΝΟΥΔΙΚΑΙΟΥCΥΝΗ
 †CΩΤΜ ΟΝ ΕΡΟ4 ΖΜ
 ΠΜΕ2ΤΟΥ ΜΜΑΚΑ
 ΡΙCΜΟC · ΧΕΝΑΪΑ
 >ΤΟΥ ΝΝΝΑΗΤ ΧΕ
 >ΝΤΟΥ ΝΕΤΟΥΝΑ
 >ΝΑ ΝΑΥ · ΝΑ ΤΑΡΟΥ
 ΝΑ ΝΑΚ Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ
 ΩΕΝΕ2ΤΗΚ ΤΑΡΟΥ
 ΩΕΝΕ2ΤΗΥ ΖΑΡΟΚ
 [Κ]Ω ΕΒΟΛ ΤΑΡΟΥΚΩ
 [Ν]ΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΑΡΕ
 ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ CΟΥΝ
 ΠΩΙ ΝΤΕCΚΟΛΑCΙC
 ΧΙΝΤΙΜΑ ΜΝΠΩΙ
 ΝΤΕΥΑΠΟΛΑΥCΙC

ΠΩΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΚΝΑΩΙ
 ΜΜΟ4 ΧΙΝΤΙΜΑ
 ΚΝΑCΙΝΕ ΜΜΟ4
 ΖΑΤΕΚ2Η ΖΜΠΚΕΜΑ
 ΠΩΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΚΟΛΑ
 CΙC ΚΑΤΑΘΕ ΕΤΕ4
 CΟΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΚΝΟΒΡΕ
 ΝCΙΠΕΚΡΙΤΗC
 ΠΩΙ ΝΤΟ4 ΝΤΑΝΑ
 ΠΑΥCΙC ΟΥΩΙ ΕΝΑ-
 ΝΟΥCΠΕ ΕCΝΕ2
 ΝΟΥ2 ΕCΤΕΤΩC
 ΕCΠΕΕΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ CΕΝΑ
 ΤΑΑ4 ΕΚΟΥΝΤΤΗΥ
 ΤΝ · ΝΑΪΑΤΟΥ Ν
 ΝΝΑΗΤ ΧΕΝΤΟΥ
 ΝΕΤΟΥΝΑΝΑ ΝΑΥ
 ΜΠΝΑ ΓΑΡ ΧΙCΥ
 ΝΗΓΟΡΟC ΑΝ ΕCΟΠ
 CΠ ΕΧΩ4 ΑΛΛΑ
 ΠΝΑ ΩΑCΩΟΥΩΟΥ
 ΜΜΟ4 ΕΧΝΤΕΚΡΙ
 CΙC ΚΑΤΑΘΕ ΕΤCΗ2
 ΝΑΪ ΜΕΝ CΕCΜΟΝΤ
 ΑΝ ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ ·

56. A17v Paris 131.6, f.43v; [C1H]

ΠΛΗΝ ΠΕΤΕΩΦΕ
 ΠΕ ΕΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ Ν
 ΣΑΒΕ ΚΑΤΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΕΤΜΤΡΕΦΛΑΑΥ
 ΝΖΩΒ ΑΧΝΔΙΑ
 ΚΡΗCIC ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕ
 ΤΕCΗΑΑΑC ΕΤΡΕC
 ΑΑ{Α}C ΚΑΤΑΠΟΥΕ2
 CΑ2ΝΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ†ΝΑΥ ΕCΑ-
 ΟΥΛ ΕΑCΤΟC ΕΒΟΛ
 ΧΕΜΠΕCΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΑ
 ΜΑΛΗΚ ΚΑΤΑΠΟΥ
 Ε2CΑ2ΝΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΑΧΑΑΒ ΟΝ ΖΙΝΑΪ ΧΕ
 ΑCΜΝΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ
 ΜΝΠΩΗΡΕ Ν2ΑΔΕΡ
 ΑCΚΑΑC ΕΒΟΛ ΑC
 ΒΩΚ ΕΤΒΕΠΑΪ ΑΥ
 † ΝΤΕCΨΥΧΗ
 ΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΩC ΝΑΪ
 ΑΤCΘΕ ΜΠΕΤΝΑ
 ΖΑΡΕ2 ΕΠΟΥΕ2CΑ2ΝΕ
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝΖΩΒ
 ΝΙΜ ΧΕΠΑΪ ΠΕΤΕΙ

ΡΕ ΜΠΝΑ ΖΝΟΥΔΙ
 ΚΑΙΟCΥΝΗ ΚΑΤΑ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΚΑ
 ΤΑ ΡΩΜΕ ΑΝ ΧΕΕΡΕ
 ΠΕCΒΕΚΕ ΝΑΩΩΠΕ
 ΕCΩΗΠ · ΜΑΡΕΝ
 ΖΙΤΟΟΤΝ ΟΥΝ ΕΠΜΕ2
 CΟΟΥ ΜΜΑΚΑΡΙC
 ΜΟC · CΩΤΜ ΟΝ
 ΕΠΕΙCΩΤΗΡ ΝΑ
 ΓΑΘΟC ΕCΤCΑΒΟ Ν
 ΝΕCΜΑΘΗΤΗC ·
 ΕΤCΙΜΜΙΩΕ ΟΥΒΕ
 ΝΕΤ2ΗΠ ΜΠ2ΗΤ
 ΜΝΤCΙΝΡΠΟΛΕ
 ΜΟC ΜΝΠΝΟΥC ΕC
 ΤCΑΒΟ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΝ
 ΤΩΛΜ ΜΠ2ΗΤ
 ΖΡΑΪ ΖΜΠΟΥΟΠ
 ΑΥΩ ΠΧΩ2Μ Μ
 ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΖΡΑΪ ΖΜ
 ΠΤΒΒΟ ΕΑCΚΩ
 Ε2ΡΑΪ ΝΟΥΑΓΩΝ
 ΕCΩΩΛ2 ΝΟΥC
 ΓΑΜΜΑ ΕCΩΩΝΤ

57. A18 Paris 131.5.f.41; $\overline{\text{C10}}$.

This leaf is dark and very difficult to read. Portions have been washed out or effaced. It is also mutilated by three holes in the external column. The pagination is readable on the verso. See Porcher, «Analyse,» [77-78].

ΝΟΥΚΛΟΜ ΝΩΝ $\bar{2}$
 ΕΥΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΒΡΑ
 ΒΙΟΝ ΝΟΥΧΑΙ ΕΤΕ
 ΘΕΩΡΙΑ ΜΠΕΙΠΡΟ
 ΣΩΠΟΝ ΝΑ{2}ΟΡΑ
 ΤΟΝ ΠΤΑΙΟ[ΠΕ]
 ΠΕΚΛΗΡΟC ΝΤΜΝΤ
 Ω[ΗΡΕ] ΠΧΙCΕ ΜΝ
 [.]Α[.....] ΝΤΜΝ
 ΤΕΡΟ [ΝΜΠ]ΗΥΕ ΧΕ
 ΚΑC ΕΥΝΑ[ΕΥΦ]ΡΑ
 ΝΕ $\bar{2}$ ΝΝΕΧ[ΑΡΙC]Μ[Α]
 ΝΤΜΝΤ[....]Α, CΥ
 ΝCΕ†Ν[.....]Υ
 ΕΠ2Ι[.....]
 ΡΟΝ[....]Ν, ΩΝ2
 ΩΑ[ΕΝΕ2] ΑΧΝ2ΙCΕ
 ΓΑΡ ΜΝΑΝΑΠΑΥ
 [C]ΙC ΝΘΕ Ε†CΩΤΜ
 2, Ν, 2Α[2] ΜΜΑ $\bar{2}$ ΝΤΕ
 ΓΡΑ[Φ]Η ΕΠCΩΤΗΡ
 ΕCΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ
 Β[Ω]Κ Ε2ΟΥΝ 2ΙΤΝ

ΤΠΥ[ΛΗ ΕΤΟ]ΗΥ
 ΧΕCΘΗ, Υ, [ΑΥΩ] C2 $\bar{X}$
 2ΩΧ ΝΟ[ΙΤ]Ε2ΙΗ
 ΕΤΧΙΜΟΕΙΤ Ε2Ο[ΥΝ]
 ΕΠΩΝ2 Π[2ΙΕ]Ρ[ΟC]
 ΝΑΠΟCΤ, Ο, [ΛΟC ΠΑΥΛΟC]
 C2ΑΙ 2[Ν2ΕΒΡΑΙΟΥC]
 ΟΥΝΤΑΝ [ΜΜΑΥ]
 >ΜΠΙΜΗΗΩ[Ε] Μ
 >ΜΝΤΡΕ ΕΤΚΗ ΝΑΝ
 [>]Ε2ΡΑΙ ΕΑΝΚΩ Ν
 [>]CΩΝ ΜΜΝΤΧΑ
 >CΙ2ΗΤ ΝΙΜ ΑΥΩ
 >ΠΝΟΒΕ ΕΤΑ2ΕΡΑΤ4
 >ΕΡΟΝ · ΜΑΡΕΝΠΩΤ
 $\bar{2}$ ΝΟΥ2ΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ
 ΕΠΑΓΩΝ ΕΤΚΗ
 ΝΑΝ Ε2ΡΑΙ · ΠΑΛΙ
 Ν ΟΝ 4C2ΑΙ ΝΑΚ $\bar{2}$ Ν
 ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟC Ω ΠΑ
 ΚΡΟΑΤΗC ΕΤΡΕΚ
 ΩΠ ΝΤΤΑΛΑΙ[ΠΩ]
 ΡΙΑ ΜΠΟΥΟ ΟΕ[...], Κ,
 ΩΕΠ Ν[...]ΝΔΥΝΟC

58. A18v Paris 131.5.f.41v; C^K.

MN[...]H NPOEIC
 MΠΩ,[λ] ΠΕΧΑÇ
 ΓΑΡ ΧΕΝΖΙΣΕ ΜΠΙΟΥ
 ΟΕΙΩ, ΤΕΝΟΥ ΜΠΩΑ
 [λ]N ΜΠ,ΕΟΟΥ ΕΤΝΑ
 [σ]ωλπ Ε]ΡΟ,N †CΩΤΜ
 [ΟΝ ΕΡΟÇ ΤΕΝΟ]Υ ΖΜ
 [ΠΜΕ2CΟΟ]Υ ΜΜΑ
 ΚΑΡΙCΜΟC · ΧΕΝΑΪ
 ΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ
 >ΖΜΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΧΕΝ
 >ΤΟΟΥ ΝΕΤΟΥΝΑΝΑΥ
 >ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ · ΑΪΩΙ
 ΝΕ ΧΕΠΕΟΥΟΠ ΕΤΕ
 ΡΕΠΖΗΤ ΝΝΕΤΝΑ
 ΝΑΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ
 ΟΥΟΠ ΝΖΗΤΪ ΑΪΕΙ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΝΕΙΑΡΧΑΙΟC
 ΝΡΜNCOEIT ΧΙΝ
 ΠΩΟΡΠ ΝΡΩΜΕ
 ΑΔΑΜ ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ
 [NΤ]ΑÇΕΨΟΜΟΜ
 [...]ΠΜΕΤΕÇ CMH
 [...]ΤΑ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΩΠΗ

ΡΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΥΕΙΩΡ2
 ΜΠΕ[IN]Ε ΜΠΕΟΟΥ ·
 ΑΪCΩΤΜ ΕΙΑΚΩΒ ·
 ΕÇΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕΑΪ
 ΝΑΥ ΕΠΧΟΕΙC ΑCΟΥ
 ΧΑΪ ΝΟΙΤΑΨΥΧΗ
 ΑΪΚΤΟΪ ΟΝ ΑΙCΩΤΜ
 ΕΡΟÇ ΧΕΝΤΕΡΕÇΑ
 ΑΤ ΝΟΙΠΕΙΝΕ Μ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΑΪCΩΤΜ ΕΠΝΟC ΝΑΡ
 ΧΗΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC
 ΜΩ[Υ]CHC ΕÇΑΪΤΕΙ
 ΝΝΑΥ ΕΠΖΟ ΜΠΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΜΝΕÇΕΨΟΜ
 ΟΟΜ ΕΝΑΥ ΠΕΧΑÇ
 ΓΑΡ ΝΑÇ ΧΕΝΝΕΡΩ
 ΜΕ ΝΑΥ ΕΠΑΖΟ ΝÇ
 ΩΝ2 · ΑΪΝΑΥ ΟΝ
 ΕΖΗΛΙΑC ΕΡΕΠΕ
 ΠΝΑ ΕΤΨΟΟΜΕ
 ΝΑΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΜΜΟÇ
 ΠΑΪ ΕΤΕΡΕΠΕΠΝΑ
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΖΗΤÇ
 ΤΕΠΠΝΟΗ ΝΛΕΠΤΗ

(x leaves missing)

60. B3v Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.10v); [?]

ΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΠΩΡΠ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΑΔΑΜ ΑΦΩΠΕ
 ΕΥΨΥΧΗ ΕCΟΝ2 Π2ΑΕ ΔΕ ΝΑΔΑΜ ΕΥΠΝΑ Ε4
 ΤΑΝ2Ο· ΑΜΟΥ ΝΑΪ Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΧΝΑΒΕΛ
 ΠΕΝΤΑΥΠΕ2ΤΠΕ4CΝΟ4 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΒΕΟΥΚΩ2 ΜΝ
 ΟΥΘΥCΙΑ ΠΑΪ ΝΤΑΧΟΚ4 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΙΠΕΝΤΑ4
 ΧΕΚΠΝΟΜΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΜΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC Ε4ΧΩ Μ
 ΜΟC ΧΕΜΝΠΕCΝΟ4 ΜΠΟΩΩΩ Ε4ΩΑΧΕ Ε2ΟΥΕ
 ΠΑΑΒΕΛ ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΕΝΩC ΧΕΠΡΩΜΕ
 ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟC· ΑΥΩ Α4ΧΟΟC ΟΝ ΝΟΙΠΑΥΛΟC ΧΕ
 ΠΜΕCΙΤΗC ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΠΡΩΜΕ
 ΠΕ ΧCΙC ΠΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΑ4 ΝCΩΤΕ 2ΑΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ·
 ΑΥΠΕΕΝΕΕΝΩΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΜΤΡΕ4ΝΑΥ ΕΠΜΟΥ
 ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕΡΕΠΕ4ΠΩΩΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΩΑΤΠΕ ΩΑΝ
 ΤΕ4ΧΟΚ4 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΙΠΕΤΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΝΟΜΟC
 ΜΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC Ν4ΠΕΕΝΕΠΚΟCΜΟC ΕΒΟΛ
 2ΜΠΚΑΚΕ Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΜΠΤΑ
 ΚΟ ΜΠΜΟΥ Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΥΜΝΤΑΤΤΑΚΟ ΜΝΠΩΝ2
 ΩΑΕΝΕ2 ΑΝΩ2Ε ΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΚΙΒΟΥ
 ΤΟC ΕΠΟΥΧΑΪ ΜΠΕ4ΗΪ Α4ΑΑC ΝΟΥΑ2ΜΕ CΝΤΕ
 2ΙΩΟΜΤΕ ΕCΧΗ2 ΝΑΜΡΗ2Ε ΕΡΕΠΕCΡΟ 2ΙΠΕC
 CΠΙΡ ΕCΟ ΝΩΜΤΩΕ 2ΙΤΑΪΟΥ ΜΜΑ2Ε 2ΙΜΑΑΒ·
 ΕCΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΥΜΑ2Ε ΕΤΠΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΕC
 ΩΑΑΤ ΟΝΠΕ ΝΟΙΤΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΩΑΝΤΕ4ΕΙ Ν4ΧΟΚC
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΙΠΛΟΓΟC ΕΤΟΝ2 ΕΑ4ΚΩΤ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗ
 CΙΑ ΕΤΕΤΑΪΤΕ ΤΕ4CΑΡΞ Α4ΚΑΠΡΟ 2ΙΠΕC CΠΙΡ·
 ΕΤΕΤΑΪΤΕ ΤΕΩCΝΛΟΓΗ ΕΤ2ΜΠΕ4CΠΙΡ
 Α4ΑΑC ΝΩΜΤΩΕ ΜΜΑ2Ε ΝΩΙΗ ΕΤΕΤΑΪΤΕ
 ΤΠΙCΤΙC ΝΤΕΤΡΙΑC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΤΑΪΟΥ Μ
 ΜΑ2Ε ΝΟΥΩΩC ΕΤΕΤΑΪΤΕ ΤΠΕΝΤΗΚΟCΤΗ
 ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΤΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ ΝΚΑΝΟΒΕ ΕΒΟΛ·

(x leaves missing)

61. A19 Vienna K9219; [?].

This leaf is damaged in its upper portion. The top margin is mutilated and the pagination gone. A tear in the upper middle part has caused the disappearance of some letters of the first four lines of the inner column on the recto and the verso.

ΤΟC ΧΕΜ[.....]
 ΖΕΙΗ ΑΛΛΑ Χ[...]
 ΝΤ42ΕΙΗ Ε20[ΥΝ]
 ΕΡΟ4 ΕΤΕΤΑΙΤ[Ε]
 ΤΕΓΝΩCΙC 2̄ΝΟΥ
 ΜΕΡΟC ΝΤΑΥΤΑ
 ΑC ΜΠΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ
 ΪΩΤΑ Μ̄ΝΚΕΡΑΙΑ
 ΝΤΠΕ Μ̄ΜΟ4 ΑΥΩ
 ΟΝ Μ̄ΝΟΥΟΝ ΖΙ
 ΠΕCΗΤ Μ̄ΜΟ4 ΟΥ
 ΤΕ Μ̄ΝΠΛΑΓΙΑ
 ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΖΑΠΛΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΝΑCΥΝΘΗ
 ΤΟΝ ΠΑΙ' Ε΄ΤΝΑ
 ΤΟΛΜΑ ΤΑΧΟΟC
 ΕΡΟ4 ΧΕΠΡΑΝ Μ̄
 ΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧC
 ΠΕ ΠΑΙ' ΕΤΕΡΕΤΠΕ
 Μ̄ΝΠΚΑ2 ΝΑCΙ
 ΝΕ Ν̄4Τ̄ΜC{Μ}Ι
 ΝΕ Ν̄ΤΟ4
 †CΩΤΜ ΟΝ ΕΡΟ4
 ΧΕΠΕΤΝΑΒΩΛ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΥΕ΄Ι ΝΝΕΙ
 ΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΕΤCΟΒ̄Κ
 Ν̄4†CΒΩ Ν̄ΝΡΩ

Μ̄Ε, Ν̄†2Ε CΕΝΑΜΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΕΡΟ4 ΧΕΠΕΛΑ
 ΧΙCΤΟC Ν̄ΤΜ̄ΝΤΕ
 ΡΟ Ν̄ΜΠΗΥΕ · ΠΕΤ
 ΝΑ<Α>ΑΥ ΔΕ Ν̄4†CΒΩ
 Ν̄ΖΗΤΟΥ CΕΝΑ
 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟ4 ΧΕ
 ΠΝΟC 2̄ΝΤΜ̄Ν
 ΤΕΡΟ Ν̄ΜΠΗΥΕ÷
 ΟΥCΕ ΠΕ†ΝΑΧΟ
 Ο4 ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ Α
 ΡΗΥ ΕΡΕ2ΕΝΝΟC
 ΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ Μ̄Ν
 ΖΕΝΚΟΥ΄Ι ΩΟΟΠ
 ΤΕΤ̄ΝCΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ
 ΟῩΝΖΕΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ
 ΕΥΗΠ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ÷
 ΟῩΝΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΥΗΠ
 ΕΝΡΩΜΕ .
 †CΩΤΜ Ο,Ν Ε,ΡΟ4
 >ΧΕ†ΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟC
 >ΝΗΤΝ ΧΕΕCΩΑΝ
 >Τ̄Μ̄Ρ2ΟΥΟ Ν̄ΟΙΤΕ
 >Τ̄ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟCΥΝΗ
 >Ε2ΟΥΕ ΤΑΝΕΓΡΑΜ
 >ΜΑΤΕΥC Μ̄ΝΝΕ
 >ΦΑΡΙCCAΙΟC Ν̄ΝΕΤΝ

62. A19v Vienna K9219v; [?].

ΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΜΝ
 ΤΕΡΟ ΝΜΠΗΥΕ ·
 ΑΡΗΥ ΟΝ ΟΥΝΔΙΚΑΙ
 ΟΣΥΝΗ ΡΖΟΥΟ ΠΑ
 ΡΑΟΥΟΝ ΟΥΚΟΥΪ
 ΤΕ ΤΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ
 ΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΝΟΜΟC
 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΝΑ<α>ΑC
 4ΝΑΩΝ2 Ν2ΗΤC
 ΠΕΧΕ ΠΖΙΕΡΟC ΝΑ
 ΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΤΔΙΚΑΪ
 ΟCΥΝΗ ΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ
 ΤΠΙCΤΙC ΟΥΝΤΑC
 ΜΜΑΥ ΜΠΕΡΗΤ
 ΝΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΜ
 ΠΗΥΕ ΜΑΡΕΠΕ
 ΦΑΡΙCCAΙΟC CΒΒΕ
 Τ,C,[α]ΡΞ ΝΤΕ4ΑΚΡΟ
 ΒΥCΤ[Ι]Α ΚΑΤΑΤ,ΔΙ
 ΚΑΪ[ΟCΥ]ΝΗ Μ[Π],ΝΟ,
 Μ,Ο,[C Ν],Τ,ΚΡΖΟΥΟ ,Ν,
 ΤΟΚ ΝΚCΒΒΕ Μ
 ΠΕΚ2ΗΤ ΝΚ4Ι Μ
 Π2ΒC ΝΤΜΝΤΑ
 ΡΙΟC ΕΒΟΛ Ν2ΗΤ4
 ΧΕΕΚΕΧΙΟΡΟC ΖΜ
 ΠΛΟΓΟC ΠΑΪ ΕΤ†
 ΝΝΕΨΥΧΗ ΜΠΑΡ
 ΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΕΤΡΕ4

[...],Π,ΟC ΕΠΩΝ2
 [ΜΑΡΕ],Π,ΕΓΡΑΜΜΑ
 [ΤΕΥ]C ΜΝΠΕΦΑ
 [ΡΙ],C,CAΙΟC ΖΑΡΕ2 ΕΠCΑΒ
 ΒΑΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ
 ΤΔΙΚΑΙΟCΥΝΗ
 ΜΠΝΟΜΟC ΝΤΕ
 [Π]ΜΑΘΗΤΗC Μ
 ΠΕΙΩΗΡΕ ΝΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ν
 ΝΕ2ΒΗΥΕ ΜΠΕΙ
 CΟΟΥ ΝΖΟΥΟΥ ΠΖΩΒ
 ΕΤΕΡΟΚ ΖΜΠΕΙΒΙ
 ΟC ΝΖΙCΕ ΤΕΙΧΠ
 CΟ ΝΤΑ42ΙCΕ Ν2Η
 ΤC ΝCΙΠΕΝCΩ
 ΤΗΡ Α42ΜΟΟC ΖΙ
 ΟΥΝΑΜ ΜΠΕ4ΕΙ
 ΩΤ ΜΠΕΙCΟΟΥ Ν
 ΖΟΥΟΥ ΝΤΑΥΟΥΕΙ
 ΝΕ ΖΑΘΕ ΜΠΕ4ΩΙ
 ΒΕ ΧΕΕΚΝΑΜ
 ΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΚ ΖΝ
 ΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΝ
 ΝCΑΠΕΙΒΙΟC
 ΠΩΑΧΕ ΟΩ ΝΑΜΕ
 ΡΑΤΕ ΤΕΧΗΡΑ ΘΕ
 ΠΗ Ε†2ΒCΩ ΖΙ
 ΩΩC · ΜΑΡΕΝ

63. B12 Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.9): [?].

ΜΑΡΕΝΚΤΟΝ ΝΤΕΝΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΣΠΟΥΔΗ ΝΤΕΤΝΑΓΑΠ[Η]
 ΧΕΤΕΤΕΝΚΟΙΝΩΝΕΙ ΕΝΕΧΡΙΑ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ
 ΝΕCΝΗΥ ΑΠΕΚΡΙΤΗC ΖΜΟΟC ΕΚΡΙΝΕ ΝΝ2ΕΘΝΟC
 ΑΠΩΩC ΕΙ ΕΠΩΡΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕ4Ο2Ε
 ΑΠΛΑΟC ΤΗΡ4 ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑ ΒΩΚ ΝCΑΟΥΝΑΜ
 Α42ΚΟ ΓΑΡ ΑΤΕΤΝΤΜΜΟ4 . Α4ΕΙΒΕ ΑΤΕΤΝΤCΟ4
 ΝΕ4ΚΗΚΑ2ΗΥ ΑΤΕΤΝΤ2ΙΩΩ4
 ΝΙΜ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΕΝ4ΝΑΟΥΩΜ ΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΤΝΘΕΙΚ
 ΠΚΑΡΠΟC ΝΝΕΤΝ2ΙCΕ· ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΕΝ4CΗΥ
 ΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΗΡΠ ΝΤΕΤΕΝΒΩ ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ·
 ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΕΜΠΕΤΕ4ΝΑ2ΒΕ ΖΜΟΜ ΖΜΠCΟΡΤ ΝΝΕΤΝ
 Ε2ΙΕΙΒ· ΝΑΪΑΤΤΗΥΤΝ ΠΛΑΟC ΝΨΟΥΜΕΡΙΤ4·
 ΜΠΕΡΤΡΕΝ2ΗΚΕΘΕ ΜΠΛΑΟC CΩΤΜ ΝCΕΕΜΚΑ2 Ν
 ΖΗΤ ΧΕΜΝΤΑΥ Ε†· ΤΕΤΝΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΩ
 ΤΝ ΟΥΝΟCΤΕ ΕΜΝΤCΩΙ· ΝΤΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ CΩΤΠ
 ΝΝ2ΗΚΕ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC ΝΡΜΜΑΟ ΖΕΝΤΠΙCΤΙC
 ΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟC ΝΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΚΑΤΑΠΩΑΧΕ ΜΠΑ
 ΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΙΑΚΩΒΟC ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΩΝ
 ΖΕΝΝΑΡΧΑΙΟC ΕΤΑΜΙΕΤΕCΚΥΝΗ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑ4ΧΟ
 ΟC ΑΝ ΧΕΜΑΡΕΥ†ΝΟΥΒ ΖΙ2ΑΤ ΖΙΕΝΕ ΜΜΕ ΕΠΕC
 ΚΑΤΑCΚΕΥΗ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΕΤΕΝΑΪΝΕ ΝΕΚΤΗΜΑ Μ
 ΠΡΜΜΑΟ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΪCΩΤΜ ΟΝ ΧΕΧΗΘΕ ΖΙΩΝC
 ΖΙΚΟΚΚΟC ΖΙΒΩΝΒΑΜΠΕ ΝΑΪ ΝΤΑΥΤΑΜΙΕΝ
 ΒΩ2Ν ΕΒΟΛ Ν2ΗΤΟΥ ΑΥΕΡ2ΑΪΒΕC ΕΤΕCΚΗΝΗ
 ΤΗΡC· ΤΑΪΤΕΘΕ ΖΩΤΤΗΥΤΝ ΖΟΪΝΕ ΑΥΕΙ
 ΝΕ ΝΘΒCΩ ΝΝΕΙ2ΒΗΥΕ ΖΕΝΟΥΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ
 ΖΟΪΝΕ ΖΕΝΟΥΩΙ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΑΥ† ΝΤΕΥCΠΟΥΔΗ·
 ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΕΑΥ† ΝΤΙΟΠΕ ΝΝΕΥCΙΧ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΕΡΕ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΥ ΜΠΩΝ2 ΩΑΕΝΕ2 ΝΤΟΥ
 ΙΟ ΝΤΕΥΑΓΑΠΗ ΖΙΤΝΙC ΠΕΧC ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΠΑΪ
 ΠΕΟΟΥ ΝΑ4 ΜΝΠΕ4ΕΙΩΤ ΝΑΓΑΘΟC ΜΝΠΕΠΝΑ
 ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΩΑΕΝΕ2 ΝΕΝΕ2 ΖΑΜΗΝ~

Variants of M.65: 1.1 ΝΤΕΝΝΑΥ] Τ[ΕΝΝΑΥ]

1.8 ΠΕΤΕΝ4ΝΑΟΥΩΜ] ΠΕΤΕΝ4ΟΥΩΜ

Variants of M.66: 1.24 ΑΥΕΡ2ΑΪΒΕC] ΑΥΡCΚΕΠΗ

1.30 ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC] ΕΒΟΛ

1.32 ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ] Ḣ[ΡΕΤΑ]Ν20 ΑΥΩ Ḣ[2]ΟΜΟΟΥCΙΟΝ ΤΕ[Ν]ΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ
 ,N,IM ΘΑΕΝΕ2 ΖΑΜΗΝ

64. B12v Naples I.B. 12, fasc.437 (Zoega 260, f.9v); [?].

>CABBATIKH<

[Μ]ΑΡΕΠΡΕCΝΟΥC CΩΤḢ ḢCCTΩΤ. ḢΤΕΠΡΕC
 CΩNT CΩΤḢ ΝCΕΡ2ΟΤΕ ḢCΑ2ΩΩC ΕΒΟΛ ḢΤΟΡΓΗ.
 ΑΥΩ ḢCΚΩ ḢCΩC ḢΠCΩNT. ΜΑΡΕCΩΙ
 ΝΕ ḢCΑΤΙΡΗΝΗ ḢCΠΩΤ ḢCΩC ΧΕΤΕΚΡΙCΙC
 ΜḢΠCΥΝ2ΕΔΡΙΟΝ ΜḢΤΓΕΕΝΑ ΝCΑΤΕ ΝΕΤΩΟ
 ΟΠ ḢΠΡΕCΝΟΥC. ΤΕΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΔΕ Ḣ
 ΝΤΜḢΤΩΗΡΕ ΜḢΤΜḢΤCΟΝ ΕΠΕΧCΠΕ ΠΕΡΗΤ Ḣ
 ΠΡΕCΕΡΕΙΡΗΝΗ. ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥḢΟΥΑ ΝΑΧΟ
 ΟC ΝΑΪ ΧΕΤCΑΒΟΪ ΕΤΝΟΥΝΕ ḢΠΝΟΥC ΑΥΩ
 Τ{Π}ΕΡΙΖΑ ḢΤΟΡΓΗ ΤΑCΑ2ΩΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ ḢΜΟC.
 CΩΤḢ ΑΝΟΚ †ΝΑΤΑΜΟΚ.
 ΟΥΝΟΥΝΕ ḢΠΙΚΡΙΑΠΕ ΠΚΩ2 ΕC†ΟΥΩ Ε2ΡΑΪ ḢΟΥ
 ΧΟΛΗ ΕΡΕΟΥΜΗΗΘΕ CΟΟC ΕΒΟΛ Ν2ΗΤC.
 ΕΒΟΛ 2ḢΠΚΩ2 ΕΩΑΡΕΠΜΟCΤΕ ΩΩΠΕ.
 ΕΒΟΛ 2ḢΠΜΟCΤΕ Π†ΤΩΝ ΜḢΠΕΦΘΟΝΟC.
 ΟΥΟΡΓΗ ΜḢΟΥCΩNT ΟΥΝΟΥC ΕCΜΗΝ ΕΒΟΛ.
 2ḢΠΝΟΥC ΔΕ Π2ΩΤΒ ΜḢΠΠΕ2ΤCΝΟC ΕΒΟΛ.
 ΕΩΧΕ ΚΟΥΕΩΤΕΤΠΕΚ2ΗΤ ΑΝΑΥ ΧΙΝΩΟΡ† ḢΚ
 ΕΡΩΠΗΡΕ. †2ΤΗΚ ΧΙΝΤΕ2ΟΥΕΙΤΕ ΝΚΧΙCΒΩ.
 ḢΘΕ ḢΤΑΚΑΕΙΝ ΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΧḢΑΒΕΛ ΠΕCΟΝ ΑC
 2ΟΤΒΕC ΕΤΒΕΠΚΩ2 ΠΑΪ ΓΑΡ ḢΤΕΡΕΠΚΩ2 ΧΙ
 2ΗΤC ΑCΧΙCΕ 2ḢΠΜΟCΤΕ ΝΤΟΡΓΗ ΜḢΠΝΟΥC
 ΠΑΪ ΕΤΠΩΩΝΕ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΕΝΤΕΦΥCΙC ḢΛΟ
 ΓΙΚΗ. ΕCΕΙΡΕ ḢΜΟC ΝΩḢΜΜΟ ΕΝΕCΜΑΝΩΩΠΕ
 ΕC†ΟΥΩ Ḣ2ΗΤC ḢΟΥΦΥCΙC ḢΘΗΡΙΟΝ
 ΕC2ΡΟΧΡΕΧ ḢΝΕCΟΒ2Ε ΝΘΕ ΝΝΕΙΘΗΡΙΟΝ
 ΑΝΕΧΕ ΜΜΟΪ ΝΟΥΚΟΥΪ ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΤΑΧΝΕΚΑΕΙΝ
 ΠΕΙΡΕC2ΕΤΒCΟΝ ΧΕΝΤΑΟΥΩΩΠΕ ḢΜΟΚ ΧΕ
 ΕΚΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΧḢΑΒΕΛ ΠΕΚCΟΝ 2ΕΝΤCΩΩΕ
 ΑΡΑ ΜΠΝΑΥ ΝΤΑΚΑΜΑ2ΤΕ ΜΜΟC ḢΠΕΤΕΚCΙΧ ΤΩC
 ΝΤΕΡΕΚΕΝΤΟΟΤΚ ΕΧΩC ḢΠΕΚΕΡ2ΟΤΕ.
 ΝΤΕΡΕΚΩΩΤ ΕΧḢΝΤΕC2ΙΚΩΝ ΜΠΕΚΩΕΝΕ2ΤΗΚ.

Variants of M.66: 1.2 ΝΤΟΡΗ] ΕΤΟΡΗ

65. A14 Vienna K9692r; [?].

Since the text of M.65(A14) is wholly contained in M.63(B12), it has been omitted here. Since the last word of A19v (ΜΑΡΕΝ) and the first word of B12 (ΜΑΡΕΝ) are the same and the text of A14 is that of B12, it seems likely that A14 follows immediately after A19v rather than in the sequence to which Garitte had assigned it.⁶ This is confirmed by the content of B12, which is a comment on Matt 5:21-22. The page numbers are, however, missing. The variants are given in M.63(B12); the text will be found in the appendix.

66. A14v Vienna K9692v; [?].

Since the text of M.66(A14v) is wholly contained in M.63(B12) and M.64(B12v), it has been omitted here. The variants are given in M.63 and M.64; the text will be found in the appendix.

67. B13 Paris 131.5, f.18; [?].

This leaf with upper and lower torn margins is without pagination. It is very dark to the point that the upper part both recto and verso is nearly illegible. Its place in regard to the other leaves of the same codex is uncertain. See Porcher, «Analyse,» [72] (13th century).

ΕΜΑΤΕ[ΜΠΤΡΕ]ΨΙΑΤΟΟΤ̄ Ν̄CΑΠ̄Ε,ΨΟΥΧΑΙ
 ΕΤΙ ΓΑΡ Π̄2, [...]ΠΟΡΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΠCΑ[...]N2MO
 OC ΚΑΝ ΕΨ[.....]Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΘΑΗ ΝΑΝ ΝΟ[.] ΜΠ
 ΤΡΕΨΙΑΤΟΟ[Τ̄ Ν̄CΑ]ΠΕΨΟΥΧΑΙ, [...].....]
 ΡΕΨΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ[...]NPM[.....]NΨ
 ΠΩ2 ΜΠΕ[.....]Ω, N̄[.....]
 ΝΡΙΜΕ Ν̄ΤΑΨ[.....]ΝΑΨ 2Π̄ΟΥ, [...].....]
 ΝΑΨ Ν̄Τ[.....]ΥΕ
 ΑΝΑΥ[.....]CΩΛΚ Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ
 ΑΡΙΠ[.....]ΚΙΑC Ν̄ΚΧΙΜΠΑΡΗΒ[...]
 ΟΥΧ[.....]NCΑΨ2ΩΝ, Ε, 2ΟΥ[N...]
 ΜΟΥ[.....]ΟΥ Ε, 4Ο Ν, 2ΟΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ[
 ΤΠΕ[.....]ΚΝΑΨΟΥ Γ, ΑΡ,
 ΝΤΟ[.....]

6. I am indebted to Dr. Stephen Emmel for drawing my attention to this fact.

αϣΙΜΕ[.....] Ϙα[.....]
 ΝΤΕϢΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ Κ[ω] [ΕΒ]ΟΛ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ[.....]
 ΝΣΠΙΡΑ ΜΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝΤΑϢΛΩΜ ΜΝ[.....]
 ΖΟΥΝ · ΝΣΚΤΕΠΡΗ ΕΠΑΖΟΥ ΜΠΜΝΤΗ Ν[.....]
 ΜΠΗΙ ΜΠΕϢΕΙΩΤ · ΝΣΟΥΕΖΚΕΜΝΤΗ ΝΡ[ΟΜΠΕ,
 ΕΧΝΝΡΜΠΠΟΥΕ ΜΠΕϢΩΝΖ · ΝΤΕΙΖΕ [Β]
 ΩΚ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙ Ω ΠΑΚΡΟΑΤΗC · ΜΑΡΕΠΚΑΤ[Υ,
 ΧΟΥΜΕΝΟC ϢΙΠΠΟΥΩ ΜΠΕϢΟΥΑΖΜΜΙCΕ ΖΙΤΜ
 ΠΧΩΚΜ ΜΠΒΑΠΤΙCΜΑ · ΝΤΕΠΠΙCΤΟC
 ϢΙΛΕΖ <Ε>ΕΙΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΕϢΝΟΒΕ ΖΙΤΝΤΡΜΗ ΝΤΜΕ
 ΤΑΝΟΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΝϢϢΙΠΠΟΥΩ ΕΠΕΙΡΑ ΝΤΕϢΥ
 ΧΗ ΖΜΠΕΠΝΑ ΝΤΜΝΤΩΕΝΕΖΤΗϢ ΑΥΩ
 ΕΚΩΑΝΔΙΟΡΘΟΥ ΜΜΟΚ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ · ΝΚCΟΥΤΕ
 ΝΤΕΚΥΧΗ ΖΕΝΤΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ · [...]ΝΚΚΟCΜΕΙ
 ΝΝΕΚΜΕΕΥΕ ΖΕΝΤΚΑΤΟΡΘΩCΙC ΝΝΕΚΠΡΑΞΙC
 ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΟΥ ΤΕΚΥΧΗ ΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΕCϢΑΝΩ
 ΖΕΝΝΑΖΩΩΡ ΝΤΔΙΚΑΙΟCΥΝΗ · ΑΥΩ ΤΟΤΕ
 ϢΝΑΟΥΑΩC ΝΟΙΠΝΥΜΦΙΟC ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΑΤΤΩΛΜ ·

68. B13v Paris 131.5, f.18v; [?].

Only a few scattered words and letters are legible in the first twenty lines of this side.

[...]ΜΑ ΖΙΧΜΠΚΑΖ
 [...]ΧΕΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΜΝΕΙ
 [...]ΜΟΟΩΕ ΖΙΠΑ[ΖΟΥ] ΜΜΟΚ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕΙΕΠΙ
 Θ[Υ]ΜΕΙ ΕΥΖΟΥ ΜΜΝΤΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΘΕ ΝΤΑϢ
 ΜΕΡΙΤϢ ΝΟΙΠΝΟC ΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΠΕΤΡΟC ΕΚΝΑ
 ΧΟΟC ΖΩΩΚ ΖΕΝΟΥΠΑΡΡΗCΙΑ ΧΕΠΧΟΕΙC
 ΝΤΟΚ ΕΤCΟΟΥΝ ΧΕΤΜΕ ΜΜΟΚ
 ΠΕΤΝΑΥ ΕΠΕϢΖΩΒ ΖΕΝΟΥΠΡΟΚΟΠΗ ΜΑΡΕϢΤ
 ΕΧΩϢ ΜΠΕCΤΙΝΟΥϢΕ Ν[ΠΕ]ΖΡΗΡΕ ΕΤΝΕCΩϢ
 ΜΠΕΠΝΑ ΝϢΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΧΟΡΕΥΕ ΖΙΘΗ ΜΠΕϢ
 ΧΟΕΙC ΕϢΧΩ ΝΖΕΝΩΔΗ ΜΠΝΙΚΟΝ ·
 ΠΕΤCΟΟΥΝ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤϢ ΜΠΤΩΛΜ ΜΠΕ
 ΚΝΟC ΝΝΕϢΝΟΒΕ · ΜΑΡΕϢΠΩΤ ΕΡΑΤC ΝΤΜΕ
 ΤΑΝΟΙΑ ΠΕΤCΩΩΤ ΕΠΕϢΖΗΤ ΧΕϢΜΟΚΖ
 ΝΤΑΛCΟΥ ΕϢΝΑΥCΝ ΕΠΕϢCΑΩ ΧΕΑϢΛΟϢΛΕϢ (sic)

(? leaves missing)

69. B14 Paris 132.4, f. 339; [?].

This is a small fragment with only 3 to 14 letters of the last 16 lines of a leaf. Only the paleography suggests that it belongs to this manuscript.

[.....][...][.....]
 [.....]ΕΝ[.....]
 [.....][.]ΕΠ2[.....]ΤΜΟ[.....]
 [.....][.]ΜΟΝ ΕΤΒΕΤΛΥ[.....]
 [.....]P̄C ἡχα2χ αγκαα[.....]
 [..]ΟΝ αιχοοc χεα[.....]
 ΜΤΙΚΟΝΤΕ παῖ ΕΤΚΗ[.....]
 ΚΩΑΝCΩΤ̄Μ ζωωc[.....]
 [Ε]ΥΤΑΜΟ ᾠM[O]Κ,ΕΠΕ[.....]
 ΕΚΩΑΝΝ[....]ΕΤΛ[.....]
 ΕΙΜΕ ΕΠ[ΛΟΓ]ΟC ΜΤ[ΕΚ.....]
 ΚΛΗCΙΑ παῖ ΕΤ[.....]
 ΖΑCΥΩΙ ΟΥΤΕ[.....]
 ΝΙCΕ ΕΠΜΑ[...][.....]
 ΧΕ ΝΤΑc[.....]
 ΔΕΡΕΠ[...][.....]

70. B14v Paris 132.4, f. 339v; [?].

The verso side of the fragment is too dark to read more than a few letters.

71. US-PM M 664B(23)B = MONB.BM (R?) (H)⁷

The handwriting and the format of this fragment are the same as that of BM. Only the bottom 16 lines are extant. Since the top portion (including the page numbers) is missing, it is difficult to place the fragment in the manuscript. The reference to the temptation suggests Matt 4:1-11 while the mention of the «voice at the Jordan» is a reference to Matt 3:17.

[.....][.]ϣ[.]ϣ[.]ϣ[.]
 [...][...]ΕΠΙΡΑΖΕ Ν
 ΛΑΛΥ ΠΑΡΑΤΕΧΘΟΜ
 ΜΠΕΚΣΟΥΝΤΕΙΜΙ
 ΣΕ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΕ
 ΕΝΕΧΑΙΠΙΡΑΖΕ
 ΕΡΟΧ ΧΙΝΜΜΟΝ
 ΜΠΕΤΕΦΩΝΗ Ν
 ΤΑΧΡΜΝΤΡΕ ΕΧΩΧ
 ΖΜΠΙΟΡΔΑΝΗΣ
 [... Μ][Π]ΗΥΕ ΝΤΑΥ
 [...][.] ΜΠΟΥΤΝΟΥ
 [...][.] ΝΖΗΤ ΝΤΕΧ
 [...][.] ΧΩΩΡΕ
 [...][.] ΠΕΙΚ[ΕΟ]Ν
 [...][Π]ΑΓΑΘΟΣ

[.....]
 [.....]
 Ω[...][.]ΕΙΣΕΡΕ[Ε]
 ΠΛΗ[Ν] ΠΖΩΒ Μ
 ΠΕΤΝΚΩΤ ΜΝ
 ΠΟΥΡΟΤ ΝΤΕΤΝ
 ΠΙCΤΙC ΕΝΝΑΥ
 ΕΠΕΤΝΚΩΖ ΜΝ
 ΠΕΤΝΟΥΡΟΤ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 ΕΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΑ ΜΝ
 ΤΑΠΟΤΑΚΗ Μ
 ΠΒΙΟC ϣΤΖΤΟΡ
 ΕΡΟΝ ΕΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ
 ΝΝΑΙ ΕΤΡΕΝCΑ
 CΑΝΕΙΩΕΛΕΕΤ
 ΝΒΡΡΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΥ

7. This fragment has been brought to my attention by Dr. Stephen Emmel, who also provided me with a provisional transcription by Leo Depuydt collated against photographs by himself in April 1991. The text has since been published: L. Depuydt, Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts 4-5; Leuven: Peeters, 1993) 154.

72. US-PM M 664B(23)A =MONB.BM (V?) (F)

[.....]
 [...][...][...]
 2HY T[H][...][.]
 KA2BCW N[.O]Y
 ETO N̄XHΘE ETEY
 MHTE M̄NNEΩ
 THN N̄ΛAΓΩNA ET
 ΠPΩOY· XEEYNA
 2OX2X̄ M̄ΠEYME
 EYE N̄CEΩ4 M̄ΠEY
 CΩMA N̄CEAA4 NAΥ
 N̄2M2AΛ XEKAΣ N̄
 NET2M2AΛ NEX
 TECHOEIC EBOL N̄TE
 ΠECTOIXION ETTA
 XPHY EΧMΠMOOY
 ETETKA2 NOEIN AYΩ

[...][.....]
 MEN[...][...]
 NAΥ M̄Π[.]OP· [OY]
 N[OC] ΓAP ΠE ΠEKTH
 MA N̄TPAPΘENIA
 NΩAPETTPAPΘENIA
 XIT4 AN N̄TECMA
 AY· OYKΛHPO
 NOMIA AN N̄TEΠ[EC]
 EIOT· OYOCIA
 NAGΓEΛOC TE OY
 MNTPM[N2HT]
 ECCOT̄Π ECM[HN]
 EBOL· OYΠ[A][P2H]
 CIA ENAΩW[C] [TE]
 EYNTAC [MM][AY]
 NOYN[.....]

73. B1a Vienna K9644v (Wessely); [?].

Kathegese des Apa Rufus, Bischofs von Schotp.⁸

This leaf belongs to manuscript BE in the classification of the White Monastery manuscripts by Orlandi. The manuscript contains extracts of philosophers, a homily of Horsiesius, a prayer and this «catechesis» by Rufus.⁹ The transcription by Wessely has been checked against the photograph of the manuscript.

ⲙⲛⲧⲱⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲏⲥ · ⲭⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩⲡⲣⲉⲡⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ·
ⲙⲛⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ · ⲙⲛⲡⲉⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ · ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ · ⲱⲁⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲙⲏⲛ ·-

ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲟⲏⲕⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲁⲡⲁ ⲛⲣⲟⲩⲱⲥ ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ
ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲡ · ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲉⲥⲁⲣⲛ·~

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8. C. Wessely, *Griechische und Koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts*, V (Studien z. Pal. u. Papyrsk., XVIII), Leipzig, 1917, no. 276m, p. 85; cf. W. Till, «Die Coptica der Wiener Papyrussammlung», *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.*, 95 (1941), 165-218 (p. 206).

9. See Walter Till, «Griechische Philosophen bei den Kopten», 165-175.

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress.

2. The second part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Treasury on the state of the Union.

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THE HOMILIES ON MATTHEW: TRANSLATION

As for the love of the flesh, its foundation is uncleanness; its consummation is defilement. Spiritual love, on the other hand, is not like this sort. Purity is its concern; sanctity is its end. A kiss of (Christian) love¹ is its greeting. Their edification of one another is the bond of peace. As for this one, if the living Word sees [.....][soul?] when it has tried [.....] from its youth [.....]member in self-control [.....], he will touch your mind and draw you into divine love. [Afterwards?] if you accept his fellowship and enter with him into the hidden mysteries, you also will cry out like this ecclesial² bride «I am wounded from his love» (Cant 5:8).³ It is this that we pray everyone might bring forth to him, and cast out the evil desire of the body and love his living bridegroom, the savior Jesus, so that his soul also may become one among those maidens (cf. Cant 1:3-4) who follow after their friend. It is these who rejoice with her when the bridegroom is about to take her into his bedroom.⁴ When she said «the king has taken me indeed into his inner room,» he said, «We will exult and rejoice in you» (Cant 1:4).

I hear then: «The book of the generation of Jesus the Christ» (Matt 1:1). Blessed be God, the almighty, the father of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is He who has made us worthy to search out the field of this Gospel according to Matthew and to gather from the flower the dew⁵ of the text.⁶ It is this that our

1. Evidently ἀγάπη represents for Rufus a specifically Christian kind of love as distinct from the more general term με. The distinction may come from Origen's preface to his commentary on the Canticle. See chap. 5, 282-283.

2. Ecclesial (or ecclesiastical): see Lampe, s.v. (433a) 2.d.: «ἡ ἐ. ψυχὴ the Christian soul.» The point is that the bride of the Canticle is interpreted allegorically to mean the church and secondly the individual soul. On this interpretation, see also chap. 5, 282.

3. The Sahidic version of Cant 5:8 reads: †ΧΝΧΗΥ ἈΝΟΚ ἸΤΟΟΤΕ ἸΤΑΓΑΠΗ. See Herbert Thompson, *The Coptic (Sahidic) Version of Certain Books of the Old Testament* (London: Oxford University Press, 1908), 51.

4. ΚΟΙΤΩΝ: The word used in Cant 1:4 is ΤΑΜΕΙΟΝ (inner room or treasure chamber): ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰσοῦν ἐπετάμιον. See G. Maspero, *Fragments de la version thébaine de l'Ancien Testament* (Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire, VI,1; Paris 1892), 198. The word ΤΑΜΕΙΟΝ is used also in L.47 where Cant 5:1 is quoted.

5. The dew (ΤΙΩΤΕ) in this somewhat extended metaphor of the exegete/preacher as bee, the dew seems to indicate a sense above and beyond the literal one. A similar idea is found in M.46-48. The metaphor of the exegete/preacher as a bee is fairly common in patristic exegesis. For further discussion, see chap. 4, 270.

6. ΖΗΤΩΝ: this word indicates, as Rufus uses it, either a specific text or the text itself as distinct from any interpretation. In Alexandrian exegesis, particularly Origen and Didymus, it is equivalent to ἱστορία, that is, the literal sense. See M. Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 80, 193, 204. For further discussion, see chap. 4, 255.

little mouths will be able to carry, which we have taken into the hives of your minds⁷ when the mother that is within intelligence has built that which has been brought into her into a fair dwelling to become «for kings and (common) men for health» (Prov 6:8a-b LXX).⁸ Thus therefore has our Lord been gracious to us from the beginning of the gospel, when we have examined the superscription, until we reach the places⁹ which are being watched over by the Lord of the country. It is these that no one is able to search out except the heirs of the Lord. For I heard him as he was about to place the man in Paradise commanding him «to eat of every tree which was in Paradise but to take care not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil» (Gen 2:16-17). [When?] he was full of confusion after having broken the commandment, He caused the cherubim and the fiery sword to guard the way to the tree of life that he might not eat of it and live in that transgression (cf. Gen 3:24). Again I hear him during the building of the house in Ezekiel, setting forth the places that everyone may enter. But as for the holy of holies, it is the high priest¹⁰ alone who goes (cf. Heb 9:7) in there. As for the gate that is on the east (side),¹¹ it is this one by which no stranger enters nor do they go out by it except for the one who is to eat his bread in it alone (cf. Ezek 44:3) and come out. For it is like a rich man's house into which everyone goes. As for the forecourt, the atrium, the dining room, it is everyone who goes into them who is related to the master of the house, whether slave or free. There is no one who hinders them. But as for the bedroom of the lord of the house or the hiding places of his goods, of necessity not everyone will be able to go there. This is the way it is with hidden things. It has not been given to everyone to see them or to speak them. It is these (things) that we have come to, that is, the subjects of the great prayer. It is this in which the

7. **NOYC**: The translation of this term is difficult. It could be rendered perhaps also as «intelligence» although in English this expresses a quality as well as a faculty. In the terminology of Origen, the νοῦς is the organ of vision (τὸ διορατικόν). It is to the soul what the eye is to the body. See J. Dupuis, «L'esprit de l'homme.» *Etude sur l'anthropologie religieuse d'Origène* (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1967), 75. For further discussion, see chap. 4, 245.

8. For the Sahidic text of Prov 6:8b LXX (not in the Masoretic text), see W. H. Worrell, *The Proverbs of Solomon in Sahidic Coptic according to the Chicago Manuscript* (Oriental Institute Publication 12; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), 18: παῖ ετοῦτ ἡνεγ-2ICE ἡνερωωῦ ἡνρωμε εὔμτον. For an example of the exegetical tradition in regard to this text, see Evagre Le Pontique, *Scholies aux Proverbes* (ed. Paul Géhin; SC 340; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1987), 171 (scholia 72). Evagrius interprets the honey to mean θεωρία (contemplation). See also chap. 4, 270-272.

9. The reference is uncertain unless it refers to Matt 2:13ff. But this seems to be a rather large segment for one homily. Perhaps it refers back to τῶδε μπειεγαγγελιον.

10. **παρχιερεῦς**: the word does not in fact occur in Ezekiel. The word used in 44:3 is ἡγούμενος (prince, leader). The phrase παρχιερεῦς ἡματε πε θαβωκ εζοῦν is actually from Heb 9:7.

11. Read IHBT. See Crum [76b], Westendorf, 504. The LXX has: κατ'ἀνατολάς.

savior dwelt and in it he prayed to his father. It is this that we have reached and, speaking to ourselves, we pull back meanwhile until we see that we will be able to become men of the household (cf. Gal 6:10).

[? *leaves missing*]

the Christ, having become without law that he might gain those without law. He became like one weak to the weak that he might gain the weak. The one who became all things to all in order that he might by all means save some (cf. 1 Cor 9:21-22), is the one who cast out the eye of ignorance, and acquired for himself the knowledge¹² of grace. The one who saw the glory of the Lord with face uncovered, «having been conformed to this same image from glory to glory, for this is from the Lord who is the spirit» (2 Cor 3:18),¹³ having cast off the veil of the letter,¹⁴ which lay upon the face of the law (2 Cor 3:13-15),¹⁵ is the one who grew wings all over (cf. Ezek 1:7)¹⁶ through the virtues, having grown eyes all over through the light of knowledge like one of the living beings which is under the carriage of God. The one who was carried off in the lightness of his mind, having been snatched up in the thought of his spirit «whether in the body or out of the body» (2 Cor 12:3) until he reached the fragrant Paradise¹⁷ of holy virtues, the school of mysteries, the learning place of ineffable things, is the one to whom the world has been crucified, and he has been crucified to the world (cf. Gal 6:14).¹⁸ This prophet, this apostle! The one who did not [...] «the tongue of men and that of angels» (1 Cor 13:1) was powerless [...] or to do anything in his presence because of the love of Christ which speaks in him. As for this one then, that we might not go through many words, [...] that he had become senseless and [...] in the wave of folly and [...]. The blessed

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12. A play on words: ΜΝΤΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ, ΠΣΟΟΥΝ.

13. ΣΙΤΜ ΠΣΟΕΙΣ ΠΕΠΕΠΝΑ: Thompson gives this reading from M. It is due to the influence of vs. 17: ΠΣΟΕΙΣ ΔΕΠΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ.

14. ΣΖΑΙ: Rufus seems to be equating the veil with the letter of Scripture or the literal sense. In the Alexandrian tradition, one must look beneath the veil, the literal sense of Scripture, for the spiritual nourishment, the νοήματα of 2 Cor 3:14. See chap. 4, 252-255.

15. ΕΧΜΠΣΟ ΜΠΝΟΜΟC: 2 Cor 3:13 says that Moses put a veil over his face and vs. 15 says a veil lies over «their minds» when Moses is read. Rufus has the veil on the law (i.e. Moses). This is the understanding also of Origen, *P. Arch.* 4,1,6 and 3,5 where he uses the phrase «the veil of the letter» referring to 2 Cor 3:12-16. See Origène, *Traité des principes*, Tome IV (Livres III et IV): Commentaire et Fragments (SC 269; ed Henri Crouzel et Manlio Simonetti; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1980), 102.

16. Or «who became completely winged.» This and the following images seem to be inspired by Ezek 1 and Rev 4:6-8. The word ΣΑΡΜΑ does not occur in either but seems to be an interpretation of Ezek 1. For the association of the cherubim with Paul, see chap. 5, 284.

17. The words ΑΥΤΟΡΠ and ΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC come from 2 Cor 12:4.

18. The text is an elaboration and transposition from the first person to the third of Gal 6:14: ΠΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΥCΡΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΣΙΤΟΟΤ. ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΖΩΩΤ ΟΝ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC.

[Trinity?]¹⁹ did not forget us but adapted itself to a way of acting through a wise thought so that it might not abandon us [to the] disobedient end to which we had descended. He wrote therefore to the Corinthians saying: «For, since in the wisdom of God, the world did not know God through wisdom, it pleased God to save those who believe through the foolishness of the preaching» (1 Cor 1:21). Again in that same epistle he says: «Since it is the Jews who ask for signs and it is after wisdom that the Greeks seek, but it is we who preach Christ crucified, to the Jews indeed it is a scandal and it is foolishness to the gentiles, but, to Jews who are called and to the Greeks, Christ is a power of God for them» (1 Cor 1:22-24). For who is it who will believe that God came to a woman's womb, who is it who will believe that God was crucified, except those for whom Christ has become a power of God, that is, «Jews who are called and the Greeks»? (1 Cor 1:24). Since then the man did not know the first offspring,²⁰ it was of immortality that he was deprived. They did not perceive the light and they did not know the glory (cf. Heb 1:3). They did not wish to see the stamp and they did not know the divine hypostasis itself (cf. Heb 1:3).²¹ They did not wish to see the image (cf. 2 Cor 4:4) and they did not know God, this invisible one. Now it pleased him, the one who knows the things that will be before they come to be, that the one who is «in a form of God» (Phil 2:6), this one who according to his own will, «did not reckon it plunder to make himself equal with God but he poured himself out, and took a servile form, and became human (in) form and in the outward appearance was found like man» (Phil 2:6-7). [.....] a birth from the womb of a virgin [.....] be from the seed of the just and the kinship of the saints from the first in order that those who see him in a thought might see him face to face, taking a body, taking flesh, taking bone, taking sinews, taking skin with blood and flesh, «being tried in all things in our way» (Heb 4:15).

[x leaves missing]

«from two years downwards» (Matt 2:16). Endeavor, O my hearer, to flee from this infant time of life. Having passed beyond the foundation, you have escaped from the sword of Herod and you have avoided the wrath of that tyrant. I hear then after these things: «in order that what was spoken through the prophet Jeremias might be fulfilled: 'A voice was heard in Rama and weeping and much mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and she

19. For the restoration of the text compare M.11.

20. In the context the reference of ΚΛΑΔΟΣ must be to Christ as offspring of the Father. See Lampe 755b.

21. The introduction of these two Greek terms (ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ, ΣΥΠΟΚΤΑCΙC) indicates that Rufus was thinking of the Greek text of Heb 1:3, since the Sahidic has ΠΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΕCΤΑΧΡΟ. However, in the previous sentence, he is using the terminology of the Sahidic version (ΠΟΥCΕΙΝ ΜΠΕCΟΥ).

did not wish to be comforted because her own are not'» (Matt 2:17-18). Why are you weeping, O Rachel, and why such mourning? «It is because they have seized my children from my arms and killed the fruit of my womb crying for my breast that I am weeping.» Woe to me indeed because [?] my womb causes me pain and my senses trouble me (cf. Jer 4:19). To you also, O Rachel, I give relief to your voice from your sobbing and as for your eyes, let them cease producing tears. Your children have been killed through violence. We will not abandon them. As for the Father of the one for whose sake they were killed, it is he who will raise²² them up. You indeed are grieving over the fruit of your womb because it has been taken from the earth but they are alive in the «bosom of Abraham» (Luke 16:22). Do not weep because they have been taken in infancy. Their time of life will be fulfilled through the care-free ages. If Bethlehem has abandoned them, yet the altar

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to the glory

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to the building up of the literal meaning.²³ Take your mind to the height, O you who know how to fly, whose feathers have grown²⁴ through the teaching, whoever is fit to follow his father, a flyer, and see who is this woman crying out until her voice is heard. This voice which cries out is that of Rachel, this (name) that is interpreted «the lamb.»²⁵ The lamb is weeping and is mourning because the wolf has destroyed her children. It is in Rama that her voice was heard, that is [?] the place. Beloved, «a voice was heard in Rama» (Matt 2:18). What is the lamb? Rachel is the church,²⁶ the little sister of Lea, that is, the synagogue, whose womb was shut up and she did not bring forth all this long while (cf. Gen 29:31). It is she who is weeping for these little children whom Herod killed, that is, the blood of the martyrs which has been shed. Her voice was heard indeed on high

7

[9 lines broken or missing]

[Behold, the angel of the Lord] «appeared in a dream in Egypt saying: 'Arise and take the young child and his mother and go to the land of Israel for those have died who were seeking the life of the young child to destroy him» (Matt

22. The verb is otherwise not attested for Sahidic. Cf. Kasser [261b], Westendorf, 146. Kasser suggests the sense of «elevation,» «monter.» The context seems to demand «raise up.»

23. ⲕⲉⲛⲓⲕ: see Lampe, s.v. 9. «letter, literal meaning.» The context of urging the hearer to take his NOYC to the heights and interpret the name Rachel in a spiritual sense suggests this as the correct meaning. For the language of «flying» see M.27; for Rachel, see M.7.

24. Compare the description of Paul in M.3.

25. See Grabbe 196, #120. This is not the meaning found in Philo or Origen but it is found in several later onomastica.

26. For the history of this interpretation, see chap. 5, 284.

2:19). If Herod is ruling, let Joseph take the young child and his mother

[*twelve lines of the left column are missing or broken*].

«and go to the land of Israel» (Matt 2:20). If the man of skin²⁷ is reigning with his works in the flesh, let the reason take the mind and your thought and flee with it (or him) to hidden places. If the old man dies (Rom 6:6) and the flesh becomes powerless, rise up from the hidden places in which you have hidden yourself and walk to the land of revelation. If you see sin, make firm your soul. O man! It is an angelic voice that says to you, «ponder in yourself and hide your reason and your thought. Otherwise sin will kill you. If you see sin, having lost power and having been brought to nought, wake up your reason and your thought and go up to the land of revelation.²⁸ If you arrive in Judaea and hear «that Archelaus also is reigning in place of Herod his father» (Matt 2:22), it is this lion that knows its chastity, for that is how it is interpreted, namely, the lion which is defiled.²⁹ This is the young lion which is roaring after the servants of God seeking to devour their souls (cf. 1 Pet 5:8). But Archelaus is the son of Herod. Who is the son of our adversary?³⁰ I will tell you, not heedlessly, but by means of a saying of our savior that the son of our adversary³¹ is the devil and not another. It is on account of this that our savior indicated in the (Gospel) according to John

[*six lines missing*]

[«...you] wish to do the works³² of your father. For that one was a murderer from the beginning and he did not stand firm in the truth» ever «because there was no truth in him. Whenever the liar speaks,³³ it is out of that which is his own that he speaks because he is a liar and also his father» (John 8:44). It is this one then that is called «the liar.» If you hear that he is ruling, the liar has come to power on the earth. [Then?] go to Galilee

[*four lines missing*]

27. The reference is to the common etymology for «Herod»: skin. Wutz, 475, gives: Erodes pelliceus gloria, pellis gloria; Ἡρώδης δέρματος δόξα. Sometimes the meaning given is simply «skin» δέρμα, Origen. *hom. in Lev.* 5.

28. «land of revelation»: the reference seems to be to one of the common etymologies for «Galilee»: ἀποκαλύψις. See Wutz, 547.

29. This meaning seems to be a variant on the traditional one given by Wutz, 448: agnoscens leo; ἐπιγνώσκων λέων.

30. ἈΝΤΙΚΙΜΕΝΟΣ occurs in the Sahidic NT in 1 Cor 16:9 and 2 Thes 2:4.

31. ἈΝΤΙΔΙΚΟΣ occurs in the Sahidic NT in 1 Pet 5:8.

32. John 8:44 has ΝΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ (lusts) instead of ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ as here. This change appears to be due to the influence of vs. 41: ΕΤΕΤΝΕΙΡΕ ΝΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΜΠΕΤΝΕΙΩΤ.

33. John 8:44 (Horner): ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΡΕΠΣΟΛ ΝΑΘΑΧΕ ΕΩΛΥΘΑΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ... The scribe of BM appears to have altered the construction as well as to have left out a letter in the altered construction. Perhaps the word ΖΟΤΑΝ at the end of the previous page influenced him to repeat the thought in a Coptic phrase on this side.

with its passions and its lusts and go and dwell in Nazareth, that is to say, the purified,³⁴ and dwell in purity and make your dwelling in innocence because it is written «Be holy because I am holy» (Lev 11:44/45). Let us endeavor then, beloved, to be careful in these evil days. If sin has died and the liar is reigning, let us leave behind the world with its cares and its desires, its foods and drinks and clothing and pleasures, its festival days and mourning days, and let us³⁵ designate purity as a dwelling place for ourselves. For whoever will dwell in purity, it is he who will be called «the Nazorean.» As for one of this sort, it is in the purity of Christ that he will dwell. It is from a single seed that he will bear a threefold fruit, giving glory to God, edifying the church, and saving and delivering himself. As for one of this sort, it is a threefold reward that he will receive from the blessed Trinity. It is in his spirit that he will receive «the sense»³⁶ and it is in his soul that he will receive the first vision and it is in his body that he will receive perseverance.³⁷ As for one of this sort, it is a blessing doubled threefold that he will receive. He will receive earthly glory and he will share in the resurrection and he will receive rest in heaven. One of this sort will be prudent, gentle, humble, merciful, just, suffering with those who are [troubled]

[three lines partially missing]

life, walking only in an image upon the earth while his citizenship is in heaven (cf. Phil 3:20).³⁸ It is this that we pray, that the pious would choose that purity for themselves, so that we might become sharers with the saints in innocence, and inherit³⁹ those imperishable (things) (cf. 1 Cor 15:50ff.) in place of those which will perish and receive those immortal (things) through him who is holy, who dwells among the saints, the only-begotten Word, Jesus Christ. He it is through whom [glory be to God his Father and the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen.]⁴⁰

Sabatike⁴¹

The commandment came, beloved, and sin came alive and man died, said

34. For the etymology, see Wutz, 376: Ναζαρετ ἀχρεμόνος αὐτοῦ ἡ καθαρὸς.

35. ΤΕΝΚΩ : Till, #321, gives ΤΕϣ-, etc., as a vulgar form of the conjunctive. Cp. M.12; L.27.

36. ΝΟΗΜΑ: see Lampe, 916, s.v. 6. «sense of passage»; Origen, *P. Arch.* 4.2.4. The word occurs six times in these commentaries and always seems to refer to the «sense» of the text with the meaning of «spiritual interpretation.» See chap. 4, 252 for further discussion of this term.

37. This tripartite anthropology finds its source ultimately in 1 Thes 5:23 but was extensively used and developed by Origen and the Alexandrian school generally. For further discussion and literature, see chap. 4, 244.

38. The word used in Phil 3:20 is ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΜΑ, not ΠΟΛΗΤΙΑ as here.

39. ΤΕΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΜΕΙ: see note 35 above.

40. For the restoration of the doxology, compare L.51.

41. On this expression, see the Introduction, 45-46.

the wise apostle (cf. Rom 7:9-10). The grace of the savior came and sin died and man came alive in accordance with the practice of the commandment. «Where there is no law there is no transgression» (Rom 4:15). In accordance with the loving kindness⁴² of our savior (cf. Tit 3:4), it is gratuitously that he justifies us «through his grace. And this also does not come forth from us. The gift is God's» (Eph 2:8). What shall I say, brothers? Herod has died and the adversarial master, who pursues the servants of God, has been taken into the midst. «The Pharisees went and took counsel against him in order that they might catch him up in a saying, and they sent to him their disciples with the Herodians» (Matt 22:15-16). The deceiving heresiarch has been destroyed. The fox⁴³ has perished in the fire. As for the bonds, they caught these little foxes. It is the little foxes that destroyed the vineyard of this bride (cf. Cant 2:15). Let the vine give fruit now, for Samson (cf. Judg 15:4) has destroyed those who damaged it. Let Joseph «take the young child and his mother and go to Judaea, for those who sought the life of the young child to destroy it⁴⁴ have died» (Matt 2:20). Sin has died, O virgin. Herod has been brought to naught, he who plotted against «the fruit of your womb» (Luke 1:42). The glorified man of skin⁴⁵ has perished. Rise up, take the word which has become flesh. Go up to the <land of> revelation.⁴⁶

13

[4 lines incomplete]

«God [is known]⁴⁷ in Judaea. Great is his name in Israel» (Ps 75:2). Sin has been brought to nought through this only-begotten Word, through his sacrifice, as it is written (cf. Heb 9:26). Let each one of us, beloved, rise up from the land of Pharaoh and flee from the country of the barbarians and become a stranger to this «iron furnace» (Deut 4:20 [1 Kgs 8:51; Jer 11:4]),⁴⁸ that is, the flesh with its passions and its desires, and go to the land of Israel and be-

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42. ΜΝΤΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ: the word occurs twice in the New Testament and in reference to God only in Tit 3:4: ΝΤΕΡΕΤΜΝΤΧΡΗCΤΟC ΔΕ ΜΝΤΜΝΤΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ (Thompson).

43. The reference must be to Luke 13:32 where Jesus refers to Herod as «that fox» (τῇ ἄλώπεκι τούτῃ). This word then suggests the citations of the Canticle and Judges 15. The fire must refer to Judges 15. The interpretation of the foxes as heretics was a common interpretation in the patristic period. See chap. 5, 286. See also chap. 4, 266 for the principle of using Scripture to explain Scripture.

44. ΕΤΑΚΟC: this variant is not found in the Greek text nor in Horner who, however, gives «to snatch away» Syr (c).

45. See the note on the etymology of Herod in M.6 above.

46. Cf. M.9, I.3 «land of revelation.» The scribe seems to have omitted ΜΠΚΑ2. The reference is to the etymology for «Galilee.» See the note 28 above.

47. For the text of the Psalm, see Carl Wessely, *Sahidisch-griechische Psalmenfragmente*. (Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse; Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1907), 177, and Budge, 80. The verse number is that of the LXX rather than that of Budge.

come a citizen

[five lines of the left column are missing except for a few letters]

those who are near and those who are far off (cf. Eph 2:17) and contemplate the universe and perceive the stars and observe its kinds and its rays and contemplate its height and its depth and know its coming forth and course (cf. Ps 18:6?). Do not let someone think, beloved, that it is a strange teaching for which we are making you zealous. It is not a strange tradition⁴⁹ to which we are raising you but it is the light of the breast of the church from which we want the eyes of everyone to receive. Whoever adheres to the faith of the son of God so as to flee from the power of darkness and receives for himself the vision of Israel⁵⁰ and receives the eye of this

[1 leaf missing]

[five lines are missing from the left column] Do not, beloved, do not then let us become slack, because a clever one is the enemy, a deceiver is the one who disputes with us, who does his work in the darkness and his trade in hidding, stealing from their altars, robbing the sleeping places. Let us keep watch and be sober (cf. 1 Pet 5:8),⁵¹ brethren, that we may escape the de-
ceits of this dealer in deceit

[two lines are missing at the bottom of the left hand column and the first two of the right hand column are incomplete]

flesh of these passions and its desires and let us flee from matter and let us hold in check this «little member which speaks big words,» «the world of iniquity,» «which sets on fire the wheel of birth» (cf. Jas 3:5-6) and let us bind up envy and tie up jealousy, these things that set the mind on fire and that dissolve its strength, and let us adhere to this secure anchor (cf. Heb 6:19) and let us rely upon this immovable rock (cf. 1 Cor 10:4?), this life-giving Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, this [...] face, this blessed person,⁵² [...] he will give to us a wise speech and a [...] vision so that the eyes of our heart⁵³

48. The allegorical interpretation of Egypt as referring to the body goes back at least to Philo who uses it extensively (cf. *Leg. Alleg.* II, 77; *Congr.* 20). It is found in many Christian writers including Origen (cf. *hom. gen.* 15,3), Eusebius, and Didymus. Besa interprets the «iron furnace» of Egypt to mean the world that the monks have left. See K. H. Kuhn, «A Fifth-Century Egyptian Abbot. III. Besa's Christianity» *Journal of Theological Studies* 6 (1955) 40.

49. ΔΙΑΤΟΧΗ: see Lampe, s.v. διαδοχή, succession, order of time, of office, of doctrinal succession; cp. M.28.

50. Allusion is being made here to the common etymology of the name Israel. See chap. 4, 268.

51. The phrase is the reverse of 1 Pet 5:8: ΝΗΦΕ ΝΤΕΤΗΡΟΕΙΣ.

52. See note on p. 233, n. 70.

53. The context seems to require «eyes» (ΒΑΛ) rather than ΒΟΛ. Perhaps the scribe was influenced by ΕΒΟΛ in the previous line.

may receive light and we may understand those things which Matthew touches on for us [now] in his Gospel. I hear then, «he withdrew to Galilee,⁵⁴ and he went and dwelt in Nazareth⁵⁵ in order that those things that had been spoken through Isaiah the prophet⁵⁶ might be fulfilled: 'he will be called the Nazorean'» (Matt 2:22-23). Herod has died. It is the will (of God) that

[the first four lines are missing and two are incomplete in the right column]

migrating from one country to another. Herod has died to permit another to reign. It is this one who will not plot against that which is ours in this world, since he is not pursuing this wondrous offspring. Perhaps these are mysteries, beloved. Let Herod reign that this little boy might go to Egypt and that which is written might be fulfilled: «I have called my son out of Egypt» (Matt 2:15). But if Herod

[1 leaf missing]

their color be dark and he be tried also in the water of conversion and became purification⁵⁷ of all things through the death of his cross. And if «they have all sinned and are cut off from the glory of God» (Rom 3:23), according to the perceptive saying of the holy apostle, thus also has he been called «Nazorean» because it is gratuitously through his grace that these others will be justified. Perhaps then, beloved, it is on account of that one who was not able to safeguard his head so as not to let Dalilah shave it (cf. Judg 16:19) and those others whose color has become dark, that this little boy came to Nazareth, in order that he might be called «the Nazorean» (Matt 2:23),⁵⁸ as you have heard concerning him in many places in the New Testament. It is «Jesus the Nazorean» that Peter cries out (Acts 2:22) and also to the lame man who was receiving alms at the gate of the temple, he said, «In the name of Jesus the Nazorean, walk» (Acts 3:3). And also when Paul was going to Damascus, in the vision that he saw, he said to him, [«Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me?»] He said, «Who are you, Lord?» The Lord said to him, «I⁵⁹ am Jesus the Nazorean⁶⁰ whom you are persecuting» (Acts 9:5). And in many other places (it says): «Jesus the Nazorean.» This one is truly the

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54. Horner reads: ΑΥΑΝΑΧΩΡΕΙ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΕΜΜΟΟΩΤΕ ΝΤΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΑ.

55. Horner reads: ΑΥΟΥΩΖ ΖΗΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΦΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ.

56. Horner reads: ΧΕΚΑC ΕΦΕΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΙΠΕΝΤΑΧΟΟC ΖΙΤΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC. Rufus is evidently quoting from memory.

57. The word ΚΑΘΑΡΙCΜΟC may come from the Greek of Heb 1:3 where it is also anarthrous. Since the passage is explaining the appellation «Nazorean» (Matt 2:23), ΚΑΘΑΡΙCΜΟC must be related to the common etymology of that name. See Wutz, 376-377: Ναζωραῖος καθαρός; ἄγιος καὶ καθαρός.

58. Horner reads: ΧΕCΕΝΑΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕΠΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟC as does Rufus in M.20. See Marvin R. Wilson, *Coptic Future Tenses: Syntactical Studies in Sahidic* (The Hague: Mouton, 1970), 26 for examples of the II Future used with ΧΕ in final clauses.

Nazorean that has fulfilled the Nazirite law, since he alone became a Nazorean, keeping the hair of his head intact and since he kept the seven locks of holy hair (cf. Judg 16:13-14), which are stainless, that is, the seven (cf. Isa 11:2 LXX) spirits that rested upon him and he did not sadden (cf. Eph 4:30) them. A spirit of wisdom [is] this spirit of

[four lines missing]

seventh, that is, the spirit of the fear of the Lord. It is this one alone then that kept the divine head filled with these seven immortal locks, since he knew that his head is his father. If someone will say that it is violence that we are doing to the text by comparing the Nazorean that is revealed to the Nazorean that is concealed, let him tell me, what is the virtue if you let your hair grow?⁶¹ If it is a virtue to let your hair grow, then they are all Nazoreans, the women who worship their hair with perfumes and ointments

[only two letters of the last line of the right hand column remain]

[1 leaf missing]

[The first two lines of the left column are too broken to translate]

19

[...] the eyes closing⁶² the eyelids [?] [...] us to the way [...] torrent [...] and we [not?] draw near to the village of Dalilah, that unmerciful snare, this hostile power, the enemy of souls, this one who makes a pretence of friendship at first until she entangles you in the trap of pleasure and destroys the world of virtues of each one of us and she deprives us of those gifts of divinity and she leaves us stripped of the strength and the ease of the Nazoreanity⁶³ and she hands us over to the derisive reproaches of those hidden deadly enemies. And these are the friends of darkness and the sense of touch that advance first into the eyes and derange⁶⁴ our vision⁶⁵ and they make the eye of our mind blind⁶⁶ so that we do not see the light of knowledge and they advance on us⁶⁷ the heavy chains of their wickedness and they bind our wretched

59. The text has been supplied from Horner rather than Thompson because the portion of the quotation in M.18 is identical with Horner's text (ΠΕΤΚΠΗΤ ΝΤΟΚ).

60. The word is omitted in the text of Horner and Thompson but is in the Bohairic and some Greek mss: ACE ecc Vg Syr Eth.

61. See Crum [623b] = let hair grow: Deut 14:1; 1 Cor 11:14. Rufus is using the procedure of *defectus litterae* formulated by Origen in *P. Arch.* 4,3,5. See chap. 4, 264.

62. According to Crum [293a] ΠΕΚΡΙΚΕ is a fem. noun meaning «bending, nodding of head in sleep» but here it appears to be a verb. It is used with ΣΙ in L.48.

63. It should be kept in mind that the word Nazorean has been interpreted to mean purity. See note 57 above.

64. This text is cited by Crum [588b].

65. ΔΙΟΡΑΤΙΚΟΝ: in the anthropology of Origen, νοῦς is the organ of vision (διορατικόν); it is to the soul what the eye is to the body. See J. Dupuis, *L'esprit de l'homme*, 75.

66. There is probably an allusion here to the blinding of Samson (Judg 16:21).

67. See Crum [640b-641a]; Westendorf, 350.

souls with bronze fetters⁶⁸ and leave us with these who have gone down into the earth, these who are imprisoned forever in Amente,⁶⁹ the murky darkness, and they hand us over to the milling place of Tartarus and they shut upon us the bronze gates and {they leave us with those who have gone down into the earth}⁷⁰ and they watch over us there until God is willing in the time known to him and he rescues us from the hand of Amente, if he takes us. But blessed is he whom God will preserve from the bitter woman (cf. Eccles 7:26), this one who is a snare, because he will escape all these calamities according to the saying of Ecclesiastes: «He who is good in the eyes of God will be preserved from her but he who sins will be taken by her» (Eccles 7:26). Look, as for these things, we have said them, beloved,

[the first line of the right column is not legible]

Nazorean. It is this one that withdrew to Galilee, and went to Nazareth because «he will be called the Nazorean» (cf. Matt 2:22-23). Moreover, I think this is enough to make us turn and give glory to God. It is He who will give more love⁷¹ to the souls of the obedient so that they intercede for us in their prayer that He enable us also that we might speak to you, if it please Him,⁷² some little (things) concerning the appearance of the forerunner John, through the grace and the loving kindness⁷³ of our Lord Jesus Christ. To him be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

[3 leaves missing]

(to) which the Scriptures testify and we have not heard them testify to the clothing except Paul, the holy apostle. It is he who has testified concerning them in general: «going about⁷⁴ in sheepskins and skins of goats» (Heb 11:37). But as for Matthew, here he has testified about John and his clothing and his belt and his food,⁷⁵ informing us that from Scripture come some of the main points that he is telling us. «But as for him, John, his clothing was of camel's hair» (Matt 3:4). Why (are you clothed) with those camel's hairs,

68. **ΝΖΕΝΠΑΙΔΕC**: *πέδη*, in plural *πέδαι*; cf. Luke 8:29.

69. Amente means literally: the «western» place and generally translates *ἄδης*. See Crum [8b]. It is treated as a proper name without the article.

70. This appears to be a case of dittography. See above M.19 (A7).

71. **ΕΤΝΑ†ΖΟΥΕΜΕ** = *†ΖΟΥΕ-* [735a-], [156b] love. For a parallel, see John 15:2: **ΧΕΚΑC ΕCΕ†ΖΟΥΕΚΑΡΙΤΟC**.

72. The text is cited by Crum [690a] who offers this translation.

73. See the note on this word in M.12 (A3v).

74. Thompson: **ΑΥΜΟΟΨΕ**; Horner: **ΕΑΥΜΟΟΨΕ**.

75. The Greek words used by Rufus here for belt (**ΤΕCΕΝΖΩΝΗ** *ἐνζώνυμι* = gird) and food (*τροφή*) suggest that he is looking at or thinking of the Greek text rather than the Sahidic which has **ΟΥΜΟΧΖ** *ἡώααρ* and **ΖΡΕ** respectively. However, the word used in the Greek text of Matt 3:4 is *ζώνη*, not *ἐνζώνη* which is from *ἐνζώνυμι* (LSJ). The word **ΕΝΖΩΝΗ** is found also in one of the texts published by P. E. Kahle, *Bala'izah: Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt* (2 vols.; London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 1:446.

O John? «It is out of these camel's hairs,» he said, «that my clothing is (made) because the lamb has not yet grown wool and been sheared⁷⁶ so that the women might weave⁷⁷ and spin and demonstrate the skill of weaving and cut this woven garment. It is this (garment) that no soldier will be able to tear, no army will be able to divide except the one to whom the lot will fall, and he will receive it» (cf. John 19:23). Some one will say to me, «Tell me openly what you are saying.» Listen, O hearer: John's garment is (made) out of camel's hair. The camel does not split the hoof⁷⁸ but it does ruminate. The law is spiritual but it does not split the hoof, since those who adhere⁷⁹ to it adhere to it without discernment. It is about the teaching of these old writings that the expression (i.e., «camel's hair»)⁸⁰ is informing us - this (the teaching) from which those ancients were taught, from a writing without discernment, since it is like an unshaped and absurd⁸¹ animal compared to them,⁸² that is, the camel. As for this,⁸³ since it does not split the hoof, so as not to make good sense out of⁸⁴ the difficult text, it is this, the thickness of which was made thin, the size of which was reduced,⁸⁵ so as to make it pass

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76. The passage is cited by Crum [663b].

77. Crum cites this text [532b].

78. Crum cites this [276b] with (sic!) to indicate the missing accusative connector or non-prenominal (est.) form; since the word occurs in the same form again in I.26, it may not be a scribal error. On the other hand, this manuscript contains a large number of errors. See the following note.

79. Read $\text{C}\text{O}\text{L}\text{X}\bar{\text{C}}\text{O}\text{R}$ or $\text{C}\text{O}\text{L}\bar{\text{X}}$. $\text{M}\text{M}\text{O}\text{C}$ after $\text{C}\text{O}\text{L}\bar{\text{X}}$ may be dittography. This manuscript contains a large number of such errors. See the Introduction, 17.

80. The word $\text{L}\text{O}\text{G}\text{O}\text{C}$ is used in these texts in at least three senses. In the introductory passages (not written by Rufus presumably) it is best translated as «homily» or «sermon.» It is commonly used in this sense in such passages in Coptic sermons. See Müller, *Die koptische Predigt*, 265, n. 71. Rufus himself uses the word in two senses: to refer to Christ in the sense of John's Gospel, the «living word,» and to refer to the text itself on the literal level as distinct from the «sense» or higher interpretation which can be drawn from it. He uses a typical phrase, $\text{E}\text{P}\text{E}\text{P}\text{L}\text{O}\text{G}\text{O}\text{C}$ $\text{T}\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}$ $\text{M}\text{M}\text{O}\text{N}$, which indicates this distinction (L.10, 11, 15, 31). In this context «splitting the hoof» means distinguishing between the text and its sense or between the literal and spiritual levels. For the history of the exegesis of «splitting the hoof,» see chap. 5, 287-289.

81. On the meaning and history of the word $\text{A}\text{L}\text{O}\text{G}\text{O}\text{N}$, see chap. 4, 260-262.

82. The antecedent seems to be «the writings.» This passage, with its changing and uncertain antecedents, is not altogether clear from the point of view of grammatical style.

83. The antecedent appears to be the camel, which symbolically represents the law.

84. $\text{E}\text{T}\text{P}\text{E}\text{C}\text{I}\text{E}\text{Y}\text{C}\text{Y}\text{N}\text{A}\text{O}\text{I}\text{Z}\text{E}$: a verb that could account for the form $\text{E}\text{Y}\text{C}\text{Y}\text{N}\text{A}\text{O}\text{I}\text{Z}\text{E}$ is not attested in LSJ, AG, Lampe, or Stephanus. The adjective $\text{E}\text{U}\text{S}\text{A}\text{L}\text{L}\text{O}\text{G}\text{I}\text{S}\text{T}\text{O}\text{S}$, meaning «well-concluded, conclusive, easily inferred,» is given by LSJ. The verb $\text{A}\text{L}\text{L}\text{O}\text{G}\text{I}\text{Z}\text{O}\text{M}\text{A}\text{I}$, on the other hand, meaning «debate, reason, discuss, conclude from premises,» etc., is common. A clue to the meaning of the word here, and perhaps its origin, is perhaps to be found in the context of the discussion of the word $\text{A}\text{L}\text{O}\text{G}\text{O}\text{S}$ and its opposite, $\text{E}\text{U}\text{L}\text{O}\text{G}\text{O}\text{S}$. See chap. 4, 260-262. I have not been able to account for 21. The text may be corrupt. AN (l. 28) appears to be dittography from l. 26. The negative for the causative infinitive is $\text{T}\bar{\text{M}}$, not AN (cf. Till #399).

85. Crum [479b] suggests reading AY for $\text{A}\text{C}(\text{A}\text{Y}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{O}\text{M}\text{E})$.

through the eye of a needle (cf. Matt 19:24). The new Word, having made worship of this carnal⁸⁶ sort, circumcision, times, festivals, the temple, and the worldly altar with its furnishings to come to naught, all these things, he reduced through the spirit to make them enter through the discernment of allegory.

But when the lamb of God had advanced in age and wisdom (cf. Luke 2:50), all the rams of the sheep grew wool through the new preaching of the gospel. As for those prophecies of the prophets, the worship of the law, the ancient histories, they ceased being written and they became spirit (cf. 2 Cor 3:6). They ceased being types and they became truth. They received the garment of the mature⁸⁷ sheep, no longer camel's hair (lit.: garment of camel), no longer worldly worship, but wool (lit.: garment of sheep, sheep's clothing), according to the saying of the psalmist: «The rams of the sheep have grown. They have cried out; indeed they will sing praise» (Ps 64:14).⁸⁸ It is grace and truth (cf. John 1:17?),⁸⁹ according to the saying of the holy Apostle, «Clothe yourselves with our Lord Jesus Christ» (Rom 13:14).

Further on I hear «he was girded with a leather belt on his loins» (Matt 3:4). This is the belt with which those who eat the Passover (cf. Exod 12:11) must⁹⁰ gird themselves, that is, the sign of self-control⁹¹ and the seal of the spermatic vessel.⁹² But although many say «we also are girded,» they are indeed girded, but it is not with a leather belt that they are girded, because they have not been able to make that member subject to them. But as for John, he made it a sign, because it is a leather belt with which he is girded. It is this that it (the text) is telling us: what sort of

[two lines incomplete]

he brought upon that people. «But his food also is locusts and wild honey» (Matt 3:4).⁹³ Let John eat locusts and wild honey and my savior eat the bread of life. Let the prophetic word hop⁹⁴ above the ground - it, like the locust, is not able to fly high - and let the knowledge of grace go up and fly to heaven and become kin⁹⁵ with the light air and search among those invisible (things) and inquire after those unseen (things). Let John eat locusts - this eighth of

86. On the significance of the word **ΣΑΡΚΙΚΟΝ**, see chap. 4, 260.

87. On the word **ΤΕΛΙΟΝ**, see chap. 4, 262.

88. The text given by Budge (66) for Ps 64:13 reads: **ΑΝΘΕΙΛΕ ΝΕΟΟΥ ΡΩΤ
ΣΕΝΑΞΙΩΚΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΣΕΝΑΜΟΥ.**

89. Rufus uses the Greek words. The Sahidic text of Horner has **ΤΕΧΑΡΙC ΖΩΩC ΑΥΩ
ΤΜΕ ΝΤΑCΩΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ ΙC ΠΕΧC.**

90. Crum cites this passage [778b].

91. Crum [398b] suggests reading **ΤΕCΦΡΑΓΙC ΝΤΕΓΚΡΑΤΙΑ.**

92. **ΠΑΝΚΙΟΝ**: ἀγγεῖον.

93. Horner reads **ΤΕC2ΡΕ ΔΕ ΝΕ ΖΕΝΩΧΕ ΝΕ ΜΝΟΥΕΒΕΙΕΖΟΥΤ.**

94. Crum cites this passage [627b].

95. Crum cites this passage [347b].

the plagues (cf. Exod 10:12ff.) that He brought upon Pharaoh who was holding back the people of Israel to make slaves of them - because it is from the blame of sinners that he will eat and it is by the warnings to those who do not believe that he will be nourished and he will warn the people: «generation of vipers, who is it who has taught you to flee from the wrath which is coming» (Matt 3:7). I hear also «wild honey»⁹⁶ that he might

[8 leaves missing]

The eighth homily that the wise one, Apa Rufus, the bishop of the city of Shotep, preached explaining the Gospel according to Matthew, the text being this: «Then he was taken to the desert by the spirit to be tempted.» (Matt 4:1). 25

[the rest of the column is missing]

[The translation of the right column is omitted since the text is contained in M.27.]

[The translation has been omitted since the text is contained in M.27.] 26

fly forth with him. The bird of light has been taken to the one on high.⁹⁷ Let 27
those who are in their nests flap their wings. The Word has been taken to the wilderness. Let the spiritual man flee there with him. Our savior has been taken to the desert.⁹⁸ Let those things which are hiding us⁹⁹ in the lust¹⁰⁰ of life be emptied¹⁰¹ of their concerns. Jesus has been taken to be tempted. Let those who believe in Jesus test their strength. What shall I say? Beloved, «every man has been made foolish by knowledge, every goldsmith has been shamed by their handiworks» (Jer 10:14). Jesus is being «taken by the spirit to be tempted by the devil» (Matt 4:1). O such mysteries! As for the one who takes, he is being taken. It is a spirit who takes. It is a divine son that is being taken, the one upon whom they do not rely that is being tried, the one whose character they do not know that is being tested. A God is being taken¹⁰² to be tempted. Where are those that are unbelieving in the birth according to the flesh of our savior, who say that he did not come to a woman's womb? Let them come and see whether God is being tempted or not. Let them deny these apostles and evangelists [.....]. Except I think that your

96. The word ΔΚΡΙΟΝ shows again the influence of the Greek text of Matt 3:4 (μέλι ἀγρίον) on Rufus.

97. ΕΠΕΤΖΛΟΥΛΩΟΥ: Crum [672a] quotes this from Zoega.

98. M.25 adds: ΖΙΤΜΠΕΠΝΑ, by the spirit.

99. ΜΑΡΕΝΕΤΖΟΠΝ: [746a] Crum cites.

100. AG, s.v., 2: «pleasure, pleasantness (that involves one in sin),» 2 Pet 2:13 «reveling in their lusts.»

101. Lit.: be deserted, abandoned. The meaning of this sentence is obscure.

102. M.26 reads: ΝΕΧΙ, and he takes. This reading cannot be correct since the possible antecedents are plural.

heart [.....] deceive [.....] from the way of truth. But as for you, O Christian man, take courage and know: «It is the man Christ Jesus who gave himself as a ransom for everyone» (1 Tim 2:6), at whose coming to us many were amazed (cf. Isa 52:14?).¹⁰³ But, so that we do not go through a multitude of words, listen to the explanation of these other tests with which this divine son was tempted. It is the son of man who is being taken to [.....] himself.

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I hear: «Then Jesus was taken to the desert by the spirit to be tempted by the devil» (Matt 4:1). It is this good savior who put on the whole man for our salvation. He covered himself with the mortal nature for the sake of the restoration of our life, raising us up on the degrees of knowledge, putting himself down for the sake of building up our salvation, being an infant in the womb for the sake of those who will be in the womb of doctrine, those who will be guided by the comforting Holy Spirit and are overshadowed by the most high hand (cf. Luke 1:35), which guides all things until they complete the period of the womb and come forth upon this same earth, being wrapped in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger for the sake of those who are wrapped, like these mindless children,¹⁰⁴ in the cares of life, lying in the animal's manger (cf. Luke 2:7) that he might draw them forth from their animal nature and change them into rational beings, advancing in age and wisdom (cf. Luke 2:52) so that they might advance in the age of virtue, coming to the Jordan to be baptized, although he is without uncleanness, although he is without stain himself, that he might purify those who have made unclean the temple of the Holy Spirit, since they have defiled the likeness of God (cf. Gen 1:27). Again now he is being taken to the mountain to be tempted, although he does not himself tempt anyone to evil, that he might give strength, power, might, and vindication, seasoning with salt (cf. Matt 5:13) all who are engaging in combat and who are being tempted by their antagonist.

I hear in the passage set down for us in the gospel: «then Jesus was taken to the desert by the spirit to be tempted by the devil» (Matt 4:1). O these divine [.....], O these spiritual successions!¹⁰⁵ Jesus was taken to the desert by the spirit. The one who says to the sun, «do not rise» and it does not rise, the one who commands the moon, «do not shine» and it does not shine (cf. Isa 13:10?), the one who commands all the stars, the one who sends thunderbolts (cf. Job 38:35?) and thunder and lightning, is being taken by the spirit to be tempted. The one who has set up the heaven like a vault (cf. Isa 40:22?) is being taken to be tempted in the desert. How low¹⁰⁶ is it that my savior is falling or how humble is it that this divine son is falling that the spirit might lift him up! Do not hear and be disturbed, O hearer. Compose

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103. The reference is to the thought rather than the exact language of Isaiah which is different. See Ciasca 2, 241.

104. Crum [101b] cites this from Zoega.

105. See note 49 above on ΔΙΑΤΟΧΗ.

106. Crum [655b] gives 21BC as Sf.

your heart and understand the basis of your faith. Be firm and hold fast to the matter of the dispensation according to the flesh of your Lord. Because just as it was as human that he advanced in age and wisdom (cf. Luke 2:52), so also it was in a human way¹⁰⁷ that was he taken up.

Someone will say to me, «if then it was as man (human) that he was taken up, what then is this desert of which I am hearing?» Perhaps it is not a desert, beloved, but it is a figure¹⁰⁸ that teaches us that as for the one who will receive the washing of rebirth, and will be in this way and be taken by the holy spirit, it is in a state of desolation that he will be and every aid will be withdrawn from him until the trial of his strength reveals that it is to the end that he will hold fast so that the angels come and minister to him, or whether it is the opposite that he will do¹⁰⁹ and be defeated and fall from his height on which he has been set.

Someone will say to me, «tell me the meaning of the expression, what desert is this to which this divine son has been taken?» Well, then, whoever will engage in combat is deprived of all aid for the sake of testing his strength. Was not this divine son also deprived of the help of his father that he might be in the desert? God forbid, beloved, that the son of God be separated at any time from his Father but it is the man that he wears concerning which all these things are said. If you wish to see him just once in the desert, listen to him in the twenty-first psalm, this one that was prophesied about the savior at the time of the cross, as he cries out, «God, my God, pay heed to me, why have you deserted me» (Ps 21:1).¹¹⁰ He has been taken then to the desert by the spirit to be tried by the devil. It is not, however, as if his power were being tested that the savior is tempted, but that he might reveal the defeat of the enemy. Every time you see that you are in misfortunes and distractions, do not be angry nor grow weak, for it is for a test of strengths by the powers on high that you are being taken into temptation (cf. Matt 6:13). I hear him speaking with the just Job, the athlete of truth: «Do you think that I have done these things to you otherwise except that you will appear just?» (Job 40:8 LXX). I also hear the savior teaching his disciples about the matter of faith in the teaching of the prayer, saying: «when you pray, say 'do not take us into temptation but save us from the evil one'» (Matt 6:13). Well then, beloved, it is each (and all) that have come of age to gird themselves for war, who have been picked out¹¹¹ from the number of twenty years upward, drawing the sword. It is by the powers on high that he will be tested

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107. Crum cites this text [653a]: «He was taken up ΚΑΤΑ2. ΡΩΜΕ, *ib* sim 2ΩC ΡΩΜΕ.»

108. ΟΥΣΙΝΕΡ2ΩΒΤΕ: literally, «way of doing.» It stands for something else and thus is similar to allegory.

109. Ε4ΝΑΑΝΔΙΔΟΥ: ἀντιτίθημι(?) set against, contrast.

110. Rufus is here quoting from the Psalm rather than from Matt 27:46 which does not contain the words ΜΑΤ 2ΤΗΚ ΕΡΟΙ.

111. ΕΚΛΑΒΕ = ἐκλαμβάνω ? LSJ: s.v., «to be picked out.»

and made to stand in the midst of the arena and he will be abandoned until the trial of their [*sic*] industriousness reveals whether he will hold fast or not.¹¹²

I hear then also after these things, «he fasted for forty days and for forty nights and afterwards he was hungry» (Matt 4:2). O these topics! Beloved, our savior fasted forty days and forty nights. It is the one «to whom the eyes of all look to give them food in due season» (Ps 145:15) of whom he said: «he was hungry.» What is this forty days and forty nights? It is the established manner of fasting that he is teaching you, O hearer, this that Moses and Elias fasted when they fasted from the world and the thought of the flesh. As for the these (i.e., the forty days and forty nights) that have been given to you¹¹³ also as teaching, which is this forty days annually for you to fast from the world and its concerns and its desires, for you to rob the flesh of its food and its pleasures, the number that is made up of four decades - this is ten - is the relative of the four monads because of the four elements in which the whole sensible realm consists.¹¹⁴ As for these, it is for us now that the savior has fulfilled them and, in keeping with the (amount of) time which indeed he knows [?], afterwards he was hungry. It was not that the savior was hungry but it was first about the humanity, which he was wearing, that he has informed us, namely, that he would be hungry afterwards just like every man because of the unruly¹¹⁵ nature of humanity, since if they fast these forty days, afterwards they are also hungry. It is the one who opens his hands and the whole creation is filled with his goodness (cf. Ps 144:16) of whom it was said that «he was hungry»! Do not hunger and seek for food, O man. It was from the world and the things in the world that he fasted. For, if you hunger again for those things from which you have also fasted, then suddenly the the tempter will approach you and you will hear from him the things written of in this typical case.¹¹⁶ It (the text) said,¹¹⁷ «the tempter approached him <and said:>¹¹⁸ 'if you are the son of God, say: let¹¹⁹ these stones become bread'» (Matt 4:3). «If you are» as if he did not know, although he does know, but it is this that he wants: to make him say «I am» or

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112. See M.29, I.23 for similar language.

113. The manuscript was corrected by erasing and rewriting ΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΔΥ ΝΑΚ, which extends into the left margin since there was not enough room for all of this. The construction remains awkward.

114. This interpretation is attributed to Origen in the catenae. See chap. 5, 291.

115. ΝΑΠΕΦΟΡΟΝΟΣ: ἐφορεύω (Lampe, s.v.) govern, rule over? The form is not in LSJ, AG, Lampe, or Stephanus.

116. ΜΠΕΙΤΥΠΟΣ: for a discussion of the word ΤΥΠΟΣ, see chap. 4, 257.

117. ΠΕΧΛΑÇ may be out of order in the quotation which in Matt 4:3 reads ΛΑΓΓΕÇ... ΠΕΧΛΑÇ.

118. Add ΠΕΧΛΑÇ: haplography.

119. The text given by Horner is different and has III Fut. instead of optative: ΔΞΙÇ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕ ΝΕΙΩΝΕ ΡΟΕΙΚ.

say «no» and deny the profession of his sonship. Someone will say to me, «What sort of temptation is this? 'Say: let these stones become bread.'» It is a great temptation, beloved, for it is not stones of which the tempter is saying «let them become bread,» but they are figurative stones. It is these that the father did not give to his son in place of bread when he asked for it (Matt 7:9). «Say,» he said, «let these stones become bread.» It is evident that there is a food for the body; it will not be able to live without it. There is one for the soul; (it)¹²⁰ will not be able to be healthy apart from it.¹²¹ the latter will not be healthy. Just as there is a deadly food opposed to life, which is evident, so also there is a harmful¹²² teaching opposed to the rational soul. This now is what the tempter has put forward¹²³ to this divine son, that he should speak and his hard words and his literal¹²⁴ words would become food for those who will be hungry, those who do not have the faculties¹²⁵ to exercise¹²⁶ in distinguishing between what is good and what is evil. The blind devil did not know that it was the judge with whom he was speaking. The one who has the many in his hand, separating the wheat from the chaff, is the one whom he is tempting. It is he who answered him, not sharply nor in sadness but as a humble man, {not}¹²⁷ with humble words, but he is also like one of those learned in the law, citing a passage from Deuteronomy: «it is not by bread alone that man will live but by every word that comes forth from the mouth of God» (Matt 4:4), for this is from Deuteronomy (cf. Deut 8:3) and it is (written) that the passage might inform you that the stones of which it is speaking are expressions of evil teaching.¹²⁸ These are also the stones that are in the hands of the Jews who want to throw them at this divine son (John 10:31). Let us endeavor to recognize them that we may not take of them and eat and become hard of heart and be callous in our heart like Pharoah and hold back the true Israel and lay hold of the clear-sighted one¹²⁹

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120. Read perhaps <NC>ΝΑΕΨΟΥΧΑΙ.

121. ΝΒΕΛΛΑC: ΒΩΛ [35a] ΝΒΒΛ =, means πλήν, χωρίς.

122. Read ΝΒΛΑΒΕΡΑ.

123. ΠΡΟΔΕΙΝΑ: προτείνω.

124. ΝΑΙCΘΗΤΟΝ αἰσθητός LSJ: pertaining to the senses, sensible; Lampe: opposed to mental and spiritual, in exegesis: literal.

125. ΝΕΥΑΙCΘΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ αἰσθητήριον: organ of sense, intellectual faculty.

126. ΕΤΡΕΥΓΥΜΝΑΖΕ γυμνάζω train, exercise; mental exercise, disputation.

127. Perhaps ΑΝ is dittography.

128. See chap. 5, 291-292 for the background of this interpretation in Origen.

129. ΡΕCΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ: «clear-sighted one» or «seer». There is probably involved here a reference to the etymology of «Israel.» Crum gives [234a] seer Z335 διορατικός. But this Greek word is used in the interpretation of the name Israel. See Lampe, s.v. 2.e. See also Wutz, 88, 90, 526: Ισραηλ νοῦς ὁρῶν θεόν. Note use of ΔΙΟΡΑΤΙΚΟΝ below on this page. See also chap. 4, 268 on the use of etymologies.

to humiliate him by our hard deeds, by the clay and the making of bricks and¹³⁰ lest the ten plagues of our knowledge¹³¹ come upon us and destroy our sonships, the offspring of this night of ignorance filled with obstacles and scandal, which we have made for ourselves, but (let us endeavor)¹³² to be prepared to give an explanation to everyone who asks us for a word of teaching.

Further on I hear after these things: «the devil took him to the holy city and he stood him on the wing of the temple. He said to him, 'if you are the son of God, throw yourself down from this place. For it is written, «he will order his angels concerning you to guard you in all your ways and¹³³ bear you upon their hands lest you strike your foot on a stone»'» (Matt 4:5-6). It is fitting, beloved, for everyone, over whose vision¹³⁴ lies this veil of the introductory teaching, to turn to the Lord, that is, to the spirit, that he may take the veil away and they may perceive the glory of God with face uncovered (cf. 2 Cor 3:14-18),¹³⁵ that they may grasp the words of this gospel.

He said indeed, «the devil took him to the holy city and he stood him upon the wing of the temple.» He has ceased being misfortune and he has become diabolical.¹³⁶ Someone will say to me «this temptation is different.» But it is about the wickedness of the enemy that the Scripture wishes to inform you, that he is Satan who tempts and who slanders.¹³⁷

What is that city? Surely I shall not be able to say that this is Jerusalem, «which killed the prophets, which stoned those who had been sent to it» (Matt 23:37), can I? Rather, the city of each one is his soul. It is this (= there) that the one who has learned to build will build of his mind a temple and place upon it a pinnacle,¹³⁸ the height of spiritual interpretation.¹³⁹ «He took him to the holy city. He stood him upon the wing of the temple» (Matt 4:5). If now then each one, beloved, has an edifice like a city having also a

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130. The change of person in the sequence of conjunctives is awkward but they appear to continue the neg. III Fut. **NNENXI**.

131. **MPENEIME** [78a] **EIME** is not attested as a noun in Sahidic.

132. This appears to resume **MARENERAPATOOTN** above.

133. The words in italics are cited from Ps 90:11, not from Matt 4:6, and are omitted in ms BM when the verse is cited. See M.34 (B7v) and M.35 (A11) which include and omit the words respectively. There may be different texts of Matthew at the base of this discrepancy. See Horner for the variant: **ETPEY2APE2 EPOK** 11.1, Syr (s) (Eth).

134. See note 129 above on **PECHAY**.

135. Compare the use of this text in M.3, lines 6-10.

136. The word **PERICTACIC** was used also in M.30 and translated «misfortunes.» This sentence may refer to the fact that in Matt 4:1-5 the first verse uses the passive for being taken (that he might be tempted), then in vs. 3 it mentions the tempter (**PETTEIPAZE**) and in vs. 5 the devil (**ΠΔΙΔΟΛΟC**) is the actor.

137. The verb **ΔΙΑΒΑΛΕ** (sic) **διδάλλω**, having the same root as **ΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC** above, is meant to explain the latter. This etymological relationship cannot be rendered in English, although the English word «devil» comes from **διδάλλω**. The verb also means «to slander» and **διδάλλω** means «slanderer.»

temple in it and a pinnacle on it, it is this that his enemy, his opponent, lays hold of to make him advance and mount up on the wing of the temple and his edifice, that is, the height of the virtues, not as if he loves him but in order that he might endeavor to make him fall down from this great height, that his fall might be great. It is this one now whom this savior is following laughing, while that one is imagining a great fall. But the savior, for his part, as he knows his dishonesty (the devil's) and that his power is a dead thing, has followed him, being courageous so that his words will not be able to deceive him.

The deceiver said to him, «if you are the son of God, throw yourself down from this place.» Then in order to adorn his deceitful words he introduces a quotation. He said, «for it is written that he will command his angels concerning you to guard you in all your ways and¹⁴⁰ bear you upon their hands lest you strike your foot upon a stone» (Matt 4:6 [Ps 90:11]).

[The translation has been omitted since the text is duplicated in M.34 and M.36.]

Listen to the ignorant: «it is the teacher that he will teach.»¹⁴¹ As for this language, it has power to deceive¹⁴² many because it is truly written concerning our savior. Insofar, however, as this psalm, the ninetieth (goes), it is not about the savior that it is written but about all the just who are struggling to dwell in the aid¹⁴³ of the most high. For how will you dare to say of the savior that it is him that this psalm fits, in so far as it is this that is written: «whoever dwells in the aid of the most high will be under the shadow of the God of heaven. He will say to the Lord, 'you are my savior and my place of refuge, my God. It is in him that I will trust'» (Ps 90:1). He was silent about¹⁴⁴ those things which would convict him.¹⁴⁵ He took these words from the middle of the psalm: «he will command his angels concerning you that they take you into their hands» (Matt 4:6[Ps 90:11]),¹⁴⁶ unless indeed he

138. Pinnacle is the traditional English that is also etymologically the equivalent of ΠΤΕΡΥΓΙΟΝ. Here Rufus clearly shows acquaintance with the Greek text. The Sahidic version translates πτερύγιον by TṢ̄ as in the citation above. The Greek word is in fact a diminutive of πτέρυξ (TṢ̄). In this translation TṢ̄ is translated as «wing» and ΠΤΕΡΥΓΙΟΝ as «pinnacle.» The scribe obviously did not understand the word πτερύγιον, which is misspelled in lines 10 and 14.

139. He seems to mean that the interpreter of Scripture will erect in his soul a temple constructed out of the ΝΟΥΣ, which is the higher part of the soul. For the anthropological conception, see chap. 4, 245. For the meaning of ΝΟΗΜΑ, see chap. 4, 252 and for this allegorical interpretation of the temptation, see chap. 5, 292.

140. See note 133 above on this text.

141. M.35 (A11) has «It is the teacher that I will teach.»

142. Read with M.35: ΟΥΝΘΟΜ ΜΜΟC ΕΑΠΑΤΑ.

143. M.35 reads consistently ΖΑΤΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ. Budge (98) gives ΖΝΤΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ.

144. Read ΕΝΕΤ- with M.35.

145. This is a reference to Ps 90:13. See chap. 5, 293, note 65.

goes as far as the hand of the angels.¹⁴⁷ As for these latter, it is of their inferiority compared with the honor of the son that the holy apostle Paul informed us when he writes saying, «To which of his angels did he ever say, 'You are my son, this day have I begotten you?'» (Heb 1:5). But since the enemy, the devil, wishes to make every man fall down from the edifice and the height of their virtue, he said, «if you are the son of God, throw yourself down» (Matt 4:6).

But the gentle, long-suffering and kind savior, for his part, instead of answering him in anger, gently answered him: «It is written also that you shall not tempt the Lord your God» (Matt 4:7). It is this that he is telling you, that you should not be faint-hearted in temptation nor should you be anxious in tribulations and curse the one who quarrels with you, but with gentleness and wisdom you should answer him, knowing that «tribulation makes for endurance and endurance for character,

[The translation has been omitted since the text is duplicated in M.36 (B8) and M.38 (B8v).]

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[The translation has been omitted since the text of M.38 is wholly contained in M.39(B8v).]

38

character for hope but hope does not disappoint» (Rom 5:3-4).

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Further on I hear in the third temptation, «he took him up on a very high mountain. He showed him all the kingdoms of the world and their glory. He said to him, 'all these things I will give you if you will fall down and worship me'» (Matt 4:8-9). If they are skillful words, it is to the creator of the heaven and the earth, the one who makes firm the world and the things in it, that the enemy is speaking them. If you consider the (literal) text,¹⁴⁸ who is it who will believe that there is a mountain so high that someone would be able to go up on it to see all the kingdoms of the earth, that of the Persians, that of the Romans, that of the Hindus, that of the Scythians, that of the Britons, that of the Moors and the Ethiopians? Rather it is without question a story¹⁴⁹ which the scripture is telling us here. Perhaps it is because of the prince of this age, he who has said, «I will act through my power and my wisdom. I will take the nations to despoil their power. I will take the whole

146. Here M.35 (A11) adds: ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝΚΧΩΡΉ ΝΤΕΚΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΕΥΩΝΕ, which does not make as good sense in view of the fact that Rufus says «he goes as far as the hand of the angels.» However, the citation of the psalm in Matt 4:6 in fact includes these words which may be why they are included by BM.

147. The point is that he (the devil) does not cite vs. 13, which, in a common patristic interpretation, was taken to refer to the devil.

148. Or «literal sense.» See chap. 4, 255 on the meaning of the word ΖΗΤΩΝ.

149. A saying or story: this example is used by Origen to show that the literal sense cannot always be taken seriously. Origen, *P. Arch.* 4,3,1. For discussion of the principle of *defectus litterae*, see chap. 4, 264.

inhabited world like a bird's nest in my hand and I will take them like eggs which have been left» (cf. Isa 10:13-14 LXX).¹⁵⁰ When he saw our Lord, that he had come to this life and had taken the form of man (cf. Phil 2:7) for the sake of the salvation of humanity, it is that he would be able to deceive him with his lying words that he is thinking.

Then the Lord answered him in his goodness saying, «Depart, Satan, for it is written, 'it is the Lord your God whom you shall worship and it is him alone whom you shall serve'» (Matt 4:10). As for this text, it is from Deuteronomy that he took it. As for the things that he explained by the Spirit, it is as human testimony that he put them forward. And at once when he warned him, he did not try again to deceive him

[The translation has been omitted since the text of M.40 is wholly contained in M.39(B8v).]

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with his deceitful words, nor was he able to cast him down from the edifice of virtue nor was he able to ensnare him in the pride of life. When he said to him, «Depart, Satan,» it was necessary for him to go, and behold, the angels came and ministered to him. Let the one who would be victorious rejoice and strive that he might be ministered to by angels. For it is everyone, if he hungers and is careful not to take from strange and changed teachings and not to be nourished with deceitful words. And whoever will mount up on the pinnacle of the temple, let him not come down from the height of his virtue but let him treat with scorn the empty glory of this world and laugh at the enemy and his temptations. The angels will minister to him.

You have heard about the angel who ministered to Elias bringing bread to him to eat and water to drink (cf. 1 Kgs 19:5).¹⁵¹

You have heard about the one who ministered to Daniel when he carried Habakuk and the lunch he had fixed to him in the lion's den (cf. Dan 14:34).

You have heard about the three holy ones, how the angel came down to the furnace and quenched the flames of the fire around them (cf. Dan 3:49).

You have heard about the days of Sennacherib, how the angel of the Lord came and killed in the camp of the Assyrians one hundred eighty-five thousand in a single night (cf. 2 Kgs 19:35).

You have heard about Eliseus, that the mountain was filled with horses and chariots of fire helping the prophet (cf. 2 Kgs 6:17).

150. The quotation is somewhat loose and suggests that he is quoting from memory. The Sahidic version (Morgan 568, f.10r) has: $\text{†NAEIPÉ ZNTA\text{C}OM AYW ZNTA\text{C}OFIA NTAMNTFMN\text{Z}HT \cdot \text{†NA\text{Q}I NNTO\text{W} NN\text{Z}E\text{Θ}NOC \cdot AYW \text{†NA}\text{W}\text{W}\text{A} NTEY\text{C}OM \cdot \text{†NANO\text{E}IN NNMT\text{O}LIC ET\text{C}OP\text{C} \cdot AYW \text{†NA}\text{X}I NT\text{O}IKOY\text{M}ENH THPC ZNTA\text{-}SIX \cdot N\text{ΘE} NOYMA\text{Z} \cdot AYW \text{†}\text{C}ITOY N\text{ΘE} N\text{Z}\text{N}\text{C}OOY\text{Z}\text{E} EAY\text{Λ}O ZAPOOY$ (Bibliothecae P. Morgan Codices coptici photographicae expressi; Rome, 1922).

151. The forms $\text{E}\text{C}\text{OY}\text{W}\text{M}\text{A}\text{N}$ and ECW are present circumstantial used in a final sense. See Till #328, 423. If they were serving as relative clauses with an undetermined noun as antecedent (Till, #475), one would expect object pronouns.

You have heard about the angel who opened the doors of the prison at night and brought Peter out (cf. Acts 12:7) and he struck Herod and he was worm-eaten and died (cf. Acts 12:23).

This is also how it is now. If there had been no one who fights for us, then those who fight against us would have swallowed us up alive (cf. Ps 123:2-3). Now then, rejoice, you just people, and be strong [.....] and bless God who fights for us, since there is no one who will be able to prevail against us. «It is the Christ who has died who is all the more the one who has risen from the dead. He it is also who is at the right hand of God and who intercedes for us. Who is it who will separate us from the love of God?» (Rom 8:34). To him be the glory and the power and the dominion before all ages with his good Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

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The ninth homily of this wise one, Apa Rufus, the bishop of the city of Shotep on the Gospel according to Matthew, the text being this: «But he heard that John had been handed over and he went to Galilee. He left Nazareth,» (Matt 4:12) etc.

I hear the holy apostle Paul rousing us through the love of the Thessalonians, this that he has toward them. Together with the love that he has toward them, it is about this that he is telling them, that it is like a single hour that he counts the whole time that he has been deprived of them. It is in their first epistle that he writes to them saying it as follows: «Brothers, having been deprived of you¹⁵² for the time of about an hour¹⁵³ in person, not in the heart» (1 Thes 2:17), knowing that the separation of the body is to him a considerable obstacle as he testifies in many places. It is to the Romans indeed that he writes «I intended many times to come to you, and I have been prevented until now, in order that I might bear fruit among you» (Rom 1:13). As also he

[4 leaves are missing from the manuscript BN]

I hear now: «when he heard that John had been handed over, he withdrew to Galilee» (Matt 4:12).

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[4 lines unreadable]

in Judaea. «No,» he said, «it is to Galilee that I will go.» Go up to Galilee of the gentiles because the king will not go to war without an army. The star does not shine without its rays. This is how I will go to Galilee that my war may be against

[The rest of the translation has been omitted since the rest of the text is contained in M.45]

152. See Crum [937a] III. approxim trans of 1 Thes 2:17 ἀπορρανίζεσθαι.

153. Both Horner and Thompson read: ἡνολογούνοy.

[The translation has been omitted since the text is wholly contained in M.45] 44

the prince of wickedness, the one who has made his house in the sea, submerged in the deep waters, because I have seen fishermen in that place knowing the craft of the sea. It is to the house of the dragon that they will dive. It is to the king of those who are in the water that they will be able to go and despoil his treasure chambers. Peter will find me and Andrew, James and John, preparing their nets that they might become «fishers, catchers of men» (Mark 1:17).¹⁵⁴ 45

Further on I hear: «he left Nazareth and he came and dwelt in Capharnaum, the one¹⁵⁵ by the sea in the territories of Zebulon and Naphthali» (Matt 4:13). He left Nazareth, the village which gives the name of Nazorean to whomever will live there. «He left Nazareth.» It is this that the text is telling us: that he left the territory of the people and he went to the gentiles. But if you will hear and also apply (it) to yourself, O hearer, perhaps it is this that the evangelist is indicating to us here as a significant point, that he left Nazareth the dwelling place of the Hebrews, those holy¹⁵⁶ within their territories.¹⁵⁷ It is these that do not shave their vowed hair (cf. Judg 13:5), for they are virginal properties. As for these, it is from them, the places of these immortals, that he has come forth. He has come to Capharnaum, this that is called the place of consolation, the field of consolation.¹⁵⁸ There is no such (literally: this) field, beloved, except for the soul which will become a field of the Word for him to plough and fertilize and do his farming in it so that it brings forth the fruit of consolation. It is this (the soul) that grieves and mourns even for the departure¹⁵⁹ of our savior, the man of consolation. For before the departure of this divine son, the regions of Zebulon and Naphthali were grieving under the power of the pitiless ruler who enlarges his chain,¹⁶⁰ adding to (the) weight of his shoulders. For what even greater grief is there 46

154. The phrase in Matthew is ΝΟΥΩΞΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ. ΝΡΕΨΕΠΡΩΜΕ is found only in Mark. There is no difference in the Greek text between Matthew and Mark.

155. Homer has ΤΑΙ ΕΤΖΑΤΗ.

156. See note 57 above for etymologies of the word ΝΑΖΩΡΑΙΟΣ. The idea of «holy» is a traditional meaning and may be derived from the context of Judg 13:4-7 where it is said that the Nazirite is not to eat anything unclean. Jerome also gives «holy» as a meaning. See Jérôme, *Commentaire sur S. Matthieu. Tome I. Livres I et II.* (ed. E. Bonnard; SC 242; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1978), 89.

157. ΤΩΩ: Since Rufus plays with this word extensively, the translation is given consistently as «territory» despite different nuances of meaning such as «border» or «limit.»

158. Rufus gives the traditional etymology first in Greek then a Sahidic translation. The exact Greek phrase ΧΩΡΙΟΝ ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΣΕΩΣ is not found in the *Onomastica sacra* which give rather: ὁ τῆς παρακλήσεως ἄγρος, κώμη παρακλήσεως, οἶκος παρακλήσεως (ἡ ἄγρος π'). Jerome gives: Cafarnaum ager vel villa consolationis. See Wutz, 40.

159. ΑΠΟΔΗΜΙΑ: the word is a euphemism for «death» as in the English phrase «faithful departed» or the Italian «scomparso.»

160. See similar language in M.19.

than this: that the noble man, the one in the image of God, should exchange his nobility and worship pieces of wood and stones and demonic fantasies and many other wicked things, which he causes them to do? In order therefore, that we might not produce any one of the abominable things which are done in the worship of idols, this is the grief which came upon the world formerly. It is this that the servants of the spirit were not able to allay. They cried out, «we have tried to heal Babylon and she has not been healed. Let us leave her because her misfortune has increased» (Jer 28:9 LXX). Again also: «Is there no balm in Galaad or physician there? Why has healing not come to the daughter of my people?» (Jer 8:22). Therefore Capharnaum was grieving until the king of light, the living Word, came and saved her from the power of darkness and the error of idolatry and changed the grief of the world to consolation, and the saying of the psalmist David was fulfilled, «the weeping will be in the evening and the rejoicing will be in the morning» (Ps 29:6), and Isaiah bore witness by the spirit, «the mourning has fled and the sorrow and the groaning» (Isa 51:11 LXX). Now Capharnaum is called, «the field of consolation.» It is this that is in the territories of Zebulon and Naphthali, that is, «the faithful from the circumcision» (Acts 10:45) and the whole church of the gentiles. It is as Isaiah the prophet said, «Yes, this first, do it quickly, region¹⁶¹ of Zebulon, land of Naphthali. Also the remainder who are settled on the seacoast and the further side of the Jordan, the Galilee of the gentiles, the people that sat in darkness, has seen¹⁶² a great light. As for those who are in the land and the shadow of death, the light has dawned for them» (Isa 8:23-9:1 LXX). For it is Zebulon that is interpreted the «flow or destruction by night.»¹⁶³ What is the «flow by night» except the worship deriving from¹⁶⁴ the circumcision. It is this that indeed held sway formerly. It has been upset and overturned in the face of the departure (=death) of our savior. It is as he said, «I will overturn his wall and he will become an object of plunder,» (Isa 5:5)¹⁶⁵ in order that he might establish the true worship as it is written, «I will rebuild the tent of David, the one which has fallen» (Amos

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161. The LXX has χωρα. Horner has πκα2+ here in Matt 4:15. But Rufus is quoting from Isa 8:23 LXX since the words σεπαι νωοπι αρικ σεπη (= Isa 8:23 LXX τοῦτο πρῶτον ποιεῖ, ταχὺ ποιεῖ) are not contained in Matt 4:15-16 where the rest of the text is cited. The text of the Sahidic version (Morgan 568, f.8r) reads: σεπαι. νωοπι. αρικ σεπη. τεχωρα νκαβογλων πκα2 ννεφωλλιμ. αγω πκεωωχιπ ετογυη2 ζντπαρ2αλια. μνηπεκρο μπιορδανης. νκαηνη2εθνοc ντογδαλια. πλαοc ετμοοφε ζνηπκακε αγναγ εγνοc νογοειν. νετ2μοοc ζντεχωρα μνωιβεc μπμογ. πογοειν ναωα εχωτν (Bibliothecae P. Morgan Codices coptici photographicae expressi; Rome, 1922).

162. The LXX has: ἴδετε φῶς μέγα.

163. See Wutz, 481-482: Philo: ῥύσις νυκτερίας; Ambr. ep. III,12 profluvium quoque nocturnum; Jerome, fluxus noctis (11,29) but see quest. hebr. in Gen: «Male igitur et violenter in libro nominum Zabulon fluxus noctis interpretatur.»

164. μπεεβολ: see Crum [34b].

9:11 [Cf. Acts 15:16]).¹⁶⁶

But Naphthali (is interpreted) as: «extent.»¹⁶⁷ For what is the «extent» except the people of the gentiles? It is this that Noah foretold¹⁶⁸ the blessings saying «extend Japheth and let him dwell in the houses of Sem» (Gen 9:27). These are the two sons who covered the nakedness of their father, looking backward until they covered the nakedness of their father (cf. Gen 9:23). Our savior dwelt in Capharnaum, «within the territories of Zebulon.» Observe closely and perceive the exact sense of these words. «Within the territories,» he said, «of Zebulon and Naphthali.» In what territory does this Capharnaum fall in which you dwelt, O my savior? Why did you not make it clear but you gave them territories with each other? «If I am the chief 'corner stone,» he said, «that by which the whole building is joined together, growing up to a temple holy to the Lord» (Eph 2:21), know also that it is in Capharnaum that I have dwelt, that which is in the middle of the two territories, in order that I might join Zebulon, that I might graft¹⁶⁹ the wild olive tree to the sweet olive tree (cf. Rom 11:24), that they might be partners in this one thing (thus) made,¹⁷⁰ that I might join these new and these old things, that I might become the fullness¹⁷¹ of the law and the prophets, the heralds and the apostles of the confession of the gospel, that I might teach those who will follow the preaching to join the writings of the law to the gospels and the prophecies of the prophets to the teaching of the apostles,¹⁷² that I might reconcile them all to my father¹⁷³ through my blood through the

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165. ΤΩΡΤΙ is not an exact translation of the LXX καταπάτημα meaning «something trampled under foot.» The Sahidic version (Morgan 568, f.4r) has 2WM which does correspond to καταπάτημα.

166. The citation does not correspond exactly to either Amos 9:11 or to Acts 15:16 but the vocabulary of ΤΑ20 and ԿՈՐԿԸ seems to be drawn from this citation. Amos 9:11 (Ciasca 2,331): ԴՆԱԴԱ20 ԵՐԱԾԻ ՆԵՇԿԻՆԻ ՆԱԿԵԻԱ ԴԵՆԱԿԶԵ ԵԶՐԱԻ ԱԿՈՒ ԴՆԱԿՈՒ ՆԵՆԱԿԶԵ ԵԶՐԱԻ ՆԶԻԾԻ ԱԿՈՒ ՆԵՆԱԿԶԸՐՈՐՈՅ ՆԴԱԿ ԴՆԱԴԱ20ՈՅ ԵՐԱԾՈՅ ԱԿՈՒ ԴՆԱԿՈՒ ՆՈԵ ՆԵ20ՈՅ ՄԻԱԿՈՆ. Acts 15:16 (Thompson): ԿԱԿՈՒ ՆԵՇԿԻՆԻ ՆԱԿԵԻԱ ԴԵՆԱԿԶԵ . ԱԿՈՒ ԴՆԱԿՈՒ ՆԵՆԱԿԶՈՐՈՐ. ՆԶԻԾԻ ԱԿՈՒ ԿԱԴԱ20Ը ԵՐԱԾԻ .

167. See Wutz, 558: Neptalim latitudo; Νεφθαλήμ πλατυσμός ἡ ἀντίληψις; Νεφθαλείμ πλατυσμός; Philo de somniis II,5: Νεφθαλήμ. πλατυσμός ἡ διανεωγμένος. Theodoret ἐπιμνη. εἰς τὸν Ἦσ κεφ. Θ. Νεφθαλείμ ἐρμηνευόμενος σύμβολόν ἐστι τῶν ἐθνῶν πλατυνθέντων ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ. Ambr. epist. III, 10: Neptalim abundantia signatur latina interpretatione vel dilatatio. Jerome: latitudo.

168. ԿՈՐԿԻՄԱՆԸ: = προσμαίνειν (AG, s.v. σημαίνω) «foretell.»

169. Read as finalis like the verbs in M.48 (B11v,1.2).

170. ԵԴԵՊՈՒԻԿԻՏ: the Greek noun ποιήτης is masc. and is used chiefly of God as «maker» in patristic literature. See Lampe, s.v. There is also an adj. ποιήτος, «made.» The feminine here presumably refers to ԵԿԸ.

171. The word may have been suggested by the Greek text of Col 1:20. The Coptic text has ԲԽԱԿ ԿԻՐԻ.

172. See M.59 for a similar passage about the relationship of the Old and New Testaments.

173. Col 1:20: ԵԶԵԿԻՒԿԻՐ ԵՐՈԿ.

cross (Col 1:20)¹⁷⁴ to a glory of the holy Trinity for ever and ever. Amen.

The tenth homily that this wise one, the holy Apa Rufus, the bishop of the city of Shotep, gave on the Gospel according to Matthew, the text being this: «From that time on Jesus began to preach and to say, 'Repent for the kingdom of heaven has drawn near'» (Matt 4:17) etc.

Look at the evil weapon, how terrible it is (from the moment of) its manufacture before even it is needed to perform its function, like a sword and a spear which when you find them are fearful even before this merciless man takes them up to make war with them.

Look also at the good seed, how it comes up eagerly from the first before it puts forth its fruit. Look also at the profusion of the wreath and its delight while the craftsman is still making it before the one that will wear it puts it on his head. Look at the dew of the honey,¹⁷⁵ how it acquires sweetness from being in the sky, while it is still in the womb of the air,¹⁷⁶ before it comes down upon the grass for the bee to take it and work it in the hive

[The translation is omitted since the text is wholly contained in M.48 (B11v)]

[The first portion of the translation is omitted since the text is contained in M.48 (B11v)]

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[Look] also at the living word, how it gives sweetness to the ear of those who listen from the beginning even before he preaches, before he opens the hive of the honey of doctrine¹⁷⁷ and puts (it) on the mouths of those who will receive from them. It is these that look toward him, to the living Word. If they taste them, they cry out, «Your words have been sweeter in my mouth, my God, than honey» (Ps 118:103).¹⁷⁸ I hear in

[12 leaves (24 pages) missing]

174. Note the variant of A13,10: ΖΙΤ̄Μ̄ΠΕCΤΑΥΡΟC. ΖΙ is normally not used as a conjunction when there is an article present. See Till #375. The language is clearly inspired by Col 1:20. The text given by Thompson reads: ΖΙΤ̄Μ̄ΠΕCΝΟC Μ̄ΠΕCΤ̄Ρ̄ΟC. There is a variant in the Greek text tradition, δι' αὐτοῦ, which may account for the confusion.

175. Crum [87b] cites this text from Zoega and offers a translation.

176. It was a widespread ancient idea about honey that it was a celestial dew. See Olck in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Biene, 438 and W. Telfer, «'Bees' in Clement of Alexandria» *The Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1926-27): 168. For further discussion see chap. 4, 270-273.

177. Compare M.1 (B1) where honey also represents interpretation/doctrine. See also Evagrius, *Scholia* 72, where honey represents θεωρία (see note 8 above). Evagrius also quotes Ps 118:103.

178. The quotation is not exact. Budge (131) reads: ΑΝΕΚΩΛΑΞΕ ΖΛΟC Ζ̄ΝΤΑΨΟΥΩΒΕ ΕΖΟΥΕ ΟΥΕΒΙΩ Ζ̄ΝΡΩ̄. The LXX has: τὰ λόγια σου ὑπὲρ μέλι καὶ κηρίον τῷ στόματι μου.

[M.51-M.58 are from a separate homily on the text of Matt 5:5-8]

I heard also in the gradual psalms: «Lord, remember David and all his gentleness» (Ps 132:1). I searched again and I found the one who is gentle beyond all others, Jesus Christ our Lord. Gentle indeed are those of whom we have spoken but gentle of heart is our [savior] beyond all others whether in the heaven or on the earth. For he said, «learn from me for I am gentle and humble in my heart so that you may find rest for your souls» (Matt 11:29). As for this one, «like a sheep that was brought to be slain and like a guileless¹⁷⁹ lamb, before his shearer, does not raise¹⁸⁰ his voice, so he opened not his mouth. In his humiliation his judgement was taken away.¹⁸¹ As for his generation, who will be able to recount it?» (Acts 8:32-33 [Isa 53:7-8]).¹⁸² He alone is the guileless gentle one, «this one who, when he was cursed, did not curse, and, when he was suffering, was not angry» (1 Pet 2:23), keeping silent at the scorn of the Jews and the threats of Herod and the decree of death of the cross of Pilate so that on account of these things the sun became dark (cf. Matt 27:45 [Luke 23:44; Mk 15:33]) and the earth trembled (cf. Matt 27:51) and the angel tore the curtain (cf. Matt 27:51 [Mk 15:38]).¹⁸³ This great wonder! The whole creation, the creator is silent. But what is gentleness? Beloved, gentleness then is nothing else than non-anger and un wrathfulness. For the father of all things, the creator, and the only-begotten son are gentle. It is this one that our sins were not able to provoke to anger and our lawlessnesses did not disturb. For behold, even the world has been redeemed [?]. Behold a great occasion on account of our sins. It is evident, then, that the gentle of whom he speaks are those who have swallowed anger. They have cast anger out of themselves, those whom wrath does not make irate,¹⁸⁴ whose anger neither slander, material things nor

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179. ΝΒΑΛΖΗΤ: this word is missing in the text of Acts 8:32-33 given by Horner and Thompson as well as in the text of Isa 53:7-8 given by Ciasca 2,242. It is also missing from the Sahidic text of Isaiah offered by Morgan 568, f.54v.

180. Horner reads ΕΝΨ† ΑΝ and Thompson gives ΕΝΨ†ΑΝ (neg. pres. circumstantial). Cf. Till #404: «Dieses ε wird vor der Negation allerdings häufig nichtgeschrieben.»

181. This is the translation which Horner gives for ΖΜΠΕΘΕΒΒΙΟ ΤΕΚΡΙCIC ΑΥΧΙΤC. Thompson gives ΑΥΧΙ ΜΠΕΘ2ΑΠ but suggests that ΤΕΚΡΙCIC ΑΥΧΙΤC was probably the original which was improved later by reference to the OT (p. 24). The numerous variants in the versions (see Horner and Thompson) suggest that the meaning was not clear. The Greek of Acts 8:33 is 'Εν τῇ ταπεινώσει [αὐτοῦ] ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη for which the Vulgate gives: in humilitate eius iudicium eius sublatum est. The LXX of Isa 53:8 is the same as the NT but the Vulgate gives: de angustia et de iudicio sublatum est.

182. The text has been cited from Acts rather than from Isa 53:7-8 which reads: ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΕCΟΟΥ ΑΥΝΤC ΕΠΕCΜΑ ΝΝΚΟΝCΨ ΑΥΩ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΖΙΕΙΒ ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΤ2ΩΩΚ ΜΜΟC ΜΠΕC† ΝΤΕCΜΗ ΤΑΙΤΕΘΕ ΜΠΕCΟΥΩΝ ΝΡΩC. ΖΜΠΕΘΕΒΒΙΟ ΑΥΧΙ ΜΠΕΘ2ΑΠ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΑΨ ΨΑΧΕ ΕΤΕCΓΕΝΕΑ.

183. This is a conflation of all three synoptics. Luke mentions ΠΡΗ but «as it was about to set.» No angel appears in any of them to tear the curtain.

184. Crum does not give this form [252b].

death, beloved, is able to bring out, but it is at all times that they are calm, quietly rejoicing, being joyful with a great joy of the holy spirit, having fled from the harm of sin that they might inherit the land of the gentle, the good land, indestructible, imperishable, the land of the inheritance of the just, the land that flows with the rational milk, in which there is no deceit, and the spiritual honey, the land of everlasting life. This is what the gentle inherit.

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Further on I hear, «Blessed are those who are hungry, who thirst for righteousness because it is they who will be satisfied» (Matt 5:6). How do they hunger for righteousness? How do they taste it? For this is evident, it is not a bodily food,¹⁸⁵ but, just as with the hunger of the flesh - it is for its food that each living being hungers - so it is with the spiritual soul. If it is strong and innocent of sin, it is for righteousness that it hungers. It is its food. Blessed is he who hungers, who thirsts for righteousness. It is the food that has been assigned to it. It is in the likeness of men that God has made them.¹⁸⁶ What then is righteousness? I will explain it. It is one among the virtues by means of which the others are instructed. For it is the custom of the Scripture to call every virtue «righteousness,» as it is written, «open to me the gates of righteousness that I may enter through them and confess to the Lord. This is the gate of the Lord. It is the righteous who are entering through it» (Ps 117:19-20). Again I hear also, «A righteous one is the Lord in all his ways» (Ps 144:17), so that he loves every virtue. Now then, as for this virtue, namely, righteousness, no one whose state of mind is troubled will hunger for it, but, if the state of mind is sound, distinguishing between good and evil, then he will be able to hunger and thirst for righteousness, to eat it and to hunger for it. As for this one then, it is this that he will be: «blessed is he who hungers for it and thirsts¹⁸⁷ for it; he will be satisfied with it.»¹⁸⁸ Let no one think, and stretch out his hand negligently,¹⁸⁹ that, not hungering for it like bread and thirsting for it like water, he will be satisfied. If you wish to have self-control and you do not hunger and thirst for self-control, it will not be given to you. If you wish to set yourself apart to become a monk and you do not hunger and thirst for monastic life, it will not be given to you. This is how it is with righteousness. As for those who hunger, who thirst for the just judgements¹⁹⁰ of God, it is they who will be satisfied with the good things of the kingdom of God. Who are these, beloved, but those who pay heed to all the things of God. It is in righteousness that He keeps them.

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I hear also in the fifth beatitude: «Blessed are the merciful, because it is

185. Cp. similar language in M.32 (B6v).

186. Read perhaps ΠΚΛΘΙΚΩΝ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ (Gen 1:26)?

187. Read ΕΦΟΒΕ (metathesis).

188. This is a paraphrase of Matt 5:6. See the beginning of M.53.

189. Ν4CΟΥΤΝΤΟΟΤ4 ΕΒΟΛ: Literally: «and stretch out his hand» [372a]. Could it mean «presume»?

190. ΝΝ2ΑΠ ΜΜΕ = δικαιοκρασία (Rom 2:5; 2 Thes 1:5).

they to whom mercy will be shown» (Matt 5:7). Have mercy that you may be shown mercy, O man! Have compassion that you may receive compassion. Forgive that you may be forgiven (cf. Luke 6:37). Let each one know the measure of his punishment from this place and the measure of their enjoyment. For the measure which you will measure out from this place you will find in your regard in the other place (cf. Matt 7:2 [Luke 6:38]). For the measure of the punishment is the extent to which the judge knows your sin.¹⁹¹ The measure, on the other hand, of the reward, is «a good measure. Shaken together, pressed down, overflowing, it will be put into your lap» (Luke 6:38).¹⁹² «Blessed are the merciful because it is they to whom mercy will be shown» (Matt 5:7). For mercy does not act as an attorney to plead for him but «mercy prides itself over the judgement» (Jas 2:13), as it written. As for these (things) indeed, they are not established, beloved, but it is what is fitting for every man wise according to God, not to do anything without discernment but, what he will do, to do it, according to the command of God, because I see Saul having been rejected because he did not do to Amalek according to the command of God (cf. 1 Sam 15:10). Ahab also (is) such a one¹⁹³ because he made a covenant with the son of Hadar (cf. 1 Kgs 20:34,42). He set him free and he (the son of Hadar) left. On account of this, his (Ahab's) life was given in place of his (the son of Hadar's) (vs. 42). Blessed is he, therefore, who will observe the command of the Lord in every thing, because it is this one that exercises mercy righteously according to God and not according to man, in order that his reward might be acceptable.

Let us then begin the sixth beatitude. Listen also to this good savior teaching his disciples the art of fighting against those hidden things of the heart and the art of waging war with the mind. It is from holiness that he is teaching them the stains of the heart and through purity the defilement of the mind. Having set forth a contest, it is a distance¹⁹⁴ that he is marking off, a living crown that he is weaving, a prize of salvation that he is setting up, which is the vision of this unseen face.¹⁹⁵ The gift is the share of sonship, the height and [...] of the kingdom of heaven in order that they might take delight in the favors of

[four lines partially illegible]

191. Read **NOBE** for **NOBPE**.

192. The addition of **TE** after **ΕΝΑΝΟΥ** changes the structure somewhat from the Lukan text which reads: **ΟΥΩΙ ΕΝΑΝΟΥ ΕΥΤΕΩΤΩ ΕΥΝΕΝΟΥ ΕΥΠΗΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ** **ΕΝΑΤΑΔ ΕΚΟΥΝΤΗΤΗ**.

193. **ΖΙΝΑΙ**: see Crum [645a].

194. **στάμματα**: see Lampe, s.v. (1235a) 2. «place dug up and sanded where athletes landed in the long jump, hence distance, measure. 3. place dug up and sanded, wrestling ground, arena.»

195. Or «Being»? See p. 233 n. 70. But probably **ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ** = **ΖΟ**. See M.58 (A18v): **ΠΖΟ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ**.

live forever. For without labor there is no rest, as I listen in many places in the Scripture to the savior crying out, «Enter through the narrow gate because narrow and straight is the way which leads to life» (Matt 7:13-14). The holy apostle Paul writes in Hebrews, «we have this multitude of witnesses established for us. Having left behind all pride and the sin which besets us, let us run with perseverance the contest set down for us» (Heb 12:1). Again he writes to you in Timothy,¹⁹⁶ O my hearer, for you to reckon the wretchedness

[2 lines broken]

[1 line broken] worthy, for he said: «the sufferings of the present time are unworthy of the glory which will be revealed to us» (Rom 8:18).

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I hear again now in the sixth beatitude, «Blessed are the pure in their heart because it is they who shall see God» (Matt 5:8). I enquired whether it is the purity through which the heart of those who shall see God will be pure. I came forth from those ancients, famous men, from the first man Adam, each one who was able to

[two lines partially missing]

a great wonder and it is the likeness of the glory that they were perceiving. I heard Jacob say: «I have seen the Lord; my life has been preserved» (Gen 32:31 LXX).¹⁹⁷ I turned back again and I heard: «When the likeness of God passed by me» (Gen 32:32).¹⁹⁸ I listened to the great archprophet¹⁹⁹ Moses asking to see the face of God and he was not able to see, for He said to him: «Man shall not see my face and live» (Exod 33:20). I also saw Elias when the subtle spirit was about to pass by him. It is this in which was the spirit of God, this light breath (cf. 1 Kgs 19:12 LXX)²⁰⁰

[? leaves missing]

I heard him (Matthew) saying: «in order that what the Lord spoke through the prophet might be fulfilled, {saying:}²⁰¹ 'he will be called the Nazorean'» (Matt 2:23). This is the way it is with all the other signs and wonders and

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196. Has Rufus made an error? The citation which follows is from Rom 8:18. But three lines are not readable.

197. The text given by Ciasca (1,32) reads: ΑΙΝΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΙΠΝΟΤΕ (sic) ΝΖΟ ΖΙΖΟ ΔΟΟΥΧΑΙ ΝΟΙ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ. Rufus is evidently quoting from memory.

198. The text given by Ciasca (1,32) reads: ΝΤΕΨΑΑΤΨ ΝΟΙ ΠΙΝΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ but in a note he comments: «rectius ΝΤΕΨΑΑΤΨ.» ΠΕΙΝΕ translates τὸ εἶδος of the LXX.

199. See Lampe, s.v. The references are all to Christ. Eusebius (Hist. eccles. 1.3.8) calls Christ the only archprophet of the Father. The word is used also in L.5 again in reference to Moses.

200. Rufus' language here contains reminiscences of both the Sahidic text of 1 Kgs 19:12 and the LXX: ΜΝΗΝΑ ΠΚΩΖΤ ΟΥΖΡΟΥ ΝΤΗΥ ΕΨΩΜΕ ΜΝΟΥΝΟ ΝΟΡΕΖΤ ΕΡΕΨΧΟΕΙC ΜΜΑΥ. LXX: καὶ μετὰ τὸ πῦρ φωνή αὐρας λεπτῆς, καχεῖ κύριος.

healings which he performed in accordance with the prophecies of the prophets. You wish to understand? Look at him raised up upon the cross. «He said, 'I thirst.' There was in fact a vessel sitting there filled with vinegar and a sponge filled with the vinegar was placed on a hyssop. They stretched it to his mouth. When then Jesus had taken the vinegar, he said, 'they have been fulfilled,' and he inclined his head and he gave up the spirit» (John 19:28-30). Observe how he said, «they have been fulfilled,» for this reason, therefore, that he had fulfilled them all.²⁰² The fulfillment indeed of the law and the prophets is Christ. For indeed it is on the high mountain, on the height of the senses²⁰³ that he is. It is in the stillness of his divinity that he is rich. He desired to reveal this also to his apostles, that the law is not far off from the gospel nor is the prophecy of the prophets a stranger to the preaching nor would they change by the division of the Old and New Testaments, but as for the one who put forth these old (things), it is He also who prescribes these new (things) (cf. Matt 13:52). As for the one about whom witness is given in these old (writings), it is he also about whom these things are said in these new (writings).²⁰⁴ I hear now: «It is to fulfill them that I have come» (Matt 5:17). If you wish to see him fulfilling the law and the prophets, look at him at the beginning of the ages as he was forming the first man, Adam. It is this that the Apostle proclaims: «the first man Adam became a living soul, but the last Adam a life-giving spirit» (1 Cor 15:45). Come, take pity on Abel whose blood was shed because of envy and a sacrifice (cf. Heb 11:4), this man, whom the one who fulfilled the law and the prophets fulfilled, since it says, «and the blood of the sprinkling speaking more than that of Abel» (Heb 12:24). Enos was called the «just man.» (Gen 4:26)²⁰⁵ And Paul also said, «the mediator of God and men is the man Christ Jesus who gave himself as a ransom for everyone» (1 Tim 2:5-6). Enoch «was removed so as not to let him see death» (Heb 11:5) but his removal to heaven was until the one who fulfills the law and the prophets fulfilled him, and he removed the world from darkness to light, from the destruction of death to indestructibility and everlasting life. Noah made an ark for the sal-

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201. {ΕΓΧΩ ΜΜΟC}: perhaps dittography due to the influence of the first line. The phrase is not in Horner's text of Matt 2:23. Horner gives: ΝΟΙΠΕΝΤΑΥΧΟΟC ΖΙΤΗΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ but offers variants with ΠΧΟΕΙC and ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ.

202. This is clearly an exegesis of the Coptic text since the Greek (τετέλεσται) is singular.

203. ΝΟΗΜΑ: senses (of Scripture). See note 36 above and chap. 4, 252.

204. See also M.47-48 for similar concern about the relationship of the Old and New Testaments.

205. According to Gen 4:26 (LXX), Enos(h) «hoped to be called by the name of the Lord.» Rufus appears to be dependant on the interpretation of Didymus of Enosh as the «just» and «man». See Didyme L'Aveugle, *Sur la Genèse* (ed. P. Nautin, L. Doutreleau; SC 243; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1978) 330-333 and Steven D. Fraade, *Enosh and His Generation: Pre-Israelite Hero and History in Postbiblical Interpretation* (Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 80; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984) 68-69.

vation of his house. He made it of two and three storeys, smeared with bitumen, with its door in its side, three hundred by fifty cubits by thirty, extending a cubit above (cf. Gen 6:14-16), but that also was incomplete until the living Word came and fulfilled it. When he had formed the church, that is, his flesh, he put the door in its side, that is, the spear wound in his side (cf. John 19:34). He made it three hundred cubits in length, that is, the faith in the holy Trinity, fifty cubits wide, that is, the holy Pentecost, the repentance of forgiveness of sins (cf. Acts 2:38)

[? leaves missing]

[The first three lines are broken]

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so is, the knowledge in part²⁰⁶ that has been given to the rational. As for the iota, there is no serif²⁰⁷ above it and also there is nothing at the bottom of it nor is there any curve but (it is) uncomposed simplicity.²⁰⁸ It is this of which I will dare to say: the name of my Lord Jesus the Christ is this that, although the the heaven and the earth will pass away (cf. Matt 5:18; Matt 24:35),²⁰⁹ it indeed will not pass away.²¹⁰

I hear also, «whoever will loose²¹¹ one of these little commandments and teach men thus, will be called least in the kingdom of heaven. But whoever will do them and teach them will be called²¹² great in the kingdom of heaven» (Matt 5:19). What is it that I shall say, beloved? Perhaps, since some great commandments and some small ones exist, you know that there are some commandments attributed to God and there are some attributed to men. I hear also, «for I tell you that unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven» (Matt 5:20). Perhaps also there is some righteousness that exceeds some (other). Small is the righteousness from the law. «The man who does it will live by it» (Gal 3:12)²¹³ says the holy Apostle. As for the righteousness that (comes) from faith (cf. Rom 9:30; 10:6),²¹⁴ to it belongs the promise of the kingdom of heaven. Let the Pharisee circumcise the flesh of his foreskin according to the righteousness of the law, but you do more and circumcise your heart and take the covering of Arianism away from it that you may be seeded with the

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206. Or «partial»? Cf. 1 Cor 13:9 where the phrase does mean «partial.»

207. The word given by Horner in Matt 5:18 for *κεραία* is *ψωλῶ*.

208. See Lampe, 186-187 and 252, A.2. Rufus appears to be commenting on the shape of the letter iota as the basis of his interpretation. See also the Introduction, p. 62.

209. The word given by Horner in both texts is *παράγῃ*.

210. Read *CINE*.

211. Horner reads *πετναβωλ σε*.

212. Horner reads: *παι σεναμοϋτε*.

213. Thompson reads: *πετναλλυ εφναωνῶ ἡζητοϋ* but ms M reads *φναωνῶ* as does Horner. *ἄνθρωπος* is attested by some uncials, the majority of Byzantine manuscripts and in the Vulgate and Syriac text traditions. See Nestle-Aland, 26 ed.

214. Rom 9:30; 10:6: *ταικαιοσυνη δε τεβολ ἑντηπικτικ* (Thompson).

be fearful and remove himself from the rage and renounce his anger. «Let him seek peace and pursue it» (Ps 34:15) because it is the judgement, the Sanhedrin and the Gehenna of fire (cf. Matt 5:22) that exist for the wrathful person. But the inheritance of sonship and brotherhood with Christ is the promise of the peacemaker. But someone will say to me, «show me the source of wrath²²⁰ and the root of anger so that I might remove myself from it?» Listen, I will tell you. One source of this difficulty is envy giving rise to bitterness. It is by it (envy) that many are defiled. It is from envy that hatred develops, from hatred, strife and jealousy, anger and enduring wrath, from wrath, killing and the shedding of blood. If you wish to be persuaded, watch from the beginning and marvel. Pay heed from the outset and learn how Cain rose up against Abel his brother (cf. Gen 4:8) and killed him on account of envy. For this one, when the envy took hold of him, became haughty from the hatred of the anger and the wrath. It is this that changes man from his rational nature, making him a stranger to his habitat, developing in him an animal nature, knashing his teeth like these animals. Bear with me a little bit, beloved, so that I may question Cain, this fratricide. «What happened to you that you should rise up against Abel your brother in the field? At the time when you laid hold of him did not your hand become stiff? When you seized him, were you not afraid? When you looked at his image, did you not feel pity?

[break in the text - ? leaves missing]

[The translation has been omitted since the text is wholly contained in M.63 (B12)]

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[The translation has been omitted since the text is wholly contained in M.63 (B12) and M.64 (B12v)]

66

[The first fourteen lines are too broken to translate.] he wept [.....] his conversion expel the darkness and experience the light which had faded [.....] and make the sun return fifteen [.....] the house of his father and add another fifteen years to the years of his life (cf. 2 Kgs 20:6 LXX = Isa 38:5). Thus [come?], repent, O my listener. Let the catechumen give thought to his rebirth through the washing of baptism, and the believer take care to wash away²²¹ his sins through the tears of repentance and give thought to testing his soul through the spirit of mercy and if you reform yourself in this way and set your soul in order through repentance [...] and adorn your mind

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219. This section appears to be a commentary on the beatitude «Blessed are the gentle» (Matt 5:5).

220. The phrases ΤΝΟΥΝΕ ΜΗΤΝΟΥΘC and ΤΕΡΙΖΑ ΝΤΟΡΗ are in fact synonymous. The first one in Coptic could be considered a translation of the second one in Greek. The scribe did not understand the latter, judging from the misspelling: Τ{Π}ΕΡΙΖΑ.

221. Crum cites [149a] thus.

through the practice of your good deeds, your soul will be nourished from the storehouses of righteousness and then the holy spotless bridegroom will desire it.

[Only a few scattered words are legible in the first twenty lines of this side.] 68

but I [.....] walk behind you and I did not desire a human day [?]. And just as the great apostle Peter loved him, you, for your part, will say plainly: «Lord, you know that I love you» (John 21:15). Whoever sees from his deeds some progress, let him put on the fragrance of the beautiful flower of the spirit and come dancing before his Lord singing spiritual songs. Whoever is conscious, on the other hand, of the stinking stain of his sins, let him take refuge in conversion. Whoever sees in his heart that it is difficult to heal it, he will find [?] ²²² his wound, because it has become rotten

[? leaves missing]

[It is not possible to read enough of this fragment to give any translation.] 69

[The verso side is too dark to read more than a few letters.] 70

to tempt anyone beyond his strength. You did not know this divine offspring whom he was tempting nor did the voice that bore witness to him in the Jordan.... 71

Right hand column:

except the work of your edification and the abundance of your faith since we see your zeal and your gladness in virginity and renunciation of life, (it) compels us to recall these things to adorn these new brides. It is they . . .

so that they might compel their mind and press their body and make it their slave in order that those who are slaves might cast off its dominion of the element which relies on water which the earth knows and . . . 72

Right hand column:

for a great thing is the possession of virginity. Virginity does not receive it from its mother. It is not an inheritance of its father. It is an angelic possession, chosen wisdom enduring. It is a great freedom which she has . . .

mercy, because it is to you and the father and the Holy Spirit that the glory is fitting now and at all times for ever and ever. Amen. 73

222. The text appears to be corrupt. Read perhaps: ΕΥΝΑΓΟΝ- or ΕΥΝΑΓΕΝΤΕΥCΑΩ(ΟΙΝΕ). Perhaps he means: «he will find that his wound has become rotten.»

A catechesis²²³ of Apa Rufus, the bishop of Shotep, for the profit of everyone who will listen and take heed.

Listen to Matthew the evangelist crying out in the beginning of his book: «the book of Jesus the Christ,²²⁴ the Son of David, the son of Abraham» (Matt 1:1). What is this book which you have begun, Matthew?²²⁵ He said, I saw a great marvel worthy to be amazed at: God has become man. «The word has become flesh» (John 1:14). The one who consists of spirit and power has formed²²⁶ for himself a body in the womb of a mortal woman. The one who is in the height, whose throne is in the heaven of heavens, created for himself a house (cf. 1 Kgs 8: 17-27 LXX) from within a pure virgin. The seal and «image of this unseen God» (Col 1:15) - O surely this is great humility - became man of his own will for our salvation. The one who is adorned with the purple of kingship and the honor of lordship, took «a servile form» (Phil 2:7). The designer of the archangels, the founder of the ages (cf. Heb 1:2?), the master-builder of that «unformed by hands» (2 Cor 5:1), the brightness of the stars, the «way of (into) the holies» (Heb 9:8),²²⁷ the gate of righteousness (Ps 118:9), «the good shepherd who laid down his life for his sheep» (John 10:11). He (Matthew) contemplated the one whose creation bears witness to him, being

223. This is the only occurrence of the word ΚΑΘΗΚΗCΙC in these commentaries. The other introductory passages of the commentary on Matthew (M.25[A10]; M.42[B9v]; M.48[B11v(A13)]) all use ΛΟΓΟC (treatise) to describe the section of the commentary which follows. In the commentary on Luke (L.5[C3]; L.50[D13v]) the word ΕΞΕΡΗCΙC (explanation, interpretation) is used. This is one reason to doubt whether this text forms part of the Matthew commentary. On the other hand, it may have been abstracted from it, in which case it probably belongs after M.2 (B1v).

224. The word ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟC has been omitted (Matt 1:1). It is included in the citation in M.2 (B1v).

225. Wessely inserted ΜΟΙ before Matthew but ω seems more likely.

226. Rufus is playing on the words ΚΗΤ (the one who consists of) and ΚΩΤ (has formed for himself).

227. The phrase is perhaps elliptical but in its context it refers to the «holy of holies.» Hence: «way into the sanctuary.»

THE HOMILIES ON LUKE: TEXT

1. C1 Paris 131.8, f.127r

2. C1 Paris 131.8, f.127v

This is a small fragment of 12 lines most of which are incomplete. It is the upper part of the exterior column of the page. The pagination $\bar{\Gamma}$ - $\bar{\Delta}$ (3-4) has been preserved. It is extremely difficult to read. Porcher, «Analyse,» [158], identified it as a biblical fragment of 11 mostly incomplete lines. He identified the recto as Ezek 1:21-22 and the verso as Ezek 1:25-26.

recto ($\bar{\Gamma}$)

verso ($\bar{\Delta}$)

[.....]ϣICE
[.....]ΜΠΚΑ2
[.....][....]2ω[.]
[...],Α,ΑΥ ΧΕΟΥ
[.]ΝΩΝ2 ΠΕΤ
[.]ΤΡ[.COB.]
[....]Ε[.]Τ[.]ΠΕ
[...][.][.]ΙΕΝ[...]
[.....]ΕΡΕΩ[...]
[.]ΜΠΕΙΝ[...]
[...]ΤΑΛΛ[....]
[.....]2[...]

[...][.....]
[.....]Υ,[.....]
[.....]ΗΤ[.][...]
Ν2 ΕΒΟΛ [...][...]
ΜΠΕΣΤΕΡΕΩ[.....]
ΕΤ 2ΡΑΙ 2ΙΧΩ[....]
ΝΘΕ ΜΙ[.][...][...]
[.]ΑΠΠΙ[.]Ν [...]
ΟΥΕΙΝ ΝΘΡΟΝΟ[....]
2ΙΧΩ4 [....][....]
ΝΕ4 2ΙΧΜ[...][...]
ΜΠΕ[.....]

3. C2 Vienna K9658r; $\bar{\epsilon}$.

A large hole in the middle of the upper part has mutilated the end and the beginning of the first 15 lines of each column. A second hole in the lower internal part touches 16 lines and a third smaller one in the external lower corner has damaged three lines. See W.E. Crum in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 19 (1933): 198-199. This leaf is paginated $\bar{\epsilon}$ - $\bar{\zeta}$ (5-6).

ANNE EYOPX - M,NO,YO,N,
 NIM NTAYZI,T,[O],OT,[OY]
 [E],T,ACC E NZENKE[YAΓ]
 ΓEΛION M̄PA,P,[ANE]
 CTIOY - OY[.....]
 >ΓHMA ΠE ΠEYAΓ[ΓEΛION]
 MMARKION [M]
 ΠEЧCAYI NTOY O[YA]
 OYA · AΛΛA ΠET,E,[Z]
 NA4 M̄ΠEHTAYT,A,[
 MMOC · NET† ΔE
 OYBETE4MHTPE4X[I]
 OYA · NETECTO M,M,[OOY]
 EBOA · N̄EE ON N[NI]
 OYBOW N̄ZΛW ΠE[Y]
 AΓΓEΛION M̄ΠMA
 NIXAIOC· ECTOAMA
 E[XEZE],N,WAxe M̄ΠE
 [CTENX]OEIC XOY· OYΔE
 M̄Π[.....]ZPAI NZHTN
 AΛΛ[A ACT]AYO M̄MOO,Y,
 ZIT[.....],N,TE[
 Π[.....]TOB[
 [.....]TENO,Y,
 [.....],A,EIN
 [.....]
 [.....],A,PXH
 [MΠE4EYAΓΓE],A,ION
 [.....]ETAC
 [.....]ETACCE
 [.....]4 EC2AI
 [.....]CYN
 [.....]EBOA

ΠEC2AI [ΔE] NTOY NAMOY
 EBOA [PA]I ΠE ΠEC2AI
 [ET]EPETWB,[W],O, EBOA
 [ET]BHHT4 XE NIM
 [ΠE],T,NA† NNAWAxe
 [EC2A]ICO,Y, NAI NE
 [NEC2AI] APNOYTE
 [XOO]Y ZM̄ΠE4TH
 [HBE] EXNNETPAΛ,Ξ,
 [NTE],Δ,IAΘHKH ~
 [NAI N]E NEC2AI ETOYTA
 MO MMON EPOY ·
 [Z]ITNHCAIAC· XEXI
 NAK NOYTO MOX NXP
 ΔHC · N̄EC2AI EPOT
 NOYC2AI N̄POME :
 NAI ON NETEPETAYLOC
 C2AI ENENKOPINΘOC
 >ETBHHTOY · XE
 AI C2AI NHTN NWPOT
 ZEHTETICTOLH ·
 XEMPERTWZ M̄N
 ΠOPHOC: NAI ON NE
 ETE4C2AI ENENKALLA
 THC ETBHHTOY
 >XEEICZHHTE AI C2AI
 NHTN N̄ZENEC2AI N
 †OOT ZEHTAσIX :
 NAI ON NE NTA4C2AI
 N̄ΔIM[OΘEOC] ,E,TBH
 >HTOY E,4,[XW MMO]C
 XENAI EIC2[AI MMOY NAK]

4. C2v Vienna K9658v; 5.

†2ελπίζε ε[εἰ] 2.ῆουσεν
 NOÍ ON EN[EC2AI] ῆ.π'ε,γ
 αγγελ[ION..]EN[...]
 ναῖ[...].MEXP[ONOC]
 ναεω,Β,ΟΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ,
 ΟΥΔΕ ΜῆΟΥ,Ο,εἰω [ναεω]
 ΤΑΚΟΟΥ · ΑΛΛ,Λ,[Α CENA]
 ωωπε εὔμ,Η,[N ΕΒΟΛ]
 ωαπχωκ ῆΝ,Α,[ΙΩΝ
 ΕΤΡΑC2ΑΪCΟΥ ΝΑΚ [ΟΥΑ]
 ΟΥΑ ΠΕΧΑ4 · ΓΡ[ΑΤΙCΤΕ]
 θεοφιλε :
 ΝΙΜΠΕ ΠΕΪΘΕΟΦΙΛΟC
 ΠΕΚΡΑΤΙCΤΟC ·
 >ΟΥΩΜΕ ΠΕΤΕC2ΑΪ
 ΝΑ4 · ΚΑΝ ΕΩΧΕ
 ΟΥΩΜΕ ON ΠΕ·ΚΑ
 ΤΑΘΕ ΕΤΕΡΕΟΥΑΝΑΩ
 ΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΡΟC · ΑΛΛΑ
 †ΝΑΧΟΟC ΧΕΕCΩΧΕ
 ΕΠΧΩΩΡΕΜΜΑΪ
 ΝΟΥΤΕ: · Η ΠΕΝΤΑΥ
 ΜΕΡΙΤ4 ΕΒΟΛ 2ΪΤῆ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ: · ΠΕΝΤΑ4
 ΤΩΚ ΑΥΩ Α4ΟΜΒΟΜ
 2ῆΠΝΟΥΒ ΜῆΠ2ΑΤ
 ΕΑ4ΝΕ2ΡΑΤ4 ΕΒΟΛ 2ῆ
 ΝΑΚΗΜΕ · ΜῆΤΕ3ΟΥ
 CΪΑ ΜΦΑΡΑΩ · ῆΘΕ
 ΜΠΛΑΟC ΕΤΕΡΕΔΑΥΕΪΔ
 2Υ,Μ,[NE Ε],Τ,ΒΗΗΤ4·
 [ΧΕΑ4ΕIN],Τ,ΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ
 [2ΜΠ2ΑΤ] ΜῆΠΝΟΥΒ

[ΑΥ]Ω ΝΕΜΕΝΠΕΤΒΟΟΒ
 [2]Ε[N]ΝΕΥΦΥΛΗ: ...
 [ΠΑΙ]ΘΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΠΕΙ,Χ,
 [ΩΩ],Ρ,Ε Ν†ΜΙΝΕ·ΠΕΝ
 [ΤΑ],CΕ,ΡΡῆΜΑΟ 2ῆ
 [Π2Α]Τ ΜῆΠΝΟΥΒ
 [ΕΤΕ],Π,ΑΪΠΕ ΠΛΟΓΟC
 [Μ]ῆΠΝΟΗΜΑ:
 Π,ΑΪ ΠΕΤΕC2ΑΪ ΝΑ4
 ῆCΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙCΤΗC
 ΧΕΕCΕΕΪΜΕΠΩΡΧ
 ΕΝΕΝΩΧΕ ῆΤΑΥ
 ΚΑΘΥΚΕΪ ΜΜΟ4 ῆ
 [2]ΗΤΟΥ · ΕΩΧΕ
 ΚΟΥΩΩ ΔΕ ΕCΟΥῆΠΕΚ
 ΩΡΧ · Ω Π[ΡΩΜ]Ε ῆ
 ΤΑΧΪCΒ,Ω, [NNIC]2ΑΪ
 ΕΥΟΥΑΑΒ · [ΑΥ],Ω, ΕΩΧΕ
 >ΚΟΥΩΩ [ΕΙΜ]Ε ΕΤΑC
 ΦΑΛ,Ι,[Α..],ῆ,ΑC
 Μῆ[.....]ΧΪ ΝΑΚ
 ῆΝ[.....]ΕΥ
 ΑΓΓ[ΕΛΙΟΝ.....]
 Τ[.....]
 Τ,Τ[.....]
 Ο[.....]
 Τ,Ο,[.....]
 2ΡΕ[.....]
 ΟΝΝ[.....]
 ΜΕ[.....]
 ΤΗ[.....]Ε,Ρ,

5. C3 Vienna K9659r; Z̄.

This page is paginated Z̄-H̄ (7-8) and contains the same mutilations as C2. The title of the «second exegesis» in the left column is bordered on the top, left and bottom by a decorative band.

IC ΠΕΧC · ΠΑΪ ΕΒΟ[Λ]
 ΖΙ,ΤΟΟΤC ΕΡΕΠΕΟΥ
 ΠΡΕΠΙ ΝΑC ΜΝΠ,Ε,[C]
 ΕΪΩΤ ΕΝΑΓΑΘΟC
 ΜΝΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑ,Α,[B]
 ΤΕΝΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΟΥΟΕΙ[Ω]
 ΝΙΜ ΩΑΕΝΕΖ ΕΝΕ
 ΝΕΖ ΖΑΜΗΝ:

ΤΜΕΖCΕΝΤΕ ΝΕΖΗΓΗCIC
 ΝΤΑCΤΑΥΟC·ΝCΙΑΠΑ
 ΖΡΟΥΦΟC ΠΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟ,C,
 ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ · ΕCΖΕΡΜΗΝ[ΕΥΕ]
 ΜΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΚΑΤΑ
 ΛΟΥΚΑC · ΕΠΕΖΡΗΤΟΝ
 ΔΕ ΠΕΠΑΙ: ΧΕ
 ΑCΩΩΠΕ ΖΝΝΕΖΟΥΥ
 ΝΖΗΡΩΔΗC ΠΡΡΟ ΝΔΙ
 ΟΥΔΑΙΑ · Ν,CΙ,ΟΥΗΗΒ · Ε
 ΠΕCΡΑΝΠΕ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑC

[...]ΤΟΥΖ[.....]ΝΖΗ
 [...]Τ,ΕΡ[.....]ΠΛΟ
 [.....]ΡΠ
 [.....]Υ
 [.....]ΟΪΚΟ
 [.....]ΗΥΕ
 [.....]Τ,Ε
 [.....]ΙΕΥ
 [.....]ΜΟΕΙΤ

[ΕΖΟ]ΥΝ Ε,ΠΝ,ΟΥΤΕ · ΧΙΝΕ
 [Μ],Ω,ΥCΗ[C] Π,ΑΡΧΗΠΡΟ
 [Φ]ΗΤΗC ΝΩΟΡΠ ·
 [ΠΑ]Ι ΕCΜΕΖ ΖΜΠΕΠΝΑ
 [ΕΤΟ]ΥΑΑΒ · ΝΤΑC
 [ΧΟΟC] Ν,ΑΚ [Ε]ΠΤΑΜΙΟ
 [ΝΤΠΕ] ΜΝΠΚΑΖ · ΜΝ
 [ΝΕΤΝ]ΖΗΤΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 [ΕΒΟΛ] ΖΝΟΥΑΡΧΗ·ΕΜΝ,Τ,[C]
 [...]ΟΥΔΕ ΩΙΗ ΝΟΥΟ
 [ΕΙ],Ω, ΟΥΔΕ ΗΠΕ ΝΖΟΥΥ
 [Ο]ΥΔΕ ΑΡΙΘΜΟC ΝΡΟΜΠΕ
 ΕΤΡΕΚΕΪΩΡΖ ΖΝΟΥΒΑΛ
 ΕCΤΒΒΗΥ · ΜΝΟΥΘΕΩ
 ΡΙΑ ΝΑΓΡΙΒΗC · ΝΓΘΕ,Ω,
 ΡΕΪ ΜΠΠΕΘΗΠ ΜΠ
 ΝΟΥΤΕ·ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΝΖΩΝ,Τ,(sic)
 ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC · ΝΓΝΟΪ
 ΕΤΕCΘΟΜ ΜΝΤΕCΜΗΤ
 ΝΟΥΤΕ · ΤΑΪ ΕΤΚΑΛΙΝΟΥ
 ΝΤΤΑΠΡΟ ΝΝΕΤΩΑ
 ΧΕ ΝCΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ · ΑΥΩ
 ΕΤΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΩΤΟC
 ΕΝΕCΠΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΤ
 †ΑΒΑΛΕ· Ν†ΝΟC ΝΟΪ
 ΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ Ν†CΟΤ
 ΝΤΕΠΔΥΜΙΟΥΡΓΟC
 ΕΤCΜΑΜΑΑΤ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΖΝΝΑΪ · ΕCΖΑΪ
 >ΝΤ,CΙΝ,[..]ΤΝΤΕ,Κ,
 Π[.....]
 ΓΩ[.....]

6. C3v Vienna K9659v; H.

ΧΕΕΚΝΑΕΙΕΡ̄2ΠΕΟΟ[Υ]	[Π]ΡΩΜΕ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΜΠΕ4
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ · 2,Ν,ΟΥΕΙ[ΑΛ]	[Τ]ΟΠΟС · Ν̄ΕΡ2,ω,[Β]
Ν̄ΓΧ̄Ι2ΡΒ Ν†2Γ,ω,[Ν]	[Μ]ΠΚΑ2 Ν̄ΤΑΥΧ̄ΙΤ4
ΝΟΥΩΤ · Ν̄ΕΡ[Β̄ΡΕ]	[Ε]ΒΟΛ Ν̄2ΗΤ̄4 · ΝΤΕ
ΕΠСОΟΥΝ · ΚΑΤΑΘ[ΙΚΩΝ]	[Π]ΚΑ2 ΤΑΥΕΩΝΤΕ
Μ̄ΠΕΝΤΑ4СОН,Τ,[Κ]	ΝΑ4 Ε2ΡΑΪ · 2ΪΑΡΟΟΥΕ
ΕΒΟΛ 2ΕΝΝΑΪ [Μ,]	Ν̄ΤΕΤΚΑΚ̄ΙΑ †ΟΥΩ
2ΪСΕ Ε4ΕΙΝΕ ΜΜ[ΟΚ]	[Ν̄]ΤΕΠΕ{Π}ΦΘΟΝΟС
Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΤΕΚ2ΕΞ̄Ι[С]	[ΑΥ]ΞΑΝΕ · ΝΤΕΟΥСОН
ΤΕЧЕΥΓΕΝΙΑ · [2]	2ΩΤ̄Β ΝΟΥСОН · Ν̄ΤΕ
ΝΟΥΠΑΡΑΔ̄ΙСОС [Ε4†]	ΟΥΡΩΜΕ 2ΩΤ̄Β ΝΟΥ
ΟΥΩ Ν̄2ΕΝΩΗΝ Ν,Α,[Κ]	2ΕΡΩΪΡΕ · Ν̄ΤΕΘΥ
Ε4ΤСАВО ΜΜΟΚ ΕΤΜ,ΗΤ,	ΔΟΝΗ ΑΩΑΪ · ΝΤΕ
ΟΥΟΕΙΕ Ν̄ΤΕΦΥСΙс:	ΤΕΠΥΘΥΜΙΑ ΟΜ̄ΒΟМ
Ε42ΩΝ ΕΤΟΟТК ΕΤРЕК	ΝΤΕΤЕС2ΪМЕ ΕРДОРСО
ΕΡ2ΩВ · ΝΓ2ΑΡΕ2:	Ν̄ΤΕΤΩΕΕРЕ Ν̄Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ
ΠΕР2ΩВ Μ̄ΝΠ2ΑΡΕ2	ΕРМООЛЕ · Ν̄СЕСЕК
ΝΑΪΝΕ ΕΥΝΑΚΑΠΡΩ	Ν̄ΩΗРЕ Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ
ΜΕ 2ΕΝΤΕ4ΠΛΑСІс	ΕΠЕСЧТ · Ν̄СЕΕΝ
Ν̄САВНΛ ΧΕΑ4ΧΕРО	ΝΕΪΑТСАР̄Ξ ΕΥ,ḲΑ,Р̄Ξ
ΝΟΙΠΚΩ2† Ν̄РЕ4	ΝСЕΩΩΩΝΕ [Ν̄Ν,ΤΑ
ΚΩ2 · ΩΑΝΤЕСКΩ [ΕΒΟΛ]	ΜΙΟ [Μ,Π,ΝΑ, ΕΠΕ[Υ],[ΠΝ,Δ
ΝΟΙТМАТОУ Μ̄Π2ОВ	ΝСЕχ[ΠΟ ΕΝΝ]Γ̄Γ,Α,[ΝΤЕС]
Ν̄СΩΟΥ2 Ν̄ΟΙТКАΚ̄ΙΑ	2Ν[.....]
Μ̄ΠΕΤΡΑΓΩΝ · Ν̄С	Ν[.....]
ΩΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧ̄ΝΤЕС	Π[.....]
2ΙМЕ · Ν̄ΤΕΠЕС2ΟΟΥТ	Ν†[.....]
ΤΩ2 ΕРОС Ν̄ММАС	Εχ[.....]
ΝΤΕ†НОс ΝΟΪΚΟΝΟ	Ν̄4Ω[.....]
Μ,ΪΑ Κ,Η,[....]†Α	ΠΕ,Τ,[.....]
[.....]χ	Π[.....]χ

7. C4 Vienna K9660r; $\bar{\Theta}$.

This leaf is paginated $\bar{\Theta}$ - $\bar{\iota}$ (9-10). Only the external half of the leaf has survived and the end of the last fifteen lines of the interior column.

[.....]ΕΥΕ ON
[.....]ΧΝΕ
[.....]ΝΤΟ
[.....]ΟΥΠ
[.....]ΣΕΤΑ
[.....]ΗΡΓΟΣ
[.....]ΝΤΕ
[.....]ΤΕ
[.....][.]ΝΕ
[.....]
[.....]Α,Υ
[.....]
[.....]
[.....][.]ΖΑΜ
[.....]ΧΗC

[...2]ΕΝΤΕΧΩΡΑ · ΝΝΕ
[.....]· ΝCΕ† ΝΑΥ
[ΜΠCΒ]Β,Ε ΝC[ΑΡ]ΚΙΚΟΝ
[...C ΕCΕCΟΥΝΤCΒΒΕ
[ΜΠΝ]ΑΔΙΚΟΝ -
[...ΡΙΖΕ ΝΕΙCΑΑΚ
[ΜΝΙΑΚ]ΩΒ · ΜΝΗCΑΥ
[ΕΒΟΛ] ΝΖΗΤΥ · ΝΤΕ
[ΤΜ]ΗΤCΝΟΟΥC ΕΜΦΥΛΗ
[ΕΒ]ΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΥ :
[ΕΒ]ΟΛ ΟΝ ΖΕΝΝΑΪ ΝC
[C]ΩΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΝCΙ†ΝΟC
ΝΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ · ΝCΕ†
ΝΙΩCΗΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΖΜ
ΖΑΛ · ΝCΕΤΑΧΡΕΝΕΥ
ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΖΜΠΙΝΕ Ν
ΖΟΜΝΤ · ΝΤΕΟΥΖΕ
>ΒΩΩΝ ΩΩΠΕ · ΝCΕ
ΚΑΘΙCΤΑ ΝΙΩCΗΦ
ΕΝΑΡΧΩΝ · ΝΤΕ
Π,ΙΗΛ ΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΚΗΜΕ
>ΝΤΕΙΑΚΩΒ CΟΪΛΕ ΕΠΚΑΖ
ΕΧΑΜ · ΝCΕΘΜΚΕ
ΠΛΑΟC ΜΜΑΤΕ · ΝCΕ
>ΧΟΟΥ ΜΜΩΥCΗC ΠΖΜ
ΖΑΛ ΜΠΙCΤΟC · ΝCΕΙΝΕ
ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΕΝΚΗΜΕ
ΖΕΝΜΗΤΕ ΜΠΛΥΠΗ
ΝΑΪ ΕΤΕΥΤCΑΒΟ Μ
ΜΟΚ Ε,ΡΟΟΥ · ΕΠΛΙ[...]

8. C4v Vienna K9660v; 1.

2ΩΩΚ ΜΠΕΚΡ[.....]
 ΚΗΜΕ Ν2ΗΤ[.....]
 ΕΡΕΘΑΛΑCΣΑ Π[ΩΤ]
 2ΑΤΕΚ2Η · [.....]
 ΟΡ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΝ[.....]
 ΝΓΧΙΝΟΜΟC 2Ν[ΧΩ]
 ΡΡΕΒ · ΕΝΔΙΚΑ[.]
 2ΜΠΤΟΟΥ ΝCΙ[ΝΑΙ]
 ΝCΚΑΤΑΡΚΕΪ ΝC[ΙΤ]
 ΜΝΤΡΟ ΜΠΜ[ΟΥ]
 ΤΑΪ ΕΤΟ ΝΡΡΟ ΧΙΝ
 ΑΔΑΜ ΩΑΜΩΥC,Η,Ç÷
 ΝΓΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ 2ΜΠΑ
 ΓΩΝ ΝΝΑΘΛΟΝ
 ΜΠΧΑΪΕ · ΩΑΝΤΕΚ
 ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΖΑΪΕ
 ΝΑΘΛΟΝ · ΝΓΕΙ·ΕΖΡΑΪ
 ΕΧΜΠΤΟΟΥ ΜΦΑCΚΑ
 ΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΑΒΑΡΕΙΜ
 ΝΤΕΜΩΥC,Η,Ç ΒΩΚ Ε
 ΤΕΖΙΗ ΝΝΕCΕΪΟΤΕ
 >ΝΤΕΪΗCΟΥ ΔΙΑΤΕΧΕ
 ΝCΩΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΤΩ
 ΝΝΑΪΩΝ ΝΤΕΚΛΥ
 ΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΩΑΕΝΕ2
 ΜΝΝCΩC ΝCΕΤΩΟΥΝ
 ΝCΙΝΕΚΡΙΤΗC ΝCΕ
 † ΜΠΕΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΑΚ
 ΕΠΝΟC ΝΒ,Η,ΜΑ

>Ν[.....]
 Μ[.....]
 >ΝΤ[.....]
 ΜΠ[.....]
 2,ΝΝ[.....]
 ΕΡΝΟ[.....]
 ΠΙΡ[.....]
 CΙΑ Ν[.....]
 >ΝΤ[.....]
 Ν[.....]
 >ΝΤΕ[.....]
 ΠΔΪΑ[.....]
 ΤΟΟ,Τ[.....]
 ΝΤ[.....]

(4 leaves missing)

9. C5 Paris 131.6, f.51r; 10̄.

This leaf is paginated 10̄-Κ (19-20). The external column is nearly intact but the internal one is quite damaged. It is described by Porcher, «Analyse,» [118], who, however, gives the first line incorrectly.

2ΑΠΕΣΜΟΥ · ΕΩ,Ω,
 ΠΕΜΜ[Α]ΝΝΕΧΠΟ ΕΒΟΛ
 ,2,ΝΜ[Μ]ΑΝΕΝΚΟΤΚ
 [.]ΤΑ[.]ΝΟΜΟΝ·ΝΣΕ
 [....]ΟΥΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ
 [.....]ΩΝ
 [.....]Ν2Ν̄
 [.....],Ο,ΕΙΩ
 [.....]ΛΟΟΒΕC
 [....]ΕΡΟΟΥ ΖΙΤΝ̄
 [....]ΝΣΕΠ[.]ΚΟΥ
 [...]2Ε[....]ΥΕΥΝΑ
 [...]. ΣΕ[.]ΩΡΒ̄
 [.]ΝΕΚΛ[....]ΕΤΑ[.]
 [..]ΧΩ[.....]
 [..]ΑΡΠ[.....]
 [...]ΠΕΧΠ,Ω[.]ΥΟ
 [...]ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΝΑΕΡ
 [..]ΥΑΝΕΛΑΑΥ
 [..],2,Μ̄ΣΕ ΝΤΕΤ̄ΝΕΡ
 [..Ν]2ΗΤ ΧΕΕΥΝΑ
 [..]ΕΙΝ ΕΡΩΤ̄Ν
 [..Ν]ΕΤ̄ΝΡΑΝ · 2ΕΝ
 ,ΝΕ2Ι,ΟΜΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ·
 ΝΣΕΕΠΝΕΤΕΝΩΗΡΕ
 ΕΠΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟC Ν̄Ν
 ΔΙΚΑΪΟC· ΝΣΕCΜΟΥ
 ΕΝΕΤΕΝ2ΑΪ ΖΙΪΝ̄Μ
 ΠΥΛΗ:
 †,CΩΤ̄Μ ΣΕ ΟΝ ΕΡΟ4 ΧΕ
 ΟΥΕΝΟΥC2ΙΜΕ ΦΟΟΠ

[ΕΒΟΛ 2]ΝΝΩΕΕΡΕ
 ΝΑΑΡΩΝ ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ
 ΠΕ ΕΛΪCΑΒΕΤ · ΟΥΟΝ
 ΠΕ ΝΩΕΕΡΕ ΝΑΑΡΩΝ
 ΕCΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟΝ ΕΤΜΗΤ
 CΩΤ̄Π ΜΠΓΑΜΜΟC
 ΜΠΟΥΗΗΒ· ΧΕΝΤΑ4
 ΧΙC2ΙΜΕ ΚΑΤΑΠΝΟ
 [Μ]ΟC· ΕΒΟΛ 2ΝΝΩΕ
 [ΕΡΕ] ΝΑΑΡΩΝ :
 ΕCΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟΝ ΕΤ
 ΜΗΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΝΕ
 ΛΙCΑΒΕΤ· ΤΩΕΕΡΕ
 Ν[ΑΑΡ,Ω,Ν · ΧΕΟΥΩΕ
 ΕΡΕ Ν[ΟΥ]ΗΗΒΤΕ:
 †CΩΤ̄Μ ,ΕΡ,Ο4 ΧΕ2ΕΝ
 ΔΙΚΑΪΟC,ΝΕ Μ,ΠΕCΝ,ΑΥ,
 ΜΠΜ̄ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠ,ΕΪ,
 ΧΟΕΙC· ΕΥΜΟΟΩΕ
 2ΕΝ<ΝΕ>ΝΤΟΛΗ Τ[Η][ΡΟ]Υ
 ΜΝΝΔΙΚΑΪΩΜΑ
 ΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΑΧ̄ΝΑΡΙΚΕ
 >2ΕΝΔΙΚΑΪΟCΝΕ Μ
 ΠΕCΝΑΥ· ΝΙΜ
 ΝΕΜΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΕΤΟΥ
 ΝΑ2[.]ΡΟΟΥ ΜΠΕC
 ΝΑΥ · Π2ΟΟΥΤ
 Μ̄ΝΤΕC2ΙΜΕ · ΕΥ
 ,ΩΗΩ ΜΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΤ
 2ΝΤ[ΔΙ]ΚΑΪΟCΥΗΗ
 ΜΝΝΔΙΚΑΪΩΜΑ

10. C5v Paris 131.6, f.51v; K̄.

The right hand column is very difficult to read. The ink has flaked off or washed out.

ΜΠΜΤΟ Ε[ΒΟΛ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ]	[.....]
ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΕ[ΠΑ,ΓΓ,[ΕΛ]ΟC	[.....]
ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΑΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙ	ΧC[.....]
ΕΝΕΧΠΟ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ	ΑΛΛΑ[.....]
ΕΝΕΖ Ε[Τ]ΔΙΚΑΙΟCΝΕ	ΟΥΚ[.....]
[ΜΠΕCΝ]ΑΥ ΜΠΜΤΟ	Χ[.....]
[ΕΒΟΛ Μ,ΠΝΟΥΤΕ	[.....]
ΟΥΠΕ ΠΕΙΜΠΜΤ[Ο Ε]ΒΟΛ	[.....]
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ[.....]	[.....]
ΕΡΕΠΛΟC ΤΑ[ΜΟ Μ]	[.....]
ΜΟΝ ΕΖΟΙΝΕ [ΕΤΟ Ν]	[.....]
ΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΜΜ[....]	[.....]
ΜΠΜΤΟ Ε[ΒΟΛ ΖΝΝ]	[.....]
ΡΩΜΕ ΜΠ[ΜΤΟ] ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ	[.....]
ΜΠΝΟΥΤ[Ε.....]	[.....]
ΕΡΕ[...],ΕΥ,ΑΩΗ	[.....]
ΝΤΖΕ · [.....]ΜΝ	[.....]
ΝΝΑΖΡΝ ΝΡΩΜΕ	ΝΖΗΤC[.....]
[..]ΤCΑΙΗΥ ΔΕ ΝΑΖ	Η[.....]
ΡΕ,Μ,ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕCΤΑΜΟ	ΑΛΛΑ[.....]
ΜΜΟΝ ΝΟΙΠΛΟΥΚΑC	ΠΕC[.....]
ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΩΠΗΡΕ	ΑΖΤ[.....]
ΧΕΜΠΟΥΕΡΝΟΒΕ	ΧΕΝ[.....]
ΕΝΕΖ ΜΝΛΑΑΥ	ΕCΝΑΩ[.....]
ΓΑΡ ΕCΟΥ[ΑΑ]Β ΕΝΟΒΕ	ΤΑΙ ΟΝ ΤΕΘΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ
ΚΑΝ ΟΥΖΟΟΥ ΝΟΥΩΤ	ΕCΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕΝ[ΑΙ]
ΠΕ ΠΕCΑΖΕ ΖΙΧΜ	ΖΕΝΔΙΚΑΙΟCΝΕ ΜΠΕC
ΠΚΑΖ Ε,Ι,[Μ]ΗΤΕΙ	ΝΑΥ ΜΠΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ
ΠΕΤΧΟΝΤ ΖΝΖΩΒ	ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΜΤΟ

(2 leaves missing)

11. C6 Paris 131.4, f.165; $\overline{\text{KE}}$.

This leaf is paginated $\overline{\text{KE}}-\overline{\text{KZ}}$ (25-26). The internal column is nearly intact but the external column is seriously damaged by a hole in the upper part and by a missing piece in the lower part. On the recto there is the title $\text{CAB-BA}\Delta\text{IKH}$ preceded and followed by a triple series of dashes alternating with three dots. The leaf is listed by Porcher, «Analyse,» [66-67].

ΧΕΪ [N]COP NIM · ΕΧΜ
 ΠΝΟΥC ΕΤCОВΚ̄ N̄T̄M̄T̄
 ΕΩΡΙΑ · ΕΡΕΠΛΟ
 ΓΟC ΤΑΜΟ M̄MON ΕΠΑΪ
 ΧΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΪΩ N̄IM ΕΡΕ
 ΠΝΟΥC CОВK̄ M̄ΠΑ
 ΤΕCΘM̄ΠΕΤΕCΩINE
 NCΩC · ΟΥΑΘΡΗΝ
 Τε τεCENNOΪA · ΕCΩA
 ΕΡΕΪΩΤ ΔΕ NCΩTΠ
 M̄ΠΓENOC M̄ΠPOΦH
 THC ΤΟΟΤΕ NTE[?]
 AP[X]I ΝΑΟΥΩΝ NCX̄I
 ΘΡΟC · N̄C̄X̄ΠO M̄ΠPαC
 ΤΑΙ ON ΤΕΘΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ
 ΝΕΛICABET · ΕΩAY
 ΖΕPMHNEYE ΝΕΛICABET
 ΧΕΠΑΝΑΩ M̄ΠNOY
 ΤΕ · ΑΩΠΕ ΠΑ
 ΝΑΩ M̄ΠNOYTE N†
 CCOYH AN · ΠΑΪ ΕΤ
 CEEΤ N̄ΟΥΕΩ ΝΩHPE
 M̄ΠIOYOEΪΩ
 ΠΑΝΑΩ M̄ΠNOYTE
 Π[...]ΕΠΕΤΗ[.]MA
 M̄ΠOYHHB ETNA MOYH
 ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕΝΧΟΕIC IC ΠΕ
 XC ΠΕΤΕΡΕΦ[I]ΕPOC
 ΕΝΑΠOCTOΛOC ΤΑΜΟ
 M̄MON ΕΡΟC · ΧΕ
 NH [ME]N AYΩΠΕ
 ΝΟΥHHB. ΝΟΥΕΩ ΝΑ
 ΝΑΩ · ΧΕΑΠΧΟΕIC

[ΩPK̄] N̄C̄NACEP2TEC AN
 [N]TOK ΠΕ ΠΟΥHHB
 Ω[AE]NEZEAT
 OY[...]ΩCΕ Ω[.] [...]

Π[.]NAERT[.] [...]

ΘY[.]AAZEPA[.]ΠΟΥH
 HB [Ω]AENEZ [KATAT]
 Δ[AZ]IC M[ME][AXICE]ΔEK
 A EL[...]ETΩA[.]

ZAN,N[.]X[.....]
 ZE TOIAMA[.....]
 M̄ΠCΩTHP
 ΠΩCΠE ΠEOOY[.] [M̄N]
 ΠAMAZTE ΩAEN<EZ>
 NENEZ ZAMHN

 CABBATIKH

NΘE NOY[...]ΠP[...]

ZIATPOC · Π[.....]
 M̄ION NE4Γ[.] [...]

ZE NZENMIΓ[.....]
 ΦOPON·M̄N[.....]
 ETTOYΩ N[.] [...]

EC KΩ M[.] [...]

EZPAI KATA[.....]
 ΠOYA ΠOYA[.....]
 TAITEΘE M̄[.....]
 OYAAAB · EC[.....]
 ΓPAΦOOY[.....]
 EΠΩAYM[.....]
 M̄ΠKOCMO[C.....]

12. C6v Paris 131.4, f.165v; $\overline{\text{K}}\zeta$.

†[...]TONE[...]	†CΩTṀ ΓΑΡ ΕΡΟΨ· ΧΕΑΣ
[...]ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ·[...]	ΩΩΠΕ ΖṀΠΤΡΕΨ
[...]ΑΚ ΕΨΙΝΕΡ[Ω]Β	ΩṀΩΕ ΖṀΤΔΑΞΙC
[...]ΟΥΧΑΪ Ζ[N]ΖΑΖ	ΝΝΕΨΖΟΥ · ΚΑΤΑ
[...]C· ΑΥΩ [Ζ]ΝΖΑΖ	ΠCΩNṀ NTMHT
[...]ΕΨΖ[...]ΠΟ	ΟΥΗΗΒ · ΑCΕΡΕΤΩΨ
[...]ΖΕΝΤ[...]ΤΡΟ	ṀΤΑΛΕΨΟΥΖΥΝΕ
N[...]ΝΕΤΟΥΑ[Α]Β Ν	ΕΖΡΑΪ · ΑΨΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ
N[...]ΟCΕΤΟΝ[...]ΝΕΙ	ΕΠΕΡΠΕ · ΜṀΠΚΕ
[...]ΝΟΥ[...]ΖΝΟΥΑ	CΕΕΠΕ ṀΤΑΤΕΤṀCΩ
[...]ΖΙΤṀ	ΤṀ ΕΡΟΥ ΜΠΟΥ
ΙΩΑΝΝΗC ΜΕΝ ΠΑΠΟC	ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΪ ΜΕΝ NAME
Τ[Ο]ΛΟC · ΕΨΤCΑΒΟ Μ	ΡΑΤΕ· ΤΕΤΝΑCΩΤM ON
Μ[Ο]Κ ΕΤΕΨΜΗΤΝΟΥΤΕ	ΕΠΕΥΝΟΗΜΑ · ΕΡΩṀ
Ε[Τ]ΑΡΧΕΙCΘΑΪ ΕΒΟΛ ΖṀ	ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΖΝΑΨ ΖṀ
ΠΛΟΓΟC · ΖΙΤṀ	ΤCΥΝΑΞΙC ΜΠΝΑΥ
[...]ΑΚ[...]C ΔΕ ΜΑΡΚΟC	ΝΖΤΟΥΕ~ ΠΛΗΝ
[ΑΡ]ΧΕΪ ΖΙΤṀΤΜΑΡ	ΜΑΡΕΝ†ṀΠΕΝΖΗΤ ΤṀ
[ΤΥ]ΡΙΑ ΜΠΡΟΦΗΔΪΚΗ	ΝΑΥ ΕΤΜΗΤΩNṀ
[...]ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΜΑ	ΤΗΨ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜṀ
[ΘΑΙΟC....]ΕΨ†ΖΟΥΕΪΤΕ	ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΤΕΥṀΤΑΨ
[ΜΠΕΨ]ΧΠΟ ΚΑΤΑCΑ	ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΝ · ΖΩCΔΕ
[ΡΞ ΕΒΟΛ] ΖΝΝΪΟΤΕ :	ΕΤΡΕΟΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΡΩΜΕ
[ΛΟ]ΥΚΑC ΔΕ ΠCΑ	ΕΤΒΗΗΤṀ ~ ΝΤΕΠΕ
[ΕΙΝ ΜṀ]ΕΡΙΤ ΕΨΑΡ	ΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΤΕΜΤΟΝ Μ
[ΧΕΙ] ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕ	ΜΟΨ ΖṀΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ
[ΧΠΟ Μ]Π,Π,ΕΠΡΟΔΡΟ	ΝΨΕΪ ΕΥΟΟΤΕ ΝCΖΙΜΕ
[ΜΟC ΙΩΑ]ΝΝΗC -	ΕΤΒΕΠΕΝΟΥΧΑΪ
[ΤΑΙ ΕΤΕΤ]ΝCΩΤṀ	ΠΑΪ ΕΤΒΕΤΟΪΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ
[ΕΤ]Κ,Η ΝΑΝ ΕΖΡΑΪ	ΜΠΕΨΧΠΟ ΚΑΤΑ
[ΖΜ]ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟ	CΑΡΞ ΝΤΑCΨΩΡ ΕΒΟΛ

(x leaves missing)

13. C7 Paris 131.8, f.90; [?].

This is the lower external part of a leaf which contains the last 23 lines of the outside column and some letters of about fifteen lines of the inside column. The pagination is lost and the verso is very dark and difficult to read. It is listed by Porcher, «Analyse,» [153].

[.....]ΝΑΥ
[.....]
[.....][...]
[.....]ΩΗΝ
[.....][...]ΩΟΥ
[.....][...]
[.....][...]ΠΝΖΗ
[.....][...]
[.....][...]
[.....][...]
[.....][...]
[.....][...]ΖΟΥ
[.....]ΕΧΕΝ
[.....]ΕΑΝΤΕ
[.....]ΤΡΕΥ
[.....]
[.....]
[.....]
[.....]
[.....]
[.....]
[.....]
[.....]
[.....]

[.....][...]
ΔΑ[.....]ΒΟ[
ΜΑΝ[.....] ΜΝ[
ΖΟΜ[...]ΚΕΑΩΗ ΝΔΙ
ΚΑΙΟC · ΚΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ
ΧΕΝΤ[Ο]ΟΥ ΔΝ ΝΕΤΟΥ
ΝΑΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΩΟ,Ρ,[Π]
ΑΛΛΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ[Χ][Α]Η
ΟΥΟΝΖ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ
ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΦΩΑΝΝΑΥ
ΕΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΕΦΤΒΒΗΥ
ΕΧΩΖΜ ΖΙΛΩ[ΛΜ]
ΖΙΚΩΖ ΖΙ[Μ]ΗΤΧ[Α]
CΙΖΗΤ -
ΝΑΪΑΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΧΑΥ
ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΖΜ
ΠΕΥΖΗΤ · ΧΕΝΤΟΥ
ΝΕΤΝΑΝΑΥ ΕΠΝΟΥ,Τ,[Ε]
ΤΑΪ ΟΕ ΟΝ ΤΕΘΕ ΤΕΝ[ΟΥ]
ΝΤΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC Ο[ΥΟ]
ΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΑΧΑ
ΡΙΑC ΕΦΑΖ[ΕΡ]ΑΤΥ
[Ν]CΑΟΥΝΑΜ ΜΠΕΘΥ
CΙΑCΤΗΡΙΟΝ [Μ]ΠΩΟΥΖΥΝ

14. C7v Paris 131.8, f.90; [?].

[.....][.....]	[.....]
[.....][.....]	ΟΥ[.....]
[.....]	[...][.....]
[.....]	[.]2P[.][.....]
[.....]Μ	ΜΠΝΟ[.....]
[.....]ΜΠΕΥ	ΝΚΟΡΝ[.....]
[.....]ΕΠΕC	ΓΕΛΟC[.....]
[.....]ΕΖ ΔΙΚΟΥ	ΖΜΠ[.....]
[.....]ΗΡC ΕΤΒΕ	ΠΙΑΞ[.....]
Π[....]ΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΟΥΩ	ΛΗΝ[.....]
[N2] ΝΑC ΕΒΟΛ [Ε]ΦΑΖΕΡΑΤ̄	ΑΥΒ[.][.....]
Ν[CΑΟΥΝΑ]Μ ΜΠΕ[Θ]Υ	ΜΕΕΥ[.....]
[CΙΑCΤΗΡΙΟ]Ν ΜΠΩΟΥ	ΕΒΟΛ[.....]
ΖΥΝΕ †CΩΤ̄Μ	ΜΕ,Ρ[.][.....]
ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΡΟC ΧΕΑCΩΤΟΡΤ̄	[.....]
>Ν̄ΟΙΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ[C Ν̄ΤΕ]	[.....]
ΡΕCΝΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΖΟΤ[Ε]	[.....]
ΖΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩC -	[.....]
[.]Γ[....]Ε ΕΤΡΕΠCΩΜΑ	[.....]
[.]Τ[.]ΡΤ̄Ν Ν̄Τ[.]ΕΨΥΧΗ	[.....]
[.][.]ΩΤ [.....]ΠΡ[Ο]	[.....]
CΟΠΟΝ Ν̄Τ[.....]	[.....]
ΕΝΕΖ [.....][.]	[.....]

(x leaves missing)

15. C8 Paris 131.7, f.12; [MΘ?].

This leaf is damaged by two missing pieces at the top and by a hole in the lower middle part. In the middle of the upper margin of the recto one can see a design which undoubtedly marks the beginning of a quire. Since C6, which comments on Luke 1:8, belongs to the second quire (pp. 25-26), C8, which comments on Luke 1:24-25, is probably the first leaf of the fourth quire, that is, pp. 49-50 of the manuscript. The pagination is missing. It is listed by Porcher, «Analyse,» [138].

Ο,Ι,ΚΟ]Ν,ΟΜΙΑ ΝΤΕΥ
 >ΝΟΥ ΑΣΛΟ ΕΣΖΗΠ · ΑΣ
 ΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑΖΕ ΜΜΟС
 ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΣ ΧΕΤΑΪ
 ΤΕΘΕ ΝΤΑΠΧΟΕΪС
 ΑΑΣ ΝΑΪ · ΖΕΝΝΕ
 ΖΟΥΥ ΝΤΑЧΩΩΤ
 ΕΒΪ ΜΠΑΝΟΘΝΟ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΖΝΨΡΩΜΕ :
 >ΑΣΖΟΠС ΠΕΧΑЧ ΝΨΙΕ
 ΛΙCΑΒΕΤ · Α,Ι,Ρ]ΗΥ
 ΕΡΕΠΛΟΓΟС ΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟ
 ΕΠΕΪΚΕΝΟΗΜΑ ·
 ΧΕΖΜΠΕΥΟΕΪΩ ΤΗΡῪ
 ΜΜΩΥСHC · ΖΜΠ
 ΤΟΥΕΧΩΜΕ ΝΤНО
 ΜΘΕCΙΑ · ΕΝΕΡΕΤ
 ΔΙΟΙΚΥCΙC ΝΝΕΤ
 ΩΟΟΠ · ΝΕCΕΕΤ ΜΝ
 {М}ΠΕΠΝΑ ΜΠΡΟΦΗ
 ΔΪΚΟΝ · ΕCΖΗΠ ΔΕ
 ΕΤΒΕ ΤΟΪΚΟΝΟΜΪΑ Ν
 ΝΕΥΟΕΪΩ · ΕΤ[.]ΝΕΤ
 ΝΑΠΡΟΦΗΤΕ[.....]
 ΝΕΖΟΥΥ ΕΤΨМ[....]
 >ΝΕCΕΠΕΤΝΑCΩ[....]
 ΜΠΕΥΟΕΪΩ Ι[.....]
 ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΝΑ[.....]
 ΝΕЧОНТ]ΕΡΟ, [...]
 ΧΕCΕΩΑΧΕ [.....]

ΠΕ[.....]
 ΓΑΡ ΕΡ[.....]
 ΜΜΩΥСHC, [ΧΕ]ΕΪС
 ΕΛΔΑΔ · ΜΝΜΩΔΑΔ
 ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΥΕ ΖΝΤΠΑ
 ΡΑΒΟΛΗ · ΚΟΥΩΩ
 ΕΤΡΑΚΩΛΗ ΜΜΟΥΥ
 ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑЧ ΝΑЧ
 ΧΕΜΠΩΡ · ΝΨМ ΠΕΤ
 ΝΑΤΑΑC ΜΠΪΛΑΟC ΝCΕ
 ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΧΪΝΕΠΕΥΚΟΥΙ ΩΑ
 ΠΕΥΝΟC ·
 ΑCΖΟΠС ΔΕ ΝΨΙ ΕΛΙCΑΒΕΤ
 ΝΤΟΥ ΝΕΒΟТ ·
 †CΩΤМ ΔΕ ΟΝ ΕΡΟΥ ΜΝ
 ΝCΑΝΑΙ · ΧΕΖΜΠΜΕΖ
 CΟΥΥ ΝΕΒΟТ ΑΥΧΟΥΥ
 >ΝΓΑΒΡΪΗΛ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC
 >ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤМΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 >ΕΥΠΟΛΪC ΝΤΕΤΓΑ
 [>]ΛΪΛΑΪΑ ΕΠЕСРАНΠЕ
 [>]ΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ ΩΑΟΥΠΑΡ
 [>Θ]ΕΝΟC ΕΑΥΩΠΤΟΟТC
 >Ν,ΟΥΖΑΙ ΕΠЕСРАНΠЕ
 ΪΩСНФ ΕΒΟΛ ΖМΠНΪ
 ΝΔΔΔ ΑΥΩ ΠΡΑΝ Ν
 ΤΠΑΡΘΕНОCΠЕ М[ΑΡ]ΙΑ
 ΖМΠМΕΖCΟΥΥ ΔΕ [Ε]ΝЕ
 В,ОТ, ΠΕΧΑЧ ПМЕ,Ζ,

16. C8v Paris 131.7, f.12v; [N]?

[COOY ENEBOT] XINE
[.....]
APHY PMZCOOY ENEBOT
ETEΦAXE EPOT
PE PMZCOOY NEBOT
XINENTA[E]ΛICABET ΩW
XINENTAΥXOOY M
ΠAG[Γ]EΛOC EBOL ZITM
ΠNOYTE · [...]H NT[O]Y
ECTAMO MMON [OY]NOO
NKAIΦAΛAION M
PEIMA ETBETEOY
EIO MΠΩMNOYBE
MPEXΠO MPEΦHPE
NNOYTE · ZW[CΔE] N
TACΩΠE AN ZNTMH
TE MPIOYOEIO
NAW ΓAP NZE · EICΩTM
ETEΓPAΦH X[EM]N
NCAΠXOK ΔE NNEYO
EIO · ANNOYTE T,N,
NOOY MPEΦHPE [EΔY]
ΩΠE EBOL ZNOY[CZIME]
ALLA ECTAMO M[MO,N,
XETOIKONOMIA [NT]HPC
N,NEZBHYE · [...]Y
EZPAI NOE MP[....]
C[...]YCEH EBOL[Λ]
[...]MPE TAY[...]OC

MP[....]XOC[.] [...]MH
TE NT[.....]
AK[...]ZY[...]CMH
PQ[.....]ZICO,ΔHC
MNOYΩW
TAITEΘE ETECTAMO
M[MO]N XEZMPMZ
CO[OY] NEBOT:
ETEPAITE Π[ME]CITA
[...]NNEZBHYE
[...]ETKOCMEI NNA
PAZOY ETTOXH[...]Y
[...]NAΘH [OYMHTEI]EI CA4
[O]YMHTEI PROY
[O]Y[MH]TEI ΦAENEZ
PENXOEIC IC PEXC
E[NTAY]TNNOOY MPEI
[A]ΓΓELOC EDIAKONEI
[MP]OMNOYBE MPE4<XPO>
KATACAPZ
ZMPMZCOOY ENEBOT
PEXAY ZMPA,M,Φ
[...]PO ΔEZIOC ET,E,
[...] [...]ZEΠENNA
[...]MNNAYOY[....]
[...]NTMH[.....]
[...]PMNNET[.....]
[...]PE - [.....]
[XOO]Y MPAΓ[Γ]EΛOC
[...]O[...] EYTOIC

(3? leaves missing)

18. C9v Paris 131.6, f.84v; $\overline{\text{NH}}$.

>ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC $\bar{\text{N}}$ ΤΑΚ
 >ΑΑΥ Ν $\bar{\text{M}}$ ΜΑΪ · †ΝΑ
 >ΧΪ ΝΟΥΧΩ ΝΟΥΧΑΪ
 >ΤΑΕΠΕΪΚΑΛΕΪ ΜΠΡΑΝ
 ΜΠΧΟΕΪC :
 ΑΤΟΪΚΟΝΟΜΪΑ σε ΜΠΕ
 ΧΠΟ ΝΪΩΖΑΝΝΗC
 ΩΠΕ ΑΤΚΕ
 [Φ]_ΛΥ_ΙCΪC ΩΠΕ ΕΤΡΕ
 [ΟΥΑ]_ΛCΡΗΝ ΧΠΕΩΗΡΕ
 [.....]ΩΜΩΕ
 [.....]
 [.....]_ΛΤ_Ο

ΕΡΟC Ζ $\bar{\text{M}}$ Π[ΠΡΟΚΕΙ]
 ΜΕΝΟΝ ΜΠΕΥΑΓ
 ΓΕΛΪΟΝ ΝΤΑΥΟΩΪ
 ΕΡΟΝ : †CΩ
 Τ $\bar{\text{M}}$ ΓΑΡ ΕΡΟC ΧΕ Ζ $\bar{\text{M}}$
 ΠΜΕΖCΟΟΥ ΝΕΒΟΤ
 ΑΥΧΟΟΥ ΝΓΑΒΡΪΗΛ
 >ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜ
 >ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΥΠΟΛΪC
 >ΝΤΕΤΓΑΛΪΛΑΪΑ
 >ΕΠΕCΡΑΝΤΕ ΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ
 >ΩΑΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC
 >ΕΑΥΩΠΤΟΟΤC ΝΟΥ
 >ΖΑΪ ΕΠΕCΡΑΝΤΕ ΪΩ
 [CΗ]Φ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ $\bar{\text{M}}$ ΠΗΪ
 [ΝΔΑ]ΥΕΪΔ · ΠΡΑΝ ΔΕ
 [ΝΤΠΑΡΘ]ΕΝΟC ΠΕ
 [ΜΑΡΙΑ.....] ΑΛΛΑ
 [.....ΝΑΜΕ]ΡΑΤΕ

19. EG-C 2707r; p. (61) [32].

Garitte («Rufus» 14, n.15) noted that Lefort had recalled seeing two leaves in Cairo of which one contained the word **CAΒΒΑΤΙΚΗ** but the librarian of the Coptic Museum at that time was unable to locate them. Dr. Stephen Emmel recalled seeing a photograph of one of these among the papers of Crum in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and kindly brought it to my attention. I have collated Crum's photographs with the originals in the Coptic Museum, which the present librarian, Dr. Samiha Abd el-Shahid, was able to locate and kindly allowed me to consult.

The handwriting of EG-C 2707 and 2682 is that of BO and the style is unmistakably that of Rufus. The text is a commentary on Luke 1:27.

[N̄TET]ΓΑΛΙΛΑΪΑ ΕΩΑΥ
 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ ΝΑ
 ΖΑΡΕΘ ·
 ΑΥΧΟΟΥ Ν̄ΓΑΒΡΪΗΛ
 ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Μ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ · ΟΥΝΟΣ
 ΤΕ ΤΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ
 ΧΕΝΖΟΤ Ν̄ΟΙΠΑΔΙΑ
 ΚΟΝΟΣ · ΟΥΟΥΩΩ
 ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ · ΟΥΑΓ
 ΓΕΛΟΣ ΠΕ ΠΕΧΑΪΟΥΩ
 ΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΤΕΧ
 ΧΙΟΥΩ ΝΑΣ ·
 ΑΩ ΟΝ ΤΕ ΨΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ
 ΕΤΕΧΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ
 [Τ]ΠΟΛΙΣ Ν̄ΟΙΠΕΥΑΓ
 ΓΕΛΙΣ,ΤΗC ·
 [ΕΩΑΥ]ΖΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΕ
 ΟΝ ΓΑΛΙΛΑΪΑ ΧΕ
 ΤΕΤCΚΡ̄ΚΩΡ ·-
 ΑΛΛΑ ΤΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΑ
 ΜΟ ΜΜΟΝ ΕΓΑΛΪ
 ΛΑΪΑ C̄ΝΤΕ ·
 ΓΑΛΙΛΑΪΑ ΕCΖΕΝ
 ΔΪΟΥΔΑΪΑ Μ̄ΝΤΓΑ
 ΛΙΛΑΪΑ Ν̄ΝΖΕΘΝΟΣ ·
 ΑΩ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ ΤΕ ΤΑΪ
 ΕΡΕΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ ΤΠΟΛΙC
 ΝΖΗΤC · ΤΕΤ

ΖΜ̄ΠΚΑΖ Ν̄ΔΪΟΥΔΑΪΑ
 ΤΕ ΕΩΑΥΖΕΡ
 ΜΗΝΕΥΕ ΟΝ ΝΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ
 ΧΕ ΤΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ·
 ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΟΥΠΟΛΙC ΤΕ
 ΕΤΒΕ ΤΠΟΥΓΤΑ ΝΝΕΤ
 ΟΥΗΖ ΝΖΗΤC̄ ·
 ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΘΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ
 Μ̄ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΑΥ
 Τ̄Ν̄ΝΟΟΥC ΕΤΓΑΛΪ
 ΛΑΪΑ · ΤΕΤCΚΕΡΚΩΡ
 ΕΤΕΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΠΕΠΖΑΕ Ν
 ΤΟΠΟΣ · Ν̄ΤΕΠΕΪΚΟΣ
 ΜΟΣ ΕCΩΤΕΡΤΩΡ
 ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕCΜΗΤΑΒΟΛΗ
 ΠΕΧΑC ΓΑΡ Ν̄ΟΙΠΑ,
 [.....ΕΩΑ]
 [Υ]ΖΕΡ[ΜΕΝΕΥΕ] [ΧΕ ΤΜΗ]
 ΤΑΒΟΛΗ Μ̄ΠΚΟ[CΜΟΣ]
 ΕΥΠΟΛΙC ΧΕ Ν[....]
 ΠΕΧΑC · Τ[.....]
 ΕΝΕΝΝΟΜΟΣ Ν̄[.....]
 ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ·
 ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ · Μ̄ΝΕΪ[CΑΑΚ]
 Μ̄ΝΪΑΚΩΒ Μ[ΝΙΟΥΔΑC]
 Μ̄ΝΦΑΡΕC · ΜΝ[ΕCΡΟΜ]
 Μ̄ΝΑΡΑΜ Μ̄Ν[ΑΜΙΝΑΔΑΒ]
 Μ̄ΝΝΑΑCЦΩΝ ·
 Μ̄ΝCΑΛΜΩΝ · Μ̄ΝΒΟΕC

20. EG-C 2707v; p. (62) [3B].

ΜΝΙΩΒΗΤ ΜΝΙΕCΣΑΙ
 ΜΝΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΜΝCΟΧΟ
 ΜΩΝ · ΜΝΠΚΕ
 CΕΕΠΕ ΕΤΜΝNCΩΟΥ
 ΝΑΙ ΝΤΑΥΕΡΤΕΥΠΟ
 ΛΗΔΙΑ ΖΝΟΥΟΠ · Μ
 ΜΗΤΕΙΩΤ · ΝΑΙ
 ΝΤΑΥΟΝΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΥΓΕΝΟC
 ΜΝΤΕΥΡΑΙΤΕ · ΜΝ
 ΤΕΥΠΟΛΗΤΑ ΜΝ
 ΠΕΥΟΥΡΟΤ ·
 ΦΟΥΟΝΖ ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕΧΛΑ
 ΧΕ ΝΤΑΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC
 ΨΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΕΝΙΟΥΔΑ ·
 [Δ]ΥΧΟΥ ΜΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC
 [ΨΑ]ΟΥΠΑΡ[Θ]ΕΝ[ΟC]
 [ΕΑΥΩΠΤΟΟΤC ΝΟ]Υ
 [ΖΑΙ Ε]ΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΗΙ Ν
 [ΔΑΥΕΙΔ] ΑΥΩ ΠΡΑΝ Ν
 [ΤΠΑ]ΡΘΕΝΟC ΠΕ ΜΑ
 [ΙΑ] · ΟΥΩΠΗΡΕ
 [...].ΝΕΡΖΩΒ ΜΠΛΟ
 [ΓΟC Ε]ΤΟΝΖ ·
 [ΜΑΡΙΑ] ΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΤΕ
 [ΟΥΑΩ]ΤΕ ΤΕΧΡΙΑ
 [ΜΠΕΙΡ]ΩΜΕ ΝΤΑΥ
 [ΩΠ]ΤΟΟΤC ΝΑΥ
 ΝΕΤΕΜΝΟΕΠΑΡΘΕ

ΝΟC ΝCΑΤΕ ΝΤΑΥΩΠ
 ΤΟΟΤC ΜΠΕCΖΑΙ
 ΑΛΛΑ ΕΡΕΠΖΩΒ ΟΥΩ
 ΝΖ ΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ · ΝΟΥ
 ΝΟC ΝΝΟΗΜΑ ·
 ΝΤΑΥΧΟΟC ΓΑΡ ΕΤ
 ΡΕΥΩΠΤΟΟΤC
 ΝΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC
 ΝΟΥΖΑΙ · ΧΕ ΝΝΕ
 ΠΖΩΒ ΕΡΖΑ ΝΩΠΗΡΕ
 ΕΠΕΖΟΥΟ · ΧΕ ΛΟΥ
 ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΩΩ ΝΤC
 ΖΟΟΥΤ ΜΜΑΥ
 ΝΤΕΟΥΩΙ ΠΕ ΩΩΠΕ
 ΝΑC ΖΙΤΝ ΝΡΕΧΜΕC
 ΠΕΘΟΥ · Η ΝΤΕΟΥ
 ΦΘΟΝΟC ΝΕΖ[ΟΥ] ΕΡ[ΟC]
 ΜΝΠΕΤΕΝΖΝΤC,
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜΠΛΑΙ,
 ΜΩΝ ΝΡΕΦΘΟ
 ΝΕΙ ΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC
 ΑΛΛΑ ΜΠΕΠΖΩΒ ΕΡ
 ΖΑ ΝΝΟC ΕΒΟΛ
 ΧΕ ΝΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC
 ΧΕ ΟΥΕΝΤC ΠΕC
 ΖΑΙ ΜΜΑΥ · ΠΑΙ
 ΝΤΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC
 ΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΥ
 ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC :

21. EG-C 2682r; p. (63) [37].

It is clear from the introduction at the end of EG-C 2707v to the quotation at the beginning of this leaf that it follows EG-C 2707 directly, although the damage to the leaves is not identical. It is the continuation of a homily on the same verse: Luke 1:27. In the left margin a series of dots indicates the quotation from Matt 1:20. A fragment of this leaf containing the beginning of lines 20-26 (recto, left column), which is visible in Crum's photograph (of 1907), is no longer with the leaf.

χ[ε ιωC]ΗΦ ΠΩΗ
 ΡΕ ΝΔΔΥΕΙΔ ΜΠΕΡΕΡ
 ΖΟΤΕ ΕΧΙ ΜΜΑΡΙΑ
 ΤΕΚC2ΙΜΕ · ΠΕΤΟΥ
 ΝΑΧΠΟ4 ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΝΖΗΤC ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΠΕ
 ΖΝΟΥΠΠΝΑ Ε4ΟΥΑΑΒ
 ΑΥΩ ΖΙΤΝΠΙΩΑΧΕ
 ΝΤΑΠΙΝΟC ΕΝΕΡ
 ΠΩΒΙΩ ΩΩΠΕ
 ΜΠΧΑΧΕ · ΜΝΝΕ4
 ΔΑΙΜΩΝΙΟΝ
 ΜΝΝΕΤΕ4ΕΝΕΡΓΙ
 ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΝΕ4ΟΥ
 ΩΩ ΕΘΟΟΥ · ΩΑΝΤΕ
 [Τ]Π,ΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΜΙCΕ
 [ΝΕ4CΟ]ΟΥΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΝ
 ΠΕΧ[Α4 ΧΕ Ε]Τ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ
 ΟΥΠΠΝΑ ΕΒΟΥΑΑΒ
 [ΕΤ]ΧΩ ΜΜΟC · ΧΕ
 Ε[С]ΜΟΟC ΜΝΠΕC
 ΖΑΙ Ν,САВНΛ ΓΑΡ
 ΕΤΛΟΟCΕ ΕΝΙΩCΗΦ
 ΕΝΕΥΝΑΜΟΟΥΤC ΠΕ
 ΜΝΠΕΤ[Ν]ΖΗΤC · ΕΥ
 [..]ΝΕΙ[.]4 ΝCΙΝΙΟΥ
 [ΔΑΙ Α]ΛΛΑ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ
 [.....]ΝΑ4 ΕΖΟΠ4
 [.....]ΝCΙ ΠCΩ
 [ΤΗΡ ΧΙΝΝΩ]ΟΡΕΠ

ΧΕ Ε4ΝΑΩΒΕΩ [Μ]
 ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΠΙΑΙ
 ΩΝ · ΜΝΝΕ4ΔΗ
 ΝΑΜΙC ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΩΑΝΤΕ4ΧΩΚΕΒΟ,Λ,
 ΜΠΝΤΑ4ΕΙ ΕΤΒΗΗ
 Τ4 · ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΤΝCΙ
 ΝΕ ΜΜΟ4 ΖΝΖΑ2 ΜΜΑ
 Ε42ΗΠ ΜΜΟ4 ·
 ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΜΠΕ4ΧΠΟ
 ΝΕΖΟΟΥ ΝΤΕ4ΜΝΤ
 ΚΟΥΙ · ΕΝΕΥΠΗΤ ΝΜ
 ΜΑ4 ΠΕ ΕΠΙCΑ ΜΝ
 ΠΑΙ · ΕΥΖΩΠ ΜΜΟ4
 ΖΝCΟΠ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΚΗΜΕ
 ΖΝCΟΠ ΕΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ
 ΕΒ,ΟΛ,[ΖΝΤΓ][ΑΛΙΛΑΙΑ]
 ΕΚ[Α][ΦΑ][ΡΝΑΟΥΜ Ε]
 42ΜΠ[.....][ΝΙΩΑΝ]
 ΝΗC ΧΕCΩ[...] [Ε4]
 ΖΝΜΠΙΡΑCΜΟC [Μ]
 ΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC · ΜΠ[Ε4]
 ΧΟΟC ΝΛΑΔΥ ΝCΟ[Π]
 ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΩ[ΗΡΕ]
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ · Ε4Ο[ΥΩΝ Ν]
 ΝΒ[Α]Λ ΝΝΕ{Ν}ΒΛ,Λ,[Ε]
 ΜΝΠΚΕCΕΕΠΕ,Ν,[4ΤΑΛ]
 CΟ ΝΕ42ΩΝ Ε[ΤΟΟΥΟΥ]
 ΕΤΜΧΟΟC Ν[4ΕΠΙΤΙΜΑ Ν]
 ΝΕ4ΜΑΘΗΤ[ΗC...]

22. EG-C 2682v; p. (64) [3Δ].

ε,τμογον2ῃ εβολ ·
 α,γω τκεοϊκονομία
 μ,πες-φoc · †meeγε
 [x]εντασωπε [o]γobw
 ερε νσιναρων ·
 †cωτῃ γαρ επαποστολος
 ε4xω mmoc · xe n
 φανxe 2ῃoυcoφiα
 νταπiαiων αν τε
 οyδε nταναρων
 αν τε mπiαiων
 na'i etnaoγwcq̄
 αλλα nωαxe 2ῃoυ
 coφiα nτεπnoυτε
 2ῃoymhcthrion
 παi et2ηπ · ταi
 [ετεmπε]λααy ε[na]p
 [xων n],τ,ε πiαiων
 [coy],ω,nc · enen
 [ta],γ,coγωνc γαρ
 [n],ε,γnac-foy αν πε
 [m],π,xoeic mπεooγ ·
 [na'i]ne nταγxooy
 [ne]mμεpate · xe
 [oy],α,γγελoc aytn
 [oo]γ4 φaoγπαp
 [θen],o,c · eaywep
 [tootc] ῃoy2a'i επe4
 [pan πε i]ωchφ ·
 [loiπον],†,cωτῃ
 [on π]ai · ey

mīne nacπ[acm]oc
 epεπαγγελoc xω
 mmoc etπαpθenoc
 παi mπicotm4
 2en λaay mma n̄
 tootoy n̄ntay
 oywn2 ebol nn
 pome ·
 †cωτῃ γαρ epoc
 xe xaipe tentac
 on2mot · παi epε
 tε42γπ[.....]
 epετδιαθεcic n
 oicδopia et[....]
 xi ῃoyoeiω epoc
 mapentwoyn oe [ntn]
 †eooy mπnoyte
 ππantωγpa[τωp]
 exn nentancotmoγ
 nkooye δε on tet,n,
 cωτῃ epooγ 2nt[cy]
 na3ic etnhγ e[p]
 φanoγwφ n[ci]πnoy
 te πeiwt mπen
 xoeic ic πεx̄c
 etepw4 πε π[e]ooγ
 m̄nπam[azte] w[αen]
 ne2 nenē2 2a[mhn]
 ++++++++++
 cabbaΔi[kh]

23. D1 Paris 131.1.f.16; 4Z.

The eight consecutive leaves, D1-8, which are undamaged, form the seventh quire of the manuscript. They are paginated 4Z-P1B (97-112). The signature of the seventh quire (Z) is preserved on the upper inner corner of the recto of D1 and on the upper inner corner of the verso of D8. The first column of D1 containing the title is ornamented at the top with a rectangular band with interlacing inside. The title is written in a small uncial lightly slanted toward the right. See Porcher, «Analyse,» [17] («XIIIe siècle»).

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

ΤΜΕΖΤΙ ΝΕΖΗΓΗ

CIC ΕΑΥΤΑΥΟC

ΝΟΙΠΙΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ

ΝΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΖΡΟΥΦΟC

ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΥΑΓΓΕ

ΛΙΟΝ ΝΚΑΤΑΛΟΥ

ΚΑC ΕΠΕΖΡΗΤΟΝ

ΤΕΠΕΠΑΙ ΧΕΖΜΠ

ΜΕΖCΟΟΥ ΝΕΒΟΤ

ΑΥΧΟΟΥ ΝΓΑΒΡΗΛ

ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΒΟΛ

ΖΙΤΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΥ

ΠΟΛΙC ΝΤΕΤΚΑΛΙ

ΛΕΑ · ΕΠΕCΡΑΝΠΕ

ΝΑCΑΡΕΘ ΨΑΟΥ

ΠΑΡ ΕΑΥΨΠΤΟΟΤC

ΝΟΥΖΑΙ ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ

ΠΕ ΙΩCΗΦ

ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΗΙ ΝΔΑΔ

ΑΥΩ ΠΡΑΝ ΝΤΠΑΡ

ΘΕΝΟCΤΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ

ΖΝΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕΠ

[ΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ]

ΟΥΨΠΗΡΕΠΕ Π

ΖΩΒ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ

Ω ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ

ΟΥΨΩΨΠΕ Π

ΖΩΒ ΝΤΜΗΤ

ΝΟC ΝΤΑΓΑΠΗ

ΤΑΙ ΝΤΑΥΜΕΡΙ

ΤΝ ΝΤΖΕ ΤΗΡC

ΧΙΝΕΨΟΡΠ ΝΟΙ

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ · ΑΥ

ΤΑΜΙΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΧΙ

ΝΕΤΕΖΟΥΕΙΤΕ

ΑΥΧΑΡΙΖΕ ΝΑΝ

ΝΟΥΜΝΤΡΡΟ

ΜΜΟΤΝΕC ΖΙΠΕΤ

ΝΑΝΟΥΥ · ΚΑΤΑ

ΠΩΙ ΝΤΟΥ ΕΤΕΥ

CΟΟΥΝ · ΧΕΤΕΨΥ

CIC ΝΤΜΗΤΡΩ

ΜΕ ΝΑΧΡΩ ΜΜΟΥ

ΝΥΑΑΥ ΝΜΠΩΑ

ΜΠΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC

ΝΤΕΤΡΥΨΥ

ΑΠΡΕΥΑΠΑΤΗ

ΠΩΨΝ ΕΒΟΛ Ε

ΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ

ΑΝΨΩΠΕ ΝΕΤ

ΟC ΜΠΜΟΥ Π

ΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΓΑΘΟC

ΑΥΨΕΝΕΖΤΗΥ

ΕΧΩΝ · ΑΥ

ΤΑΖΜΕΝ ΕΕΡΠΕΤ

24. *D1v Paris 131.1f.16v; [9H].*

ΝΑΝΟΥÇ ΝΑΝ ·
 ΜΠΕÇΕΙΡΕ ΚΑ
 ΤΑΠΑΨΑΙ ΝΝΕΝ
 ΝΟΒΕ ΑΛΛΑ
 ΧΕΚΑΣ ΚΑΤΑΠ
 ΨΙ ΝΤΕÇΑΓΑΠΗ
 ΜΝΜΠΕΤΝΑ
 ΝΟΥÇ ΕΤÇΕΙΡΕ
 ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΜΜΑΝ
 ΕΑÇΤΡΕΠΕΠΙ
 ΒΟΥΛΟΣ ΧΟΒΧΒ
 ΝΖΟΥΟ ΖΙΤΜΠΕ
 ΦΘΟΝΟΣ· Ν
 ΤΑΠΧΑΧΕ ΓΑΡ
 ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΕ
 ΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΧΕΕ
 ΡΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ
 ΜΕΣΤΩÇ ΖΙ
 ΤΝΤΕÇΕΠΙΒΟΥ
 ΛΗ · ΑΛΛΑ Π
 ΣΟΦΟΣ ΜΑΥΑΑΒ
 ΕΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕΠΕ
 ΑÇΜΕΡΙΤÇ Ν
 ΖΟΥΟ ΧΕΚΑΣ
 ΕΡΕΠΧΑΧΕ ΝΑ
 ΝΑΥ ΝÇΝΟΥÇÇ
 ΝÇΖΡΟΟΡÇ Ν

ΝΕÇΟΥΒΕ ΝÇΒΩΛ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΑÇΑΠΑ
 ΤΑ ΜΜΟΝ ΧΙΝΕ
 ΨΟΡΠ ΖΜΠΠΑ
 ΡΑΔΙÇ{I}<O>C · ΚΑΤΑ
 ΘΕ ΕΝΤΟΚ ΕΤΕΚ
 ΣΟΟΥΝ · ΑÇΕΡΗΤ
 ΝΑΝ ΜΠΕΤΝΠΩ
 ΑΝΠΕ · ΑÇΒΟΟΝ
 ΕΠΕΤΕΠΩΝΠΕ
 ΑÇΧΟΟC ΓΑΡ ΝΟΙ
 ΠΕΠΛΑΝΟC ΧΕÇΕ
 ΝΑΟΥΩΝ ΝΟΙΝΕ
 ΤΝΒΑΛ· ΤΕΤΝ
 ΨΩΠΕ ΝΘΕ Ν
 ΝΙΝΟΥΤΕ · ΑΥΩ
 ΝΤΕΡΕΝCΩΤΜ
 ΕCΩÇ ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ
 ΧΕΜΠΕΝΤΑΖΕ
 ΤΜΗΤΝΟΥΤΕ ·
 ΜΠΑΤΕΜΦΥCΙC
 ΡΩ ΑΝΠΕ · ΑΛ
 ΛΑ ΝΤΑΝΤΟÇΕ
 ΝΤΚΕΜΗΤΡΩ
 ΜΕ ΕΤΕΤΩΝΤΕ
 ΑΝΛΟ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΟ Ν
 ΡΩΜΕ ΧΙΝΕΠΕΥ

25. D2 Paris 131.1.f.17; 40.

ΟΕΙΩ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΑΝ
 ΩΩΠΕ ΝΤΒΝΗ ·
 ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ Ε4
 ΖΝΟΥΤΑΙΟ ΜΠΕ4
 ΕΙΜΕ ΕΡΟ4 ΑΥΝΟΧ4
 ΜΝΝΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ
 ΝΑΤΙΜΕ Α4ΕΙΝΕ
 ΜΜΟΟΥ·

ΕΩΩΠΕ ΡΩ ΜΠΕ
 ΩΩΠΕ ΕΝΔΟΧΒ
 ΝΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ · ΑΥΕ
 ΖΕ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΕΝΠΕC
 ΧΟΕΙC · ΑΥΩ ΑΥΕ
 ΪΩ ΟΥΕΝΠΟΥΟ
 ΜΕ4 ΜΠΕ4ΧΟΕΙC ·
 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΟ4
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 ΠΕΤΕΡΠΕΤΝΑ
 ΝΟΥ4 ΝΑ4 · Α4ΟΥ
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 ΝΓ ΝΟΙΧ · ΖΕΝ
 ΩΕ ΜΝΖΕΝΩΝΕ
 ΖΕΝCΜΟΤ ΝΤΒ
 ΝΗ · ΖΙΖΑΛΗΤ
 ΖΙΧΑΤΒΕ · ΝΑΙ
 ΕΡΕΝΕΥΒΑΛ ΜΜΟ

ΟΥ · ΕΡΕΝΕΥΜΑΛΛΕ
 ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝCΕCΩΤΜ
 ΑΝ · ΡΩΟΥ ΜΜΟΟΥ
 ΜΕΥΩΛΕ [·] ΩΑΑΝ
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 ΩΩΛΜ · ΕΥΕΕΡ
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 ΤΑΥΤΑΜΙΟΥ ΜΝ
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 ΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ · ΚΑΤΑ
 ΠΩΛΕ ΜΦΙΕ
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 ΕΠΜΑ ΟΥΝ ΕΤΡΕ4
 ΕΙΡΕ ΝΜΜΑΝ ΚΑ
 ΤΑ ΝΕΝ<2>ΒΗΥΕ Μ
 ΠΕ4ΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΑΙ ·
 ΠΕΝΑΝΔΙΤΙΚΟC
 ΑΥΤΡΕ4ΟΥΕ Ν
 CΑΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΝ
 Ε4ΩΑΝCΩΩΤ
 ΕΝΕΝ2ΒΗΥΕ ·
 ΜΝΛΑΑΥ ΝCΑΡΞ
 ΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ ΜΠΕ4
 ΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ · Ε4
 ΚΩ ΝΑΝ Ε2ΡΑΙ
 ΝΟΥCΜΟΤ ΕΝΩ
 Ν2 ΕΤΡΕΝΟΥΧΑΙ
 ΕΠΧΙΝΧΗ ΖΙΤΝ

26. D2v Paris 131.1.f.17v; [P].

In the left margin toward the top of the left hand column is written the word ΟΥΩ2Μ (= «repeat») in a smaller different hand. The manuscript appears to have been marked for use in the liturgy. Above the left column is written in another smaller hand: ΚΕΠΟΥΡΟΣ ΜΕΡΙΑ - ΤΩΕΛΕΕΤΜΠΤΕΒΒΟ·

ΤΠΙC†C ΜΠΕΝ
 ΧΟΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧC Ε
 ΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΝ · Α4
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 ΖΗΠΟΚΡΙΝΕ ΖΝ
 ΟΥCΜΟΤ ΜΜΗΤ
 ΜΑΙΡΩΜΕ · Ε4
 ΤΙ ΜΠΕ4ΟΥΟΙ Ε
 ΡΟΝ ΖΜΠCΥΜΒΟΥ
 ΛΟC · ΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΔΕ Α4ΟΥΕΝΕ2
 ΤΕ4ΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΝ
 ΖΩC ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ
 ΓΑΘΟC · ΕΥΚΩ2
 ΜΝΟΥΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΜΠΧΑΧΕ · ΠΡΟC
 ΘΕ ΝΤΑΙΩΡΠ
 ΧΟΟC · ΑΠΔΙΑ
 ΒΟΛΟC ΦΘΟΝΙ
 ΕΡΟΝ Ε4Ι ΝΤΟΟ
 ΤΝ ΝΤΜΝΤ2Μ
 ΖΑΛ · ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΤΑ2ΜΕΝ ΕΤΜΗΤ
 ΩΗΡΕ · ΑΠΧΑ
 ΧΕ ΤΡΕΥΝΟΧΝ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΠΑΡΑ

ΔΙCΟC · ΑΛΛΑ ΑΠ
 ΧΟΕΙC ΟΥΩΝ ΝΑΝ
 ΝΤΠΗΛΥ ΝΤΠΕ
 ΑΥΠΟΝΗΡΕΥΕ ΕΡΟ
 ΖΜΠΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC
 ΝΤΕΤΡΥΦΗ
 ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΝΤΑ4ΠΟ
 ΝΗΡΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΝ ΖΜ
 ΠΤΟΠΟC ΝΤΕΝΑ
 ΝΑΠΑΥCΙC · ΑΥΝΟΧ4
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΜΠΗΥΕ Ε2
 ΡΑΙ ΕΧΜΚΑ2 ·
 ΑΥ4ΙΤΚ ΖΩΩΚ
 ΠΡΕΜΕΚΑ2 Ε2ΡΑΙ
 ΕΤΠΕ · ΑΠΧΑ
 ΧΕ ΧΙΩΟΧΝΕ ΕΠ
 ΡΩΜΕ ΚΑΚΩC
 ΝΑΩ Ν2Ε CΩΤΜ
 Ε4ΟΥΩΩ ΕΤΡΕ4
 ΠΟΡΧ4 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΠ
 ΝΟΥΤΕ · ΕΑ4ΠΟΩC
 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΝΤΟΛΗ
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 ΝΑ4 ΕΥΜΗΤΑΤCΩ
 ΤΜ · Α4ΝΑΥ Ν
 ΟΙΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΕΝ
 ΤΑΥΕΡ2ΑΛ ΜΠΡΩ

27. D3 Paris 131.1.f.18; Pā.

ME · ΕΑΓΑΠΑΤΑ

ΜΜΟϢ · ΑΧΡΩ

ΝΟΥΜΗΤΩΕΝΕΖ

ΤΗϢ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟϢ ·

ΜΠΕϢΑΜΕΛΙ ΕΠΕ

ΤΑϢΡΑΚΤϢ ΝϢ

ΒΩΚ ΕΠϢΩΡΜ

ΑΛΛΑ ΑϢΩΙΝΕ Ν

ϢΩϢ ΖΝΟΥΜΗΤ

Χ̄Ϣ · ΧΕΚΑϢ ΕϢΕ

ΔΥΜΜΙΡΙ ΜΠΡΕϢ

ΑΠΑΤΑ · ΝϢΜΟΥΡ

ΜΠΕΝΤΑϢΕΧΜΑ

ΛΩΤΙΖΕ · ΝϢ

ΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΝ

ΤΑΥΕΧΜΑΛΩΤΙ

ΖΕ ΜΜΟϢ · ΑϢΤΝ

ΝΟΟΥ ΜΠΕϢΩΗ

ΡΕ ΖΝΟΥϢΧΗΜΑ

ΜΜΗΤΖΜΖΑΛ

ΑϢΧΙ ΝΟΥϢΩΜΑ

ΝΡΩΜΕ · ΕϢΤΑ

ΗΥ ΑΥΩ ΕϢΖΑΩ

ΠΗΡΕ · ΕΑϢΤΑ

ΜΙΟϢ ΝΑϢ ΖΝ

ΤΕΚϢΥϢΙϢ Ω

ΠΡΩΜΕ · ΑϢ

ΟΥΟΝΖϢ ΕΒΟΛ

ΖΩϢ ΡΩΜΕ · Μ

ΠΕϢΝΟΥΧ ΕΒΟΛ

ΝΤΕϢΜΗΤΝΟΥ

ΤΕ ΝΩΟΡΠ · ΑϢ

ΧΙϢΩΜΑϢΕ ΑϢΡ

ΡΩΜΕ · ΩΑΝΤΕϢ

ΚΤΟ ΜΠΕΝΤΑϢ

ϢΩΡΜ ΤΕϢ†

ΤΟΟΤϢ ΜΠΕΝ

ΤΑϢΖΕ · ΝϢΜΟΥΡ

ΜΠΧΩΩΡΕ ·

ΤΕϢΤΟΥΝΕϢΠΕΤ

ΜΟΟΥΤ · ΑϢΤΑΖ

ΜΕϢ ΖΙΤΝΝΕϢ

ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗϢ

ΝΩΟΡΠ ΜΠΕϢ

ϢΩΤΜ · ΑϢΟΥ

ΕΝΕΖΖΕΝΩΠΗ

ΡΕ ΝΑϢ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ

ΤΝΝΕϢΠΕΤ

ΟΥΑΑΒ ΜΠΕϢ

ΠΙϢΤΕΥΕ · ΕΤ

ΒΕΠΑΙ ΑϢΧΙ Ν

ΤΕΠΛΑϢΙϢ ΝΤΑϢ

ΤΑΚΟ · ΑϢΤϢΑ

ΝΟϢ ΝΚΕϢΟΠ

ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΕϢ

ΩΑΑΤ ΜΜΟϢ

28. D3v Paris 131.1.f.18v; [PB].

The rubric ΥΩ (Υ above Ω = ΟΥΩ2Μ - see 3.23 above) is written on the left of the right column toward the bottom beside the phrase 2ΜΠΕΠΡΟΚΙ-ΜΕΝΟΝ. Beneath this column in the margin is written in a different smaller hand: ΚΜΑ 2ΜΠΜΕ2C.

ΤΗΡ4 Α4ΤΑΑ4
 ΝΑC · ΤΑΙΤΕ
 Α4ΧΙΤC Α4ΤΑ
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 ΗΙ ΝΑC ΚΑΤΑΠ
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 ΠΕΤΚΩΤ ΜΨΥ
 ΧΗ ΝΙΜ ΕΒΟΛ 2Ν
 ΤΕΘΕΟΔΟΚΟC
 ΜΑΡΙΑ · ΧΕΚΑC
 ΚΑΤΑΘΕ ΝΤΑ
 ΠΗΩΩΒΤ · 2Ι
 ΤΝΟΥΠΑΡΘΕ
 ΝΟC ΕΤΕΕΥ2ΑΤΕ
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 2ΗΤC ΕΤΝΤΟ
 ΛΗ ΜΠΠΑΡΑΔΙ
 CΟC · ΜΑΡΙΑ
 2ΩΩC ΝΤΑCΩ
 ΜΠΩΝ2 2Μ
 ΠΕΡΠΕ · ΕΥ
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 ΧΕ ΝΜΜΑC 2Ι
 ΤΜΠ2ΟΒ · ΑC

ΟΥΩΩΒ ΝΑ4 ΑΧΜ
 ΜΟΥΧΤ ΜΑΡΙΑ
 2ΩΩC ΑCΩΡΧ
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 ΝΟΥΩΩΒ ΝΑ4
 ΑCΟΥΟΝ24 ΕΒΟΛ
 ΑCΜΠΩΑ ΝΤ
 ΠΙCΤΙC ΑΥΩ CΟ
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 ΝΑΤΑΑ4 ΝΑC ·
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 ΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΝΤΑΥ
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 ΧΕ · ΛΟΙΠΟΝ
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 ΠΑΡΑΔΥΡΙCΙC
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 †CΩΤΜ ΕΡΟ4 2Μ
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 ΧΕ2ΜΠΜΕ2CΟΟΥ
 ΝΕΒΟΤ ΑΥΧΟΟΥ

29. D4 Paris 131.1.f.19; P^Γ.

·ΝΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΠΑΓ
·ΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜ
·ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΥ
·ΠΟΛΙC ΝΤΕΤΚΑ
·ΛΙΛΕΑ ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ
·ΠΕ ΝΑCΑΡΕΘ
·ΨΑΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC
·ΕΑΥΨΕΠΤΟΟΤC
·ΝΟΥΖΑΙ ΕΠΕCΡΑΝ
·ΠΕΙΩCΗΦ · ΕΒΟΛ
·ΖΜΠΗΙ ΝΔΑΥΕΙΔ
·ΑΥΩ ΠΡΑΝ ΝΤ
·ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟCΠΕ ΜΑ
·ΡΙΑ ΑΥΩ Ν
·ΤΕΡΕCΒΩΚ ΝΑC
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·ΑΥΩ ΝΕCΜΟΚ
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·ΟΥΑΨ ΜΜΙΝΕ
·ΠΕ ΠΙΑCΠΑCΜΟC
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·ΝΑC ΧΕΜΠΕΡΡ

·ΖΟΤΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΔΡ
·ΟΙΝΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΟΥΖ
·ΜΟΤ ΝΑΖΡΜΠ
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ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΤΕΝΑ
Ω ΝΤΕΧΠΟ ΝΟΥ
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·ΙC · ΠΑΙ ΝΑΨΩ
·ΠΕ ΝΟΥΝΟC·ΑΥΩ
·CΕΝΑΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC
·ΧΕΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΕΤ
·ΧΟCΕ · ΠΧΟ
·ΕΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ν_Δ
·ΤΙ ΝΑC ΜΠΕΘΡΟ
·ΝΟC ΝΔΑΔ ΠΕC
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·ΝΑΡΡΡΟ ΕΧΜ
·ΠΗΙ ΝΙΑΚΩΒ
·ΨΑΝΙΕΝΕΖ· ΑΥΩ
·ΜΝΖΑΗ ΝΑΨΩ
·ΠΕ ΝΤΕCΜΝΤ
·ΡΡΟ· ΠΕΧΕ
·ΜΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ ΜΠΑΓ
·ΓΕΛΟC ΧΕΝΑΨ Ν
·ΖΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΑΨΩ
·ΠΕ ΜΜΟΙ ΜΠΙ

30. D4v Paris 131.1f.19v; [PΔ].

The rubric γω is written on the left of the right column beside l.7. See 3.25 above.

COYEN ZOYTY[·]α
 ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΟΥΩ
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 ΑΑΒ ΠΕΤΝΗΥ Ε2
 ΡΑΙ ΕΧΩ[·]ΑΥΩ
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 ΡΕ ΖΝΤΕCΜΗΤ
 ΖΛΛΩ · ΑΥΩ
 ΠΕCΜΕΖCΟΟΥ
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 ΤΑΙ ΝΩΛΥΜΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕΤΑΘ
 ΡΗΝ · ΧΕΝΝΕ
 ΛΑΑΥ ΝΩΑΧΕ
 ΕΡΑΤΟΟΜ ΝΝΑ2

ΡΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ · ΠΕ
 ΧΑC ΔΕ ΝΟΙΜΑΡΙΑ
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 ΘΕΜΖΑΛ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC
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 ΝΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΚ
 ΩΑΧΕ · ΑΥΩ ΑΠΑΓ
 ΓΕΛΟC ΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΖΙΤΟΟΤC
 ΝΑΙΝΕ ΝΤΑΝCΩΤΜ
 ΕΡΟΟΥ ΖΜΠΕΥΑΓΓΕ
 ΛΙΟΝ ΝΚΑΤΑΛΟΥ
 ΚΑC · ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ
 ΜΑΡΕΝΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ
 ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝ
 ΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ·
 ΠΙΩΤ ΕΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC
 ΙC ΠΕΧC · ΠΕΝΤΑ4
 ΕΡΝΙΩΠΗΡΕ ΜΑΥ
 ΑΑΒ · ΧΕΕ4Ε† ΝΑΝ
 ΝΟΥΜΕΕΥ ΝΑΝΟΥ4
 ΤΝΕΙΜΕ ΕΠΙΧΠΟ
 ΝΩΠΗΡΕ· ΜΝ
 ΠΙΜΙCΕ ΝΘΑΥΜΑ
 ΠΑΙ ΕΤΕΜΝΛΑΑΥ
 ΝΑΕΩΚΑΤΑΛΑΝ
 ΒΑΝΕ ΜΜΟ4 · ΕΙ

31. D5 Paris 131.1, f.20; $\overline{\text{P}}\epsilon$.

ΜΗΤΙ ΝΤΟϢ ΜΑΥ
 ΛΑϢ ΠΕΧ̄· †
 ϸΩΤΜ ΕΡΟϢ ΤΕ
 ΝΟΥ ΞΕΖΜΠΜΕΖ
 ϸΟΥ ΝΕΒΟΤ ΝΑΙ
 ΝΤΑΝΞΕΖΝΩΗΜ
 ΕΡΩΤΝ ΕΤΒΗ
 ΗΤΟΥ· ΕΑΝΤΑ
 ΜΩΤΝ ΞΕΠΙΜΕΖ
 ϸΟΥ ΝΕΒΟΤ ΝΤΑ
 ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟϸ Ω
 ΝΖΗΤϢ ΕΤΕ
 ΠΑΙΠΕ ΠΜΕΖϸΟ
 ΟΥ ΝΤΑΕΛΙϸΑΒΕΤ
 Ω ΝΖΗΤϢ· ΑΥΩ
 ΞΕΝΤΑΥΤΝΝΟ
 ΟΥ ΜΠΑΓΓΕΛΟϸ
 ΕΥΠΟΛΙϸ ΝΤΕΤ
 ΚΑΛΙΛΕΑ ΕΠΕϸΡᾹ
 ΠΕ ΝΑϸΑΡΕΘ
 ΕΑΝΧΟΟϸ ΞΕΠΙ
 ΤΟΠΟϸΠΕ ΤΚΑ
 ΛΙΛΑΙΑ ΤΠΟ
 ΛΙϸ ΝΑϸΑΡΕΘΤΕ
 ΤΡΑΙΤΕ ΜΝΤ
 ΠΟΛΥΤΙΑ ΝΕΛΙ
 ϸΑΒΕΤ· ΛΟΙ
 ΠΟΝ ΤΙϸΩΤΜ Ε

ΡΟϢ ΞΕΝΤΕΡΕϢ
 ΒΩΚ ΝΑϸ ΕΖΟΥΝ
 ΠΕΧΑϢ ΝΑϸ ΞΕ
 ΧΕΡΕ ΤΕΝΤΑϸΩΝ
 ΖΜΟΤ ΠΧΟΕΙϸ
 ΝΜΜΕ· ΟΥ
 Ε ΠΙΒΩΚ ΝΑϸ Ε
 ΖΟΥΝ· ΕϸΤΩΝ
 ΝΟΙΜΑΡΙΑ· ΑΛΛΑ
 ΕΙΚΗ ΑΝ ΑϢΤΑΥΕ
 ΠΑΙ· ΕΡΕΠΛΟ
 ΓΟϸ ΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟΝ
 ΕΠΖΩΠ Ν̄ΤΠΑΡ
 ΘΕΝΟϸ· ΜΝΠΖΙ
 ΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΕϸΠΟΛΥ
 ΤΙΑ· ΜΝΠΕϸΩ
 ΡΕΖΤ ΕΤΕϸΕϸΥΧΙΑ
 ΤΑΙ ΝΤΑϸΕΜΠ
 ΩΑ ΝΟΥΑϸΠΑϸ
 ΜΟϸ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΙΓΩ̄
 ΞΕΧΕΡΕ ΤΕΝΤΑϸ
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 ΝΜΜΕ· ΠΙΑϸ
 ΠΑϸΜΟϸ ΕΤΜΠΕ
 ΛΑΑΥ ΜΑΤΕ ΜΜΟϢ
 ΕΝΕΖ· ΕΙΜΗ†
 ΤΙΡΕϢΞΠΕΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΜΑΥΑΑϸ· ΝΑ

32. D5v Paris 131.1.f.20v; [P⁵].

ΙΑΤC ΕΤΝΟΗΔΗ
 ΝΤΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΑ
 ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ ΕCΟ
 ΝΑΤΤΩΛΜ
 ΤΑΙ ΝΤΑCΘΜΘΟΜ
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 ΝΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΟ
 ΜΠΚΑΤΑCΑΡΞ
 ΜΠΩΗΡΕ Ν
 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΕΑΡ
 ΜΠΩΑ ΝΩΩ
 ΠΕ ΜΜΑΝΟΥΩΖ
 ΕΠΕΤΝΑ†ΖΑΠ
 ΕΠCΩΝΤ ΤΗ
 ΡΨ· ΧΕΑΨΤΑΨΕ
 ΠΕΨΗΙ ΖΡΑΙ Ν
 ΖΗΤC· ΧΕΡΕ
 ΤΝΤΑCΘΝΖΜΟΤ
 ΠΕΧΑΨ· ΕΒΟΛ
 ΧΕCΖΙΜΕ ΝΙΜ
 ΕΥΧΠΟ ΝΝΕΥ
 ΨΗΡΕ ΖΝΟΥΛΗ
 ΠΗ ΜΝΟΥΑΨΑ
 ΖΟΜ· ΝΤΟ ΔΕ
 ΑΡΩ ΜΠΡΑΨΕ
 ΑΡΜΙCΕ ΜΠΕΜ

ΤΟΝ· ΧΕΡΕ ΤΕ
 ΤΑCΘΝΖΜΟΤ Π
 ΧΟΕΙC ΝΜΜΕ·
 ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΕΡΕΝΕΖΙ
 ΟΜΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ω
 ΖΜΠΝΟΒΕ· ΑΥΩ
 ΕΥΧΙΟΥΩ ΖΝΤΑ
 ΝΟΜΙΑ ΚΑΤΑ
 ΠΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΡΡΟ
 ΔΑΔ· ΝΤΟ
 ΔΕ ΑΡΩ ΖΜΠΤΒ
 ΒΟ· ΑΡΜΙCΕ ΖΝ
 ΠΟΥΟΠ· ΧΕ
 ΡΕ ΤΝΤΑCΘΝΖ
 ΜΟΤ ΠΧΟΕΙC
 ΝΜΜΕ· ΧΕΑΠ
 ΧΟΕΙC ΤΑΨΕ
 ΠΕΨΝΑ ΝΜΜΕ·
 ΝΤΟC ΔΕ ΑCΨΤΟΡ
 ΤΡ ΕΧΜΠΨΑΧΕ
 ΠΕΧΑΨ· ΑCΕΡΖΟ
 ΤΕ ΝΧΝΟΟΥ·
 ΑCΕΡΨΠΗΡΕ
 ΜΠΙΑCΠΑCΜΟC
 ΖΩC ΕΨΠΟ ΝΟΥ
 ΜΗΤΨΒΗΡ·
 ΑΥΩ ΑCΑΚΟΝ₁Ι,

33. D6 Paris 131.1.f.21; PZ.

ΕΧΝΟΥΘΑΧΕ ΕΧ
 ΟΗΝ ΖΩC Ε4ΜΕ2
 ΜΗΗΤΜΑΙΡΩ
 ΜΕ · ΑΥΩ ΝΕCΜΟΚ
 ΜΕΚ ΜΜΟC ΧΕΟΥ
 ΠΕ Π2ΩΒ ΝΟΥ2Ο
 ΟΥΤ Ε4ΘΑΧΕ
 ΜΝΟΥC2ΙΜΕ·
 CΩΩΤ ΜΕΝ ΕΠΕC
 ΧΗΜΑ ΖΩC CΕΜ
 ΝΟC · ΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟC
 ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΕCΝΑΥ ΕΡΟ4
 ΕΟΥCΜΟΤ ΝΡΩ
 ΜΕ ΠΕ · ΑCΜΟΚ
 ΜΕΚ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ
 ΧΕΟΥΑΩ ΜΜΙ
 ΝΕ ΠΕ ΠΙΑCΠΑC
 ΜΟC · ΜΗ ΑΡΑ
 ΠΕΧΑC ΕΥΕΡ2ΑΛ
 ΜΜΟΙ 2ΜΠΕΡ
 2ΑΛ ΝΤΑΥΕΡ2ΑΛ
 ΕΤΜΑΑΥ ΜΠΑΓΕ
 ΝΟC ΧΙΝΕΩΟΡΠ
 ΑΥΩ ΑCΩΤΟΡ
 ΤΡ · ΠΙΩΤΟΡ
 ΤΡ ΝΤΙΜΙΝΕ CΟΤΠ
 Ω ΝΑΜΕΡΑΤΕ ·

CΤΟΥΧΟ ΜΠΡΩ
 ΜΕ ΕΥΝΟC Ν2ΟΤΕ
 ΝΩΑCΩΩΠΕ Μ
 Π2ΑΕ ·
 2ΑΜΟΙ 2ΩΩC ΝΤΑ
 ΤΩΟΡΠ ΝC2ΙΜΕ
 ΕΡ2ΟΤΕ ΕΤΜΕΡ
 ΠΡΟΠΕΤΗC ΝC
 ΒΟC ΕΒΟΛ 2Μ
 ΠΕCΩΑΧΕ · ΟΥ
 ΔΕ ΟΝ ΜΠΕCΟΥ
 ΩΩΒ · ΟΥΔΕ
 ΟΝ ΜΠΕC† Ε2ΟΥ
 ΝΑ2ΡΝΠΑCΠΑC
 ΜΟC ΝΤΑΥΤΑΑ4
 ΝΑC·
 ΤΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΤΜΠΕCΟΥ
 ΩΩΒ ΟΥΩΡΧ
 ΠΕ ΝΤΕCΠΑΡΘΕ
 ΝΙΑ · ΑCΜΕΕΥΕ
 ΟΥΝ ΧΕΤΟΙΝΟΥ
 ΩΩΒ ΓΑΡ 2ΝΟΥ
 ΕΝΩΟΤ ΕΠΕΝ
 ΤΑ4ΧΟΟC ΝΑC ΧΕ
 ΧΕΡΕ · ΟΥΚΗΝ
 ΔΙΝΟC ΝΑC Π[Ε]
 ΕΝΕCCOΟΥΝ ΓΑΡ

34. D6v Paris 131.1.f.21v; [P^H].

The rubric ΥΩ appears to the left of the right column beside the bottom line. Below that is written in the bottom margin in another smaller hand: σωφτ ημεχ2 ουνομοεθς τεμαρια.

ΑΝ ΧΕΟΥΠΕ 2Ν
 ΤΕΦΥCIC ΕΤ
 ΒΕΠΑΙ ΜΠΕCΩΕΠ
 ΩΑΧΕ ΕΡΟC ΑΧΝ
 Π2ΤΗC 2ΝΟΥ
 ΟΕΠΗ · ΑΛΛΑ ΔC
 ΚΑΔΥ 2ΜΠΕC2ΗΤ
 ΕCΜΟΚΜΕΚ Μ
 ΜΟC ΕC† ΤΗΠΟC
 2Ι2ΙΚΩΝ ΜΠ
 ΩΑΧΕ ΧΕΟΥΑΩ
 ΜΜΙΝΕ ΠΕ ΠΙΑC
 ΠΑCΜΟC · ΕΝΕC
 CΟΟΥΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΠΕ
 ΤΑΥΧΟΟC ΧΕ
 ΜΠΕΡΠΙCΤΕΥΕ
 ΕΠΝΑ ΝΙΜ ·
 ΑΥΩ ΧΕΠΕΝ
 ΤΑCΩΑΧΕ ΜΝ
 ΕΥ2Α ΝΩΟΡΠ
 ΝΤΑCΩΑΧΕ
 2ΝΟΥCΜΟΤ
 ΜΜΗΤΜΑΙΡΩ
 ΜΕ ΧΕΕΤ

ΒΕΟΥ ΑΠΧΟΕΙC
 ΧΟΟC ΝΗΤΝ
 ΧΕΝΝΕΤΝΟΥ
 ΩΜ 2ΜΠΩΗ
 ΕC2ΜΠΠΑΡΑ
 ΔΙCΟC ΠΑΙ
 ΔΕ ΟΥΝΟC ΤΕ
 ΤΕCΜΗΤΜΑΙ
 ΡΩΜΕ ΜΝΤΕC
 ΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΤΩ
 ΕCΧΩ ΜΜΟC
 ΧΕΧΕΡΕ ΤΕΝ
 ΤΑCΟΝ2ΜΟΤ
 ΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΜΜΕ
 ΕCΟΟΟΥΝ ΤΩΝ
 ΕΝΑ2ΒΗΥΕ †CΟ
 ΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΠΕΧΑC
 ΠΛΗΝ ΑΤΕCΘΙ
 ΝΩΑΧΕ †2ΙCΕ
 ΝΑΙ 2Ι2ΟΤΕ
 ΕΝΕCΜΟΚΜΕΚ
 ΜΜΟC ΧΕΟΥΑΩ
 ΜΜΙΝΕΠΕ ΠΙ
 ΑCΠΑCΜΟC·
 ΟΥΝΟΜΟΕΕ

35. D7 Paris 131.1.f.22; $\overline{\text{P}\Theta}$.

The word $\overline{\text{P}\Theta}$ in the first line has been abbreviated by placing the Θ above the P with a stroke through it.

ΤΗC ΤΕ $\overline{\text{Π}\overline{\text{P}\Theta}}$
ΕCCOΟΥΝ ΕΠΝΟΜΟC
ΜΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗ
ΤΗC ·

ΠΩΔΞΕ ΝΤΑCСOT
ΜΕC · ΔCΧITC
ΕΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΝΟΥC
ΕCСOTΠ · ΔΥW
ΕCΤΑΗΥ · ΔC
ΧITC ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠ
ΜΑΝΤΙΖΑΠ ΕΤΟ
ΡΧ ΝΤΕΠΕCΜΕΕΥΕ
ΔCΠΑCΤC ΚΑΛΩC
ΖΜΠΚΩZΤ Μ
ΠΕCΛΟΓICΜΟC
ΔCΟΥOZΤC ΖΝ
ΤΔΙΑΚΡΗCIC Μ
ΠΕCΜΕΕΥΕ · ΔC
ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ ΧΕ
ΟΥΑΩ ΜΜΙΝΕ
ΠΕ ΠΙΑCΠΑCΜΟC
ΑCΤΑΖΕΠΕCΝΟΥC
ΕΡΑΤC ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥ
ΚΕΒΕΡΝΙΤΗC Ε
ΝΑΝΟΥC ΕCΑ

ΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΠΕC

ΖΙΝΙΕ ΖΝΟΥW

ΡΧ · ΜΗΠΟ

ΤΕ ΝΤΕΤΟΟΤC

ΖΙCΕ · ΝΤΕΠΕC

ΧΟΙ ΒΩΚ ΖΑCIE

ΤΑΙΤΕΘΕ ΝΤΑΤ

ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC Δ

ΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΠΕC

ΛΟΓICΜΟC · ΜΝ

ΠΕCΜΟΚΜΕΚ

ΖΝΟΥΤΙΖΤΗC

ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝCΟΥ

ΩΩΒ ΖΝΟΥ

ΜΗΤΡΕCΒΟC

ΕΒΟΛ ΝCΧΕΠΑΥ

ΕΙΝ ΤΗΡC Ε

ΒΟΛ ΝΜΤW ·

ΝΖΟCΟΝ ΔΕ ΕC

ΜΟΚΜΕΚ ΖΙΝΑΙ

ΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC

ΟΥΩΩΒ ΠΕ

ΧΑC ΝΑC · ΧΕ

ΜΠΕΡΡΟΤΕ

ΜΑΡΙΑ · ΑΡCΙ

ΝΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΟΥΖ

36. D7v Paris 131.I, f.22v; [P1].

The rubric ΥΩ is written to the left of the right column, 1.5 from the bottom, and beneath the column in the bottom margin is written in another smaller hand: ΔΙΞΟ ΜΠΕΡΕΡΖΟΤΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ.

MOT NNAZPM
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ · ΝΤΑ
ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΟΥ
ΩΦΒ ΜΠΩΑ
ΧΕ ΑΝ ΜΜΑΡΙΑ
ΜΠΕCΦΑΧΕ ΓΑΡ
ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑCΟΥ
ΩΦΒ ΜΠΕC
ΜΕΕΥΕ · ΑΧΕΙ
ΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΠΕCΜΕ
ΕΥΕ · ΑΧΕΠΑΙ
ΝΟΥ ΜΠΩΡΧ
ΝΤΕCΨΥΧΗ ·
ΑΧΡΩΠΗΡ<Ε> ΔΕ
ΟΝ ΜΠΕΝΤΑ4
ΤΝΝΟΟΥ4
4CΟΟΥΝ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ
ΟΥΑΩ ΜΜΙΝΕ
ΠΕ ΠΕΝΤΑ4
ΤΝΝΟΟΥ4 ΨΑ
ΡΟC Ε4CΟΟΥΝ Ε
ΠΩΡΧ ΝΤΕC
ΨΥΧΗ
ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΟΥΕΙΤΕ
ΤΟΥΦΑΧΕ ΕΤ
ΒΗΗΤC ΕΒΟΛ

ΖΝΟΥΜΗΗΩΕ ·
ΟΥΕΙΤΕ ΝΤΑΥCΟΤC
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝΖΑ2 ΤΑΙ
ΕΤΕΡΕΗCΑΙΔC ΤΕΚC
ΤΗΗΒΕ ΕΡΟC · ΧΕ
ΕΙC ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC
ΝΑΩ ΝCΧΠΟ ΝΟΥ
ΩΗΡΕ ΝCΕΜΟΥΤΕ
ΕΠΕ4ΡΑΝ ΧΕΜΜΑ
ΝΟΥΗΛ ΕΑ4ΧΕ
ΠΑΙ ΖΑΘΗ ΝΟΥΜΗ
ΗΩΕ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΖΙ
ΤΜΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥ
ΑΔΒ · Ε4ΧΩ Μ
ΜΟC ΧΕΕΙC ΤΠΑΡ
ΘΕΝΟC ΝΑΩ ΝCΧ
ΠΟ ΝΟΥΩΗΡΕ ·
ΖΩC ΧΕ ΟΥΕΙΤΕ ΖΜ
ΠΚΑ2 ΤΗΡ4·
†CΩΤΗ ΕΡΟ4 ΟΝ
ΧΕΜΠΕΡΡΖΟΤΕ
ΜΑΡΙΑ · †CΟΟΥΝ
ΧΕΑΥ†ΘΟΤΕ ΝΤΕC
ΖΙΜΕ · ΑΛΛΑ Ν
Τ1Ο, ΠΕΤΕΡΝΑ4Ι Μ

37. D8 Paris 131.1.f.23; $\overline{\text{PIA}}$.

ΜΑΥ ΝΘΟΤΕ ΝΕΥ
 ΖΑ · ΜΠΕΡΡΖΟ
 ΤΕ ΠΕΧΑ4 ΠΖΟΒ
 ΑΝ ΠΕΤΩΑΧΕ
 ΝΜΜΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥ
 ΑΓΓΕΛΟC Ε4Ν
 ΖΟΤ{Ε} ΠΕΤΩΑ
 ΧΕ ΝΜΜΕ ΑΥΩ
 ΜΝΚΡΟ4 ΖΝΤΑ
 ΟΙΝΩΑΧΕ ·
 ΑΡΕCΙΝΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΟΥΖ
 ΜΟΤ ΝΑΖΡΜΠ
 ΝΟΥΤΕ ·
 ΖΩC ΕΡCΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ
 ΜΝΤΕΡΩΜΕ Ζ
 ΜΟΤ ΕΝΑΖΡΜΠ
 ΝΟΥΤ{Ε ·} ΕΤ
 ΒΕ ΠΠΩ{Ρ}ΩC
 ΕΒΟΛ [Ε]ΝΤΑ4
 ΤΑΖΕΤΜΝΤ
 ΡΩΜΕ ·
 ΝΤ[Ο]ΔΕ ΑΡΜΠ
 ΩΑ ΝΟΥΖΜΟΤ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ Ε4ΝΑ†
 ΖΑΠ ΖΙΖΜΟΤ Ν

ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΖΙΤΜ
 ΠΕΤΕΡΝΑΧΠΟ4
 ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΤΕΝΑ
 Ω ΝΤΕΧΠΟ ΝΟΥ
 ΩΗΡΕ ΝΤΕΡΜΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΕΠΕ4ΡΑΝ ΧΕ
 ΙC · ΜΝΝCΑ ΟΥΟ
 ΕΙΩ ΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ
 ΕΤΙ ΕΡΕΠΩΑΧΕ
 ΖΝΡΩΙ[.] ΑΥΩ
 Α4ΖΩΝ ΕΡΟ ΝΟΙ
 ΠΩΕΜΝΟΥΒΕ ·
 ΠΕΧΑ4 ΟΝ ΧΕΤΕ
 ΝΑΧΠΟ ΝΟΥΩΗΡΕ
 ΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΕΡΕΤΕ4
 ΑΡΧΗ ΖΝΤΕ4
 ΝΑΖΒ ·
 ΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΕΡΕΤΕ4
 ΑΡΧΗ ΖΜΠΕ4ΕΙ
 ΩΤ Ε4ΑΜΑΖ
 ΤΕ ΕΧΝΤΟΙΚΟΥ
 ΜΕΝΗ ·
 ΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΠΕ ΝΜ
 ΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΕΡΕ
 ΠΕΚΝΟΥC ΕΡΧ
 ΡΙΑ ΝΟΥΑCΦΑ

38. D8v Paris 131.1f.23v; $\overline{\text{PIB}}$.

In the right hand column toward the bottom there is a fault in the parchment which has been sewn together. There is no writing on this portion of the verso but it is the cause of difficulty in reading some of the letters on the recto.

ΛΙΑ ΝΩΔΧΕ ΜΗ
ΠΟΤΗ ΝΤΕΝΙΟ
ΟΝΕ Η ΝΙΡΕΧΧΙΟΥΕ
ΩΩΖΤΕΝΕΝΩΟΥ
ΩΤ ΜΠΡΟ ΜΠΕΚ
ΝΑΖΤΕ · ΝΣΕΣΥ
ΛΑΝΠΕΧΡΗΜΑ
ΝΤΕΚΜΗΤΕΥ
ΓΕΝΗΣ ΤΕΡΝΑ
Ω ΠΕΧΑΧ ΝΤΕ
ΧΠΟ ΝΟΥΩΗΡΕ ·
ΤΟΥΟΙΝΩΤΕ ΣΕΝΑ
ΣΟΥΩΝΣ ΑΝ
ΤΟΥΟΙΜΜΙΣΕ
ΤΕ ΤΕΡΝΑΧΠΟ
ΝΟΥΩΗΡΕ ·
ΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΤΟΥ
ΝΑΧΠΟΧ ΝΑΝ
ΚΑΤΑΠΩΔΧΕ
ΜΠΕΠΡΟΦΗ
ΤΗΣ · ΟΥ
ΩΗΡΕ ΕΡΕΤΕΧ
ΑΡΧΗ ΖΝΤΕΧ
ΝΑΖΒ · ΠΝΑΖΒ
ΕΤΤΩΟΥΝ

ΖΑΠΤΗΡΪ · Τ
ΜΗΤΕΙΩΤ ΝΤΑ
ΠΩΗΡΕ ΧΙΖΗ
ΠΟΤΑΧΙΣ ΕΒΟΛ
ΝΜΟC · ΤΕΡ
ΝΑΧΠΟ ΝΟΥΩΗ
ΡΕ ΠΕΧΑΧ ·
ΖΩC ΧΕ ΜΝΝCΑ
ΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΑΝ ΕΡΝΑ
ΧΠΟ · ΟΥΩΗΡΕ
ΕΧΩΟΟΠ ΖΑΘΗ
ΝΝΕΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ·
ΖΑΘΗ ΝΧΡΟΝΟC
ΝΙΜ ΖΙΑΙΩΝ ·
ΖΙΩΟΧΝΕ Ζ[Ι]ΜΕΕΥΕ
ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΜΠ
ΝΟC ΝΩΟΧΝΕ
ΑΛΛΑ ΜΠΕΡ
CΩΤΗ
ΧΕ ΑΓΓΕ
ΛΟC Ν
ΤΕΤΗ
ΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΟΥΑ
ΠΕ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΑΓ
ΓΕΛΟC · ΠΕΧΑΧ
ΝΟΠΖΑΓΙΟC

39. *D9 Naples I.B. 13, fasc. 439 (Zoega 262.f.1); P¹⁷.*

The initial Η (8) of the eighth quire is in the upper inner corner. A deep tear has caused the loss of the three entire lines at the bottom of the outer column. See Zoega, *Catalogus*, p. 618.

ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΖΗΤΕ4Ε	ΝΕ · ΠΕΤΧΙΟΥΩ
>ΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ· ΧΕ	ΜΠΝΟΣ ΝΨΟΧ
·ΖΝΖΑΖ ΜΜΕΡΟΣ	ΝΕ ΕΘΗΠ ΕΤΕ
·ΑΥΩ ΖΝΖΑΖ ΝC	ΠΙΩΤ ΜΑΥΑΑ4
·ΜΟΤ· ΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ	ΠΕ · ΕΤΙΝ<Ε> ΕΒΟΛ
·ΨΑΧΕ ΜΝΝΕΝ	ΜΠCΩΝΤ ΕΤΕ4
·ΙΟΤΕ ΝΨΟΡΠ	ΟΥΕΨΤΑΜΙΟ4·
·ΖΝΝΕΠΡΟΦΗ	ΠΑΙ ΕΤΕ4ΨΑΧΕ
·ΤΗC · ΖΝΘΑΗ	ΝΜΜΑ4 ΖΝΝΕΚ
·ΔΕ ΝΝΙΖΟΥΥ Α4	ΤΙCΜΑ · ΠΟΥΟ
·ΨΑΧΕ ΝΜΜΑΝ	ΕΙΝ · ΠΕCΤΡΕΩ
·ΖΜΠΩΗΡΕ ·	ΜΑ ΜΜΟΥΝΙΟΥΕ
·ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑ4ΚΑ	ΠΠΕΤΨΟΥΩΟΥ
·Α4 ΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟ	ΜΝΠΚΕCΕΕΠΕ
·ΜΟC ΜΠΤΗΡ4	ΝΝΖΩΝΤ Ν
·ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑ4ΤΑ	ΤΑΥΩΩΠΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ
·ΜΙΕΝΕΩΝ ΕΒΟΛ	ΚΑΤΑΠΕ4ΟΥΕ2
·ΖΙΤΟΥΤ4 ·	CΑΖΝΕ ·
·ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙΠΕ ΠΟΥΟ	†CΩΤΗ ΕΡΟ4 ΧΕ
·ΕΙΝ ΜΠΕΟΥ·	ΝΤΕΜΟΥΤ[Ε Ε]
·ΑΥΩ ΠΙΝΕ Μ	ΠΕ,4,[ΡΑΝ ΧΕΙC]
·ΠΕ4ΤΑΧΡΟ·	[.....]
·Ε4ΒΙ ΖΑΠΤΗΡ4	[.....]Α4
ΖΜΠΨΑΧΕ Ν	ΠΕ4ΡΑΝ ·
ΤΕ4CΟΜ·	ΟΥΕΝΤΑ4ΠΕ4
ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC	ΡΑΝ ΝΟΙΠΕΤΕΡ
ΜΠΝΟΣ ΝΨΟΧ	

40. D9v Naples I.B. 13, fasc.439 (Zoega 262,f.1v); [PIΔ].

ΝΑΧΠΟ4 · ΠΑΙ
ΕΡΕΤΕΓΡΑΦΗ
ΦΑΧΕ ΕΡΟ4 ·
ΧΕ ΠΕΤΩΟΠ
ΧΙΝΕΤΕΖΟΥΕΙ
ΤΕ · ΠΕΧΑ4
ΟΝ ΖΝΚΕΜΑ ΧΕ
ΤΕΚΑΡΧΗ ΝΜ
ΜΑΚ ΜΝΤΕΚ
ΟΟΜ · ΕΚ2ΝΝ
ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΝΕΤΟΥ
ΛΑΒ · ΑΥΩ
ΟΝ ΧΕ ΑΙΧΠΟΚ
ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠCΟΥ Ν2
ΤΟΟΥΕ · ΠΕ
ΧΑ4 ΟΝ ΧΕ ΠΑΙ
ΝΑΩΠΤΕ ΝΟΥ
ΝΟC · ΑΥΩ CΕ
ΝΑΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟ4
[Χ]Ε,ΠΩΗΡΕ Μ
[ΠΕΤΧΟCΕ]
[.....]
[.....]
ΒΕΙΩ2,[....]
ΧΕΟΥΝΟCΠΕ
ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΒΕΠ

ΜΕΓΕΘΟC ΝΤΕ4
ΥΥΧΗ · ΠΕΝ
ΧΟΕΙC ΔΕ ΕΝΤΟ4
ΕΤΒΕΤΜΝΤΝΟC
ΜΠΤΑΦΕΟΕΙΩ
ΜΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ·
ΠΑΙ ΕΤΝΑΧΙCΕ
Ν4ΑΙΑΙ Ν4ΟΥ
ΩΩC ΕΒΟΛ · ΧΙ
ΝΕΠΕΜ2ΙΤ ΦΑ
ΠΡΗC · ΧΙΝΕ
ΠΕΙΗΒΤ ΦΑΠΕ
ΜΝΤ · ΧΙΝΕ
ΠΧΙCΕ ΦΑΠΩΙΚ
ΠΕΝΤΑ4ΒΩΚ
ΕΝΕΤΩΗΚ ΜΠ
ΚΑ2 · ΝΤΟ4 ΟΝ
ΠΕΝΤΑ4ΒΩΚ
Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΤΠΕ ΝΜ
ΠΗΥΕ · ΧΕΚΑC
Ε4ΝΑΧΕΚΠΤΗ
Ρ4 ΕΒΟΛ · ΠΙΡΑΝ
ΝΟΥΩΤ ΠΕΤΝΑ
ΩΩΠΕ Ε4Ο ΝΝΟC
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΕ·
4ΧΟCΕ ΕΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC

[1 leaf missing]

41. D10 Naples I.B. 13, fasc.439 (Zoega 262.f.3); $\overline{\text{PIZ}}$.

The lower part of the leaf is missing. There remain only 21-22 lines of each column. See Zoega, *Catalogus*, p. 618. The rubric $\Upsilon\omega$ appears to the left of 1.4 of the right column. In the margin above the column is written in a different smaller hand: $[.] \text{ΠΑΙ} \text{Α}^\dagger [..] \text{ΝΑΩ} \text{Ν} \text{ΖΕ} \text{ΝΑΙ} \text{ΝΑΩΩΠΕ}$.

ΡΡΟ ΝΑΤΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΕΤΕ
 ΡΕΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΩΑΧΕ
 ΕΡΟΣ · ΧΕ ΖΑΠC
 ΠΕ <Ε>Τ<Ρ> Ε4ΡΡΡΟ ΩΑ
 ΤΕCΚΩ Ν[NE]4
 ΧΙΝΧΕΕΥΕ ΖΑ
 [NE]4ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ·
 [ACN]ΕΖΘΟΤΕ ΛΟΙ
 ΠΟΝ ΝΟΙΜΑΡΙΑ
 ΑΠΕCΤΩΤ ΠΩΤ
 ΝCΑΒΟΛ ΜΜΟC
 ΑΤΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΙΑ
 ΜΠΕΧΠΟ ΝΩΝ2
 4ΙΘΟΤΕ ΝCΑΒΟΛ
 ΜΜΟC · ΑCCEΝ
 ΤΗΘΙ ΝΝΩΑΧΕ
 ΝΤΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC
 ΧΟΟΥ · ΘΟΜΟ
 ΛΙΑ ΜΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC
 ΕΤΩΟΟΠ ΖΝΟΥ
 ΚΑΤΑCΤΑCΙC ·
 ΑCΤΡΕΘΟ₁Τ₁[Ε]
₁Τ₁[.....]

ΠΕΧΠΟ · ΑCΟΥ
 ΩΩΒ ΖΝΟΥC
 ΜΗ ΜΜΗΤΠΑΡ
 ΘΕΝΟC · ΧΕΝΑ
 ΩΝ2Ε ΠΑΙ ΝΑ
 ΩΩΠΕ ΜΜΟΙ·
 ΜΠΙCΟΥΕΝΖΟΟΥΤ
 ΟΥΖΩΒ ΝΩΠΗ
 ΡΕ ΠΕΤΕΚΤΑΥΟ
 ΜΜΟ4 ΕΡΟΙ·
 ΝCΟ ΑΝ ΝΑΠΙC
 ΤΟC ΝΘΕ ΝCΑΧΑ
 ΡΙΑC · ΑΛΛΑ ΕC
 ΩΙΝΕ ΝCΑΘΕ
 ΕΤΝΑΩΩΠΕ ·
 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΝΤΑ
 ΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΟΥ
 ΩΩΒ ΝΑC ΖΝ
 ΟΥCΜΗ ΜΜΗ₁Τ₁
 Ρ₁ΜΡΑΩ₁[.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]

42. D10v Naples I.B. 13, fasc.439 (Zoega 262,f.3v); [PIH].

ω τρρ̄ω χε̄μ
 περσοϋεν20
 οϋτ ενε2 · αλ
 λα ερω̄νε nca
 θε ενιμε επ
 2ωb ετνανοϋb ·
 ανοκ φαιτα
 μο ερο4 · οϋπ
 n̄a εχοϋααb πετ
 νηϋ εχω · αγω
 τσοm μπετχο
 ce τετναερ2αι
 bic ερο · οϋαϋ
 θεντια μπn̄a
 ετεπαιπε πεπ
 n̄a ετερναx
 πο4 · παι εmn
 λααϋ on ατσοm
 ,N,na[2]ρα4 ·
 [.....]x,ocε
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]

τσοm ντετριαc
 ετοϋααb · 2nt
 ταπρο μπαγγε
 λoc · οϋπn̄a ε4
 οϋααb · τσοm m
 πετχοce πεχα4 ·
 πεπn̄a εxμπεπ
 n̄a ετοϋααb ·
 τσοm εxμπμο
 νογενhc νω̄hre ·
 πετχοce εxh
 {πετχοce εxh}
 οϋon nim·
 οϋπn̄a εχοϋααb
 πετνηϋ ε2ραι ε
 χω · αγω τ
 σοm μπετχοce
 τετναερ2aibic
 ερο· ετβεπαι
 πετερn̄axπο4
 [4]οϋααb · αγω ce
 [na],m,οϋτε ερο4
 [χεπω̄hre] m
 [πνοϋτε.....]

43. D11 Naples I.B. 13, fasc. 439 (Zoega 262.f.2); $\overline{\Pi\Theta}$.

This leaf is mutilated in the same way as D10. See Zoega, *Catalogus*, p. 618. The rubric $\Upsilon\omega$ is written to the left of l.21 of the left column.

ΘΕΝΟC · ΑΛΛΑ CΕ	ΑΥΩ ΠΕCΜΕ2CΟ
ΝΑΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC	ΟΥ ΝΕΒΟΤΠΕ ΠΑΙ·
ΧΕΠΩΗΡΕ Μ	ΤΑΙ ΝΩΑΥΜΟΥ
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ · ΕΤ	ΤΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕΤΑΘ
ΒΕΠΕΝΤΑCΕΙ Ε	ΡΗΝ · ΧΕΝΝΕΛΑ
ΒΟΛ 2ΝΤΠΕ Ε2	ΑΥ ΝΩΑΧΕ ΕΡΑΤ
ΡΑΙ ΕΧΩC · ΑC	ΟΟΜ ΝΑ2ΡΜΠ
ΧΙ ΝΝΑΤΜΗ†	ΝΟΥΤΕ · Π2ΩΒ
ΡΩΜΕ ΑCΤΑ	ΕΤΟ ḢΘΕ ΝΝΕΤ
ΑΥ 2ΙΩΩC · ΩΑ	2ΟCΕ 2Α2ΤΗ ·
ΤΕΠΝΟΒΕ ΜΑΥ	ΜΑΡΕCΜΤΟΝ
ΑΑC · ΑC†	2ΙΤΝΤΕΤΜ
ΝΝΑΤΜΕΤ	ΜΑΥ · ΑΥΩ
ΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕC	ΚΑΝ ΟΥΑΤΟΟΜ
ΜΗΤΡΩΜΕ·	ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΟΥΑΤ
ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ ΝΤΑΥ	ΟΟΜ ΜΙCΕ · ΑΥΩ
ΤΑ2ΜΕΚ ΕΥ	CΜΟΚ2 ΝΤΑΝ
ΜΗΤΩΗΡΕ	2ΟΥΤC ΝΟΙΠ
ΝΤΚΟΥ2Μ2ΑΛ	ΩΑΧΕ · ΧΕ,ΟΥ,
†CΩΤΜ ΕΡΟC	ΠΑ,ΡΘ,[ΕΝΟC]
ΟΝ ΧΕΕΙC ΕΛΙCΑ	
ΒΕΤ [ΤΟΥ],[CΥΓ]	
[ΓΕΝΗC ḢΤΟC 2Ω]	
[ΩC ΟΝ ΑCΩ ḢΟΥ]	
[ΩΗΡΕ 2ḢΤΕC]	
[ΜΗΤ2ΛΛΩ]	

44. D11v Naples I.B. 13, fasc. 439 (Zoega 262, f.2v); [FK].

ΝΟΥΤΕ · †CΩΤΜ
 ΕΡΟϢ ΧΕΜΝΝCΑΝΑΙ
 ΠΕΧΕ ΜΑΡΙΑ · {ΧΕ}
 ΜΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC · ΧΕ
 ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ ΑΝΓ
 ΘΕΜΖΑΛ ΜΠΧΟ
 ΕΙC ΜΑΡΕCΩΠΕ
 ΝΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΚ
 ΦΑΧΕ · ΑΝΓ
 ΟΥΖΜΖΑΛ ΠΕΧΑC
 Ν†ΝΑΕΩΑΝ†
 ΛΙΓΕ ΑΝ ΝΛΑΑΥ
 ΕΙC ΕΨΤΩΤ ΕCΩ
 ΤΜ ΝCΑΠΑΧΟΕΙC
 ΜΑΡΕCΩΠΕ ΝΑΙ
 ΚΑΤΑΠΕΚΦΑΧΕ ·
 ΤΙΖΑΡΑΤϢ Μ
 ΠΑΧΟΕΙC ΝΘΕ Ν
 ΤΑϢΟΥΑΩC ΜΑ
 [ΡΕC]ΩΩ,ΠΕ

ΧΠΟ ΜΠCΩΤΗΡ ·
 ΑCΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ν
 Ο†ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ
 ΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΒΩΚ
 ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΠΕ ·
 Ω ΝΙΦΑΧΕ ΕΤΟ
 ΝΖ ΕΤΟ ΝΨΟΥ
 ΨΗΠΕ ΖΗΤΟΥ ·
 ΝΑΙ ΕΠΕΤΩΦΕ
 ΕΡΟΝ ΠΕ ΜΕΛΕΤΑ
 ΝΖΗΤΟΥ · ΧΕΕΡΕ
 ΤΝΠΡΟΚΟΠΗ ΟΥ
 ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΥ
 ΟΝ ΝΙΜ ·
 ΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΒΩΚ
 ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΤΠΕ ΠΕΧΑϢ
 ΑΠΖΟ ΜΠCΩΤΗΡ
 ΜΝΝΕϢΖΟΙΤΕ
 ΨΗΒΕ ΖΙΧΜΠΤΟΟΥ
 ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΝΑϢ Ε
 ΒΟΛ ΝΟΙΜΩΥϢΗC
 [ΜΝ]ΖΗΛΙΑC · ΕΥ
 [ΦΑΧΕ Ν]ΜΜΑϢ
 [.....]Ε
 [.....]Α

45. D12 Naples I.B. 13, fasc. 439 (Zoega, f.4); $\overline{\text{PK}}\alpha$.

This leaf is mutilated in the same way as the two previous ones, D10 and D11. See Zoega, *Catalogus*, p. 618.

ΙΩΣΑΝΝΗΣ · ΘΕ
 ΟΡΙ ΜΠΝΟΜΟ
 ΘΕΤΙΚΟΝ · ΑΠΕΠ
 ΡΟΦΗΤΙΚΟΝ
 ΡΑΤΟΥΩΝΣ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΠΕΤΕΟΥΕΝΤΙ
 ΜΑΛΛΕ ΜΜΑΥ
 ΕΣΩΤΜ ΜΑΡΕΥ
 ΣΩΤΜ ·
 ΣΩΤΜ ΕΝΑΙ Ω Μ
 ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΜΠΕ
 ΧΣ · ΝΤΕΤΝ
 ΚΩΣ ΕΠΤΕΒΟ Ν
 ΤΙΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ
 ΜΑΡΙΑ · ΚΑΤΑ
 ΠΕΤΠΗΣ ΦΑ
 ΡΩΤΝ · ΕΙΦΑΧΕ
 ΑΝ ΕΤΜΗΤΡΕΥ
 ΧΠΕΝΟΥΤΕ ·
 ΟΥΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ ΤΑΙ
 ΕΜΝΠΕΤΝΑΩ
 ΕΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΣ ΑΛ
 ΛΑ ΕΙΜΗ[...]

ΩΩΠΕ ΖΙΡΜΠΕ
 ΤΝΣΟ · ΜΝΟΥΣΑ
 ΡΕΣ ΖΜΠΕΤΝΣΑ Ν
 ΣΟΥΝ · ΕΡΦΑΝΟΥ
 ΡΩΜΕ ΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΝΣΗΤΤΗΥΤΝ
 ΜΠΕΡΘΕΠΗ ΕΟΥ
 ΩΩΒ ΝΑΥ · ΑΛΛΑ
 ΤΕΤΝΔΟΚΙΜΑ
 ΖΕ ΝΤΕΥΣΙΝΦΑ
 ΧΕ · ΜΗΠΩΣ Α
 ΡΑ ΟΥΕΣΟΟΥ ΖΙΒΟΛ
 ΠΕ · ΑΥΩ ΟΥΩΝΩ
 ΖΙΣΟΥΝ ΠΕ · ΠΩΤ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΙΣΡΑΥ
 ΝΙΜ ΝΣΟΥΤ ·
 ΖΑΡΕΣ ΕΡΟ ΜΠΕΡ
 ΟΥΩΩΒ ΟΥΔΕ
 ΜΕΥΟΓΩΩΒΕ ·
 Ω ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝ[ΟΣ]
 ΖΑΡΕΣ [ΕΤ][...]

46. D12v Naples I.B. 13, fasc.439 (Zoega 262, f.4v); [PKB].

TCNHΘΙΑ · ΕCΩΑΝ
 ΩCK ΩACENOY ·
 ΠΑΘOC MMAI
 CΑΡΞ · ΑΡΑ Μ̄
 ΠΟΤΑCCE N̄
 ΖΟΟΥΤ · ΑΖΡΟ
 ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΤΕΡC
 ΜΕ ΝΖΟΜΕΛΙΑ
 MN<N>ΖΟΟΥΤ·
 ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΝΕΠΡΕC·
 ΒΗΤΕΡΟC ΜΠΕ
 ΧC̄ · ΝΑΙ ΕΤΟ Ν
 ΡΕΜΝΗΙ Ν̄ΜΜΕ ·
 ΕΤΡΕCΗCΗΤΩ
 ΤΕ ΝΟΥΠΑΡΘΕ
 ΝΟC ΕCΟΥΑΑΒ ·
 ΝΟΥΖΑΙ ΝΟΥΩΤ
 ΠΕΧC̄ · ΝΑΙ ΕΤ
 [ω]ιω εβολ χε

ΕΡΩΑΝΟΝΚΡΟ4
 ΔΕ Ζ̄ΝΝΙΚΟΟΥΕ ·
 ΠΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΟΥ
 ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΠΕΤ̄ΝΖΗΤ
 ΕCΟΥΑΑΒ · ΜΝ
 ΠΕΤ̄ΝCΩΜΑ Ε4
 Ο ΝΑΤΤΩΛΜ ·
 ΧΕΚΑC ΕΡΕCΩΤ̄Μ
 ΖΩΩΤΕ ΕΠΟΥ
 Ν<Υ>ΜΦΙΟC · ΕΑ4
 ΕΙ ΕΠΚΗΠΟC ΝΝΟΥ
 ΑΡΕΤΗ · Ε4
 ΩΩ ΕΒΟΛ Ε4ΧΩ
 ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΔΙΕΙ ΕΖ
 ΡΑΙ ΕΠΑΚΗΠΟC
 ΤΑCΩΝΕ ΤΑΦΕ
 ΛΕΕΤ · ΔΙΟΥΩΜ
 ΜΠΑΟΕΙΚ ΜΝΠΑ
 ΕΒΙΩ · ΔΙΧΩ
 ΛΕ ΜΠΑΩΑΛ ΜΝ
 ΠΑ,ΩΟΥΖΝΝΕ ·
 [ΔΙCΩ ΜΠΑ]ΗΡΤ

Variants from L.43:

- I.1r ΕΡΩΑΝΟΝΚΡΟ4] [ΕΡΩΑ]ΝΖΕ ΟΝ ΕΚΡΟ4
 I.2r Ζ̄ΝΝΙΚΟΟΥΕ] Ζ̄ΝΝΕΙΚΟΟΥΕ
 I.5r ΜΝ] ΑΥΩ
 I.21r ΠΑΩΟΥΖΝΝΕ] ΠΑC†ΝΟΥΒΕ

(2 leaves missing between D12 and D13)

(10 leaves missing between C9 and C10)

48. C10v Cambridge Or. 1700v (1699Mv); [π].

αϣωωρε εβολ [ñney]
 κλωσσα :
 ἀμῆιτῆ ἀναγ ἐπετῶ
 ωρε εβολ ñcaç · εϣω
 ογ2 ε2ογν ῃποογ :
 πετωορωῖ ῃπίογο
 εἶω ετκωτ ζω
 ωϣ ῃπίϣγ
 πετῶωρε εβολ ñ
 ναϣπε · ετῃῃne on
 μμοογ · πετ
 πῶωne ñneκλωσσα
 εττα2ο μμοογ on
 ερατογ · ἀμῆιτῆ
 2ñoγcπoγδн · ñtetῆ
 νογξε cαβολ μμωτн
 ñxнаay ñim 2iame
 λiа ñim · πεδpоδ
 εθooγ εтетмт2ηκε
 πε · παἱ ετεpecоло
 μων ππαρ2οiмiаc
 тнс · тамо μμον εpоç ·
 xεωатнаγ κηηx πpῆ
 xнаay · екнатω
 ογν 2απ2iннв тнаγ
 Kовῶ ñογαπρητε κxἱ
 pε,κpίke ñογαπρητε
 ογαπρητε ερετοοτῃ
 ολεκ 2α[πε]κμῃтῆ2ηт
 мñncωс πεδpω2 на

[...]κ нθ[ε.....]
 м[...]c αγ[xω xε]
 2ноγc,πoγδн · [...]·
 φi,εpоc нап[οcтолос]
 † ῃμoc ετοοт[ϣ]
 πεтπpо2iс,т,[а 2ñoγ]
 cπoγδн ·
 xεεтетῆceπн ε2[ape2 ε]
 тмтоγa мπε[πῆλ]
 2εнтмнppe ῆ†p[ннн]
 Δαγεiδa δε ωω εβολ,λ,
 xεmñncанаἱ а,γ,
 ceπн · таἱ εт,ε,[тῆ]
 cωтῆ epоc 2ῃπεп
 pоkίmenon ·
 наn ε2pаἱ 2ῃπεγaγ
 гелiон εтῃмаγ м
 πiнаγ · - xε
 аcтωoγñc δε ñoim[а]
 pia 2ñneἱ2ooγ · ac
 бωк εΔopἱнн 2ño,γ,
 ceπн · αλλα н[аἱ]
 2ñтexapic ῃπίω[нpe]
 ῃnoγte · тетна
 cωтῆ on ε2ñωн,м,
 εβολ ñ2ηтоγ · 2εn
 тcγназic ῆткγpia
 κн ετογaв ·
 λ[ω]on ce tenoγ nemme

49. *D13 Naples I.B. 13, fasc.439 (Zoega 262, f.5); PKZ.*

Naples 13 I.B. 13, no. 439. The upper half of the leaf remains. The final signature of the eighth quire $\bar{\text{H}}$ (8) is preserved in the upper inner corner of the verso. The recto contains only 11 lines in the first column; the rest of the page is blank. The verso begins with the title of the sixth «exegesis» and is written in the same style as that of D1. It is also preceded by a similar ornamented band.

ΠΕΡΕΙΩΤ ΝΑ
ΓΑΘΟΣ ΜΝ
ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥ
ΛΑΒ ΝΡΕΥΤΑΝ
ΖΟ ΝΖΟΜΟΥ
ΣΙΟΣ ΤΕΝΟΥ
ΛΥΩ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ
ΝΙΜ ΦΑΝΑΙ
ΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ
ΝΝΕΩΝ ΖΑ
ΜΗΝ·

.....

50. D13v Naples I.B. 13, fasc.439 (Zoega 262, f.5v); $\overline{\text{PKH}}$.

////////////////////////////////////

ΤΜΕΖ[CO] ΝΕΞΗΓΗ
CIC ΕΑΥΤΑΥΟΣ Ν
ΟΙ ΑΠΑ ΖΡΟΥΦΟΣ
ΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΝΤ
ΠΟΛΙΣ ΩΩΤΠ
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΥΑΓΓΕ
ΛΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ Ν
ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΣ· Ε
ΠΕΖΡΗΤΟΝ ΤΕΠΕ
ΠΑΙ ΧΕΑΣΤΩΟΥΝ
ΝΟΙΜΑΡΙΑ ΖΝΝΙ
ΖΟΟΥ ΔΣΒΩΚ ΕΤΟ
ΡΙΝΗ ΖΝΟΥΘΕΠΗ
ΖΝΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΝΤΕ
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑΜΗΝ

—...—...—

—...—...—

ΛΙΠΟΝ ΔΣΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ
ΝΟΙ [ΜΑΡΙΑ]

ΝΖΗΤῘ · ΑΠΑΓ
ΓΕΛΟΣ ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ
ΝΤΕΥΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ
ΑΤΕΝΤΑΣΟΝΖ
ΜΟΤ ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΔΙ
ΑΚΟΝΙΑ ΕΠΕΖ
ΜΟΤ ·ΟΥΚΕ
ΤΙ ΕΣΜΟΩΕ ΖΝ
ΟΥΩΤΟΡΤῘ ΑΝ
ΑΛΛΑ ΕΥΧΙ ΜΜΟC
ΖΙΤΜΠΕΠῘΑ
ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝΤΑΥ
ΕΙ ΕΧΩC
†CΩΤΜ ΕΡΟΥ ΖῘ
ΠΕΠΡΟΚΙΜΕ
ΝΟΝ ΝΤΑΥΚΑ
ΑΥ ΝΑΝ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΖΜ
ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ
ΝΚ,ΑΤΑΛΟΥΚΑΣ
[ΧΕΑΣ],Τ,ΩΟΥΝ
[ΝΟΙΜΑΡΙΑ Ζ],Ν,
[ΝΕΙΖΟΟΥ]

28 leaves missing

51. D14 BL OR. 3581.A 35; $\overline{\text{PTE}}$.

The margins are torn and it is in poor condition. The recto is paginated $\overline{\text{PTE}}$ (185). The text of the external column is slightly mutilated and on the recto in the first column the title CABBAΔIKH is difficult to read. See Crum, *Catal. Br. Mus.*, 75-76, no. 188.

ΖΑΡΟΝ ΝΝΑΖΡΜ
 ΠΕΧΕΙΩΤ
 ΠΑΙ ΠΕΤΩΟΠ ΝΑ
 ΝΑΡΗΒ ΔΥΩ ΝΑ
 ΠΑΡΧΗ ΝΤΑ
 ΝΑСТАCIC ΕΤ
 ΟΥΑΑΒ · ΠΑΙ
 ΟΝ ΠΕΤΝΗΥ
 ΖΜΠΕΟΟΥ Μ
 ΠΕΧΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ
 ΝΕЧАГГЕЛОС
 ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΝЧ
 ΤΩΩ[ΒΕ Μ]
 ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥ[Α]Κ,Α,
 ΤΑΝΕЧЗВНΥΕ ·
 ΠΑΙ ΠΕΟΟΥ ΝΑЧ
 ΨΑΕΝΕΖ ΝΕΝΕΖ
 ΖΑΜΗΝ.

[CABBAΔI]KH

[Α]ΤCΩΝ,Ε, ΜΜΩΥ
 ЧHC ΧΟΡΕΥΕ ·
 ΑΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ ΧΟ
 ΡΕΥΕ ΝΜΜΑC ·
 ΑΜΑΡΙΖΑΜ ΧΩ
 ΝΤΕCΩΔΗ ·

ΑΝ,Ω,ΕΕΡΕ ΤΗΡΨ
 Μ[ΠΕC]ΓΕΝΟC Κ,Ω,
 Τ[Ε ΕΡ]ΟC ·
 ΑΜΑΡΙΑ ΧΩ ΝΤΕC
 ΩΔΗ · ΑΝΩΕΕ
 ΡΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΕC
 ΓΕΝΟC ΚΩΤΕ Ε
 ΡΟC ·
 ΑΜΑΡΙΑ ΧΙCΕ ΜΠ
 ΧΟΕIC · ΑΜΗ,Τ,Ν <N>,Τ,[N]
 ΧΙCΕ Μ[ΜΟЧ][....]
 ΝΜΜΑC · [.....]
 ΑΤΠΑΡ,Θ,[ΕΝΟC...]
 [.....]ΝΟΥ
 [.....]ΑΜ,[Η,ΙΤΝ
 [.....]ΝΜΜΑC
 ΖΝΟΥΟΥΡΟΤ ·
 ΖΩΒ Ν[ΙМ.]ΕΤΕΡΑ
 ΝΑЧ[...],ΝΟΥΕ,
 ΠΑΙ Π[....]ΕΝΕ
 ΤΟΥΑΑΒ[....]
 ΤΑΙ[....]ΤЧ ·
 ΨΑΥΟΥΩΨ ΕΤ
 ΡΕΟΥ[ΟΝ ΝI]М
 ΟΥΧ,Α,[I Μ],М,ΑΥ
 ΧΕ[...][....]ΕΙΟ

52. D14v BL OR.3581.A 35v; $\overline{\text{PΠΣ}}$.

ΜΠΒΕΚΕ ΝΑΩΩ
 ΠΕ ΝΑΥ· $\bar{\text{N}}[\text{K}]\text{OI}$
 ΝΩΝΙΑ ΜΝ[ΝΕ]Υ
 ΕΡΗΥ·
 ΕΤΒΕΠΑΙ †CΩΤΜ
 ΕΜΩΥCHC Ε4
 ΚΑΛΙ ΝΝΩΗΡΕ
 ΜΠΗΛ· ΕΤ
 ΡΕΥΧΩ ΝΜΜΑ4
 [N]ΔΩΔΗ ΜΠ
 [X]ΘΕΙC ΕΥΧΩ Μ
 [MOC] ΧΕΜΑ
 ΡΕ,N,[C],M,ΕΠΧΟ
 ΕΙC [2NΟΥΕ]ΟΟΥ
 ΓΑΡ [ΑΧΧΙ]ΕΟΟΥ·
 †CΩΤΜ ΕΠΕΨΑΛ
 ΜΟΥ,ΔΗC, 2Ν2Α2
 ΜΜΑ· [Ε]4ΚΑ
 ΛΙ ΝΟΥ[ON] ΝΙΜ
 ΕΤΔΙΚΕΟCΥΝΗ·
 2ΝCΟΠ ΩΑ4
 ΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΧΙCΕ
 ΝΜΜΑΙ ΜΠΧΟ
 ΕΙC·
 2ΝC[ΟΠ ΧΕ]ΑΜΗΙ
 Τ[N ΝΤΗΤΕ]ΛΗΛ

ΕΠΧΘΕΙC [N]ΤΝ
 ΤΙΛΟΥΛΑΙ ΝΑ4
 ΜΑΡΕΝΙ ΕΒΟΛ
 2ΗΤ4 2ΝΟΥΩ
 Ν2 ΕΒΟΛ· ΤΝ
 †ΛΟΥ{I}ΛΑΙ ΝΑ4
 2Ν2ΕΝΨΑΛΜΟC
 ΠΠΑΡ2ΗΜΙ[Α]C
 ΤΗC ΧΩ ΜΜΟC·
 ΧΕΠΑΩΗΡΕ CΩ
 ΤΜ ΝCΑΤΕCΒΩ
 ΜΠΕΚΕΙΩΤ
 Μ[ΠΕΡ]ΚΩ Ν
 [CΩ]Κ ΕΝΑΝCΜ
 ΜΕ ΝΤΕΚΜΑΑΥ·
 ΕΙΕΡΕΜΙΑC [2ΩΩ4]
 ΧΩ ΜΜΟC· [ΧΕ]
 ΑΜΗΙΤΝ Ν[ΩΗ]
 ΡΕ ΝΤ,Α,ΥΟΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΝ[Α]
 ΤΑΛCΕΝΕΤΝΟΥ
 ΩΩ4·
 ΠΧΘΕΙC ΟΝ 2Μ
 ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ
 ΧΩ ΜΜΟC· ΧΕ
 ΑΜΗΙΤΝ ΩΑ

53. *Paris 131.1.f.24v*; $\overline{\text{PM}}\overline{\text{C}}$.

This leaf cites Luke 2:6. No other leaves have been identified as coming from the same manuscript. It is paginated $\overline{\text{PM}}\overline{\text{C}}-\overline{\text{PM}}\overline{\text{C}}$ (145-146). The interior column is seriously damaged. The text treats of the incarnation. See Garitte, «Rufus,» 28 and Porcher, «Analyse,» [17-18]. In the center of the top margin is written the word $\overline{\text{ΠΕΒΟΤ}}$ with a line above it and below. The writing is in a smaller different hand. In the left margin beside the inscription is an elaborate design and the initial $\overline{\text{O}}$ with which the homily begins is also more elaborate.

The recto contains the end of what appears to be another homily on the Nativity but it does not show any of the characteristics typical of Rufus.

ΤΟΥΑΑΒ:~

— · — · — · —
 ΑΠΑΞΡΟΥΦΩC ΠΕ
 ΠΙCΚΟΠΟC $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΤΠΟΛΙC
 ΩΩΤΠ̄ :

— · — · — · —
 Μ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΝCΑΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ
 $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΝΕΧΠΟ · ΕΚΩΑΝ
 ΡΧΡΙΑ

— · — · — · —
 ΟΥCΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΑΑ·
 $\overline{\text{N}}$ CΙΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ·
 ΠΕΝΤΑΦΑΑ·CCE·
 ΜΠΡΩΜΕ · ΧΙΝ
 ΤΕΖΟΥΕΙΤΕ · Α·
 [Π]ΑΖΤ· ΕΒΟΛ Μ $\overline{\text{M}}$ Ι
 ΝΕ ΜΜΟ· Α·ΕΙ Ε
 ΖΗΤC $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΤΠΑΡΘΕ
 ΝΟC · Α·ΧΙCΑΡΞ
 ΕΒΟΛ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΖΗΤC $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΝΟΥ
 Π $\overline{\text{N}}$ Α ΕΦΟΥΑΑΒ · ΟΥ
 CΑΡΞ ΕCΗΠ ΕΤΕΙ
 ΟΥCΙΑ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΟΥΩΤ
 ΝΜΜΑΝ · ΕΟΥ $\overline{\text{N}}$
 ΤΑC ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥ
 ΨΥΧΗ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΛΟΓΙ
 ΚΗ · ΝΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ
 ΤΕ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΝΟΥCΠΕΡΜΑ
 $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΖΟΥΤ · Μ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΟΥ
 ΖΥΔΟΝΗ · ΑΥΩ
 Α·ΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ

[? missing lines]

ΠΕΧΠΟ · Τ[.....]
 ΓΑΡ $\overline{\text{N}}$ CΙΠΕC2[ΑΙ Ε]
 ΤΟΥΑΑΒ · Χ[ΕΑΥ]
 ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ [ΝCΙ]
 ΝΕΖΟΥ ΕΤΡ[ΕCΜΙ]
 CΕ · CΙΝΜ[ΙCΕ]
 ΝΙΜ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΡΩΜΕ · [...]
 $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ [.....]
 ΕΒΟΛ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΠΓΑ[.....]
 ΝΕ - [.....]
 ΠΕΧΠΟ ΔΕ $\overline{\text{N}}$ [.....]
 $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΤΑ·ΑΡ[.....]
 $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΝΟΥΠ[.....]
 ΑΥΩ Α[.....]
 ΕΒΟΛ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΟΥ]
 ΠΑΡ·Θ·[ΕΝΟC]
 $\overline{\text{N}}$ CΑ[.....]
 ΑCΩ[.....]
 ΤΕC·Ε[.....C]
 ΦΡΑΓΙC ΝΤΕC[....]
 ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΑ ~
 ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ Γ[...][.]
 ΡΟΥ $\overline{\text{N}}$ ΤΑΥΕ·Ι·[...]
 ΜΠΤΑΚΟ Ε20[.....]
 ,Ε·[ΤΕ]ΝΦΥCΙC
 ΚΑΤΑΛΥΜ[.....]
 [..]ΜΑΝΥ[.....]
 [.....]

THE HOMILIES ON LUKE: TRANSLATION

[Only a few words can be deciphered from this fragment.]

1

[Only a few words can be deciphered from this fragment.]

2

are not certain and everyone who has attempted to establish other gospels¹ besides the four nor [...] is the Gospel of Marcion.² He did not write it indeed in order but what pleased him and what [...] him. Those things opposed to his blasphemy, he omitted, just like also those old women's fables,³ the Gospel of the Manichaean, daring to say words which our Lord did not utter

3

[the last 13 lines of the column are too fragmentary to translate]

The writing, on the contrary, will remain. This is the writing concerning which Job cries out: «Who will grant that my words be written down?» (Job 19:23).⁴ These are the writings God wrote with his finger on the tablets of the covenant. These are the writings of which we are informed by Isaiah: «Take for yourself a piece of paper and write on it in human writing» (Isa 8:1). These are also those about which Paul writes to the Corinthians: «I wrote to you previously⁵ in the letter: do not mix with fornicators» (1 Cor 5:9). These are also those about which he writes to the Galatians: «Behold I have written to you in large letters with my hand» (Gal 6:11). These are also those about which he wrote to Timothy, saying, «These things I am writing to you; I hope to come soon» (1 Tim 3:14). Understand also [? the writings] of this gospel

4

[2 lines broken]

neither times will be able to obliterate them nor will seasons be able to destroy them but they will remain to the end of the ages. «To write them for you in order,» he said, «O excellent Theophilus» (Luke 1:3). Who is this Theophilus, the «excellent»? A man to whom he is writing? Even if he is a

1. On this passage, see chap. 5, 296.

2. Crum, *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* 19 (1933): 198-199 suggested that Zoega 263 (Zoega, p. 618) might be another fragment of Rufus since it cites Marcion, Valentinus, and ΜΜΑΝΙΧΑΙΟΙC. Garitte («Rufus,» 29), however, denies that it belongs to Rufus.

3. The phrase ΝΙΩΒΩ ΝΖΛΛΩ is found in 1 Tim 4:7. See Crum, *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* 19 (1933): 199 and Garitte («Rufus,» 30), who have both offered translations of this sentence.

4. Ciasca, 2:33, gives: ΝΙΜ ΓΑΡ. The Sahidic translates the LXX: τίς γὰρ ἂν δόξῃ γραφῆναι τὰ ῥήματα μου which in turn renders literally the Hebrew, the meaning of which in English, however, is «Would that my words were written!»

5. The word ΝΩΟΠΤΙ is not attested in the Greek or in the Coptic versions.

man such as one will be able to imagine, yet I will say that he is speaking to the God-loving⁶ strong one,⁷ or the one who has been loved by God, who has been confirmed and has found power in gold and silver, having extricated himself from the things of Egypt and the power of Pharaoh⁸ like the people of whom David sings: «And he led them forth with silver and gold and there were none who were weak among their tribes» (Ps 104:37).⁹ Now as for this (man), it is this sort of strong one who has become rich with silver and gold, that is, the text¹⁰ and the sense.¹¹ It is this one to whom the evangelist is writing that he might know the certainty of the words in which he has been instructed (Luke 1:4). If you wish to know your certainty, O man, you who have been instructed in these holy writings, [and] if you wish [to understand] the certainty¹²

[...] and [...] take for yourself the [words (?) of the] Gospel

[the rest of the column is too fragmentary to translate]

Jesus the Christ. It is this through which it is fitting to honor him and his good Father and the Holy Spirit now and at all times forever and ever. Amen

5

The second exegesis that the holy bishop Apa Rufus delivered interpreting the Gospel according to Luke. The text is this: «There was in the days of Herod, the king of Juda, a priest whose name was Zacharias» (Luke 1:5).

6. Although the adjective **ΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ** does mean «pious,» here it is intended to be an etymological exegesis of the name Theophilus. See chap. 5, 298 for the history of this interpretation.

7. «Strong one» (**ΣΩΦΕ**) is intended to be an etymological exegesis of **ΓΡΑΤΙΤΕ**. The citation of Ps 104 that follows and the exegesis of «silver and gold» from that citation depend upon this exegesis, which can be traced back to Origen. See chap. 5, 298 for further treatment of this.

8. The reference here appears to be to the classical theory of the spiritual life as developed by Origen in his homilies on the Pentateuch, in which the salvation history of Israel is applied to the individual.

9. For the restoration of the text of Ps 104:37, see Carl Wessely, *Sahidisch-griechische Psalmenfragmente* (Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wiss. in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse, 155 Band, 1. Abhandlung; Vienna: A. Hölder, 1907) where two slightly different versions are given: **ΛΗΝΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΠΖΑΤ ΜΗΠΝΟΥΒ ΝΕ ΜΝ ΠΕΤΣΟΒ ΖΗ ΝΕΥΦΥΛΗ** (p. 28) and: **ΛΘΕΙΝΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΠΖΑΤ ΜΝ ΠΝΟΥΒ ΛΥΩ ΕΝΕ ΜΗΠΕΤΣΟΟΒ ΖΗ ΝΕΥΦΥΛΗ** (p. 135). The text of Budge (p. 113) corresponds to the first of these.

10. For the meaning of **ΛΟΓΟΣ** see p. 139 n. 80. This allegorical interpretation of «silver» and «gold» goes back to Origen. See chap. 4, 252-255 for more extensive treatment of this theme.

11. See Lampe, 916, s.v. 6. «sense of passage»; Origen, *P. Arch.* 4.2.4. The word **ΝΟΗΜΑ** occurs six times in these commentaries and always seems to refer to the «sense» of the text with the meaning of «spiritual interpretation.» See chap. 4, 252-255 for further discussion of this term.

12. The word **ΑΦΑΛΙΑ** is being introduced from the Greek text of Luke 1:4. Rufus is here repeating with the Greek word what he has already said with the Coptic word.

[The last nine lines of the column are too fragmentary to read.]

path to God from Moses the archprophet formerly.¹³ It is with the Holy Spirit that he is filled, [.....] and it was he (Moses) who [spoke?] to you! [about] the creation of the heaven and the earth and all the things in them (cf. Acts 14:15). [...] from a beginning that has neither [.....] nor length of time nor number of days nor number of years that you might see with a purified eye and an exact vision and contemplate the things of God, hidden from the foundations¹⁴ of the world (see Matt 13:35 [Ps 77:2]) and gain insight into his power and divinity, this which bridles the mouth of those who speak against God and which makes a muzzle for the lips of those who slander the great (providential) dispensation in this way. And the creator, who is blessed by these, is writing

[the last three lines of the column are too fragmentary to read]

that you will «perceive the glory of God in a mirror and you will be transformed into the same likeness» (2 Cor 3:18), and you will «be renewed in knowledge after the image of the one who created you» (Col 3:10) from these [...] labors, bringing [you?] into your [possession of?] his nobility, in a Paradise, planting trees for you, teaching the art of cultivation of nature, commanding you to work and to watch. Working and watching: these are what would keep man in shape except that the fire of envy was enkindled so that the poison of the serpent was set free and the wickedness of the dragon was concentrated and flowed forth over the woman and her husband was mixed in it with her and the great dispensation

6

[two lines missing]

the man from his place. And he tilled the earth from which he had been taken (Gen 3:23), and the earth sent up thorns to him and thistles (Gen 3:18), and the wickedness grew and the jealousy increased and a brother killed a brother (Gen 4:8) and a man killed a youth (Gen 4:23), and the passion for pleasure increased and the lust grew strong and the woman laid a snare and the daughter of men put out bait and the sons of God were drawn down and these non-fleshly beings were reduced to flesh (Gen 6:1-2) and creatures of spirit were deprived of their spirit and the giants were begotten (Gen 6:4).

[the last eight lines of the right hand column are missing except for the first letter or two]

[The left column is missing except for a few letters at the end of the last fifteen lines]

7

[...] in the territory of the [.....] and he was given the fleshly circumcision [...]

13. See p. 158 (M.58) n. 199 where the word is used also in reference to Moses.

14. Read CΩNT.

that he might know the spiritual circumcision. [...] Isaac and Jacob and Esau from him and the twelve tribes from him, and also from these the great (providential) dispensation spread out, «and Joseph was sold as a slave and his feet were secured with copper chain» (cf. Ps 104:17-18), and a famine occurred and Joseph was appointed ruler (cf. Ps 104:21), «and Israel went down to Egypt and Jacob dwelt in the land of Ham» (Ps 104:23), and the people were greatly afflicted, and Moses the faithful servant of the Lord was sent (cf. Ps 104:15-26), and he brought them out of Egypt, from the midst of affliction. As for these things, it is to you that he is teaching them. [...] you also [...] Egypt [...] that the sea might [flee] before you [...] and you receive the law on Horeb [...] on the mountain of Sinai (cf. Deut 1:2),¹⁵ and the reign of death began, this which is «reigning from Adam to Moses» (Rom 5:14), and you engage in the contest of the desert until you reach the end of the contest and you ascend to the mountain of Pisgah (Deut 34:1), the mountain of Abarim (Deut 32:49),¹⁶ and Moses went the way of his fathers and Jesus succeeded and he spread out the border of the ages of the inheritance forever, and after him the judges rose up and they reminded you of the great judgement seat

8

[the right column is missing except for a few letters]

[four leaves missing]

[The left hand column is mostly missing.]

9

your name among the holy women, and your sons will be numbered in the list of the just and your husbands will be blessed at the gate (cf. Prov 31:23ff.?).

I hear further on: «a wife is from among the daughters of Aaron, whose name was Elizabeth» (Luke 1:5). «One of the daughters of Aaron»: it is of the superiority of the marriage of the priest that he is informing us, that it was according to the law that he took a wife from among the daughters of Aaron. It is of the virginity of Elizabeth, the daughter of Aaron, that he is informing us, that she is a daughter of a priest. I hear: «they were both righteous before the Lord,¹⁷ walking in the commandments and ordinances of the Lord without blame» (Luke 1:6). «Both were just»: Who, beloved, will [...] them both, since the male and the female are equal with one another in

10

15. This is the only LXX text where Horeb and Sinai are juxtaposed. The Greek spelling of Horeb is χωρηβ.

16. The reference is to the place where Moses died after having seen the promised land. Pisgah is said to be a peak in the mountains of Nebo and these are equated in Deut 32:49 with Abarim.

17. Horner has ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ and gives as a variant ΜΠΛΟΕΙC 126, cit, 33, OL, Eth. However, the word here may be a scribal error since the same phrase is cited below in L.10(C5v) as ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ .

righteousness and the ordinances before [God]. As for these, it is through them, who are «both righteous before God,» that the holy angel will minister to the births¹⁸ forever. What is this «before God?» The text is informing us of some who are righteous before men [but not?] before God

[two lines are unreadable]

in the presence of men but [...] is condemned in the presence of God. It is that they did not ever sin that Luke, the man of wonders is informing us, for «no one is innocent of sin even if the length of his life on earth is a single day» (Job 14:4 LXX) except the one who is tested by a deed¹⁹

[the right hand column is mostly unreadable]

thus also now is he saying that these are both righteous before God, before

[two leaves missing]

[begins?] every time upon [?] the mind which is small apart from contemplation.²⁰ It is about this that the text is informing us, that the mind is always small when it has not yet found that which it is seeking. Barren is its insight. If he [?] becomes chosen father to the prophetic race, the womb of the [...] will open and it will be fertilized and beget joy. This is how it is also now with Elizabeth, since Elizabeth is interpreted «the oath of God.»²¹ What is the oath of God? I do not know. It is this which was still without a son at that time. The oath of God

[one line unreadable]

the priest who will remain (cf. Heb 7:23),²² our Lord Jesus the Christ, the one of whom the holy apostle informs us that «those indeed became priests without an oath» (Heb 7:20); «the Lord has sworn and he will not repent: you are the priest forever» (Heb 7:21).

[three lines broken]

«the priest forever according to the order of Melchisedek» (Heb 7:17).

18. The plural (ΝΝΕΧΠΟ) is used also in the rubric ΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ ΝΝΕΧΠΟ (L.49) where it clearly refers to the Sunday after the Nativity. The plural may refer to the fact that the Coptic celebration of Christmas extends to the day before and the day after the feast of the Nativity.

19. The (theological) sense is hard to follow here. It seems to require a negative: «It is not...» or is it a question? For the exegetical tradition, see chap. 5, 298.

20. The text may be corrupt. Read ἡΤῆΘΕΩΡΙΑ? (Preposition ἡΤΕ- [428a] + pl. article + ΘΕΩΡΙΑ which seems to be called for by the context.)

21. See Wutz, 40: Jerome: «Elisabeth dei mei iuramentum.» Jerome gives other etymologies as well. Wutz, 350, cites Origen also: (PG 14,86) Ζαχαρίας δὲ μνήμη εἶναι λέγεται. ἡ δὲ Ἑλισαβὲτ >θεοῦ μου ὄρκος< ἡ >θεοῦ μου ἔβδωμος< ἀπὸ θεοῦ δὲ χάρις

[=Joannes] ἐκ τῆς περὶ θεοῦ μνήμης κατὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ὄρκον. [Johannescomm. II,33].

22. The language ΜΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ seems to come from Heb 7:23. The thought is, however, the opposite.

[three lines broken]

the Savior. To him be the glory and the power for ever and ever. Amen²³

Sabatiche²⁴

Like a [.....] physician

[the rest of the column is too fragmentary to translate]

[the first eleven lines are too fragmentary to translate]

12

through John the apostle teaching you about his divinity beginning from the word. From [.....] Mark begins [?]. From the prophetic testimony [.....] the apostle Matthew [.....] starting with his generation according to the flesh [from] the fathers [.....]. As for Luke the «beloved physician» (Col 4:14), it is with the begetting of the forerunner John that he begins. It is this that you hear²⁵ set down for us in the gospel. For I hear: «it happened, when he was serving in the order of his days, according to the custom of the priesthood, it was his task²⁶ to offer incense. And he went into the temple» etc. (Luke 1:8-9), which you have heard today. But indeed, as for these things, beloved, you will hear also their sense, if God is willing, in the morning synaxis. But let us take care to observe God's pity and the love he has for us such that a God became man for our sake and the holy one who is himself at rest among the holy ones came to a woman's womb for our salvation. As for this one, it was because of the dispensation of his birth according to the flesh that it [he?] spread out [....]

[x leaves missing]

[Only a few letters of the left column have survived.]

13

[....] also a righteous multitude. You will find that they are not those who see God first but God, he said, appears to them when he sees that their heart is purified of uncleanness and filth and envy and pride. For «blessed,» he said, «are the pure of heart because they are those who shall see God (Matt 5:8).²⁷ This then is how the angel appeared to Zacharias while he was standing at

23. This doxology comes from 1 Pet 5:11. It is the one with which Origen concludes all 39 of his homilies on Luke. See Origène, *Homelies sur S. Luc* (ed. Henri Crouzel, Francois Fournier, and Pierre Périchon; SC 87; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1962), 109.

24. On this expression, see the Introduction, 44-45.

25. For the reconstruction of this line, compare L.44, 1.13.

26. ἀσπετωσ: See Crum [261a].

27. For the exegetical tradition, see chap. 5, 299.

the right of the altar of incense.

[The first nine lines are unreadable.]

14

«The angel appeared to him while he was standing at the right of the altar of incense.» I hear also: «Zacharias was troubled when he looked and fear came upon him» (Luke 1:11-12).

[The rest of the page is too fragmentary to translate and the right column is missing except for a few letters.]

[x leaves missing]

[.....] At once she ceased hiding. She spoke fearlessly and she said, «Thus has the Lord done to me in the days when he looked to take away my reproach among men» (Luke 1:25). Elizabeth «concealed herself» (Luke 1:24), he said. Perhaps the text is informing us of this other sense, that in the whole period of Moses, in the five books of legislation, while the direction of those things that are was pregnant with the prophetic spirit, hidden indeed on account of the dispensation of the times

15

[10 lines too fragmentary to translate]

«to Moses, 'Look, Eldad and Medad are prophesying in the camp. Do you wish me to stop them?' But he said to him, 'No, would that it would be granted to this people to prophesy from their smallest to their greatest'» (Num 11:27).²⁸ Now Elizabeth «concealed herself for five months» (Luke 1:24).

I hear further on after these things, «In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a city of Galilee whose name was Nazareth to a virgin who had been betrothed to a husband whose name was Joseph of the house of David and the name of the virgin was Mary» (Luke 1:26-27). «In the sixth month,» he said, the sixth month from [.....]. Perhaps the sixth month of which he is speaking is the sixth month since Elizabeth conceived, when the angel was sent from God. [.....] it is of a great point here concerning the time of the good news of the begetting of the Son of God that he is informing us. Thus it was not in the middle of that time that it occurred.²⁹ How is that? I hear the Scripture, «after the completion of the times,³⁰ God sent his son, who was born of a woman» (Gal 4:4). But he is informing us that the whole dispensation of works

16

[the last three lines of the left column are not readable nor are the first four

28. Porcher, «Analyse,» [138], says of the reference to Eldad and Medad: «le récit, légèrement modifié, est censé au 5e livre de la Loi.»

29. Porcher, «Analyse,» [138], seems to have read the text somewhat loosely: «Est-ce depuis la conception d'Elisabeth? Ou s'agit-il du milieu des temps, après lesquels Dieu a envoyé son Fils (Gal 4,4), qui est d'hier, d'aujourd'hui et éternellement (Heb 13,8).»

30. Horner and Thompson read: ἡΤΕΡΕΠΣΩΚ ΔΕ ΜΠΕΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΕΙ.

of the right hand column]

fairness and equality.³¹ Thus it is that he is informing us that in the sixth month, that is, the [...] of the works [...] set in order after [...] [or] before, whether yesterday, or today, or forever (Heb 13:8), Our Lord Jesus Christ, the good news of whose <birth>³² according to the flesh the angel is sent to minister to. «In the sixth month,» he said

[the rest of the column is too fragmentary to translate]

[three (?) leaves missing]

[.....] a new birth. O man, a marvelous generation is being prepared for your sake, that someone barren might bear a son and a virgin who did not know man give birth. Look at the natural phenomena which suffer violence, because you did violence to the nature of your humanity previously, O man [...] it was necessary [...] unchanging

17

[the rest of the column is missing and the first five lines of the right column are fragmentary]

and we did not recognize the temptation of the deceiver since we did not know the day (cf. Matt 25:13). Let us keep watch with [...] the love

[the rest of the column is missing]

«the good things which you have done to me.

18

I will take up a cup of salvation, that I may call on the name of the Lord» (Ps 115:3-4). The dispensation of the birth of John took place. The extraordinary occurred that someone barren might beget a child

[the rest of the column is missing]

in the passage of the gospel which was read to us. For I hear, «in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a city of Galilee whose name is Nazareth to a virgin who was betrothed to a husband whose name was Joseph from the house of David. The name of the virgin was Mary »(Luke 1:26-27). But [...] beloved

[the rest of the column is missing]

19

31. The words ἰσότης (ἰσότης) and ὡμῶν have virtually the same meaning. See Crum [607a].

32. The phrase ΚΑΤΑΓΑΡΞ occurs three other times in these texts, always in connection with ἄπο, twice in L.12 as ΜΠΕΥΑΠΟΚΑΤΑΓΑΡΞ and once in L.28: ΖΑΠΕΥΑΠΟ ΝΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΟΝ ΜΠΚΑΤΑΓΑΡΞ. Therefore it may be that the scribe omitted ἄπο here by mistake. At least it seems called for.

33. This is a paraphrase of Luke 1:26 which reads in the edition of Horner: ΕΠΕΣΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ.

«of Galilee which is called Nazareth.»³³ «Gabriel the angel was sent from God» (Luke 1:26). Great is the dispensation. The servant is trustworthy. It is a divine wish. An angel is the messenger. It is a virgin to whom he brings the message. What then is this Nazareth which the evangelist calls «the city»? It is interpreted also Galilee, that is, that which is rolled up.³⁴ But the Scripture informs us about two Galilees, the Galilee in Judea³⁵ and «the Galilee of the nations» (Matt 4:15). Which of them is this in which Nazareth «the city» is located? That which is in the land of Judah, which is also interpreted Nazareth, namely that which is holy.³⁶ And also it is a city on account of the way of life³⁷ of those who are dwelling in it. The angel now therefore is of God. He was sent to Galilee, that which is rolled up, that is, the end of the place. And this world is troubled on account of its changing. For [...] said [one line missing] which is interpreted «the changing of the world to a city», namely [...] he said [...] our laws [...] holy. Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and [Juda] and Phares and Esrom and Aram and Aminadab and Naasson and Salmon and Boes and Jobet and Jessé and David and Solomon and the others after them.³⁸ it is these who maintained their way of life in pure fatherhood. It is these who begot the virgin from their line and their kinship and their way of life and their zeal. «For it is evident,» he said, «that our Lord arose out of Juda» (Heb 7:14). «An angel was sent to a virgin who was betrothed to a husband from the house of David and the name of the virgin was Mary» (Luke 1:27). A marvel [...] the works of the living word. [Mary] is a virgin. [What] is the need [of this] man [to whom] she has been betrothed? Is there no virgin then among them except she who has been betrothed to her husband.³⁹ But the thing reveals to us a profound meaning. For he said the virgin was betrothed to a husband in order that the matter might not cause excessive amazement, because a virgin had conceived without having a male and shame might not come upon her through those who beget evil or envy might not cast them out, her and the one who was in her, through the demon of the envious, the devil. But the matter did not cause a great stir because she has her husband.⁴⁰ This is he to whom the angel spoke saying: «Joseph son of David, do not be afraid to take Mary your wife. The one that

20

21

34. See Wutz, 547: Γαλιλαία κατακυλιστή; Lampe, 709, s.v., κατακυλιστή: ἡ Γαλιλαία ἡ τῆ. τῇ Ἑλλάδι γλώττῃ ἐρμηνεύεται (Sev. Ant. res. 2, M.46.649D).

35. The first hand of Sinaiticus (Luke 1:26) reads: Ἰουδαίας. Perhaps Rufus is basing himself on a divergent text tradition represented by this reading.

36. See p. 133 n. 34 on the meaning of Nazareth.

37. Rufus is playing on the words ΠΟΛΙΣ and ΠΟΛΥΤΑ, which in Greek means both «citizenship» and «way of life». Jerome translates it in Origen's homilies on Luke as *conversatio*. See Origen, *hom. in Lc.* 5.2 (SC 87, p. 138).

38. Rufus seems to be using the genealogical list of Matt 1 rather than Luke 3:31.

39. The construction is awkward. Literally: «which there is then no virgin except. . .». Rufus appears to be following the question raised by Origen, *hom. in Lc.* 6.3: Τί δῆποτε κρίνα ὁ θεός ἐκ παρθένου γεννησάι τὸν σωτῆρα οὐκ ἐπελέχματο παρθένον ἀμνήστευτον;

will be brought forth from her is from a holy Spirit» (Matt 1:20) and it is through this saying that the great forgetfulness⁴¹ came upon the enemy and his demons and those in whom he works his evil desires, until the virgin gives birth (Rev 12:4?), for he did not know. [He] said «from a holy Spirit», which says that she is dwelling with her husband, for, except for the concealment of Joseph, they would have killed her and the one who is in her [.....] the Jews [.....] but everything [.....] to hide him [.....] the savior from the beginning that the «ruler of this age» (1 Cor 2:6,8) with all his powers might forget until that has been fulfilled on account of which he came.⁴² Therefore we seek him in many places where he is hidden. The day of his birth, the days of his childhood they were fleeing with him to this place and that, hiding him one time in Egypt, one time in Nazareth, [out of Galilee to Capharnaum] when he is [.....] of John (Matt 4:12-13) [.....] During the temptations of the devil he did not say at any time: I am the Son of God. [When he was opening] the eyes of the blind (cf. Matt 20:33) and the other times [when he was healing] he was commanding them not to tell of it (cf. Matt 9:30). And he ordered his disciples⁴³ not to reveal him (cf. Matt 12:16) and also the dispensation of the cross.⁴⁴ I think that it has happened that the rulers are ignorant. I hear the Apostle saying: «we are not speaking in a wisdom of this age nor of the rulers of this age, these which will be done away with but we are speaking with a wisdom of God in a mystery. It is this that is hidden. It is this that none of the rulers knew, for if they had known, they

22

40. A similar comment is found in Origen, *hom. in Lc.* 6,3-4. where he asks why the Savior did not prefer a virgin not yet betrothed but Mary who, according to Matthew, was betrothed to Joseph. He answers, as does Rufus, that it was to prevent shame when it became apparent that she was pregnant. He then cites Ignatius of Antioch (*Ad Eph.* 19,1) alluding to 1 Cor 2:6 (Jn 12:31) «the prince of this world», to introduce the motif of hiding the Incarnation from the devil. Origen notes also, as does Rufus, that Jesus did not reveal his identity «at any time» to the devil when he was being tempted. See also chap. 5, 302.

41. The word translates the Greek *λήθη* used by Origen in a similar comment in the same context (*hom. in Lc.* 6,4): Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος τὴν τοῦ πάθους οἰκονομίαν κατὰ λήθην φησὶ γεγονέναι τῆς ἀντικειμένης ἐνεργείας.

42. This interpretation is based on a combination of motifs, the ignorance of the devil, found in Origen as already noted, and based on 1 Cor 2:6-8, and the idea that the devil would have sought to do violence to the virgin, derived from Rev 12:4.

43. Origen's comment is virtually the same (*hom. in Lc.* 6,4- 5): Ἐβούλετο δὲ ὁ σωτὴρ καθ' ἁλὴν τὴν οἰκονομίαν λανθάνειν τὸν διάβολον, καὶ γοῦν ἐνετέλλετο τοῖς μαθηταῖς μὴ φανερόν ποιεῖν αὐτόν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡνίκα ἐπειράζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, οὐδαμῶς ἀπεφάνετο γυμνῶς, ὅτι υἱὸς ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἔλεγεν· οὐ δεῖ μέ σοι προσκυνεῖν, οὐ δεῖ με τοὺς λίθους ποιεῖν ἄρτους, οὐ δεῖ με ῥίπτειν ἐμαυτὸν ἄνωθεν κάτω. Rufus has merely inverted the order.

44. Origen used the phrase τὴν τοῦ πάθους οἰκονομίαν (*hom. in Lc.* 6,4).

would not have crucified the Lord of glory» (1 Cor 2:6-8).⁴⁵ It is these things that have been spoken, my beloved. An angel was sent «to a virgin who was espoused to a husband whose name is Joseph» (Luke 1:27). [Further on] I also hear this: a «sort of greeting» (Luke 1:29) that the angel spoke to the virgin. It is this that I have not heard anywhere among those things that have been revealed to men.⁴⁶ For I hear: «Hail, you who have found favor» (Luke 1:28) [.....] the order of the narrative [.....]⁴⁷ which [.....] take time for it. Let us rise up then and give glory to God the Almighty on account of the things that we have heard. A few things you will hear also in the coming synaxis, if God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, wishes, to whom be the glory and the power for ever and ever. Amen

Sabbatike

The fifth exegesis that the holy father Apa Rufus delivered on the Gospel according to Luke on the following text: «In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a city of Galilee named Nazareth to a virgin betrothed to a husband whose name was Joseph from the house of David and the name of the virgin was Mary» (Luke 1:26-27). In God's peace, Amen. 23

Wonderful is the work of God, O my beloved. Amazing is the work of the greatness of love, this with which God has loved us so much from the first. For He created us from the beginning. He bestowed on us a kingdom of ease and goodness according to the measure which He knew that human nature would use and He made them worthy of the Paradise of delight. The deceiver turned us away from that place. We became guilty⁴⁸ of death. As for God, the good one, He took pity on us. He pursued us to do good to us. He did not act in accordance with the multitude of our sins but so that, in accordance with the measure of his love and the good things He does for us, He might make the treacherous one burn all the more from jealousy. For it was in order that, God might hate him (i.e., man) through his (i.e., the enemy's) plotting, that the enemy had plotted against man. But the wise one Himself, that is, God, loved him the more in order that the enemy might see and be angry and gnash his teeth and fall apart. He deceived us from the beginning in the Par- 24

45. Rufus has altered the text slightly. Thompson gives: ΕΝΩΛΧΕ ΔΕ ΝΟΥΣΟΦΙΑ ΖΗΝΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΟΥΣΟΦΙΑ ΔΕ ΕΝΤΑΠΕΪΛΩΝ ΑΝ ΤΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΝΤΑΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΝ ΤΕ ΜΠΕΪΛΩΝ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΝΑΟΥΩΣΩ. ΑΛΛΑ ΕΝΩΛΧΕ ΝΟΥΣΟΦΙΑ ΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΝΟΥΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ. ΤΑΪ ΕΤΖΗΠ ΤΕΝΤΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΟΡΧΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑΘΗ ΝΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΕΠΕΝΕΟΟΥ. ΤΑΪ ΕΤΕΜΠΕΛΛΑΥ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΤΕΠΕΪΛΩΝ ΣΟΥΩΝΩ. ΕΝΕΝΤΑΥΣΟΥΩΝΩ ΓΑΡ ΝΕΥΝΑΩΡΩΥ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΜΠΕΟΟΥ.

46. The same comment is made by Origen, *hom. in Lc.* 6,7: Τὸ «χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη εἴρηται οὐδαμοῦ· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀνδρὶ που εἴρηται τοῦτο, ταύτῃ δὲ ἐτήρεῖτο ὁ ἀσπασμὸς οὗτος. See also chap. 5, 302.

47. The word ἱστορία is used by Origen to refer to the narrative or the literal sense as distinct from the spiritual or allegorical sense.

48. ΕΪΤΟΣ: αἴτιος.

adise, as well you know. He promised us what was not ours and he robbed us of that which was ours. For the deceiver said, «Your eyes will be opened and you will be like gods» (Gen 3:5). And when we listened to him,⁴⁹ not only did we not achieve divinity - that indeed did not yet belong to our nature - but even the humanity which was ours we lost. For we ceased being human from that time. We became beasts. Since man, when he was held in honor, did not know Him, he was cast down with the unknowing beasts and he resembled them, if, indeed, we did not become inferior to the beasts. «For an ox knows its master and an ass the manger of its lord» (Isa 1:3). The man, on the contrary, did not know the one who created him. But he forgot the one who did good to him. He worshipped things made by hand, pieces of wood and stones, shapes of beasts and birds and reptiles. «These had eyes,⁵⁰ they had ears and they did not hear. Their mouths did not speak, their noses did not smell, those who made them and everyone who trusts in them shall be like them» (Ps 114:2-5).⁵¹ According to the saying of the singer of psalms David, instead of dealing with us, however, according to our works, he did not do this (cf. Ps 102:10). Our adversary made him be distant from us. If he regards our works, no flesh will be saved before him (cf. Ps 129:37). It is that we might be saved gratuitously through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ that he sets forth for us a living example. He saw that the enemy was dissembling in the guise of a friend of mankind approaching us as the counsellor. But God revealed his love toward us as a good God to the envy and consternation of the enemy. As I said before, the devil envied us, carrying us into slavery; God summoned us to sonship. The enemy let us be cast out of Paradise, but the Lord opened the gate of heaven to us. We were wronged in the Paradise of delight, but the one who acted wickedly toward us in the place of our rest was thrown out of the heavens down upon the earth, and you, the man of earth, were taken up to heaven. The enemy advised the man wickedly on how to obey, wishing to cause him to be separated from God. When he had turned aside from the commandment, he caused him to stumble into disobedience. God saw that it was because he had been misled that the man had been deceived. He exercised his mercy toward him. He was not unconcerned about the one who had turned aside and gone into error. Rather, he pursued him with kindness in order that he might punish the deceiver and bind the one who had misled and loose the one who had been misled. He sent his son in servile form (cf. Phil 2:7). He took a human body, precious and wonderful, having fashioned it for himself with your nature, O man. He appeared as

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49. $\epsilon\omega\omega\gamma$: according to Porcher, «Analyse,» [17], this is decadent spelling for $\eta\omega\omega\gamma$. It is the only instance found in BOBF. $\eta\omega\omega\kappa$ occurs in L.52 (D14v).

50. The second part of the hemistich of Ps 114:2 has been omitted (by the scribe?).

51. The quotation shows features of both Ps 114:2-5 ($\bar{\eta}\bar{\kappa}\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\gamma$, $\bar{\eta}\bar{\kappa}\epsilon\bar{\omega}\tau\mu$, $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\bar{\rho}\tau\epsilon\gamma\bar{\upsilon}\epsilon$) and of Ps 134:16-18 ($\bar{\rho}\omega\omega\gamma$, $\mu\epsilon\gamma\omega\alpha\lambda\epsilon$, $\mu\epsilon\gamma\omega\omega\lambda\mu$). Rufus appears to be quoting from memory and blending the two similar passages.

man. He did not discard his prior divinity, but took a body and became man, that he might convert the one who had gone astray, help⁵² the one who had fallen, and bind the strong one, and raise the one who was dead. He summoned him (i.e., man) first through his prophets and he did not listen. He revealed his wonders to him through his holy ones and he did not believe. Therefore he took the creation which had been corrupted. He set it in order again and all that was lacking to it, he gave to it. It is this (creation) that he took and put on. «Wisdom has built herself a house» according to the saying of Solomon (Prov 9:1) - the one who forms every soul from the Theotokos Mary - in order that just as the former one⁵³ was changed through a virgin, that is, Eve, so also the virgin bore away the sin. It was against the command of Paradise that Eve set her heart. It was in the temple that Mary, for her part, conceived life. Eve, when she was spoken to by the serpent, answered without duplicity.⁵⁴ Mary, on the other hand, was firm when she answered him. She showed him that she was worthy of the trust and she is in awe of what would be given her. With Eve, it was a serpent that spoke to her and he deceived her. Mary, on the other hand, was mindful of her who had been deceived and she confirmed her words. Moreover she answered with discernment and attention.⁵⁵

I hear it in the gospel set forth⁵⁶ for us in the selected passage⁵⁷ «In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a city of Galilee named Nazareth to a virgin betrothed to a husband whose name was Joseph of the house of David and the name of the virgin was Mary and when he had come to her, he said to her, 'Hail, you who have found favor. The Lord is with you.' But she was troubled at the saying and she was pondering what sort of greeting this was. The angel said to her, 'Do not be afraid, Mary, for you have found favor with God. And, behold, you will conceive and give birth to

52. Till, #321, gives ΤΕ4-, etc. as a vulgar form of the conjunctive.

53. Human nature?

54. The passage is cited by Crum [214b] who offers «without duplicity (or? = ΜΟΥΩΤ)» which would be «without concern.» In the context, the contrast with the caution and reserve of Mary suggests a lack of those qualities, which perhaps might be rendered also by «ingenuously».

55. On the contrast of Eve and Mary, see chap. 5, 300. For the meaning of ΜΝΟΥΤΙ2ΤΗ4, see the note 63 below.

56. Before the phrase Ε2ΡΑΙ 2ΜΤΕΠΡΟΚΙΜΕΝΟΝ between the columns is found the symbol #ΩΥ arranged vertically. This is a symbol for ΟΥΩ which is an abbreviation of ΟΥΩ2Μ. See Crum [510a]. It indicates a liturgical response or refrain and occurs six times in this manuscript (L.24, L.25, L.30, L.32, L.37, L.39). It may be related to the words in the smaller hand on some of these same pages (L.24, L.30, L.37). The word is written out (ΟΥΩ2Μ) in a smaller different hand in the left margin of L.22 opposite the fourth line.

57. In the Greek liturgy the word ΠΡΟΚΙΜΕΝΟΝ refers to the psalm which is chanted before the reading of the gospel passage. It was eventually shortened to a verse. However, as used by Rufus, it refers to the gospel passage itself. See the Index of loan words for the other occurrences.

a son and he will be called Jesus. He will be great and he will be called «the son of the most high.» The Lord God will give him the throne of David his father and he will reign over the house of Jacob for ever and there will be no end of his kingdom.' Mary said to the angel, 'How can this happen to me? I have not known man.' The angel answered and said to her, 'it is a holy spirit which is coming upon you and it is the power of the most high which will overshadow you. Therefore the one to whom you will give birth is holy. He will be called «the son of God.» And behold Elisabeth your kinswoman also has conceived a son in her old age and this is her sixth month, she who used to be called «barren,» because nothing is impossible with God.' Mary said, 'Behold I am the servant of the Lord. Let it happen to me according to your word.' And the angel left her» (Luke 1:26-38). These are the things we have heard in the Gospel according to Luke. As for us, let us call upon God the creator of all, the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who alone has done these wonders that he might give us a good thought and that we may understand this marvelous begetting and this wondrous birth, this which no one will be able to grasp except him alone, Christ.

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I hear it now, «In the sixth month.» As for these (words) it is about them that we have told you a few things, since we have informed you that the sixth month in which the virgin conceived was the sixth month in which Elizabeth was pregnant. And it was to a city of Galilee, the name of which was Nazareth that the angel was sent, as we have said, this place is Galilee, the city is Nazareth, is (equals) the kindred and the citizenship for Elizabeth.⁵⁸

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Further on I hear, «when he went in to her, he said to her, 'Hail, you who have found favor. The Lord be with you'» (Luke 1:28).⁵⁹ What is this «going into her?» Where is Mary? But it is not without reason that he has mentioned this, since the text is informing us of the hidden (life) of the virgin and of her interior way of life and of her quiet tranquillity. As for this woman, it is an angelic greeting that she is worthy of - «Hail, you who have found favor. The Lord is with you» - this greeting which no one else ever enjoyed, except the begetter of God alone. Blessed is she who is aware of your holy undefiled virginity that was able to bear the providential birth, the one according to flesh, of the son of God because you were worthy to become the dwelling place of the one who will judge the whole creation for he increased his house in her. «Hail, you who have found favor,» he said, because it is in sadness and groaning that all women bear their children. But as for you, you have conceived with gladness. You have given birth with ease. «Hail, you who have found favor. The Lord is with you,» because it is in sin that all women

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58. The meaning of the passage is obscure. Perhaps: «this place is Galilee, the city is Nazareth, [and <she (Mary) is> kindred with (or shares) the citizenship of Elizabeth] [?].

59. Horner translated ΧΑΙΡΕ ΤΕΝΤΑΚΩΝΙΜΟΤ ΔΕ as «Hail (to) her who has found favor.» Literally it is: «O one who has found favor.» The Greek is χεχαριτωμένη.

conceive and it is in lawlessness that they become pregnant according to the saying of king David (cf. Ps 50:7). But as for you, you conceived in purity, you gave birth in holiness. «Hail, you who have found favor. The Lord be with you,» because the Lord has increased his mercy with you.

Now as for her, she was disturbed over what he said. She was afraid of asking. She was amazed at this greeting as though it evoked familiarity and she became alert at a speech which was soft as if full of human affection and she was wondering what business has a male speaking with a woman. She regards indeed the outward appearance as worthy of respect for it is an angel she sees in the likeness of a man. She considered further what sort of greeting this was. «May it not be,» she said, «that I am being deceived by the deception with which the mother of my race was deceived in the beginning,» and she was disturbed. This sort of disturbance is preferable, O my beloved. It saves man from a greater fear which occurs at the end. Would indeed that the first woman also had been afraid so as not to have acted thoughtlessly and to have spoken in haste. If only indeed she had not answered or not responded to the greeting she had been given! You see, the fact of her not answering ⁶⁰ is an assurance of her virginity. She thought that the act of answering would be an encouragement to the one who had said to her, «Hail.» It was a danger for her since she was not ignorant of what the nature of it was. Therefore she did not indulge in speech in haste without reflection. But she kept them in her heart pondering it, giving a visible impression and image of the saying, «what sort of greeting is this?» For she was aware that it had been said, «do not trust in every spirit» (1 John 4:1), and that the one who had spoken before with Eve had spoken with the appearance of a friend of mankind, (when he said) «Why did the Lord say to you, 'You shall not eat from the tree in Paradise'?» (Gen 3:1). As for this one (i.e., the angel), great is his kindness and his abundant love as he was saying: «Hail, you who have found favor. The Lord is with you.» «How he knows of my affairs, I do not know,» she said, «yet his speech has troubled me with fear,» as she was pondering what sort of greeting this was. The virgin is learned in Scripture, ⁶¹ knowing the law and the prophets. The word that she heard she received like choice and precious gold. She took it into the secure place of judgement of her thought. She refined it well in the fire (cf. Sir 2:5?) of her reason. She cast it in the discernment of her thought. She examined what sort of greeting

60. $\tau\sigma\iota$: The form appears to be relative negative Perfect and is clearly intended to be parallel to the phrase which follows: $\tau\sigma\iota$ $\text{NOY}\omega\omega\text{B}$ $\Gamma\Delta\text{P}$. Till (#145) assumes the prefix to be $\sigma\text{IN-}$ but Crum [819a] gives $\sigma\text{IN-}$ (for $\sigma\text{I N-}$) and Cerny, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, gives the etymology as $gy + n$ (of). One wonders if the examples [819b] of $\sigma\text{IN-}$ + suff. have all been correctly analysed. Perhaps some are σI and the rel. Perf.

61. Cf. Lampe, s.v. 4: «for νομομαθής.» In the Bohairic Catena (p. 118) in a citation from Eusebius in virtually the same context of the angel's greeting, Mary is called $\text{OYNOMOM}\alpha\text{ΘHC}$. See also chap. 5, 302.

this was. She set her mind to it. Just as a good steersman takes firm hold of his rudder lest its handle⁶² be unmanageable and his boat be shipwrecked, so the virgin took hold of her reason and her thought with attention⁶³ lest she answer impetuously and take the whole cargo to the bottom.

While she was pondering these things thus, the angel answered and said to her, «Do not be afraid, Mary. You have found favor with God» (Luke 1:30). It was not the speech of Mary that the angel answered - for she had not spoken - but it was her thought that he answered. For he knew her thought. He commended the constancy of her soul. But he also marveled at the one who had sent him, for he knew what sort of one it was who had sent him to her, (one who) knows (i.e., God) the constancy of her soul. Therefore she is the one of whom so much is spoken. She is the one who has been redeemed among many, this one to whom Isaias pointed: «Behold, the virgin will conceive and bear a son and he will be called Emmanuel» (Isa 7:14), having said this many generations before through the Holy Spirit, saying: «Behold the virgin will conceive and bear a son» as if she is unique on the whole earth.

I hear it again, «Do not be afraid, Mary.» I know that the woman had been frightened but it is you who will⁶⁴ take away the fear of Eve. «Do not be afraid,» he said. «It is not the serpent who is speaking with you but a trustworthy⁶⁵ angel who is speaking with you and there is no deceit in my speech. For you have found favor with God. As you know, no man has favor with God (cf. Rom 2:11?)⁶⁶ because of the dispersion which has befallen humanity. But as for you, you were worthy of favor with God because he will give judgement and favor to everyone through the one whom you will bear. 'Behold, you will conceive and bear a son and you shall call his name Jesus' (Luke 1:31), not after a time but while the word is still in my mouth. And the good news has drawn near to you.» He also said, «You will bear a son, a son on whose shoulders rests his authority» (Isa 9:5), a son whose authority is from his father, ruling over the world.

He is a son, beloved, for whom your mind needs a terminological security⁶⁷ lest robbers or thieves punch holes in the door of your faith and

62. See Bentley Layton, «Compound Prepositions in Sahidic Coptic» *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky* (ed. D. W. Young; Beacon Hill, East Gloucester, Mass.: Pirtle and Polson, 1981), 239-268.

63. The phrase 2NOYT12TH4 is equivalent to the Greek notion of προσοχή. For this key notion of early monastic spirituality as well as for the interpretation of the whole passage, see my article: «'Steersman of the mind': the Virgin Mary as Ideal Nun (an interpretation of Luke 1:29 by Rufus of Shotep)» in *Studia Patristica* 30 (Louvain: Peeters, 1997) pp. 265-269.

64. The form is evidently intended to be 2sf. I Fut. See the note 68 below where the same form occurs twice.

65. On the basis of the context, read ԵԳՆԶՕԴ. Rufus seems to be playing on the words ԶՕԴԵ, ՆԶՕԴ. But Ն- could also represent ԵԻՆԵ (fear-bearing?).

66. For Rom 2:11. Thompson gives: ΜΝΞΙΖΟ ΓΑΡ ΖΑΤΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

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carry off the riches of your nobility. «You will conceive;»⁶⁸ he said, «and bear a son.» It is your act of conceiving and it will be unknown; it is your giving birth and you will bear a son. «It is a son that will be born to us,» according to the word of the prophet (Isa 9:5), «a son on whose shoulders rests his authority.» The shoulders that sustain the universe! As for the fatherhood, it is from it⁶⁹ that the son has received hypostasis.⁷⁰ «You will bear a son,» he said. It is not, as it were, that after a time you will bear.⁷¹ It is before all ages, before all time and ages and counsel and thought, that he is a son. (He says:) «The angel of great counsel» (Isa 9:5) but do not hear «angel» and think that he is like one of the angels. The holy Paul said in his letter: «In many places and in many ways God spoke formerly with our fathers through the prophets. But at the end of these days he has spoken with us through the son. It is this one whom he made the inheritor of all things, this one through whom he created the ages, that is, the light of glory and the likeness of his substance, sustaining all things by the word of his power» (Heb 1:1-3). But it is the angel of great counsel who pronounces great counsel, that is hidden, that is, the father alone, who brings forth the creature which he wishes to make. It is this one with whom he spoke among the created things.⁷² the light, the firmament, the waters, the dry land and the other creatures, which all came to be according to his command.

39

I hear, «and you will call his name Jesus» (Luke 1:31).

[two lines missing]

his name. The one whom you will bear has his name, this one of whom the scripture speaks: «the one who exists from the beginning» (1 John 2:14).⁷³ He (= God) also said in another place. «You have authority and power. You are in holy splendor.» And also, «I begot you before the daystar» (Ps 109:3). He also said, «This one will be great and he will be called the son of the most high» (Luke 1:32).

40

[two lines missing from text]

67. The reference seems to be to the danger of heresy.

68. ΤΕΡΝΑΩ: on the previous page (D8) the forms given are ΤΕΝΑΩ and ΤΕΝΑΧΠΟ whereas on this side they are given as ΤΕΡΝΑΩ and ΤΕΡΝΑΧΠΟ, obviously intended also as 2sf. I Future.

69. ΝΜΟC: the form should be ΝΖΗΤC. This appears to be a scribal error.

70. The word could be translated perhaps as «nature» but, since it belongs to the technical vocabulary of the Monophysite controversy, it seems best not to attempt a translation. The term is equated in the writings of Severus of Antioch with φύσις and πρόσωπον. See Lampe, 1459b, B.2 and W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 208-209.

71. Read ΕΡΕΝΑ-.

72. The reference seems to be to the plural used in Gen 1:26.

73. Horner gives this as a variant for ΧΙΝΝΩΟΡΤΙ.

that he is great but because of the greatness of his soul. He is our Lord indeed because of the greatness of the preaching of the gospel. It is he who will be exalted and who will increase and spread forth from north to south, from east to west, from the height to the depth. «He who descended to the depths of the earth, it is he also who has gone up to the highest heavens in order that he might perfect⁷⁴ all things» (Eph 4:10). It is this name alone which will be great. As for the true God, he is truly exalted over the angels

[one leaf missing]

king[dom] not passing away, which is what Paul says, «It is necessary for him to reign until he puts his enemies under his feet» (1 Cor 15:25). 41

Then Mary cast off the fear. The trembling departed from her. The announcement of the birth of life took away the fear from her. She consented to the words which the angel had spoken to her. The speech of the angel who was tranquil caused the fear to

[6-7? lines missing]

the birth. She answered in a virginal voice: «How will this happen to me. I have not known man (Luke 1:34). It is a marvelous thing that you announce to me.» She is not unbelieving like Zacharias, but she is asking how it will be. Therefore the angel answered her in a gentle voice.

[8? lines missing]

O Queen! Do not ever know man. Rather, while you are seeking the way to understand the good event, I would tell you about it. 'It is a holy spirit that is coming upon you and it is the power of the most high that will cast a shadow over you' (Luke 1:35), a sovereign spiritual power, that is, the spirit which you will acquire, 'this one also for whom nothing is impossible'» (Luke 1:37). 42

[8? lines missing]

the power of the Holy Trinity through the mouth of the angel. «A holy spirit, the power of the most high,» he said. The spirit over the holy spirit. The power over the only begotten son. The most high over everyone.⁷⁵ «It is a holy spirit that is coming upon you and it is the power of the most high that will cast a shadow over you. Therefore the one whom you will bear is holy and he will be called [the son of God] (Luke 1:35).

[4? lines missing]

74. Thompson gives ⲉⲓⲉⲛⲉⲕ- (III Future) which is what one would expect. Though infrequent, the II Future is found in final clauses with ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ. See Marvin R. Wilson, *Coptic Future Tenses: Syntactical Studies in Sahidic* (The Hague: Mouton, 1970), 26.

75. The second ⲡⲉⲧⲭⲟⲙⲉ appears to be a case of dittography.

virgin. But he will be called the son of God, because of the one who has come down from heaven upon him. He has received the attributes of humanity and he has clothed himself (with them) except for sin alone (cf. Heb 4:15).⁷⁶ He gave the attributes of humanity to his humanity. Therefore it is to sonship, that you have been called, you who have been a slave.⁷⁷ 43

I hear also: «Behold, Elizabeth your kinswoman has [also conceived a son in her old age] and this is her sixth month, she who was called⁷⁸ 'barren,' because nothing will be impossible with God» (Luke 1:36-37). The matter that is like those too difficult for you, let it become easy through that. And even if it is impossible for an impossibility to give birth and the assertion is difficult to believe that a virgin

[6-7 lines of text missing]

God.

I hear, «after these things, Mary said to the angel,⁷⁹ 'I am the servant of the Lord. Let it be done to me according to your word'» (Luke 1:38). «I am a servant,» she said. «I will not be able to refuse anything. Behold, it is agreeable to obey my Lord. Let it be done to me according to your word. I am at the disposal⁸⁰ of my Lord as he has wished it. Let it be done

[6-7? lines missing]

bear the savior. The ministry was finished and the angel went up to heaven. O these living words, which are worthy of being revered! These on which it is fitting for us to meditate that our progress⁸¹ might be evident to everyone! «The angel went to heaven,» (Luke 1:38)⁸² he said. The face of the savior and his garments changed on the mountain. «There appeared to him Moses and Elias speaking with him» (Matt 17:3)

[4? lines missing]

John. Observe the lawgiving.⁸³ The prophetic was inconspicuous. He who has ears to hear, let him hear. 45

Listen to these things, O virgins of Christ, and emulate the purity⁸⁴ of this

76. See the Introduction, 56 (and note 93) for discussion of this text.

77. Read ΝΤΑΚ- for ΝΤΚ-.

78. ΝΦΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ: Horner gives ΕΦΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ but both are common with the Pres. Consuetudinis. See Till #462.

79. ΠΕΣΛΑC ΔΕ ΝΟΙΜΑΡΙΑ and gives as a variant ΜΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC 84,24, Bo. ΧΕ is dittography.

80. †ΖΑΡΑΤ4: literally, «I am under his foot.»

81. The scribe apparently tried to change ΠΡΟΚΟΠΟΙ to ΠΡΟΚΟΠΗ.

82. He evidently intends to cite Luke 1:38 which, however, reads: ΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΒΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ̄C.

83. The reference seems to be to the symbolism of the Transfiguration where Moses and Elijah represent the law and the prophets.

84. Crum [399b] gives ΤΕΒΟ as a Fayumic form.

virgin, Mary, in so far as it refers to you. It is not of the begetting of God that I am speaking, for this is unique, since there is no one who will be able to resemble her⁸⁵ but

[3? lines missing]

be before your face and a guard over your inner self. If a man calls out to you, do not be in haste to answer him but consider his speech lest indeed he be a sheep on the outside and a wolf on the inside (cf. Matt 7:15). Flee from every male deceit. Guard yourself. Do not answer and they cannot answer you.⁸⁶ O virgin, guard

[5-6? lines missing]

friendship. If it is prolonged, it bears a passion of fleshly desire. Then renounce⁸⁷ males. Why do you establish relationships with males other than the elders of Christ. It is these who are fellow householders (Gal 6:10) with you, to prepare you as «a holy virgin of a single husband, Christ» (2 Cor 11:2). It is these who cry out

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[7? lines missing]

But if you find deceit among these others, flee from them. Keep your heart pure and your body spotless in order that you also may hear your bridegroom who has come to the garden of your virtue, crying out, saying, «I have come to my garden, my sister, my bride. I have eaten my bread and my honey. I have gathered my myrrh and my spices. I have drunk my wine (Cant 5:1)

[5? lines missing]

[4 lines partially missing]

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the bridegroom (cf. Matt 25:6?). But if you find deceit even among these others, flee from them. Keep your heart pure and your body spotless in order that you also may hear your bridegroom who has come to the garden of your virtues crying out, saying, «I have come to my garden, my sister, my bride. I have eaten my bread and my honey. I have gathered my myrrh and my perfume. I have drunk my wine and my milk» (Cant 5:1). Eat also, my friends, and he will take you into the inner room⁸⁸ of his kingdom, to the mystical rank. And you will converse with him about bringing forth the fruits of your

85. Or «since nothing will be able to resemble it» (= unique bearing of God).

86. Cf. Till, #305 (neg. praes. consuet.): «oft auch: etw. nicht tun können.»

87. The text seems to be corrupt. Read: ΑΠΟΤΑΨΕ.

87. Both the LXX and the Sahidic (Thompson) place this line before the previous one. ΠΑΦΟΥΖΗΝΕ/ΠΑΨΤΗΟΥΒΕ: «spices/perfume»; the LXX has: ἀρωμάτων μου. Thompson gives: ΜΗΠΑΦΟΥΖΗΝΕ. See Herbert Thompson, *The Coptic (Sahidic) Version of Certain Books of the Old Testament* (London: Oxford University Press, 1908), 50.

88. Compare M.7 (A1) for similar language and mystical theory. On this interpretation of the Canticle, see chap. 5, 282.

righteousness and your virtues through our Lord Jesus Christ. He it is through whom glory be to the Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen

Sabatiche⁸⁹

Come, you who are building without the Lord (Ps 126:1) and who are shut in without God, who build a tower and the Lord has not built it (cf. Gen 11:4), who make a wall and the Almighty has not made it, who create height and fame⁹⁰ (cf. Gen 11:4-5), who rise up against the knowledge of God, «those whose brick served as stone and their clay as asphalt» (Gen 11:3), the monument of their sin becoming manifest to everyone. It is these who did not escape the notice of God nor were they able to hide from the creator of the universe. He, when he came, overturned their building, he cast down their high place, he changed their speech. He scattered their languages. Come, behold 48 the one who leaves confusion behind him gathering together today. It is the one who overturned then who also builds at this time. It is the one who confused speech who also sets in order. It is the one who changes languages who also sets them right. Come in haste⁹¹ and cast out of yourselves all sloth and all negligence, the evil seed, that is, beggarliness. It is of this that Solomon, the author of Proverbs, is informing us: «How long will you lie there, O sluggard? When will you rise from your sleep? You sleep a while, you doze a while. A while your hands are folded upon your breast. Afterwards, want will come to you like [.....]»⁹² (Prov 6:9-11). It (the text) said, «in haste» (Luke 1:39).⁹³ [...] the holy apostle enjoins: «He who gives aid, (let him do it) in haste» (Rom 12:8); «while you hasten to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace» (Eph 4:3). David indeed cries out «after

89. On this expression, see the Introduction, 45-46.

90. Or «who create height out of imagination».

91. ΖΝΟΥCΠΟΥΔΗ: the phrase comes from Luke 1:39 and is the basis on which the following chain of texts is strung together. The word CΠΟΥΔΗ, however, comes from the Greek text; the Sahidic has CΕΠΗ. The string of citations is in fact based on the idea of «haste» rather than verbal identity, since some have CΕΠΗ, others CΠΟΥΔΗ, and the one from Ps 15:4 has neither.

92. The entire verse of the quotation is a loose condensed version. The Sahidic text given by Worrell reads: ΜΝ̄ΝCΩC ΩΑΡΕ ΤΜ̄ΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΕΙ ΝΑΚ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄ΟΥΑ ΕCΜΟΩCΕ Ν̄ΜΜΑΚ ΖΙΟΥΖΙΗ ΕCΖΟΟΥ · ΑΥΩ ΠΕCΡΩΖ Ν̄ΘΕ ΝΟΥΡΕCΠΩΤ ΕΝΑΝΟΥC · ΕΩΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΜΕΚΣΝΑΥ ΠΕΚΩΖC ΝΗΥ Ν̄ΘΕ ΝΟΥΠΗΓΗ · ΑΥΩ ΠΕCΡΩΖ ΝΑΠΩΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΚ Ν̄ΘΕ ΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕCΖΟΟΥ. See William H. Worrell, *The Proverbs of Solomon in Sahidic Coptic according to the Chicago Manuscript* (Oriental Institute Publication 12; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931). However, the last word does not seem to fit the space in the manuscript.

93. It is on this phrase, apparently, that Rufus has been commenting at length.

these they made haste» (Ps 15:4).⁹⁴ It is this which you hear in the passage which is selected for us in that gospel at this time: «But Mary rose up in those days. She went to the hill country in haste» (Luke 1:39). But about these things, by the grace of this divine son, you will also hear something in the synaxis of the holy Sunday. What now then, [beloved]

[two leaves missing between D12 and D13]

his good father and the life-giving, consubstantial holy spirit, now and always for all ages of ages. Amen. 49

The sixth exegesis which Apa Rufus, the bishop of the city of Shotep, delivered on the holy Gospel according to Luke on the following text: «Mary arose in those days and went to the hill country in haste »(Luke 1:39). In God's peace. Amen. 50

Then Mary went

[6-7? lines missing]

The angel finished his ministry. The one who had found favor left to minister for the favor. Nor is it in turmoil that she is going but it is by the holy spirit who has come upon her that she is taken. I hear in the passage set forth for us in the Gospel according to Luke, «Mary arose in these days» (Luke 1:39)

[5-6? lines missing]

[28 leaves missing]

for us before his father. He it is who is a pledge for us (2 Cor 1:22; 5:5) and the first fruits (1 Cor 15:20,23) of the holy resurrection. He it is also who «is coming in the glory of his father with his holy angels and he will repay each one according to his deeds (Matt 16:27).» As for this one, to him be glory for ever and ever. Amen. 51

Sabatiché⁹⁵

The sister of Moses chanted and the women sang with her. Miriam sang her song and all the daughters of her people surrounded her (Exod 15:20). Mary sang her song and all the daughters of her people surrounded her. Mary exalted the Lord (Luke 1:46). Come, exalt him with her. The virgin [.....]. Come [.....] with her in gladness. Every deed

94. Budge (p. 14) gives: ΜΝΗCΑΝΑΙ ΔΥΩΤΟΤΡ. The LXX gives: μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτάχυναν. Although the words are not identical with those given by Rufus, there does not seem to be any other Psalm phrase which corresponds to this idea. Rufus may be quoting from memory and paraphrasing.

95. On this expression, see the Introduction, 44-45.

[4 lines are fragmentary]

They wish for everyone to be saved

[2 lines broken]

the reward will be for them communion with one another. Therefore I hear 52
Moses calling the sons of Israel to sing with him the song to the Lord, say-
ing, «Let us bless the Lord, for gloriously has he been glorified» (Exod
15:1).⁹⁶ I hear the psalmist in many places calling everyone to righteousness.
Sometimes he says, «Exalt the Lord with me» (Ps 33:4). Sometimes, «Come,
let us rejoice to the Lord and shout to him. Let us go forth to him openly.
Give a shout to him with psalms» (cf. Ps 94:1-2).⁹⁷ The author of Proverbs
says, «My son, listen to the teaching of your father. Do not abandon the ordi-
nances of your mother» (Prov 1:8). Jeremias, for his part, says, «Come, sons
who have been far away and I will heal your ruins» (Jer 3:22). The Lord says
it also in the gospel, «Come to [me]» (Matt 11:28).
holy. 53

Apa Rufus, the bishop of the city of Shotep.

The Sunday after⁹⁸ the Nativity,⁹⁹ if there is need.

What then is it which Emmanuel had done? He who created man from the
beginning, emptied himself (Phil 2:7)¹⁰⁰ and came to the womb¹⁰¹ of a vir-
gin. He became incarnate¹⁰² in her through a Holy Spirit, (receiving)¹⁰³ a

96. The text has been reconstructed from that given by Kasser: ΜΑΡΨΜΟΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ
2ΝΟΥΕΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΞΙΕΟΥ. The variant ΠΛΟΕΙC occurs already in the LXX. See
Rodolphe Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XVI. Exode I-XV, 21 en Sahidique* (Cologny-Geneve: Bibl.
Bodmeriana, 1961).

97. See Budge, 102, for the Sahidic text.

98. Although the text says literally «after the Sunday» (ΜῆΝCΑΤΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ), the meaning
must be «the Sunday after.» I am indebted to Fr. Ugo Zanetti for pointing this out.

99. See L. 10 (p. 221 n. 18) where the plural (ΝΝΕΧΠΟ) is also used apparently to designate
the Nativity. Crum [780a] cites this text and adds «in the month Choiahk,» but offers no
translation. The recto of this leaf has centered at the top the word ΧΙΟΖΚ. See Till, #178,
ΚΟΙΛΑΖΚ «mit vielen Varianten.» The month runs from 27.XI to 27.XII. Evidently the name of
the month appeared on the opposite page. The word ΠΕΒΟΤ is written in a smaller different
hand in the top center margin of this side (verso) of the leaf.

100. Horner and Thompson give: ΑΥΠΩΖΤ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ.

101. Crum [642b] cites the same phrase from Pcod 44.

102. See Crum [751b]: σαρκούσθαι.

flesh which is consubstantial with ours,¹⁰⁴ which has a rational soul, is not from the seed of man with pleasure and he dwelt

[? lines missing]

Right column:

the birth [...] for the holy scripture: «the days were fulfilled for her to bring forth» (Luke 2:6).

[The rest of the column is too fragmentary to translate.]

103. «Flesh» is in apposition with that of $\Sigma\text{ICAP}\Sigma$ which has been translated «incarnate,» thus making it necessary to supply «receiving.»

104. Pcod 44 (S.165) contains similar terminology: $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\pi\alpha\iota\ \lambda\chi\tau\eta\nu\nu\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \mu\pi\epsilon\chi\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\ \nu\omega\eta\rho\epsilon\ \lambda\chi\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omega\nu\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\tau\eta\kappa\alpha\rho\epsilon\ \omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha\rho\epsilon\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\beta\beta\eta\gamma\ \epsilon\kappa\omicron\ \nu\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha\ \nu\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\ \lambda\chi\kappa\omicron\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \theta\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\chi\eta\zeta$. Cf. also Pcod 45 (S.167): $\lambda\chi\tau\eta\mu\eta\tau\eta\nu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\ \mu\eta\tau\eta\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho\omega\mu\epsilon\ \nu\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha\ \nu\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\ \pi\lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\pi\epsilon\ \pi\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda\chi\kappa\alpha\rho\epsilon$. See the Introduction, 62, for discussion of the theology involved here.

RUFUS AND THE ALEXANDRIAN EXEGETICAL TRADITION

Despite the fragmentary character of these homilies, it is evident from the terminology employed, the theoretical observations about exegesis contained in them, and the specific interpretations given to texts that Rufus belongs to the Alexandrian exegetical tradition.¹ This is not surprising, considering his geographical location, but it is exceptional considering the anti-Alexandrian or at least anti-Origenist sentiment generally attributed to the Copts of this period.² There are no other Coptic writers who manifest such a detailed acquaintance with this exegetical tradition.

A brief description of the principal characteristics of this tradition

1. By this is intended the tradition of exegesis that begins to flourish with Clement of Alexandria but whose principal representative is without doubt Origen. Because of his vast literary output and comprehensive treatment of all aspects of Scripture, he exerted great influence on subsequent generations of writers including Eusebius of Caesarea, Athanasius, Didymus, Evagrius of Pontus, Cyril of Alexandria and the Cappadocians (to mention only the principal eastern ones), who may all be said to represent this tradition in varying degrees even when they do not accept all of the elements in Origen's system. For the most recent and complete survey of this material, see Manlio Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria: Un contributo alla storia dell'esegesi patristica* (Studia Ephemerides «Augustinianum» 23; Rome: Institutum Patristicum «Augustinianum», 1985) esp. 65-107, 135-156, 201-230.

2. See Hugh G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n Natrûn. Part II: The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis* (ed. Walter Hauser; New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1932), 127-128. It is of interest that Cyril of Alexandria, certainly a hero to the Copts as premier champion of monophysite doctrine, was also regarded as a foe of Origen. A passage in the *History of the Patriarchs* says of Cyril that «he would not follow the doctrine of Origen, nor even take his books into his hand for a single day; but when he heard that one of the faithful had read Origen, he condemned and excommunicated him who had so read.» See B. Evetts (ed.), *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria (Severus of Ashmunein)* (PO 1; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1910), 429. This reflects the prejudice of the author rather than the historical reality, since there is little doubt that Cyril read and used the works of Origen, albeit critically and selectively. See Alexander Kerrigan, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria, Interpreter of the Old Testament* (Analecta Biblica 2; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1952), 11-12.

may help to keep in focus the following more detailed study of Rufus' terminology.³ It includes above all the assumption of the Platonic distinction of two levels of reality, the sensible and the intelligible, a distinction that the Alexandrian exegetes applied to the interpretation of Scripture. Paul had already distinguished between the letter and the spirit (2 Cor 3:6) and had provided an allegorical interpretation of Exod 34:34 that opened the way to further allegorization of the Old Testament. Removing the veil from the face of Moses meant seeking the deeper meaning of the text in the light of the coming of Christ (2 Cor 3:14-17). In the Alexandrian tradition, this Pauline distinction (primarily a temporal one between two periods of revelation)⁴ was assimilated to the Platonic one between the material/sensible reality and the intelligible/spiritual/unseen reality. The goal of exegesis in this tradition was always to uncover or discover the higher spiritual meaning or meanings and the tool for doing this was the allegorical method in which the written text was assumed to represent something else than what was literally stated. The exegete sought to unlock the text with the key of allegory in order to open up the spiritual riches contained therein to those capable of assimilating them, and to provide spiritual nourishment for those seeking spiritual progress.

Paul himself, referring to the two spouses of Abraham, had already used the word ἀλληγορούμενα to describe them (Gal 4:24) and had given other examples of this kind of exegesis (e.g., 1 Cor 5:7-8, 9:9-10, 10:6). The roots of the Pauline usage as well as later New Testament and patristic developments are to be found in the an-

3. In addition to the work of Simonetti already mentioned above, the following, among others, may usefully be consulted: M. Simonetti, «Allegoria (tipologia)» *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane* (ed. Angelo Di Berardino; Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1983), 1:140-141; idem, «Alessandria II. Scuola» *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane* (ed. Angelo Di Berardino; Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1983), 1:117-121; F. Büchsel, «ἀλληγορέω» *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1933), 1:260-264; L. Goppelt, «Allegorie» *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (3) (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1957), 1:238-240; J. C. Joosen and J. H. Waszink, «Allegorese» *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950), 1:283-294.

4. The two level outlook can also be found in the New Testament. See Henri Crouzel, *Origène* (Paris: Editions Lethielleux, 1985), 114-117. For the central role played by the Pauline texts in the development of Origen's theory of interpretation, one should see now Francesca Cocchini, *Il Paolo di Origene* (Verba Seniorum N.S. 11; Roma: Edizioni Studium, 1992).

cient Greek world where such methodology had already been developed extensively in dealing with the Homeric epics. Philo of Alexandria had lead the way in applying these techniques to the Jewish scriptures. See H. Dörrie, «Zur Methodik antiker Exegese» *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 65 (1974): 121-138; P. Hadot, «Théologie, exégèse, révélation, écriture, dans la philosophie grecque» *Les règles de l'interprétation* (ed. M. Tardieu; Paris, 1987), 13-34; Jean Pépin, *Mythe et Allégorie: Les origines grecques et les contestations judéo-chrétiennes. Nouvelle édition, revue et augmentée* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1976), 146ff.; idem, *La Tradition de L'Allegorie de Philon d'Alexandrie a Dante: Etudes Historiques* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1987); Wolfgang A. Bienert, «Allegoria» und «Anagoge» bei Didymos dem Blinden von Alexandria (Berlin - New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1972), 33-43; Basil Studer, «Die patristische Exegese, eine Aktualisierung der Heiligen Schrift (Zur hermeneutischen Problematik der frühchristlichen Bibelauslegung)» *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 42 (1996) pp. 71-95.

This idea of spiritual progress is an integral part of the Alexandrian outlook and is a principal motive for employing the allegorical method in order that one may pass from the letter to the spirit, from the shadow to the reality, from the figure to the truth, from the sign to what is signified, from the word to the thing itself.⁵

This chapter will be devoted to examining the Greek terminology used by Rufus and some of the exegetical principles and techniques on which he relies. The goal is simply to locate Rufus in the Alexandrian tradition rather than to give a full exposition of the latter. For this reason the explanations of the Alexandrian tradition will be limited.⁶ In the following chapter an attempt will be made to locate his work more specifically in the exegetical tradition of Matthew and Luke.

Anthropological Terminology

In the Alexandrian tradition, exegetical practice is closely related to a

5. See J. Dupuis, «L'esprit de l'homme.» *Etude sur l'anthropologie religieuse d'Origène* (Brugges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1967), 165. The same might be said of the ancient Greek philosophical schools in which this method was developed. See Pierre Hadot, *Exercices spirituels et philosophie antique* (2 ed.; Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1987), 59-74 et passim.

6. The bibliographical references will be limited to the principal or most recent works on the topic. More extensive references can be found in Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria* and H. Crouzel, *Bibliographie critique d'Origène* (Instrumenta Patristica VIII; Steenbrugge: Martin Nijhoff, 1971); idem, *Bibliographie critique d'Origène. Supplément I* (Instrumenta Patristica VIII A; Steenbrugge: Martin Nijhoff, 1982).

certain anthropology and to a theory of knowledge that is related to the anthropology. Consequently it is often difficult to distinguish between what might properly be called exegetical terminology and that which belongs to anthropological or cognitive theory. For the sake of organizing this material, we will begin with the terminology that involves a certain anthropology and theory of knowledge and then treat the more specifically exegetical terms, which generally presuppose that anthropology and theory of knowledge.

The Tripartite Anthropology

In the course of commenting on the word «Nazorean» (M.11), Rufus says that whoever will abide in purity will receive a threefold reward: «It is in his spirit (ΠΝΑ) that he will receive 'the sense' (ΠΝΟΗΜΑ) and it is in his soul (ΨΥΧΗ) that he will receive the first vision (ΠΩ-ΟΡΤΙ ΝΕΙΩΡΨ) and it is in his body (ΣΩΜΑ) that he will receive perseverance (ΖΥΤΟΜΟΝΗ).» This tripartite anthropology, which can be found in 1 Thes 5:23, plays a particularly important role in the thought of Origen and is closely related to his exegetical theory.⁷ After Origen it seems to disappear rapidly and his principal disciples of the fourth century, Didymus and Evagrius, employ different terminology.⁸ Its reappearance in Rufus may thus be a sign that he had direct contact with Origen's works.

To evaluate Rufus' use of the terminology as well as related concepts such as ΝΟΥΣ, it is necessary to understand the terminology as Origen used it.

In a famous passage of the *Peri Archon*, Origen states: «For just as man consists of body (σῶμα), of soul (ψυχή) and spirit (πνεῦμα), so in the same way does the Scripture, which has been prepared by God to be given for man's salvation.»⁹ He explains that thus the simple person can find edification in the «flesh» of the Scripture, which corresponds to the literal sense, while the person who has made some progress will find edification in the soul of the scriptures, which is the

7. For the background of the formula in 1 Thes 5:23, see A. M. Festugière, «La trichotomie de 1 Thess. 5,23 et la philosophie grecque» *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 20 (1930): 385-415.

8. Crouzel, *Origène*, 124.

9. *P. Arch.* 4.2.4. The translation is by G. W. Butterworth in Origen, *On First Principles* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 276.

moral sense (in the later tradition, called the tropological sense). The example of the moral sense that Origen gives is Paul's interpretation of Deut 25:4 (in 1 Cor 9:9ff.) in which he makes the command not to muzzle the ox that treads the grain refer to the preacher of the gospel. Finally the «perfect» (referring to 1 Cor 2:6) will find edification in the «spiritual law, which contains the shadow of future goods» (Heb 10:1). This is the «spirit» of the scriptures.

It has been amply demonstrated that Origen's inspiration for this tripartite anthropology is 1 Thes 5:23, which he himself cites.¹⁰ Origen interprets this anthropology in the light of other Pauline texts and in the light of his own speculation about pre-existence. The spirit (πνεῦμα) is not the Holy Spirit but a part of the human composite and is to be distinguished from the soul (ψυχή, anima), although there is a connection between it and the higher part of the soul, the νοῦς. The body-soul composite in man is essentially the result of the primordial fall that, in Origen's speculation, took place before the material creation. The body-soul composite in fact makes possible the earthly existence of the pre-existent «intellects» and is thus part of the material creation.¹¹ In his original state, man was composed of νοῦς and πνεῦμα. In the terrestrial state, the νοῦς becomes the higher part of the soul.

Although I have not been able to locate an exact parallel,¹² what Rufus appears to be saying in this fragment seems completely in accord with Origen's anthropology and view of spiritual progress. The reward of «the sense» (τῆ νοήμα) would mean, as explained below (6.2.1), the spiritual understanding of the scriptures. The «first vision» would refer to the moral sense of the scriptures and «perseverance» would be the result of the edification that can be drawn from the literal sense.

NOYC

Rufus uses the word NOYC several times. In M.1 he seems to be saying that, if a person maintains self-control, God will touch his mind (NOYC) and draw him into divine love. He also compares the mind to

10. *Dial.* 6 (Scherer, 136, 6-9); see Dupuis, «*L'Esprit de l'Homme*», 65.

11. Dupuis, «*L'Esprit de l'Homme*», 67.

12. In a comment on Matt 18:19, Origen, citing 1 Thes 5:23, speaks about the concord of body, soul and spirit that can be achieved on earth. See *comm. in Matt.* 14,3 (GCS 40:278).

a beehive into which the preacher brings the honey of the spiritual meaning of the text (M.3). He exhorts his hearers to take their minds and flee (allegorically) to Galilee (the land of revelation)(M.8). In a reference to the blinding of Samson (Judg 16:21), Rufus explains how the enemies of darkness make «the eye of our mind blind» (M.19). This is probably a reference to the idea of the spiritual senses. The mind is the place where a spiritual temple is to be constructed out of the spiritual interpretation of Scripture (M.34). The mind is also said to be small apart from contemplation (L.11). All of this is perfectly in accord with Origen's understanding of the role of the **ΝΟΥΣ**.

In Origen's anthropology, the **νοῦς** (mind or intellect) is the higher part of the soul.¹³ It cannot be distinguished from the soul, as in some other philosophic systems, because in effect the soul is nothing else than the **νοῦς** in the state to which it has been reduced by the original fall.¹⁴ The soul-body composite is the result of the fall, or, put more positively, was created to make possible our life on earth.¹⁵ It is the soul that possesses this terrestrial life first and communicates it to the body. This does not mean that in its prior state the **νοῦς** was without a body, but it was an ether body.¹⁶ Thus the tripartite composite of **πνεῦμα-νοῦς-σῶμα** of the pre-fall state becomes in the earthly phase of its existence: **πνεῦμα-ψυχή-σῶμα** in which the **νοῦς** is the higher part of the soul. The soul possesses also a sensible part.¹⁷

ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ

The word **ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ** occurs in two different contexts in these homilies. It is found in the allegorical interpretation of the angel's message to Joseph (Matt 2:20), where it occurs in conjunction with **ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑ** (M.8). The message of the angel is interpreted on the spiritual (allegorical) level to mean: «If the man of skin is reigning with his works in the flesh, let the reason (**ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ**) take the mind (**ΝΟΥΣ**) and your thought (**ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑ**) and flee with it.» The second is in the explanation of Mary's reaction to the angel's greeting in Luke 1:28 (L.3):

13. Dupuis, «*L'Esprit de l'Homme*», 64.

14. Henri de Lubac, *Histoire et Esprit: L'intelligence de l'Écriture d'après Origène* (Paris: Aubier, 1950), 157.

15. *P. Arch.* 1.1.6.

16. See Crouzel, *Origène*, 128. According to Crouzel, this is never stated explicitly by Origen but follows necessarily from other statements of his.

The word that she heard she received like choice and precious gold. She took it into the secure place of judgement of her thought. She refined it well in the fire (cf. Sir 2:5?) of her reason (ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ). She cast it in the discernment (ΔΙΑΚΡΙΣΙΣ) of her thought. She examined what sort of greeting this was. She set her mind (ΝΟΥΣ) to it. Just as a good steersman takes firm hold of his rudder lest its handle be unmanageable and his boat be shipwrecked, so the virgin firmly took hold of her reason (ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ) and her thought lest she answer impetuously and take the whole cargo to the bottom.

In this context, ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ appears to be equivalent to ΝΟΥΣ or at least to one aspect of it.

As an anthropological term, it is not as widely used in patristic literature as ΝΟΥΣ or ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑ. There are, however, two citations that shed some light on its meaning. In the Epistle to Diognetus (2,9), referring to man, the author says: αἴσθησιν γὰρ ἔχει καὶ λογισμόν. In Origen's anthropology this would make λογισμός equivalent to νοῦς. In fact Origen himself uses it once in a similar sense when commenting on these words from Ps 50:14: καὶ πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῶ στήριξον με. His comment is: πολλοὶ δὲ ἐνταῦθα πνεῦμα ἡγεμονικὸν ἐκάλεσαν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα λογισμόν.¹⁸

The word λογισμός is used extensively in patristic literature to designate individual thoughts, good or bad, as distinct from the faculty of

17. The νοῦς is also called by Origen, according to its principal functions: «logos» (λόγος), thought (διάνοια, διανοητικόν), the heart (καρδία), and (ἡγεμονικόν), a Stoic epithet that implies a governing function for the νοῦς. Origen also calls it our «principal substance» (προηγούμενη ὑπόστασις) and Dupuis, applying modern terminology, calls it the «seat of the personality» («L'Esprit de l'Homme», 70). The moral law is written in the νοῦς by the πνεῦμα, which serves as a pedagogue and guide to the νοῦς (Dupuis, «L'Esprit de l'Homme», 72-73). The πνεῦμα also trains the νοῦς to pray, for, as St. Paul notes (Rom 8:26), we do not know how to pray if the spirit does not take the initiative. The νοῦς by itself remains without fruit; its fruitfulness comes from the πνεῦμα (Dupuis, «L'Esprit de l'Homme», 75). In the domain of religious knowledge, the πνεῦμα and the νοῦς also work together. The νοῦς is the organ of vision (τὸ διορατικόν); it is to the soul what the eye is to the body. It receives illumination (φωτισμός) from the Word and to it belong the spiritual senses (See K. Rahner, «Le début d'une doctrine des cinq sens spirituels chez Origène», *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 13 (1932): 113-145). In this area also the πνεῦμα retains its role of pedagogue, because it is the spirit that searches the depths of God (1 Cor 2:10). See Dupuis, «L'Esprit de l'Homme», 75.

18. For the text, see J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio Solesmensi parata* (6 vols; Paris/Rome, 1876-1888), 3:52. Pitra translates this as: «Plures hic spiritum principalem vocaverunt praecipuam cogitandi facultatem». For Origen the ἡγεμονικόν is the νοῦς.

thought or reason. In this sense it undergoes a particularly significant development in the writings of Evagrius of Pontus.¹⁹

ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑ

In an allegorical interpretation of the appearance of the angel in a dream to Joseph in Egypt (Matt 2:20), Rufus appears to interpret Joseph as reason (ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ) and the «young child and his mother» as mind (ΝΟΥΣ) and thought (ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑ) respectively (M.8). However, the interpretation does not seem to be consistent, for, as he continues, the term ΝΟΥΣ drops out and the child and his mother seem to be interpreted as reason (ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ) and thought (ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑ).

The word ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑ was widely used in antiquity as an anthropological term and as an exegetical term.²⁰ The word is used to designate the faculty of understanding and contemplation. Cyril apparently regards διάνοια, νοῦς and καρδία as synonyms.²¹ This usage can be found in the New Testament in several places, notably in the great commandment (Matt 22:37 and parallels) and in Eph 1:18 (τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας where a variant reading offers διανοίας for καρδίας) and in Eph 4:18. In Heb 8:10 and 10:16 the word occurs in the quotation from Jer 31:33 (LXX 38:33) where the phrase εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν is parallel to ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν. In Origen's usage the word seems equivalent to νοῦς and to ἡγεμονικόν. It is also the organ

19. See the discussion by Guillaumont in Evagre Le Pontique, *Traité pratique* (ed. A. and C. Guillaumont; SC 170; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1971), 55-84.

20. As an exegetical term, Bate states that in the Alexandrian tradition it is practically synonymous with allegory. See H. N. Bate, «Some Technical Terms of Greek Exegesis» *The Journal of Theological Studies* 24 (1922-23): 61. The references in this sense in Origen are rare and suspect as to authenticity but it is the term favored by Eusebius to designate the spiritual sense (Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 80, n. 46). Didymus the Blind likewise uses the phrase πρὸς διάνοιαν to indicate the opposite of the literal sense or the equivalent of κατ' ἀναγώγην (Bienert, «Allegoria» und «Anagoge» bei Didymos, 78, 85-86, 109, 114, 139, 160). Evagrius of Pontus uses it in the phrase τὴν μυστικώτεραν διάνοιαν τῆς γραφῆς (the mystical sense of Scripture). See Evagre le Pontique, *Scholies aux Proverbes* (ed. Paul Géhin; SC 340; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1987), 346-347 (Scholia 250,1). The phrases πρὸς διάνοιαν and μυστικὴ διάνοια are found also in Cyril of Alexandria to designate the spiritual sense (Kerrigan, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria*, 113). This use of the term can be traced back to Philo and possibly even to Plato. See Jean Pépin, *Mythe et Allégorie*, 232, 100.

21. Kerrigan, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria*, 183, n.7.

of the spiritual senses.²² Crouzel characterizes it as intuitive rather than discursive.²³ From the context in which Rufus uses the word, it appears to have a meaning similar to that which it has for Origen and Cyril.

ΔΙΟΡΑΤΙΚΟΝ

Rufus uses this word twice, in both cases as a substantive signifying the organ of intellectual vision. The first occurrence is in a passage that warns against the effects of becoming entangled in pleasure (represented by Delilah): «And these are the friends of darkness and the sense of touch, which advance first into the eyes and derange our vision (ΔΙΟΡΑΤΙΚΟΝ) and they make the eye of our mind (ΝΟΥΣ) blind so that we do not see the light of knowledge...» (M.19). The second use of the word is in a passage that refers more specifically to the ability to perceive the spiritual sense of the scriptural text. The context is the temptation scene in Matt 4:5-6 where the devil takes Jesus and places him on the pinnacle of the temple: «It is fitting, beloved, for everyone, over whose vision (ΔΙΟΡΑΤΙΚΟΝ) lies this veil of the introductory teaching, to turn to the Lord, that is, to the spirit, that he may take the veil away and they may perceive the glory of God with face uncovered (cf. 2 Cor 3:14-18), that they may grasp the words of this gospel» (M.33). Rufus then goes on to explain the spiritual significance of the city and the temple, how they are to be interpreted as referring to the individual soul.

In the vocabulary of Origen, τὸ διορατικόν (derived from ὁρᾶν) designates the contemplative faculty, which is nothing else than the intelligence, that is, the νοῦς. It always has a spiritual rather than physical meaning.²⁴ It is to the soul what the eye is to the body. It receives enlightenment from the Word.²⁵

22. So Crouzel interprets *hom. in Jer.* 12,7. See Henri Crouzel, *Origène et la «Connaissance mystique»* (Museum Lessianum section théologique 56; Paris: Desclée De Brouwer, 1961), 385-386.

23. Crouzel, *Origène et la «Connaissance mystique»*, 386.

24. Crouzel, *Origène et la «Connaissance mystique»*, 381.

25. Jacques Dupuis, *«L'Esprit de l'Homme»*, 75.

*Terminology of Knowledge***ΘΕΩΡΙΑ-ΘΕΩΡΕΙ**

Rufus uses the noun **ΘΕΩΡΙΑ** three times (including one uncertain case). Commenting on the sixth beatitude, he explains that the «prize of salvation» is the «vision (**ΘΕΩΡΙΑ**) of that unseen face» (M.57). In L.4, speaking apparently of the revelation through Moses, he says «that you might see with a purified eye and an exact vision (**ΘΕΩΡΙΑ**) and contemplate (**ΘΕΩΡΕΙ**) the things of God, hidden from the foundations of the world...» In the third case he speaks of «the mind which is small apart from contemplation» (L.11). In the second of these three uses, the noun seems to indicate the act of seeing or contemplating, whereas in the other two it seems to indicate the object or content of the contemplation.

In addition to the example already quoted above (L.5), the verb **ΘΕΩΡΕΙ** is found five times. In M.2, explaining the esoteric character of knowledge, Rufus says: «This is the way it is with hidden things. It has not been given to everyone to contemplate (**ΘΕΩΡΕΙ**) them or to utter them.» Once the object of this verb is «the image,» apparently a reference to 2 Cor 4:4 whereby Christ is intended (M.4). Twice in M.14 the object is the universe or its height and depth, and once in M.73 the object is God: «the one whose creation bears witness to him.»

The noun **θεωρία** occurs only once in the New Testament (Luke 23:48) where it refers to the scene of the death of Jesus. It never occurs in the apostolic fathers and only seven times in the apologists but becomes quite frequent in Clement of Alexandria (84 times) and Origen. The term is of philosophical origin, at least as used in the Alexandrian tradition,²⁶ and some regard its use as indicative of a Platonic, two-level vision of reality.²⁷

In Origen's usage, the noun can designate either the act of contemplation or its object and result, the knowledge of mysterious realities. Thus the writings of Moses are said to be full of **θεωρία**. The term designates the knowledge of God, of the law and the prophets, of the intelligible and the invisible. The «secret and mystical **θεωρία**» of a

26. J. Lemaître, «Contemplation» *Dictionnaire de la Spiritualité* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1953), 2:1762.

27. Bate, «Some Technical Terms,» 61; Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 80.

text is its spiritual sense. The «intelligible θεωρία» (as opposed to the «historical account») is the spiritual sense of the Scriptures²⁸ This makes it, as Bate observed, practically synonymous in the Alexandrian tradition with ἀλληγορία and with διάνοια.²⁹ In the second case in which Rufus uses it, it appears to be equivalent to ἔννοια (see below s.v.).

The verb θεωρεῖν, in Origen's usage, can denote both sensible seeing and intellectual or spiritual vision.³⁰ In the vast majority of cases it denotes the latter, e.g., the glory of the risen Christ, the visions of the blessed, the heavens opened, the Word visible in Jesus, etc. This is also the way in which Rufus uses it in most, if not all, of the cases.

Particularly noteworthy is the usage of this verb by Rufus twice (M.2; L.5[C3]) in connection with «hidden things.» It seems likely that this is an indication of the basic Platonic distinction between the sensible and intelligible worlds that in Origen also underlies the distinction of letter and allegory in the interpretation of Scripture.³¹ This distinction and the vocabulary of θεωρία/θεωρεῖν is common to all the principal representatives of the Alexandrian school including Eusebius³² Didymus³³ Evagrius³⁴ and Cyril.³⁵

ΓΝΩCIC

Rufus uses the phrase ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ἩΤΕΓΝΩCIC twice. The first occurrence is in the context of a description of Paul whom he characterizes as «having grown eyes all over through the light of knowledge (ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ἩΤΕΓΝΩCIC) like one of the living beings that is under the carriage of God» (M.3). The second (M.19) is in the context of a

28. Crouzel, *Origène et la «Connaissance mystique»*, 376-377.

29. Bate, «Some Technical Terms», 61.

30. Crouzel, *Origène et la «Connaissance mystique»*, 377.

31. Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 80, 204-205.

32. Marie-Josèphe Rondeau, *Les Commentaires patristiques du Psautier (IIIe-Ve siècles): Vol. II - Exégèse prosopologique et Théologie* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1985), 409; Pépin, *La Tradition de L'Allegorie*, 172.

33. Bienert, «Allegoria» und «Anagoge» bei Didymos, 46, 78, 108-109.

34. Evagre Le Pontique, *Traité pratique* (ed. A. and C. Guillaumont; SC 170; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1971), 40-49; idem, *Scholies aux Proverbes* (ed. Paul Géhin; SC 340; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1987) see index, passim.

35. Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 217; Kerrigan, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria*, 116-121, 190-191, 238-239.

warning against «hidden deadly enemies» and «the sense of touch» which «make the eye of our mind blind so that we do not see the light of knowledge (ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝΤΕΓΝΩCIC).

The phrase φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως is found in 2 Cor 4:6, although the Sahidic translation is ΕΠΟΥΩΝΩ̅ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠCΘΟΥΝ. But this does not mean that Rufus was not inspired by this Pauline phrase since he evidently read Greek. The Pauline phrase is also found in patristic texts where it denotes contemplative or mystical knowledge, e.g., Clement: φωτισμός ἄρα ἡ γνώσις ἐστίν³⁶ and Basil: διὰ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν γνώσιν φωτισμοῦ.³⁷ For Cyril of Alexandria, the illumination of Christ has knowledge as a principal effect: ὁ φωτισμὸς τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ χριστοῦ.³⁸ This γνώσις seems to be due ultimately to the interpretation of Scripture in the light of faith in Christ.³⁹

NOIN

In a somewhat obscure passage in M.1 Rufus speaks of «the mother that is within intelligence» (ΖΝΝΟΙΝ). The use of this word as a noun is not otherwise attested. As a verb, it is generally used by Origen (unless qualified) in connection with allegorical exegesis or religious understanding. Its object is Scripture, the prophets, biblical images and expressions. Together with θεωρεῖν it also designates knowledge of God.⁴⁰ It also belongs to the Platonic terminology introduced by Origen in virtue of the two-level vision of the universe.⁴¹

In the context in which Rufus uses it, the word must also be connected with allegorical or spiritual exegesis. Rufus is comparing himself as exegete or preacher to a bee (see pp. 270-273 on bees and honey below) who brings honey (the spiritual interpretations of the text) to his hearers' minds. NOIN must in effect be equivalent to ΝΟΥC here.

36. *Paed.* 1.6 (PG 8:285B).

37. *comm. in Is.* 162 (PG 30:385B). The attribution of this work to Basil is dubious.

38. PG 68, 644C.

39. Kerrigan, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria*, 183-187.

40. Crouzel, *Origène et la «Connaissance mystique»*, 383-384.

41. See Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 80.

*Exegetical Terminology***ΝΟΗΜΑ**

This word occurs six times in these homilies and always seems to refer to the «sense» or meaning of the text, that is, to an allegorical or spiritual interpretation. In L.12, Rufus tells his listeners that they will hear the sense of the text to which they have just listened (see Introduction, 45) in the morning synaxis. In L.4 and L.15, it is juxtaposed with ΛΟΓΟΣ so that ΛΟΓΟΣ refers to the text or literal meaning and ΝΟΗΜΑ indicates the spiritual meaning or allegorical interpretation. The ΝΟΗΜΑ is promised as part of the threefold reward for chastity in M.11. The meaning of the word in M.59 seems to be that Christ is the ultimate ΝΟΗΜΑ (sense) of the law and the prophets. Finally, in M.34, the word occurs in the context of the idea of building a spiritual temple in the mind (ΝΟΥΣ). Here, the pinnacle to be placed on the building is ΠΜΕΤΕΩΡΟΝ ΝΝΟΗΜΑ, which could be translated: «the height of spiritual interpretation» (or sense).

In Origen's usage, the word indicates «thought» objectively considered.⁴² It is almost always applied to the spiritual senses of Scripture, rarely to the literal.⁴³ Origen notes that it is not surprising that the superhuman character of the «senses» (τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων τῶν νοημάτων) of the ancient prophecies does not appear to those who have not been instructed.⁴⁴ Commenting on Prov 22:20, Origen says: «It is necessary then to inscribe three times in one's own soul the senses (νοήματα) of the holy scriptures.»⁴⁵ This refers to the three senses, literal, moral, and allegorical, which Origen finds in the Scripture. These are also understood as food for the soul.

Cyril of Alexandria also uses this term, among others, to designate the spiritual or allegorical sense of a passage.⁴⁶

The juxtaposition of ΝΟΗΜΑ with ΛΟΓΟΣ, already mentioned above, is particularly interesting because the two terms are given by

42. Crouzel, *Origène et la «Connaissance mystique»*, 384.

43. See the comment of Crouzel: *Origène, Traité des principes, Tome IV (Livres III et IV): Commentaire et Fragments* (SC 269; ed Henri Crouzel et Manlio Simonetti; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1980), 163.

44. *P. Arch.* 4,1,7.

45. *P. Arch.* 4,2,4.

46. Kerrigan, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria*, 114.

Rufus as an exegesis of gold and silver, an idea found also in Origen and Didymus the Blind. Rufus is explaining the phrase from Luke 1:3 ΓΡΑΤΙCΤΕ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕ:

Who is this Theophilus, the «excellent»? A man to whom he is writing? Even if he is a man such as one will be able to imagine, yet I will say that he is speaking to the pious strong one, or the one who has been loved by God, who has become strong and has found power in gold and silver, having extricated himself from the things of Egypt and the power of Pharaoh like the people of whom David sings: «And he led them forth with silver and gold and there were none who were weak among their tribes» (Ps 104:37). Now as for this (man), it is this sort of strong one, who has become rich with silver and gold, that is, the text and the sense.

Rufus is interpreting Theophilus to be a type as well as a historical person, a figure for all who are God-loving and strong. The line of thought begins with ΓΡΑΤΙCΤΕ, which Rufus interprets to mean strong (ΧΩΩΡΕ). This leads him to cite Ps 104:37 which says in effect that the people were all strong (there were none who were weak) and implies that they were rich with silver and gold. At least this is the inference that Rufus draws. The real reason for citing the psalm verse is this mention of silver and gold, which Rufus then interprets to mean the text and its sense. The ideal God-loving strong one is then strong because he is rich with the text of Scripture (the word of God) and its meaning.

This interpretation is not so arbitrary as it might at first seem. The interpretation of silver and gold is in fact quite traditional and is used extensively by Origen and Didymus. In his commentary on Zech 6:11, where there is mention of making a silver and gold crown for Joshua, Didymus explains that «according to the law of allegory (ἀλληγορίας νόμῳ), silver is used for the word (λόγος) and gold for the thought (νοῦς).»⁴⁷ This «law of allegory» seems to refer to an established tradition that goes back to Origen. In other places Didymus explains silver as «the spoken word» (προφορικὸς λόγος) a phrase that comes from the Stoics.⁴⁸ Didymus ties his interpretation of silver to Prov 10:20 «like

47. Didyme l'Aveugle, *Sur Zacharie. Tome II: Livres II et III* (ed. L. Doutreleau; SC 84; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1962), 434. See the excursus on the subject by A. Henrichs in: *Didymos der Blinde, Kommentar zu Hiob I* (ed. A. Henrichs; Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 1; Bonn: Habelt Verlag, 1968), 315-319; also Bienert, «Allegoria» und «Anagoge» bei Didymos, 93-97.

48. Henrichs in: *Didymos der Blinde, Kommentar zu Hiob I*, 315.

choice silver is the just man's tongue» and to Ps 12:7 «The promises of the Lord are sure, like tried silver.» Gold may signify not only thought (νοῦς) but thoughts (νοήματα) since the νοῦς begets and brings forth thoughts.⁴⁹ The «word» of which Didymus is speaking is the word of God or Scripture. The «thought» is the meaning.⁵⁰

There seems to be no doubt that Didymus took over this interpretation from Origen in whose works it is found in many places. In his commentary on the Canticle, Origen explains the significance of gold and silver at some length:

In many places we have demonstrated that gold symbolises the intelligible and incorporeal nature, silver, on the other hand, the faculty of speech and reason, as God himself says by means of the prophet: «I gave you silver and gold but you have made statues of Baal of silver and gold,» showing thereby that he was saying: «I have given you sense and reason with which you can have knowledge of me, that I am God, and adore me.... But why assemble many witnesses, when whoever wishes has at his disposition many passages of Scripture in which it is indicated that gold is related to the sense and to reason and silver to the word and to discourse?»⁵¹

2PHTON

This word indicates, as Rufus uses it, either a specific text or the text itself as distinct from any interpretation. In this latter more general sense, he speaks of gathering «from the flower the dew of the text» (M.1). It is found more frequently in the sense of a specific text or passage, e.g. M.25, M.39. In Alexandrian usage, particularly in Origen and Didymus, the word is equivalent to ἱστορία, that is, the literal

49. Henrichs in: Didymos der Blinde, *Kommentar zu Hiob I*, 315.

50. Bienert, «Allegoria» und «Anagoge» bei Didymos, 95.

51. Origen, *comm. in Cant.* 2 (Cant 1:11-12): Auri speciem in multis saepe ostendimus figuram tenere intellegibilis et incorporeae naturae, argentum vero virtutem verbi ac rationis, secundum quod et Deus per prophetam dicit: «dedi vobis argentum et aurum; vos autem fecistis argentea et aurea Baalim» ostendens per haec et dicens quia: «ego dedi vobis sensum et rationem, qua me Deum et sentire possetis et colere.... Sed quid opus est multa congregare testimonia, cum in promptu sit scire volentibus in multis Scripturae locis hoc indicari, quod aurum ad sensum mentemque revocetur, argentum vero ad verbum atque eloquia referatur? (GCS 33:159-160). For additional references to the Greek text of Origen in which gold is related to νοήματα, see Henrichs in: Didymos der Blinde, *Kommentar zu Hiob I*, 316, n.8.

sense.⁵² But this usage is not limited to the Alexandrians. It is found among the Antiochenes as well.⁵³

ΑΛΗΓΟΡΙΑ

The term ΑΛΗΓΟΡΙΑ occurs only once in these homilies but this single instance is quite significant and reveals Rufus' entire approach approach to exegesis. He uses the word in the context of a discussion of the significance of the camel's hair garment of John the Baptist (see 7.3.10). By the principle of interpreting Scripture by Scripture (see 6.4.2), Rufus passes to the camel of Matt 19:24, which he interprets in such a way as to make it represent the whole dispensation of the Old Testament and its institutions. He describes the camel by the key technical term ΑΛΟΓΟΝ (see 63.8). Then he says that the «new Word» (ΛΟΓΟΣ) made this camel pass through the eye of the needle (Matt 19:24). Rufus can then say in conclusion: «As for all these things (the Old Testament and its institutions), he reduced them through the spirit to make them enter through the discernment of allegory.»

The term «allegory» is probably the most general and widely used of those expressions used to describe the Alexandrian exegetical practice.⁵⁴ In the New Testament Paul uses the expression to describe the story of Sarah and Hagar: ἄτινα ἐστὶν ἀλληγορούμενα (Gal 4:24). Thus Paul provided the principal precedent for the development of the Alexandrian tradition of allegorical interpretation.

Origen appeals to this text and to many other examples of Pauline

52. See Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 80, n. 46., 204; M. Simonetti, «Lettera e allegoria nell'esegesi veterotestamentaria di Didimo» *Ve'ra Christianorum* 20 (1983): 345, n.14, 351, n.33, 367, n.79.

53. Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 193; Bate, «Some Technical Terms», 60.

54. The word means literally «to say another thing» (from ἀλλὰ ἀγορεύειν). It is the rhetorical procedure by which one thing is said and another intended (See Simonetti, «Allegoria (tipologia)» *Dizionario Patristico*, 140). The verb ἀλληγορέω is found first in Philo and Josephus and the substantive ἀλληγορία in Cicero. Plutarch says that what in his day was called ἀλληγορία, was earlier called ὑπόνοια (See Büchsel, «ἀλληγορέω» *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 1:260). Quintilian describes allegory as the continuous use of analogy, «μεταφορά continuata» (Bate, «Some Technical Terms», 60). Both the noun and the verb were used also to describe allegorical interpretation. This practice already had a long history in the Greek speaking world, particularly in the interpretation of Homer, before Philo used it systematically to interpret the Hebrew Scriptures (see particularly the works by Pépin mentioned on p. 243).

allegorical exegesis to justify his theory that the whole of the scriptures are to be interpreted allegorically. He concludes:

This being so, we must outline what seems to us the marks of a true understanding of the scriptures. And in the first place we must point out that the aim of the Spirit who, by the providence of God through the Word who was «in the beginning with God,» enlightened the servants of the truth, that is, the prophets and apostles, was pre-eminently concerned with the unspeakable mysteries connected with the affairs of men - and by men I mean at the present moment souls that make use of bodies - his purpose being that the man who is capable of being taught might by «searching out» and devoting himself to the «deep things» revealed in the spiritual meaning of the words become partaker of all the doctrines of the Spirit's counsel.⁵⁵

The «spiritual meaning of the words» is reached through the procedure of allegorical interpretation. All the representatives of the Alexandrian exegetical tradition, use both this procedure and these words to describe what they are doing.⁵⁶

ΤΥΠΟΣ

Speaking of the Old Testament and its institutions, Rufus says: «they ceased being written and they became spirit. They ceased being types (ΤΥΠΟΣ) and they became truth» (M.23). The contrast is that of 2 Cor 3:6 between the letter and the spirit. The word τύπος is also found in Paul, though not in the same context. In Rom 5:14 Paul writes: ὅς ἐστιν τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος and in 1 Cor 10:6, speaking of the things that happened to the Israelites in the desert as a warning to Christians, he says ταῦτα δε τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν.

Since Paul used the term τύπος more frequently than ἀλληγορία to indicate Old Testament foreshadowings of Christ and the church, it has been argued that he did not want to employ the terminology of allegory, as Philo had done, because of its pagan associations. In the allegorization of the pagan myths the literal sense was destroyed whereas Paul accepted the literal sense of the Old Testament stories and

55: *P. Arch.* 4,2,7. The translation is by G. W. Butterworth in Origen, *On First Principles* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 282.

56. See Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, Index s.v., passim; Bate, «Some Technical Terms,» 60. For Didymus, see Bienert, «Allegoria» und «Anagoge» bei Didymos, 106-164. For Cyril, see Kerrigan, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria*, 111-122. Cyril uses the term rarely.

added new meaning to them by interpreting them to prefigure Christ and the church. Both ancient and modern authors have divided on this point. In what might be called the narrow interpretation, typology, that is, seeing a correlation between Old Testament events and New Testament ones, even as further developed in patristic literature, was regarded as legitimate but further allegorization was regarded as illicit. This was the position of the Antiochene school. The Alexandrian school did not so limit the process and did not distinguish between *τύπος* and *ἀλληγορία*.⁵⁷

Origen employs the term extensively in the senses in which it is found in the New Testament, that of model and that of figure.⁵⁸ It is the latter sense that is of interest here. In the sense of «figure,» like *εἰκὼν* and *σικιά*, it designates the facts of Scripture in their relationship of exemplarity with mysterious realities. It is often opposed to *ἀλήθεια* as in the example above from Rufus. It is most often employed to relate Old Testament facts to Christ and the church. Thus the whale in Jonah is a type of the devil; the temple is a type of the church; the Israelites of the spiritual people who see God. But the facts of the New Testament can also be types: the body of Christ, prefigured by the Temple, is itself a type of the church.⁵⁹

Rufus also employs the word to characterize New Testament stories. The story of the temptation of Christ is evidently for him less a historical event than it is a paradigm for all Christians. Speaking of the hunger of Christ after forty days in the desert, he says:

Do not hunger and seek for food, O man. It was from the world and the things in the world that he fasted. For, if you hunger again for those things from which you have also fasted, then suddenly the tempter will approach you and you will hear from him the things written of in this typical case (*ΜΠΕΙΤΥΠΟΣ*)(M.31).

57. See Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 24-25, esp. n.32; H. de Lubac, «Typologie et allegorisme» *Recherches de science religieuse* 34 (1947): 180-226; H. Crouzel, «La distinction de la 'typologie' et de l'«allegorie»» *Bulletin de la littérature ecclésiastique* 65 (1964): 161-174; Jean Pépin, *Mythe et Allégorie*, 247-275; a classic modern statement of the Antiochene position may be found in E. Mangelot, «Allégories bibliques» *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1909), 1:833-836.

58. See Crouzel, *Origène et la «Connaissance mystique»*, 221.

59. Crouzel, *Origène et la «Connaissance mystique»*, 221; Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 87.

The word is used by most patristic exegetes but the Antiochenes would restrict it to the relationship of Old Testament facts and New Testament realities.

ΤΡΟΠΙΚΟΝ

In the context of the temptation scene (Matt 4:3), Rufus explains that the stones of which the tempter is speaking are «figurative stones» (ΖΕΝΩΝΕΝΕ ΝΤΡΟΠΙΚΟΝ). The word τροπικός is related to τρόπος, which, in rhetorical usage, is used to denote the various figures of speech. Thus allegory is defined by Quintilian as one of the τρόποι.⁶⁰ It is in fact that one of the τρόποι in which Alexandrian exegesis was most interested. In that tradition the word τροπικός becomes virtually equivalent to «allegorical.»⁶¹ The word τροπολογία (which is not found in Rufus), at least in the period before Jerome and Cassian, is generally equivalent to ἀλληγορία in the Alexandrian tradition and refers to the spiritual sense in general as opposed to the literal interpretation.⁶²

Origen criticizes Marcion for interpreting Matt 19:12 σωματικῶς and for refusing to allegorize (μὴ δεῖν ἀλληγορεῖν). He himself interprets the third class of eunuchs as a τροπολογία and says that these are called eunuchs τροπικῶς.⁶³ This is clearly the sense in which Rufus uses the term.

ΑΟΡΑΤΟΝ

In the context of a comment on the food of John the Baptist (Matt 3:4: locusts and wild honey), Rufus interprets the locusts to represent the prophetic word, which he then contrasts with the «knowledge of grace.» The latter is able «to fly to heaven and become kin with the light air and search among those invisible (ΑΟΡΑΤΟΝ) things and inquire after those unseen (ΑΤΝΑΥ) things (M.24). In another passage (M.57) he describes the «prize of salvation» as «the vision of this unseen (ΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ) face.» The larger context of the first example is an extended contrast between Old Testament institutions, represented by John the Baptist, and their fulfillment in Christ, between types (ΤΥΠΟΣ) and truth (ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ)(M.23). This suggests that the invisible

60. Bate, «Some Technical Terms,» 60.

61. Bate, «Some Technical Terms,» 64.

62. Kerrigan, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria*, 58; Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 14, 37, 80, n.46.

63. GCS 40:356-357; Kerrigan, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria*, 57.

(ΔΟΡΑΤΟΝ) realities are the object of the spiritual interpretations (ΝΟΗΜΑ, ΘΕΩΡΙΑ, ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑ, etc.).

The word ἄορατος belongs to the vocabulary of the New Testament. Col 1:16 speaks of the creation of τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἄορατα.⁶⁴ But it also belongs very much to the vocabulary of Origen and the Alexandrian tradition. It may be considered also to be an indication of the Platonic dualism typical of this tradition.⁶⁵ For Origen, the word designates, like ἀληθινός and similar adjectives, the invisible realities that correspond to visible symbols.⁶⁶ Corresponding to the two levels of reality, there are two types of vision, the sensible, which has as its object bodies, and the intelligible, which perceives incorporeal realities. The ἄορατα are known by the νοῦς and the sensible eyes are incapable of seeing them.⁶⁷

ΣΑΡΚΙΚΟΝ

This word might at first sight seem to belong with the anthropological terminology. However, the way in which Rufus uses it, as well as the background of the term in Origen, make clear that it is fundamentally an exegetical term. Rufus speaks of the new Word as «having made worship of this carnal (ΣΑΡΚΙΚΟΝ) sort, times, festivals, the temple and the worldly altar with its furnishing to come to naught» (M.22). In another more fragmentary piece (L.7), he contrasts «fleshly (ΣΑΡΚΙΚΟΝ) circumcision» with «spiritual circumcision.» In both cases, as is clear from the wider context, the contrast is that of 2 Cor 3:6 between the letter and the spirit, which Rufus employs elsewhere.

As explained earlier (p. 244: The Tripartite Anthropology), Origen drew a parallel between the tripartite composition of man and the threefold sense of Scripture.⁶⁸ The literal or historical sense of Scripture corresponds to the body in the human composite. Origen speaks of «the flesh of the Scripture» (ἡ σὰρξ τῆς γραφῆς). It is in this sense that Rufus can describe the Old Testament institutions as ΣΑΡΚΙΚΟΝ.

64. See also Rom 1:20; Col 1:15; 1 Tim 1:17; Heb 11:27.

65. See Crouzel, *Origène et la «Connaissance mystique»*, 45; Kerrigan, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria*, 125.

66. See *comm. in Jo.* 13,22 (GCS 4:246, 1.5); *C. Cels.* 3,47 (GCS 1:243, 1.17).

67. See *fragm. in Jo.*, 13 (GCS 4, p 494, 1.27).

68. *P. Arch.* 4.2.4.

ΑΛΟΓΟΝ

In the context of explaining the significance of the camel's hair garment that John the Baptist (Matt 3:4) was wearing, Rufus describes the camel as «an unshaped and absurd (ΑΛΟΓΟΝ) animal» (M.22). The camel represents, as Rufus explains it, the Old Testament including «worship of this carnal sort, times, festivals, the temple and the worldly altar with its furnishings.» The description of the camel as ΑΛΟΓΟΝ is probably not a casual bit of ridicule aimed at the camel but a technical term that is really being applied to certain portions of Scripture. The term has a precise meaning in the history of exegesis.

In the fourth book of the *Peri Archon* (4,2,9), Origen raises the question of how one can know whether a passage of Scripture has a literal sense as well as a spiritual one. His answer is that sometimes unlikely things have been inserted in the law or in the histories, things that cause difficulty or scandal because they are unworthy of God. This is a sign that they are to be interpreted spiritually rather than literally. The same holds true of the gospels and the letters of the apostle, which, he says, do not always present a simple account of the facts on the literal level (κατὰ τὸ σωματικόν). Neither these nor the legislation and the precepts of the Old Testament always manifest reasonableness (τὸ εὖλογον). This word is the opposite of ἄλογον.

Origen then offers examples of this principle. First he cites what appear to be historical accounts that lack verisimilitude such as the tree of good and evil and a mountain sufficiently high that from it one could see all the kingdoms of the world (Matt 4:8).⁶⁹ Then he says that in the Mosaic legislation as well there are some things that are absurd (τὸ ἄλογον) and others that are impossible (τὸ ἀδύνατον).⁷⁰ Among those that are absurd, he cites the command not to eat griffons (Lev 11:13), since they do not exist. After giving numerous such examples, Origen is careful to avoid giving the impression that no legislation is to be observed literally simply because some accounts are absurd (ἐπεὶ τις κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἄλογος).⁷¹ The principle is that all Scripture has a meaning. Much of it has a literal as well as a spiritual meaning.⁷² τὸ ἄλογον is a key to recognizing when the text is not to be

69. *P. Arch.* 4,3,1.

70. *P. Arch.* 4,3,2.

71. *P. Arch.* 4,3,4.

72. For further discussion of this exegetical principle, see Jean Pépin, *La Tradition de L'Allegorie*, 167-176.

taken literally. It belongs to the more general principle known in the later Latin tradition as *defectus litterae*.⁷³

In the *Peri Archon* Origen limits his application of the term ἄλογος to specific passages of Scripture, but elsewhere he makes a more general application of it to the Old Testament. When Zachary emerges from offering incense in the temple, he can communicate only by signs and remains mute until the birth of John (Luke 1:20-22). Origen explains that the silence of Zachary is the silence of the prophets among the people of Israel. Zachary is «the image of that which is carried out among them up to our days.»⁷⁴ Their institutions are «*sine ratione atque sermone*.» They are unable to give an account of their gestures (*rationem reddere*).⁷⁵ Origen then asserts that their circumcision is a gesture without meaning. Likewise their Passover and other feasts are simply gestures rather than truth. Up to this day the people of Israel are deaf and dumb because they have rejected the Word. They are like Moses in Egypt (Exod 4:10), who said to the Lord, «ego autem ἄλογος sum.» Here it is significant that Jerome has retained the technical term ἄλογος and he explains that it means «absque sermone sive ratione.»⁷⁶ After saying this, Moses then received the word and the reason that he had recognized that he did not have. But the people of Israel not only did not recognize that they were ἄλογος (here again Jerome retains the Greek), but they manifest by their acts and by their silence that they do not have the word or reason.

In this interpretation, the term ἄλογος has received an additional meaning. It means not simply that something is absurd or without meaning, but it means to be without the Word of God or the Logos, Jesus Christ. The Logos alone gives to the Jewish rites their λόγος, their spiritual sense. The silence of Zachary signifies that the Law, without Christ, no longer has meaning. To refuse the revelation of the Logos, to hold to the ordinances of the old law is to remain a friend of the letter, to be ἄλογος.⁷⁷ Thus the whole Old Testament could be said to be

73. See p. 264 below.

74. *hom. in Lc.* 5,2.

75. The text of these homilies exists only in the Latin translation of Jerome, but Crouzel assumes, reasonably, that this represents the Greek δὲ δόναι λόγον. See Origène, *Homélies sur S. Luc: Texte latin et fragments grecs* (ed. Henri Crouzel, Francois Fournier, Pierre Périchon; SC 87; Paris: Les Editions de Cerf, 1962), 139.

76. *hom. in Lc.* 5,3.

77. Origène, *Homélies sur S. Luc: Texte latin et fragments grecs*, 136, n.1.

ἄλογος when it is not interpreted in the light of the Logos.

Given this history of the word ἄλογος, what Rufus seems to be saying in applying the term ἈΛΟΓΟΝ to the camel is not only that parts of the Old Testament stories and legislation are not to be interpreted literally, but that all of it is without meaning unless interpreted in the light of the «new Word» (ΛΟΓΟΣ). To make the camel pass through the eye of the needle, on the other hand, means to give all of the text of Scripture a spiritual interpretation.

ΤΕΛΙΟΝ

Rufus draws a contrast between the John the Baptist's garment of camel's hair and the garment of the mature (ΤΕΛΙΟΝ) sheep. To understand why the sheep are called τέλειος, it is necessary to keep in mind that the camel has been called ἄλογος (see below s.v.). The camel represents in general the Old Testament or its laws and institutions taken in their literal, historical «carnal» (CΑΡΚΙΚΟΝ) signification as opposed to their spiritual sense. The «absurd» (ἄλογος) character of these things is an indicator that one must look for their spiritual sense. Rufus has transferred to the camel an adjective that Origen had used for the text.

He has likewise transferred to the sheep an adjective (τέλειος) that Origen had applied to those who are capable of a spiritual or allegorical understanding of these texts and institutions. As explained above, Origen applied the tripartite anthropology to Scripture. To the body corresponds the literal or historical sense (ἡ σὰρξ τῆς γραφῆς) where the «simple» can find edification. Those who have made progress can derive profit from the soul of the Scripture (the moral sense) and the perfect or mature (ὁ τέλειος) can derive profit «from the spiritual law, which contains the shadow of the good things to come.»⁷⁸ Origen cites 1 Cor 2:6 to justify this use of the word τέλειος.

Thus Rufus has applied to the sheep the word that describes those capable of the spiritual understanding. Wool then represents for him the higher spiritual meaning of the text and its institutions in contrast to the literal level represented by the camel.

ΕΝΝΟΙΑ

This term occurs once in these texts in the context of a reference to the barrenness of Elizabeth. Rufus appears to be drawing a parallel be-

⁷⁸ P. Arch. 4,2,4.

tween the mind and the womb:

[begins?] every time upon [?] the mind (ΝΟΥC) which is small apart from contemplation (ΘΕΩΡΙΑ). It is about this that the text is informing us, that the mind is always small when it has not yet found that which it is seeking. Barren is its insight (ΕΝΝΟΙΑ). If he [?] becomes chosen father to the prophetic race, the womb of the [...] will open and it will be fertilized and beget joy (L.11).

It is already clear from the context that the meaning of ΕΝΝΟΙΑ must be similar to that of ΘΕΩΡΙΑ. Both would make the mind, like the womb, larger or fruitful as opposed to small and barren. This term is in fact widely employed by Origen. In general it refers to the concept that one has of something. In his work *Contra Celsum*, it refers almost exclusively to the idea that a man has of God.⁷⁹ It designates also the different conceptions that the evangelists had of Christ, religious and moral ideas, the idea of the good. The phrase κοινὰ ἔννοιαι in Stoic terminology refers to common moral ideas.⁸⁰

According to Crouzel, it is sometimes necessary to translate the term as «concept» or «notion.» It can even be applied to the mysteries, ideas and λόγοι of the intelligible world. Finally, and very much to the point here, it can signify the spiritual sense of a parable. In one passage it is identified with θεωρία and opposed to action. This seems to be the sense in which Rufus is using it.⁸¹

Evagrius also uses it to mean the sense of a proverb.⁸² Cyril uses it to indicate the higher sense: κεκρυμμένη ἔννοια.⁸³

Exegetical Principles and Techniques

Defectus litterae

Rufus sometimes invokes the principle known as *defectus litterae*, one of the most typical principles of Alexandrian exegesis.⁸⁴ This has al-

79. Evagrius of Pontus uses it also in this sense. See Evagre le Pontique, *Scholies aux Proverbes*, 286 (Scholia 191,1) and 294 (Scholia 200,3).

80. Crouzel, *Origène et la «Connaissance mystique»*, 387.

81. Crouzel, *Origène et la «Connaissance mystique»*, 388.

82. Evagre le Pontique, *Scholies aux Proverbes*, 252 (Scholia 151,8).

83. Kerrigan, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria*, 113.

84. For a discussion of this principle, see Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 85-86, 102, 115 et passim.

ready been touched upon above in the discussion of the word **ΑΛΟΓΟΝ**, which Rufus applies to the camel in his discussion of John the Baptist's camel's hair garment. The principle involves denying that a given text has a literal or historical sense because of the meaninglessness or absurdity that would result if the text were taken literally, or because of the logical but impossible conclusions that would result if it were taken literally.

In discussing the term Nazorean (M.18), Rufus is naturally led to the story of Samson and Delilah where mention is made of the seven locks of hair apparently connected with the Nazirite vow. Using Isa 11:2 LXX, Rufus interprets the seven locks allegorically as the seven spirits that rested upon Jesus. The connection is only the number seven. To defend this somewhat tenuous, though apparently traditional, interpretation, he says:

If someone will say that it is violence that we are doing to the passage, comparing the Nazorean that is revealed to the Nazorean that is concealed, let him tell me, what is the virtue if you let your hair grow? If it is a virtue to let your hair grow, then they are all Nazoreans, the women who worship their hair with perfumes and ointments....(M.18)

The implicit conclusion is that Scripture cannot be speaking of anything so trivial as hair and therefore the meaning must be sought in a spiritual interpretation.

Another example of this procedure occurs in the interpretation of the third temptation scene where Jesus is taken by the devil to a high mountain to be shown all the kingdoms of the world. Rufus regards it as unbelievable that such could have happened historically, since no such mountain exists (M.39). Rather it is to be treated as a story teaching us to scorn the empty glory of this world. In fact this is precisely one of the principal examples that Origen uses to illustrate the principle of *defectus litterae*, namely, that not all of Scripture has a literal or historical meaning.⁸⁵

The use of this principle places Rufus without any doubt squarely in the Alexandrian tradition. This was in fact, as Simonetti points out, one of the most controversial points of Origen's exegetical doctrine.⁸⁶ Origen asserted that all of Scripture had a spiritual meaning but that not all of it had a literal (*σωματικόν*) meaning.⁸⁷ In fact, the Word of

85. *P. Arch.* 4,3,1.

God had arranged for certain difficulties, impossibilities and absurdities to be inserted into the Scriptures in order draw our attention away from the literal level and to push us to seek a spiritual meaning.⁸⁸ Origen illustrated this with numerous examples drawn from both the Old and New Testaments, including the first chapters of Genesis, which he regarded a symbolic rather than historical narrative.⁸⁹ It is of interest to note that this principle was one of the points of controversy in the Origenist controversy of the sixth century, that is, in the period just before Rufus. Justinian in fact quotes from this passage in his letter condemning Origen in which he reproaches him for not taking literally the first chapters of Genesis.⁹⁰

The Use of Scripture to Explain Scripture

To the modern interpreter, conditioned as he is to think in terms of literary genres and different historical contexts, the exegetical procedure of explaining a passage in one book by means of a passage having only a slight similarity from another book appears almost capricious. To the patristic exegete (or at least the Alexandrian exegete), it appeared necessary and absolutely consistent with the basic premise of the unified authorship of Scripture. Rufus has recourse to this procedure of

86. Origène, *Traité des principes, Tome IV (Livres III et IV): Commentaire et Fragments* (SC 269; ed. Henri Crouzel et Manlio Simonetti; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1980), 191-194. The idea is not original with Origen. It can be found in Hippolytus, Irenaeus, Philo and in the philosophical interpretation of the Homeric poems where it was employed to allegorize passages about the gods that were regarded as excessively anthropomorphic. See also Jean Pépin, *La Tradition de L'Allegorie*, 167-186.

87. *P. Arch.* 4,3,5: οἷ πασα μὲν ἔχει τὸ πνευματικόν, οὐ πασα δὲ τὸ σωματικόν.

88. *P. Arch.* 4,2,9.

89. *P. Arch.* 4,3,1. Rufus appears to follow him in this (M.2). It is interesting to note that, at the end of the fourth century, Gregory of Nyssa, in his spirited defense of allegorical exegesis in the Prologue to his homilies on the Canticle, likewise asserts the principle and applies it to the narrative of Gen 2:16-17. Gregory insists that the literal interpretation of many passages of Scripture can in fact be damaging and is to be avoided. He is thinking immediately of the Canticle but cites other examples as well. See Gregorii Nysseni, *In Canticum Canticorum* (Gregorii Nysseni Opera VI; ed. Herman Langerbeck; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), 12.

90. *Ep. ad Mennam*, Mansi IX, 533. Justinian quotes the passage from *P. Arch.* 4,3,1 in which Origen asks who of sound mind could believe that there was a first, second and third day, and evening and morning when there was no sun, moon or stars.

explaining Scripture by Scripture a number of times. As noted earlier in the discussion of the principle of *defectus litterae*, he uses the seven spirits (or sevenfold spirit) found in Isa 11:2 LXX to explain the seven locks of hair mentioned in Judges 16:13-14. Allusion had been made to these in order to explain the term «Nazorean» in Matt 2:23 (M.17-18). Another example of this procedure may be seen in M.12-13 where Rufus moves rapidly from the mention of Herod's death in Matt 2:20 to the reference to Herod as «that fox» in Luke 13:32 and then to the references to foxes found in Cant 2:15 and Judges 15:4. Similarly, in M.32-33, the stones mentioned in Matt 4:3 are explained by making reference to the stones mentioned in Matt 7:9 and John 10:31. Yet another example is the explanation of the camel's hair garment of John the Baptist, which leads to the interpretation of the camel passing through the eye of the needle (M.21).

Origen invokes this procedure in the context of explaining how to discover the meaning of passages that, taken literally, are impossible (*defectus litterae*):

Accordingly he who reads in an exact manner must, in obedience to the Saviour's precept which says, «Search the scriptures,» carefully investigate how far the literal meaning is true and how far it is impossible, and to the utmost of his power must trace out from the use of similar expressions the meaning scattered everywhere through the scriptures of that which when taken literally is impossible.⁹¹

Elsewhere Origen relates a simile that he got from a rabbi in which the Bible is compared to a house with a large number of locked rooms. Each room has a key but the keys have been mixed up and dispersed throughout the house. The key then to one passage of Scripture is to be found in other passages. We are able to understand obscure passages of Scripture when we take as a point of departure a similar passage from another portion of Scripture, because «the principle of interpretation (τὸ ἐξηγητικόν) has been dispersed among them.»⁹² Origen provides a good example of this principle in practice in his commen-

91. *P. Arch.* 4,3,5. The translation is by G. W. Butterworth in Origen, *On First Principles* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 296. See the commentary on this passage by Crouzel in Origène, *Traité des principes, Tome IV (Livres III et IV): Commentaire et Fragments* (SC 269; ed Henri Crouzel et Manlio Simonetti; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1980), 203-204.

92. *Philoc.* 2,3. For the most recent edition of this text, see Origène, *Philocalie* (ed. M. Harl, N. de Lange; SC 302; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1983), 244-243.

tary on the Canticle where, in order to explain Cant 2:9, in which the beloved is compared to a gazelle or young stag, he assembles all that is said about these animals in other books of Scripture.⁹³

The theoretical basis for this procedure of explaining Scripture by Scripture is derived from the fundamental premise that the Holy Spirit is the true author of the whole Bible. In fact, the principle of explaining Homer by Homer was a traditional principle of Alexandrian philology, which, according to Porphyry, goes back to Aristarchus of Samothrace.⁹⁴

The Use of Etymologies

Rufus makes use of a number of etymologies as a basis for constructing an allegorical interpretation. For example, Herod is called «the man of skin» on the basis of an etymology of the name as «skin» (M.8). This allows him to associate Herod then with «works in the flesh» and this idea in turn provides the basis for interpreting the move from Egypt to Galilee as a spiritual move to the «land of revelation,» which is the etymology of Galilee (M.9). An etymology of the name Archelaus as «the lion that is defiled» allows Rufus to continue the allegory so that Archelaus represents unchastity seeking to devour the souls of the servants of God (M.9). The interpretation of the name Nazareth as «the purified» provides the next step of the allegory (M.9).

Another etymology to which Rufus makes reference twice (M.14; M.33) is that of the name Israel. In his interpretation of the stones that the tempter suggests Jesus should turn into bread, Rufus is moved by the idea that the stones are hard to think of Pharoah, who is described in Exod 11:10 as hard of heart. This in turn makes Rufus think of Israel held back in Egypt by the hard-hearted Pharoah. He refers to Israel as the «clear-sighted one,» which is probably a reference to the common etymology of Israel based on Gen 32:31 as νοῦς ὁρῶν θεόν. Rufus has already allegorized the whole first temptation scene in terms of spiritual food and the stones represent the kind of spiritual food that prevents spiritual progress. The introduction of the idea of Pharoah holding back the true Israel or «the clear-sighted one» is more intelligible if one knows that, by means of this etymology, Israel had already come to represent in the exegetical tradition one who has made spiritu-

93. *comm. in Cant.* 3.

94. See R. Göglér, *Zur Theologie des biblischen Wortes bei Origenes* (Düsseldorf, 1963), 44-46.

al progress or acquired spiritual knowledge. Origen had interpreted Gen 45:27-28, in which both the names Jacob and Israel occur, in such a way that the name Israel represents spiritual intelligence. He also says that the two names can be interpreted in this way wherever they occur in Scripture and gives a long list of such occurrences.⁹⁵ This is the idea on which Rufus has built his interpretation. Another allusion to the same etymology in the context of a discussion of spiritual interpretation is found in M.14.

The interpretation of Jesus' move to Capharnaum (M.45) is constructed on the basis of the etymologies of the names Capharnaum, Zebulon and Naphthali. Capharnaum is taken to mean «field of consolation,» Zebulon to mean «flow or destruction by night,» and Naphthali to mean «extent» (M.47). The latter two meanings are then further interpreted so that Zebulon and Naphthali represent «worship from the circumcision» and the gentiles respectively. Since Capharnaum is said to fall in these two regions of Zebulon and Naphthali, Rufus can then interpret Christ's dwelling there to mean that he has joined together Jews and gentiles, the old and the new, the teachings of the law and the prophets together with the teaching of the apostles (M.48).

In the homilies on Luke, Rufus interprets the name Elizabeth to mean «the oath of God» (L.11). The fragmentary state of the text does not permit us to see clearly what Rufus is doing with this etymology but it appears to fit into a moral interpretation referring to the develop-

95. Origen, *hom. in Gen.* 15,3: «Sed et hoc observandum est quia, qui 'reaccendit spiritum suum', eum scilicet, qui paene videbatur extinctus, Jacob dicitur; illi autem, qui dicit: 'magnum mihi est, si filius meus Ioseph vivit,' quasi intelligens et videns magnam esse vitam, quae est in Ioseph spiritali, iste iam non Iacob, sed Istrahel scribitur, tamquam qui mente videat veram vitam, qui est verus Deus Christus.» The idea is found also in Cassian, *Conf. Praef.*: «ut quisquis iam superioris operis lectione Iacob illius intelligibilis nomen carnalium uitiorum subplantatione promeruit, nunc etiam non tam mea quam patrum instituta suscipiens diuinae iam puritatis intuitu ad meritum et ut ita dixerim dignitatem transiens Istrahelis, quid in hoc quoque perfectionis culmine debeat observare similiter instruat.» See Jean Cassien, *Conférences* (3 vol.; ed. E. Pichery; SC 42, 54, 64; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1955-59), 1:75. For more extensive development of this theme, see Mark Sheridan, «Jacob and Israel: A Contribution to the History of an Interpretation» *Mysterium Christi: Symbolgegenwart und theologische Bedeutung. Festschrift für Basil Studer* (herausgegeben von Magnus Löhrer und Elmar Salmann; Studia Anselmiana 116; Roma, 1995) pp. 219-241.

ment of the contemplative life similar to the interpretation of the move to Galilee mentioned above.

The etymologies that Rufus gives are all traditional.⁹⁶ In using them Rufus is following in a long and venerable Alexandrian tradition that goes back at least to Philo, who seems to have been the first to develop systematically the Old Testament etymologies.⁹⁷ The special fascination with the meaning of names should be seen as part of the more general Alexandrian conviction that the literal sense of Scripture covered a deeper meaning, which it was the task of the exegete to uncover.⁹⁸ Christian authors, above all Origen, used the work of Philo and added to the tradition material for the New Testament names.⁹⁹ By the time of Rufus there were probably in existence alphabetical lists of names with these etymologies as well as lists that followed the order of the biblical books. Most authors under Alexandrian influence made use of the etymologies. Given the widespread diffusion of this material by the sixth century and the numerous variants, it is probably pointless to look for the sources of the etymologies that Rufus uses. He could have found them in the lists or in commentaries on the books in which the names occur.

The Exegete as Bee

To describe his activity as preacher/exegete, Rufus makes use of the metaphor of the activity of bees. In M.1, after blessing God, he says:

It is he who has made us worthy to search out the field of the Gospel according to Matthew and to gather from the flower the dew of the text. It is this that our little

96. See the notes to the translation for the individual etymologies.

97. See Lester L. Grabbe, *Etymology in Early Jewish Interpretation: The Hebrew Names in Philo* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Scholars Press, 1988).

98. See Wutz, 352. See also A. von Harnack, *Der kirchengeschichtliche Ertrag der exegetischen Arbeiten des Origenes, I: Hexateuch und Richterbuch* (TU 42,3; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1918), 52-57. Harnack groups the use of etymologies together with number symbolism and «anderer Aberglaube.»

99. For the complex development up to the time of Jerome, see Wutz, 13-51 and R. P. C. Hanson, «Interpretations of Hebrew Names in Origen» *Vigiliae Christianae* 10 (1956): 103-123. Jerome, in the preface to his own work on the Hebrew names, seems to regard Origen as the author of the New Testament material. See *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* (ed. P. Antin; CCL 72; Turnhout: Brepols, 1959), 59. Wutz argues against the authorship of a New Testament Onomasticon by Origen (pp. 38, 42) and attributes it rather to an unknown Alexandrian scholar working in the years 260-270 (p. 36).

mouths will be able to carry, which we have taken into the hives of your minds, when the mother that is within intelligence has built that which has been brought in to her into a fair dwelling to become «for kings and (common) men for health» (Prov 6:8a-b LXX).

The «dew of the text» evidently represents the spiritual interpretation of Scripture, which the preacher offers to his hearers. The «mother» presumably is the queen bee who has constructed the honeycomb/hive (the mind) so that it can receive this spiritual honey.

In another passage he offers a variation on this theme in which the accent is more on the honey than on the activity of the bee:

Look at the dew of the honey, how it acquires sweetness from being in the sky, while it is still in the womb of the air, before it comes down upon the grass for the bee to take it and work it in the hive (M.48)

[text broken]

Look also at the living word, how it gives sweetness to the ear of those who listen from the beginning even before he preaches, before he opens the hive of the honey of doctrine and puts (it) on the mouths of those who will receive from them. It is these that look toward him, to the living Word. If they taste them, they cry out, «Your words have been sweeter in my mouth, my God, than honey» (Ps 118:103) (M.50).

Here the text of Scripture that has been read publicly is apparently being compared to the dew on the blossoms. The honey in the hive represents the interpretation of the text, which the preacher will offer. It may be helpful for understanding both these passages to know that it was a widespread ancient idea about honey that it was a celestial dew.¹⁰⁰

The use of the bee as a symbol for human intellectual and literary activity was widespread in antiquity.¹⁰¹ The first Christian writer to have made use of this metaphor appears to have been Clement of Alexandria, who praises his teacher Pantaenus as a «Sicilian bee» who «harvested the blossoms of the prophetic and apostolic meadow and produced a pure store of knowledge in the souls of his hearers.»¹⁰² For

100. See Olck, *Pauly-Wissowa* 5, 438; W. Telfer, «'Bees' in Clement of Alexandria» *The Journal of Theological Studies* 28 (1926-1927): 168.

101. See L. Koep, «Biene» *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 2:274-282; Christian Gnllka, *XPHΣΙΣ: Die Methode der Kirchenväter im Umgang mit der antiken Kultur. I. Der Begriff des «rechten Gebrauchs»* (Basel/Stuttgart: Schwabe & Co., 1984), 102-133.

102. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 1,1,11,2 (GCS 15,9). W. Telfer, «'Bees' in Clement of Alexandria,» 170.

understanding this passage, it is useful to know that Pantaenus was from Sicily and that Sicilian honey was quite famous and probably exported to Alexandria.¹⁰³ Clement elsewhere alludes to Prov 6:8 in praising the industry of the bee, which, from many blossoms, produces a honeycomb.¹⁰⁴

Cyril of Jerusalem also cites Prov 6:8 in an exhortation to young Christians:

«Go to the bee and learn how industrious she is»; how, hovering about all kinds of flowers, she culls the honey for your uses, that you also, wandering about in the divine Scripture, may lay hold of your salvation, and being satisfied with it, may cry out, «How sweet are your words to my palate! Sweeter than honey and honeycomb are they to my mouth» (Ps 118:103).¹⁰⁵

The simile is found also in reference to works other than Scripture. The author of the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, after stating that Cyril of Alexandria read the works of Athanasius, Dionysius, Clement of Rome, Eusebius, Basil of Armenia and Basil of Capodocia (but not Origen), says that «he was like the bee, which goes forth to feed upon every plant and tree, and collects what is profitable for itself, until it has filled its bag with pure untainted honey.»¹⁰⁶ Similarly, Cassian says that the monk who wishes to gather spiritual honey should, like a careful bee, suck out virtue from those who possess it and store it up in his own breast.¹⁰⁷

Apart from the activity of the bee, honey may represent in the Alexandrian tradition the spiritual understanding of the scriptures. For Origen, «the land flowing with milk and honey» (Exod 33:3 et al.) represents «the sweetness of wisdom and knowledge.»¹⁰⁸ Didymus the Blind explains the same phrase as referring to spiritual nourishment, but distinguishes the milk as food for spiritual children (1 Cor 3:2) while honey is for the «perfect.» Didymus also cites Prov 6:8.¹⁰⁹ Evagrius of Pontus, the other principal disciple of Origen, interprets the

103. W. Telfer, «'Bees' in Clement of Alexandria,» 170.

104. *Stromata* 1,6,33,6 (GCS 15,22).

105. Cyril of Jerusalem, *cat.* 9,13 (PG 33,652B/C). A similar comparison may be found in Gregory Nazianzan, *or.* 15,12 (PG 35,933A).

106. Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, 429. For additional examples of this sort, see Gnlika, XPHΣΙΣ: *Die Methode der Kirchenväter*, 109-118.

107. *Inst.* 5,4.

108. *hom. in Num.* 26,7.

honey in Prov 6:8 to mean θεωρία, which, for him does not mean the spiritual interpretation of Scripture.¹¹⁰ He also offers a variation on this tradition, interpreting the honey of Prov 24:13 as the literal sense and the honeycomb as the higher reality.¹¹¹

Finally may be mentioned a work from a much later period, which, although it is from a different language and cultural milieu, gives evidence of the widespread and enduring nature of this imagery. In the 13th century work of the Nestorian Bishop Solomon, entitled «The Book of the Bee,» there is found this passage:

We have called this book «Book of the Bee,» because we have gathered of the blossoms of the two Testaments and of the flowers of the holy Books, and have placed them therein for thy benefit. As the common bee with gauzy wings flies about, and flutters over and light upon flowers of various colours, and upon blossoms of divers odours, selecting and gathering from all of them the materials which are useful for the construction of her handiwork; and having first of all collected the materials from the flowers, carries them upon her thighs, and bringing them to her dwelling, lays a foundation for her building with a base of wax; then gathering in her mouth some of the heavenly dew which is upon the blossoms of spring, brings it and blows it into these cells; and weaves the comb and honey for the use of men and their nourishment: in like manner have we, the infirm, hewn the stones of corporeal words from the rocks of Scriptures which are in the Old Testament, and have laid them down as a foundation for the edifice of the spiritual law. And as the bee carries the waxen substance upon her thighs because of its insipidity and tastelessness, and brings the honey in her mouth because of its sweetness and value; so also have we laid down the corporal law by way of substratum and foundation, and the spiritual law for a roof and ceiling to the edifice of the spiritual tower.¹¹²

Conclusion

The terms analysed above do not exhaust Rufus' Greek terminology. He uses others such as: ΛΙΘΗΤΟΝ, ΔΙΑΚΡΗCΙC, ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ, ΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ, ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ, which also belong to the Alexandrian tradition. What has been analysed seems sufficient to indicate that he is well acquainted with Alexandrian exegetical theory and terminology and most probably with the works of Origen himself. Those of Cyril

109. Bienert, «Allegoria» und «Anagoge» bei Didymos, 104-105; Didyme l'Aveugle, *Sur Zacharie. Tome II: Livres II et III* (ed. L. Doutreleau; SC 84; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1962), 526-529.

110. Evagre le Pontique, *Scholies aux Proverbes*, 171.

111. Evagre le Pontique, *Scholies aux Proverbes*, 365 (Scholion 270).

112. E. A. Wallis Budge (ed.), *The Book of the Bee* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), 2.

would not have been sufficient to provide him either with the theory or the terminology. The examination of his exegesis in the next chapter will confirm this impression.

THE HOMILIES AND THE EARLIER EXEGETICAL TRADITION

It seems reasonable to assume that, in the patristic period as today, a preacher or commentator would familiarize himself with the work of his predecessors before setting out to produce his own commentary on a particular biblical book. The statement of Jerome that he did just that is evidence in point.¹ In order to determine to what extent Rufus was traditional in his exegesis and to what extent he was original, it is necessary first of all to describe concretely what that tradition involved, that is, what books Rufus could have read. In the following sections on the exegetical tradition of Matthew and Luke, there are two objectives: 1) to know what material Rufus might have had at his disposal and 2) to discover what portion of that which covers Matt 1-5 and Luke 1 has survived.

Of course Rufus' knowledge of the exegetical tradition would hardly have been limited to works on these two gospels. Both the genre of the homily and the rule of interpreting Scripture by Scripture permit him to introduce passages from other biblical books in order to explain things in Matthew and Luke or simply to digress. These passages are sometimes introduced with their own allegorical explanations already attached and these may well be traditional. Therefore it will be necessary to mention the traditional exegesis of some of these passages as well when attempting to explain some of Rufus' interpretations.

In the third and fourth sections of this chapter on specific interpretations, no attempt is made at providing a complete commentary on Rufus' exegesis. That would be far too extensive a project to include here.² Rather, certain passages have been selected to show that his exegesis is traditionally Alexandrian as well as creative and original. The latter statement must of course be qualified by the admission that much of the patristic material available to Rufus has since been lost.

1. See below p. 276.

Commentaries on Matthew before Rufus

In the preface to his commentary on Matthew, Jerome gives us a list of the commentaries that, he says, he had read before writing his own. This, the first list we possess of ancient commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew, includes Origen, Theophilus of Antioch, Hippolytus, Theodore of Heracleia, Apollinaris of Laodicea, and Didymus of Alexandria on the Greek side and the «little works» of Hilary, Victorinus and Fortunatianus on the Latin side. Jerome says that he had read twenty-five books (volumina) by Origen as well as his homilies and a verse by verse commentary (presumably scholia).³ Of the 25 books of the commentary only eight books (10-17) have survived. These cover Matt 13:36 - 22:33. There also exists an anonymous Latin translation of this work, which covers Matt 16:13 - 27:63.⁴ With the exception of some fragments, most of the rest of the material has been lost. However, the influence of Origen was enormous and his exegesis may be reflected in other works that will be mentioned below.

Of the other commentaries mentioned by Jerome, that of Theophilus of Antioch (bishop of Antioch at the end of the second century) has been lost and the existence of that of Hippolytus is known only through this mention by Jerome. A fair number of fragments from the commentary by Theodore of Heracleia (335 - 358) have survived including many covering the first five chapters of Matthew.⁵ Nu-

2. It is also outside the scope of this chapter to provide a complete exegesis of even the passages selected. But it should perhaps be remarked that the understanding of patristic exegetical texts often requires as careful an exegesis as do New Testament exegetical texts, for they are essentially a continuation and development of the same exegetical tradition. The following observation of Umberto Eco is instructive in this regard: «...la cultura è una catena di testi che istruiscono altri testi, di concrezioni enciclopediche che si trasformano lentamente le une nelle altre, le vecchie lasciando le proprie tracce nelle nuove.» *Semiotica e filosofia del linguaggio* (Torino: Einaudi, 1984), 234.

3. Jérôme, *Commentaire sur S. Matthieu*. Tome I. Livres I et II. (ed. E. Bonnard; SC 242; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1978), 68-69. On the different literary genres of exegetical works, see the Introduction, 37ff.

4. The remains of Origen's work on Matthew have been edited by E. Klostermann, *Origenes Werke*, t. X-XII (GCS 38, 40, 41; Berlin: J. C. Hinrichs, 1935 - 1955). Books 10 and 11 of the commentary have also been edited and translated by R. Girod, *Commentaire sur S. Matthieu*, X-XI (SC 162; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1970).

5. These have been edited by J. Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (TU 61; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1956), 55-95.

merous fragments of the commentary by Apollinaris of Laodicea (315 - c.390) have also survived including some on the first portion of the gospel. The commentary by Didymus (the Blind) of Alexandria (313 - 398) has been lost, although numerous other works of his have survived. It is particularly regrettable that this work has been lost since Didymus was perhaps the most prolific and influential exegete of the Alexandrian school after Origen.

The works of the Latin authors mentioned by Jerome are of less interest since the flow of the exegetical tradition was from Greek into Latin rather than vice versa. The commentary by Hilary of Poitiers has survived and is a witness to the general exegetical tradition but it was written before his exile during which he learned Greek and came under the direct influence of the works of Origen.⁶ Only a few fragments of Victorinus and Fortunatianus have survived.

Two additional works on the Latin side must be mentioned as possible witnesses to the Alexandrian exegetical tradition in regard to Matthew's Gospel. These are the commentary by Chromatius of Aquileia, contemporary of Jerome and bishop of Aquileia from 388 to 407, and the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*, the work of an unknown Arian author from the beginning of the fifth century, which was transmitted in the medieval period under the name of Chrysostom.⁷

On the Greek side there are a number of authors to be added to Jerome's list. First and most important are the homilies of John Chrysostom, which, in addition to the earlier explanations of Origen, became the most important authority for the exegesis of Matthew in the Greek church in the following centuries.⁸ A Bohairic version of some of these exists, which seems to be a translation directly from the

6. M. Simonetti, «Ilario di Poitiers» *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane II* (ed. Angelo Di Berardino; Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1983) 1751-1752.

7. See Cromazio di Aquileia, *Commento al Vangelo di Matteo*. Vol. 1: Trattati 1-37 (ed. Giulio Trettel; Roma: Città Nuova Editrice, 1984), 12 and M. Simonetti, «Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum» *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane II* (ed. Angelo Di Berardino; Casale Monferrato: Marietti, 1983) 2489-2490. A new edition of this work is in progress but thus far only the prefatory volume has appeared: *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum* (ed. J. van Banning, S.J.; CCL 87B; Turnhout: Brepols, 1988).

8. Joseph Reuss, «Evangelien-Erklärungen vom 4. bis 9. Jahrhundert in der griechischen Kirche» *Neues Testament und Kirche. Für Rudolf Schnackenburg* (ed. Joachim Gnilka; Freiburg: Herder, 1974), 477. The Greek text is found in PG 57, 13-58, 794.

Greek.⁹ Chrysostom is also excerpted frequently in the Bohairic catena.¹⁰ Likewise from the Antiochene school is the commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. 350-428) of which many fragments, including some on the first five chapters have survived.¹¹

From the Alexandrian school a few fragments have survived of a homily on Matthew by Theophilus of Alexandria (385-412) but there is nothing on the first five chapters.¹² More numerous are the fragments of a commentary by Cyril of Alexandria (†444) including several on the first five chapters.¹³ This was originally a very extensive commentary, as several ancient authors testify.¹⁴ After this there are no independent commentaries in Greek until that of Photius in the ninth century. A principal reason for this seems to have been the christological controversies of the fifth century, which had as an effect a tendency to appeal to the teaching of earlier church fathers in theological discussion, a method already visible in Cyril of Alexandria. From the sixth century on there appear anonymous commentaries compiled from the works of earlier authors, chiefly Chrysostom, and, eventually, the catenae.¹⁵

Commentaries on Luke before Rufus

As in the case of the Gospel of Matthew, so also in that of Luke, the earliest and most important exegetical work was that of Origen, which, according to Jerome, consisted of a commentary in five books and 39 homilies.¹⁶ The Greek original of much of this material has been lost but a large part of the homilies has survived in Greek as well as the

9. This was the opinion of the late Paulinus Bellet, O.S.B. The manuscript is Vatican 57, f. 6v-22v; 31-66.

10. Paul de Lagarde, *Catenae in Evangelia Aegyptiacae quae supersunt* (Göttingen: Arnold Hoyer, 1886).

11. Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*, 96-150.

12. Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*, 151-152.

13. Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare*, 153-269.

14. Reuss, «Evangelien-Erklärungen,» 478.

15. Reuss, «Evangelien-Erklärungen,» 479.

16. The information comes from Jerome's preface to his translation of the homilies on Luke. See Origène, *Homélies sur S. Luc: Texte latin et fragments grecs* (ed. Henri Crouzel, Francois Fournier, Pierre Périchon; SC 87; Paris: Les Editions de Cerf, 1962), 94.

translation by Jerome. Another witness to the exegesis of Origen on Luke is the commentary on Luke by Ambrose, written a few years before the translation by Jerome.¹⁷

Although no mention of a commentary on Luke by Eusebius is made by Jerome or Photius, there has survived a work attributed to him containing comments on 58 verses of Luke.¹⁸

The original texts of all the other Greek commentators on the Gospel of Luke have also been lost. However, many of them have been partially transmitted in the catenae or in translation. Of the commentary of Titus of Bostra¹⁹ there remain a number of fragments from the Greek and Coptic catenae including some on the first chapter of Luke.²⁰ There are also twenty fragments of Apollinaris of Laodicea but these probably come from his commentary on Matthew²¹ and in any case there is nothing on Luke 1. Theodore of Mopsuestia did write a commentary on Luke but only a few fragments have survived and nothing on Luke 1.²²

From the first part of the fourth century there are 54 fragments of an anonymous author «of Jerusalem.» All of these are on Luke 1. They are possibly from Hesychius of Jerusalem, but the latter, in his exegesis of the Old Testament, followed the Alexandrian allegorical

17. Ambroise di Milan, *Traité sur l'Evangile di S. Luc.* Tome I (ed. G. Tissot; SC 45; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1971).

18. The work is listed as *Scholia in Lucam* in the Clavis. See Maurice Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Vol. II: Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum* (Corpus Christianorum; Turnhout: Brepols, 1974), 266. It was abstracted from the catena of Nicetus of Heraclea by Mai (Bibliotheca Nova Patrum 4:159ff.) and reprinted by Migne (PG 24, 529-605). See D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, «Eusebius of Caesarea's Commentary on Luke. Its Origen and Early History» *Harvard Theological Review* 67 (1974): 53-63, who has identified the work as the fifth book of the *Demonstratio Ecclesiastica*.

19. According to Jerome, Titus died in the reign of Valens, that is, before 378 (*De vir. ill.* 102).

20. See Joseph Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien* (TU 21; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1901); J. Reuss, «Bemerkungen zu den Lukashomilien des Titus von Bostra» *Biblica* 57 (1976): 538-541.; P. Bellet, «Excerpts of Titus of Bostra in the Coptic Catena on the Gospels» *Studia Patristica* I. Papers presented to the Second International Conference on Patristic Studies held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1955. Part I (TU 63; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957), 10-14.

21. J. Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (TU 130; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1984), xxi.

22. Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, xxii.

method, which this commentary does not.²³ A principal reason for the inclusion of this material in the catenae may have been the fact that the homilies of Cyril of Alexandria begin only with Luke 2 and the compiler of the catenae needed material for the first chapter.²⁴

Besides Origen, Cyril was the leading exegete of the Gospel of Luke in the Greek church. Of the 156 homilies he composed on Luke, only three have been transmitted directly. However, from the extensive material in the catenae it has been possible to restore a large portion of his commentary (363 fragments from it).²⁵ A large portion of these homilies has also been transmitted in a Syriac translation.²⁶ Numerous fragments are also found in the Bohairic catena. It appears, however, that there never were homilies on the first chapter of Luke, since there are no homilies on Luke 1 in the Syriac translation nor are there any fragments in the Greek and Coptic catenae. Thus Rufus would not have had material available from this principal Alexandrian author.

Specific Interpretations of Matthew's Gospel

In this section some of the interpretations that Rufus gives of Matthew's Gospel will be examined against the background of earlier patristic exegesis.

Matt 1:1 Introduction: esoteric exegesis

The first leaf (M.1-2) appears to be part of an introduction to the homilies and a commentary on Matt 1:1 (understood as the title or superscription of the book). Although the pagination is missing, it must be

23. See Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, xxiv-xxv; Johannes Quasten, *Patrologia. Vol. II: dal Concilio di Nicea a quello di Calcedonia* (trans. Nello Beghin; Casal Monferrato: Marietti, 1980), 492.

24. Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, xxiv.

25. Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, 54-297.

26. R. Payne Smith, *S. Cyrilli Alexandriae archiepiscopi in Lucae Evangelium quae supersunt syriace* (Oxford, 1858); R. Payne Smith, *A Commentary upon the Gospel according to S. Luke by S. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria* (2 vols.; Oxford, 1859); Cyrilli Alexandrini, *Commentarii in Lucam*, pars prior (ed. J.-B. Chabot; CSCO, Scriptores Syri 27; Paris, 1912); Cyrilli Alexandrini, *Commentarii in Lucam*, pars prior (trans. R. M. Tonneau; CSCO, Scriptores Syri 70; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1953)

close to the beginning of the manuscript. Rufus stresses the spiritual nature of the interpretation that he is about to give. Several comparisons are introduced that suggest the esoteric nature of his exegesis: the bridal chamber of Cant 5:8, the comparison of the preacher to the bee,²⁷ the restricted access to the garden of Paradise, the holy place of Ezek 44:3 and the inner room in the house of a rich man. The point is that not all have access to hidden or secret things. As will be seen in the following sections, some of these items are interpreted in a traditional way, but this particular grouping of them is not found in the earlier commentaries on Matthew. Nor is such a strong emphasis to be found on the esoteric nature of the interpretation.²⁸ However, both such a grouping and the emphasis on esoteric interpretation are found in the preface to Origen's commentary on the Canticle. Origen states that, among the Hebrews, four texts are reserved for those who are mature and adult: the beginning of Genesis, the beginning of Ezechiel where the cherubim are described, the end of the same book where the construction of the temple is described, and the Canticle.²⁹ Three of these are mentioned in this text of Rufus. The fourth is alluded to in the next surviving text (M.2) in which Paul is described as having grown wings all over like one of the cherubim. The contrast between love of the flesh and spiritual love with which this leaf begins could also have been inspired by passages from this same preface. Origen says early in the preface³⁰ that the Canticle is dealing with mysteries (*mysticis*) and Rufus speaks of entering with the bridegroom into «hidden mysteries.» Likewise Origen distinguishes between *eros* and *agape*, as does Rufus.³¹ Given these numerous similarities, it seems

27. This image has been treated above in chap. 4, 270-273.

28. By way of contrast, it may be noted that Jerome stresses that he has written an historical commentary in which he has mixed only a few flowers of spiritual interpretation: «historicam interpretationem quam praecipue postulasti digressi breviter et interdum spiritalis intelligentiae flores miscui...» (*comm. in Mt., Praef.*).

29. The text of Origen in the translation by Rufinus reads: «quattuor ista reservari, id est principium Genesis, in quo mundi creatura describitur, et Ezechiel prophetae principia, in quibus de Cherubim refertur, et finem, in quo templi aedificatio continetur, et hunc Cantici Canticorum librum» (ed. Baehrens, GCS 33:62).

30. See Baehrens, GCS 33:61.

31. See Baehrens, GCS 33:67. This terminology does not appear in the Latin text of Rufinus but the assumption by Simonetti that it was in the Greek text seems reasonable. See Origene, *Commento al cantico dei cantici* (ed. Manlio Simonetti; Rome: Città Nuova, 1976), 41.

reasonable to conclude that Rufus may have had direct access to Origen's commentary on the Canticle.³²

Cant 1:3-4; 5:8 (M.1)

At the beginning of the leaf, Rufus seems to be stressing chastity as a prerequisite for entering into «hidden mysteries.» This idea of hidden mysteries is expanded with the aid of two citations from the Canticle (Cant 5:8; 1:3-4). Rufus expresses the wish that his hearers may enter into hidden mysteries and, like the bride of the Canticle, cry out «I am wounded with his love» (Cant 5:8). He also expresses the desire that everyone may become like one of the maidens who follow the bride and rejoice with her when she is about to be taken into the bridegroom's bedroom. Later on in the homilies on Luke (L.47), Rufus cites the Canticle (5:1) again in an exhortation to virgins to imitate Mary's prudence in answering the angel Gabriel and thus avoid dangerous contacts with men in order that the bridegroom may find them waiting for him.

It has already been suggested in the previous section that Rufus may have been inspired by Origen's commentary on the Canticle and by the preface in particular. In the spiritual interpretation pioneered by Origen³³ in which the Canticle is applied not only to the church but also to the individual soul, the bride symbolizes the Christian who has attained perfection. The maidens who follow her represent Christians who are making progress.³⁴ Origen explains that these are being instructed in moral philosophy and the knowledge of nature.

32. The Prologue to the homilies on the Canticle by Gregory of Nyssa, the only other major Greek patristic commentary to have survived intact, does not contain this material. For the history of the exegesis of the Canticle among the Greek fathers see F. Cavallera, «Cantique des Cantiques. Histoire de l'interprétation spirituelle à l'époque patristique» *Dictionnaire de la Spiritualité* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1953), 93-101.

33. See Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 88. Simonetti regards this as Origen's most significant innovation: the introduction of a second spiritual sense (or third level of interpretation) in which the text is applied to the individual in addition to the community (church). Although this kind of moral, individualizing, interpretation is found in the New Testament and in pre-Christian exegesis, Origen is the first Christian author to apply it consistently to the Canticle. To illustrate this kind of interpretation, Origen himself gives the example of 1 Cor 9:9 where Paul interprets Deut 25:4 allegorically to refer to the preacher of the gospel (*P. Arch.* 4,2,6).

Although Origen does not state that chastity is a prerequisite for appreciating spiritual interpretation in general, he does seem to indicate that it is necessary for appreciating that of the Canticum. Otherwise the literal level of the book will interfere with the spiritual understanding.³⁵ Likewise the distinction of carnal and heavenly love³⁶ would seem to lead to the same conclusion. By inserting this idea at the beginning of his homilies, Rufus appears to be making chastity a condition for the spiritual interpretation of the gospel as well.

It may be of interest to note that Gregory of Nyssa, in the Prologue to his homilies on the Canticum, gives a vigorous defense of allegorical exegesis, at the end of which he insists that it must be applied not only to the Old Testament but to the greater part of the New Testament teaching as well.³⁷

Ezek 44:3 (M.2)

Rufus alludes to this passage in a series of comparisons that stress the esoteric character of the interpretation of Scripture. The text says:

Again I hear him during the building of the house in Ezekiel, setting forth the places that everyone may enter. But as for the holy of holies, it is the high priest alone who goes (cf. Heb 9:7) in there. As for the gate that is on the east (side), it is this one by which no stranger enters nor do they go out by it except for the one who is to eat his bread in it alone (cf. Ezek 44:3) and come out.

It has already been suggested above (7.3.1) that Rufus' attention may have been directed to this passage by Origen's preface to his commentary on the Canticum. In the explanation that Origen gives of this passage from Ezekiel, the high priest who eats his bread alone is Christ, whose food is to do the will of the one who sent him (John 4:34).³⁸ But he invites the Christian to eat with him. In the context in which

34. *comm. in Cant.* 1,3-4). See also the comment of Simonetti in : Origen, *Commento al cantico dei cantici* (ed. Manlio Simonetti; Rome: Città Nuova, 1976), 93.

35. Origen, *comm. in Cant.*, Praef.; ed. Baehrens, GCS 33:62.

36. Baehrens, GCS 33:67.

37. Gregorii Nysseni, *In Canticum Cantorum* (Gregorii Nysseni Opera VI; ed. Herman Langerbeck; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), 12.

38. *hom. in Ezech.* 14,2-3.

Rufus uses the text, the Christian seems to be invited to share in secret mysteries also, but this would be the spiritual interpretation of Scripture that he will give (see p. 280 above).

Ezek 1:7 applied to Paul (M.2)

The two sides of this leaf seem to contain a comment on the birth of Christ (Matt 1:18-25).³⁹ But Rufus appears to be invoking various texts from Paul as an aid to explaining the text of Matthew. At the beginning of the leaf he seems to be in the process of delivering a panegyric on Paul in the course of which he describes Paul as having grown wings and eyes all over. The image is that of the description of the cherubim in Ezek 1:7. This somewhat odd application of imagery may be explainable in the light of the traditional symbolic significance attributed to the cherubim.

In his homilies on Ezekiel, Origen states that «cherubim» signifies «fullness of knowledge.»⁴⁰ Perhaps this is why Rufus applies the image of the cherubim of Ezekiel to Paul. Origen also says, referring to Exod 25:17ff., that by Cherubim is to be understood knowledge of the Trinity: «Cherubim signifies multitude, that is the perfection of knowledge, and what other perfection of knowledge is there, if not to recognize the Father, Son and Holy Spirit?»⁴¹

It has already been suggested above (p. 281) that Rufus' attention may have been drawn to the description in Ezekiel by the preface to Origen's commentary on the Canticle. At any rate, Paul is being presented as one who is initiated into the «hidden mysteries» mentioned in M.1 and therefore able to cast light on the meaning of the Nativity.

Matt 2:18 Rachel and Lia (M.7)

In a fragmentary comment on Matt 2:18 Rufus states that Rachel represents the church and Lia the synagogue. The reference is to Gen 29:16-31, since Lia is not mentioned by Matthew. The interpretation of Rachel and Lia as symbols respectively of the church and synagogue is first found in Justin Martyr⁴² and then in Irenaeus.⁴³ It is not

39. Since the leaf is paginated 18-19, this would be about the right place for an explanation of the Nativity.

40. *hom. in Ezech.* 1,15. This idea goes back to Philo; see Wutz, 157-158.

41. *hom. in Num.* 10,3.

found in Origen's homilies on Genesis. The typology is found in the West in Cyprian⁴⁴ and Hilary.⁴⁵ This interpretation is not found in the other extant patristic commentaries on Matthew. Of course it might have been in the lost portion of Origen's commentary on Matthew.

Matt 2:19-23 Return from Egypt (M.7-20)

The last verses of Matt 2, which recount the message of the angel to Joseph telling him to return from Egypt to the land of Israel and the settling of the family in Nazareth, provide Rufus with the opportunity for a number of interpretations that are not easy to follow, partly because of the fragmentary nature of the text, but also because the interpretations are based on a series of etymologies and associations of one text with another that are not always explicit.

The message of the angel to Joseph, that he is to take the mother and child and return to the land of Israel, is interpreted allegorically as an exhortation to the hearer to: «Wake up your reason and your thought and go to the land of revelation» (M.8-9). This is based apparently upon an etymology of Galilee as the «land of revelation.»⁴⁶ In the surviving portion of the text this is not explicit. This should probably be taken as an exhortation to seek the spiritual or allegorical sense of the scriptures. Archelaus is interpreted to mean the devil and the temptations he represents are apparently to chastity (etymology of Archelaus). For this reason Rufus exhorts his hearers to go and dwell in Nazareth, that is, in purity (etymology of Nazareth). This leads to the conclusion that whoever dwells in purity will be called «the Nazorean.»

In commenting on this passage Rufus seems to have no interest in the literal meaning of the text. The thought is similar to that at the beginning of the homilies where chastity is stressed as a condition for

42. *Dial. Trypho* 134,2.

43. *Adv. Haer.* 4,21,3; PG 7:1045-46. Actually Irenaeus mentions only Rachel as a symbol of the church.

44. *Ad Quirinam* 3,1,20. See Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 232.

45. In his Commentary on Matthew (1,7), Hilary of Poitiers says that in Genesis Rachel represented the type of the church, the sorrow of the church, long sterile and today fecund.

46. See note to the translation. For the significance of the words «reason» (ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ) and «thought» (ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑ), see the previous chapter, p. 246, and p. 248.

entering into «hidden mysteries.» Although the etymologies on which this interpretation is constructed can be found elsewhere, nothing like this allegory is to be found in the other extant commentaries.

Matt 2:22 Significance of Herod (M.12)

After enlarging on the benefits of purity, Rufus returns in the **CAΒ-BATIKH** section (M.13) to the name Herod. Because of the implicit reference to Luke 13:22, where Herod is called a fox, it is possible to call him a heresiarch in virtue of the common patristic interpretation that the fox is a symbol for heretics.⁴⁷ This leads to associations with other texts (Cant 2:15; Judges 15:4) where foxes are mentioned. In any case, all of this is to be interpreted on the spiritual level in which leaving behind Egypt and Juda and settling in Nazareth means leaving behind the flesh with its passions and settling in Galilee (the land of revelation) and dwelling in Nazareth (purity).

Matt 2:23 Jesus called a Nazorean

After a break in the text, we find Rufus taking up again the significance of the name Nazorean. This leads, not surprisingly, to the story of Samson and Delilah in Judges 16. Jesus is the true Nazorean since he alone kept intact the seven locks of hair which are the seven spirits. Rufus protests (M.18) against those who would find this interpretation extravagant by saying, in effect, that if one does not interpret the text on a spiritual level, then any woman with long hair is a Nazorean. This he obviously finds ridiculous. Delilah is then further interpreted to represent the temptations of the senses (M.19).

The comparison of Jesus and Samson is developed at much greater length by Chromatius of Aquileia, an indication that it formed part of the exegetical tradition before Rufus. For him the seven locks of hair

47. Hippolytus interprets the foxes of Cant 2:15 as heretics. See Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 58. The text is found in G. Garitte, *Traitées d'Hippolyte sur David et Goliath, sur le Cantique des cantiques et sur l'Antechrist* (CSCO 263-264; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1965). This interpretation was quite widespread. See Stephen Gero, «With Walter Bauer on the Tigris: Encratite Orthodoxy and Libertine Heresy in Syro-Mesopotamian Christianity» *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism, and Early Christianity* (ed. Charles W. Hedrick and Robert Hodgson, Jr.; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1986), 299. The same meaning is given by Eucherius in his *Formularium spiritalis intelligentiae* (PL 50:752).

signify not only the sevenfold spirit that Jesus possessed but the seven churches.⁴⁸

Matt 3:4 John the Baptist (M.21-24)

These pages are a fragment of a homily on John the Baptist. The subjects commented on are all taken from Matt 3:4: the camel's hair garment John wears, his leather belt, and his food of locusts and wild honey. The argumentation is complicated and the allegorical symbolism is compounded. The basic premise, which is not stated in this fragment, is that John the Baptist represents the Old Testament scriptures.⁴⁹

The argument proceeds with a contrast between John's garment of camel's hair and the garment of lamb's wool worn by Jesus and referred to in John 19:23. John is made to say that he is wearing a camel's hair garment because the lamb has not yet grown wool so that such a garment could be produced. Implicit here is the symbolism of Christ as the lamb of God. Since Rufus realizes that this is obscure, his imaginary hearer is made to object and demand a clearer explanation. The answer is that the camel does not split the hoof but does ruminate. This is an implicit reference to Lev 11:3.

The allegorical interpretation of Lev 11:3ff. is found already in Irenaeus, who interprets the clean animals that ruminate and split the hoof as a symbol for the Christians who have faith in the Father and the Son (a cloven hoof) and meditate on the word of God night and day (they ruminate). Among the unclean animals, those that ruminate but do not have a cloven hoof are a symbol for the Jews who meditate on Scripture but have faith only in the Father. The animals that do not ruminate but have a cloven hoof represent the heretics (*Adv. Haer.* 5,8,3). See Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 40-41.

Origen also gives an interpretation of this text in which «to ruminate» means to recall, in the spiritual sense, the things that one reads on the literal level and to rise from lower and visible things to those invisible and higher. Origen explicitly mentions the camel as a symbol for those who meditate but do not divide and separate present from future things and do not distinguish the narrow way from the broad one: «si non ista competenti ratione discernas et divides, camelus es tortuosus; qui cum intellectum acceperis ex meditatione legis divinae, non divides neque segregas praesentia et futura nec angustam viam a via spatiosa secernis.» (*hom. in Lev.* 7,6).

48. *comm. in Mt.*, Tract. 7,2.

49. On the role of John the Baptist as symbol of the Old Testament in the thought of Origen, see Crouzel, *Origène et la «Connaissance mystique»*, 296-300.

Cyril of Alexandria interprets the different types of animals to represent different types of persons with whom one may associate or not according to their moral qualities (PG 76,988b. See also 988c-989c and PG 68,916a-936c). See Kerrigan, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria* 154-155.

Hesychius of Jerusalem, a contemporary of Cyril, interprets the clean animals that ruminate and split the hoof to symbolize those who meditate and put into practice the divine law and know how to distinguish the letter from the spirit (PG 93,903d).

The camel represents the law which is spiritual but «does not split the hoof so that those who adhere to it may adhere to it without discernment» (M.22). The law is like the camel, which is an unshapely and «absurd» animal. Not splitting the hoof, Rufus explains, means not applying reason to the difficult passage. The description of the camel as «absurd» (ἄλογον) is a technical term and a key to understanding what is going on in this allegorical interpretation. It is actually the law that is ἄλογον, as has been explained above (see chap. 4, 260).

The thought of the shape and size of the camel naturally leads Rufus, by the law of association, to think of another mention of the animal in Matt 19:24, where the question of the possibility of the rich man entering the kingdom of heaven is likened to the possibility of a camel passing through the eye of the needle. Rufus states that the «new Word» reduced the size of the Law and all its institutions so as to make it pass through the eye of the needle: «he reduced them through the spirit to make them enter through the discernment of allegory.» The reference to the spirit is certainly a reference to 2 Cor 3:6ff. as becomes clearer in the following paragraph. Discernment is what the law lacked (it did not split the hoof). Allegory is the key to discerning, to seeing beneath the letter to the spiritual meaning of the Law. When the Law is read in its spiritual meaning, it is no longer so bulky and misshapen but, being spiritual, it can pass through the eye of the needle.⁵⁰

No such elaborate interpretation of the camel's hair garment is found in other patristic commentators. Hilary of Poitiers interprets the

50. An additional reason for the association of the camel of Matt 19:24 with John's garment of camel's hair may be the use of the word ἀδύνατον in Matt 19:25. To the disciples' question about the rich man entering the kingdom of heaven, Jesus answers that what is impossible (ἀδύνατον) with man is possible with God. The word ἀδύνατον, along with ἄλογος, is one of the terms Origen uses in *P. Arch.* 4,2,9 and 4,3,2 to describes passages that lack a literal sense. The implicit role of this term ἀδύνατον is a reason for suspecting that the whole interpretation of the camel may go back to Origen. At the least, it is inspired by his theory.

camel's hair garment to represent pagan peoples and says that the camel obeys commands.⁵¹ The pagans, by being obedient to heavenly precepts, enter the narrow passage of the heavenly kingdom, that is, of the needle, which consists in the preaching of the new word. Chromatius of Aquileia likewise interprets the camel's hair garment to represent the pagan races.⁵²

Unfortunately, his commentary does not extend to Matt 19:24 and he does not cite this text in the context of Matt 3:4.

After thus dealing with the camel's hair garment, Rufus returns to the theme of the lamb and its wool and the garment that can be made from it.⁵³ The wool represents the «new preaching of the gospel» (M.23). The prophets, the law and the Old Testament histories all receive a garment of wool in place of the camel's hair garment. This means that they «ceased being written and they became spirit.» The reference to 2 Cor 3:6 is unmistakable. Thus the symbolism of the garment of wool has the same allegorical value for Rufus as does making the camel pass through the eye of the needle. The idea of wool and clothing leads him to cite two additional texts: Ps 64:14 and Rom 13:14. The point of the last citation, «Clothe yourselves with our Lord Jesus Christ,» as of the allegorical interpretations of the camel and the lamb's wool, is that the Old Testament's real meaning is revealed when it is interpreted (clothed) in the light of Jesus Christ. This of course is the basic principle of all patristic exegesis of the Old Testament (and indeed of New Testament exegesis of the Old Testament).

Then Rufus passes on to the leather belt. By the law of association he is led to think of Exod 12:11 and the belt with which those who eat the Passover are to be girded. He interprets the leather belt to represent self-control or chastity. This interpretation of the leather belt is also given by Chromatius of Aquileia⁵⁴ and in the *Opus Imperfectum*. The author of the latter, however, makes it more precise as a symbol of external as opposed to internal continence.

The locusts and wild honey that comprise John's food are also interpreted, not surprisingly, to represent the Old Testament writings (M.24). They are contrasted with the food of Jesus, which is «the

51. *comm. in Mt.* 2,2; 19,11.

52. *comm. in Mt.* Tract. 9.

53. For the description of the sheep as ΤΕΛΙΟΝ, see chap. 4, 263 above.

54. *comm. in Mt.*, Tract. 9,2.

54. PG 56,548-549.

bread of life.» The prophetic word, like the locust, cannot fly high. The knowledge of grace, on the other hand, goes up and can «fly to heaven and become kin with the light air and search among those invisible (things) and inquire after those unseen (things).» Then, by the law of association, Rufus is led to refer to the plague of locusts in Exod 10:12ff. This (the idea of the plague as punishment) in turn leads him to interpret John's food as «the blame of sinners» and «warnings to those who do not believe.»

Chromatius of Aquileia (by association with other texts where locusts are mentioned: Prov 30:27; Amos 7:1) interprets the locusts to represent the pagans. The *Opus Imperfectum* contains an interpretation of the locusts that resembles that of Rufus somewhat. The locusts signify living according to the justice of the law, but not doing good works. Those who live thus can fly but they cannot fly high. Those, on the other hand, who live by the teaching of Jesus, can fly high and penetrate the heavens. To illustrate this, the author cites the antitheses of Matt 5:21ff.⁵⁵

Matt 4:1-11 The Temptations of Jesus (M.25-42)

In the eighth homily Rufus interprets the scene of the temptations of Jesus in the desert (Matt 4:1-16) basically as a moral allegory.⁵⁶ What happens to Jesus is the typical case for all Christians. The humanity of Jesus is emphasized (M.27).⁵⁷ Jesus is taken to the wilderness and the spiritual man should flee there with him.⁵⁸ The idea is reinforced by a series of contrasts (M.28) designed to emphasize that Jesus has done everything for our sakes, that is, to provide an example for us. There follows a discussion of how Jesus could be «taken» since he was di-

55. «Qui enim abstinet se ab opere malo, et non insuper facit opera bona, volat quidem, non autem in altum volat. Parva ergo volatilia, et non in altum volantia manducabat Joannes: majora autem volatilia, et in altum volantia, quae altissima caeli poterant penetrare, Christo post venienti, quasi regi magno servabat. Ille enim postea veniens magna volatilia, et in altum volantia manducavit... Vides quia quibus Joannes praedicabat poenitentiam peccatorum, parva volatilia erant, et non in altum volantia: quibus autem spiritualia Christus mandavit, magna volatilia erant, et ipsos penetrantia caelos...» (PG 56, 649).

56. For an outline of the structure of the homily, see the Introduction, 40-42.

57. Chromatius of Aquileia says that «for our salvation» Jesus subjected himself to hunger and the temptations of the devil. And he did it to demonstrate the truth of the flesh that he had taken according to human nature (*comm. in Mt. Tract.* 14,1):

vine (M.29). This was evidently a traditional point that could cause scandal and had to be explained.

Then Rufus treats the fast of forty days and forty nights (M.31). It is the exemplar for the observance of Lent (the annual fast from the world and the flesh). With the majority of patristic commentators he cites the example of Moses and Elijah.⁵⁹ Rufus explains that forty is composed of four decades and he relates these to the four elements of the sensible realm. The identical explanation is found in the *catenae* where it is usually attributed to Origen.⁶⁰ The fact that Jesus was hungry afterwards is another possible cause of scandal which is explained as referring to the «man he was wearing.»⁶¹

In treating the temptation to «let these stones become bread» (M.32), Rufus explains that the stones are to be interpreted figuratively and can thus represent literal words, that is, texts that ought to be interpreted allegorically or figuratively. To interpret them literally is to succumb to temptation, which can lead to scandal. This leads to an excursus on spiritual food. The stones can also represent words of evil

58. The *Opus Imperfectum* has: «non solum Christus ductus est in desertum a Spiritu, sed et omnes filii Dei habentes Spiritum sanctum ducuntur a Spiritu in desertum, ut et ipsi tententur a diabolo.» The desert itself is symbolic: «desertum est omnis res spiritualis.» The author is led to think of the desert in Exodus and the request that Pharaoh let the people go to the desert to serve God and he comments: «Ad tale desertum omnes filii Dei, qui habent Spiritum sanctum, exeunt ut tententur» (PG 56,662-663).

59. Chromatius of Aquileia, *comm. in Mt. Tract. 14,2*; *Opus Imperfectum* 5,3 (PG 56,665); Hilary of Poitiers, *comm. in Mt 3,2*; John Chrysostom, *hom. in Mt. 13,2*; Jerome, *comm. in Mt. 1,4,2*.

60. See Origenes Werke 12, *Origenes Matthäuserklärung III: Fragmente und Indices* (ed. Erich Klostermann; GCS 41; Leipzig: J. C. Henrichs, 1941), 39: ὁ γὰρ τῶν τεσσαράχοντα ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸς ἐκ τεσσάρων δεκάδων συγκείμενος συγγενὴς ἐστὶ καὶ ταῖς τέσσαρσι μονάσι, τάχα διὰ τὸ ἐκ τεσσάρων στοιχείων συνεστάναι τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον ἢ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐν τεσσαράχοντα ἡμέραις ἐν τῇ νηδίᾳ μορφοῦσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. One manuscript ascribes this explanation to Gregory of Nyssa.

61. Origen is also at pains to insist that Jesus was tempted as man and not as God and that it was for our sake: «Omni tentatione, qua tentandi erant homines, primus secundum assumptionem carnis tentatus est Dominus. Tentatur autem ob id, ut nos quoque illo vincente vincamus» (*hom. in Lc. 29,3*). And in commenting on the response of Jesus to the temptation of the devil to turn the stones into bread Origen says: «Simulque videamus, quod haec loquatur non Filius Dei, sed homo, quem Filius Dei est dignatus assumere; quasi de homine enim respondet et dicit: *Scriptum est: non in pane solo vivet homo*, ex quo manifestum est non Deum, sed hominem fuisse tentatum» (*hom. in Lc. 29,5*).

teaching⁶² or the stones that the Jews wanted to throw at Jesus (this may mean that the stones of John 10:31 are to be interpreted figuratively as evil teaching). This explanation is concluded with an exhortation to avoid such stones so as not to become hard of heart like Pharaoh. The connection is made by the association of the word «hard.» The second temptation, in which Jesus is taken to the holy city, is explained as an allegory in which the city represents the individual soul (M.33). The temple and its pinnacle represent the edifice of spiritual knowledge and interpretation of Scripture in the soul.⁶³ This is preceded by a citation of 2 Cor 3:14-18 to justify this kind of interpretation. It is taking away the «veil of introductory teaching.» The temptation is that the enemy tries to make each one fall down from the height of his virtue.

Finally, Rufus deals with the question of Psalm 90 (M.36). He is concerned that it will be misinterpreted and improperly applied to Christ. Verse 11 may be applied to Christ but not the first verse: «You are my savior and my place of refuge, my God,» etc.⁶⁴ Then he accuses the devil of selective use of the psalm, that is, he (the devil) omits things that apply to himself.⁶⁵

The third temptation, in which Jesus is taken to a high mountain is also treated as an allegory but briefly. The literal level is dismissed as

62. In his homilies on Luke, Origen, like Rufus, also cites the example of the father who does not give his son stones when he asks for bread. Origen explains the stones allegorically as heretical doctrine: «Si videris haereticos dogmatum suorum mendacium pro pane comedere, scito lapidem eorum esse sermonem quem monstrat diabolus.» He cites Marcion, Basilides and Valentinian as examples of those for whom the stones of the devil became their bread (*hom. in Lc.* 29,4).

63. A similar idea is found in Jerome's Preface to his Commentary on Matthew. Jerome has just stated that the commentary he has written is a «historical» one in which he has mixed only a few flowers of spiritual interpretation. If he lives long enough, he will produce a more elaborate one: «Si autem mihi vita longior fuerit aut tu in redeundo tua promissa compleveris, tunc nitar implere quod reliquum est, immo uactis fundamentis et ex parte constructis parietibus pulcherrimum culmen imponam, ut scias quid intersit inter subitam dictandi audaciam et elucubratam scribendi diligentiam.»

64. Origen also combats the application of this verse to Christ and insists, like Rufus, that it applies not to Christ but to all the saints (*hom. in Lc.* 31,4). Origen makes the same point in commenting on Numbers (*hom. in Num.* 5,3). Evidently certain verses of this psalm were applied by heretics to Christ. Cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 5,21 (PG 7,1180). Jerome likewise insists that the psalm concerns not Christ but the saints (*comm. in Mt.* 1,4,6.).

impossible. It represents «the empty glory of this world» (M.41). Rufus says:

who is it who will believe that there is a mountain so high that someone would be able to go up on it to see all the kingdoms of the earth, that of the Persians, that of the Romans, that of the Hindus, that of the Scythians, that of the Britons, that of the Moors and the Ethiopians? Rather it is without question a story which the scripture is telling us here.

This is remarkably similar to a passage by Origen in the *Peri Archon* in which he explains that not all passages of Scripture have a literal sense:

For what man who does not read such passages carelessly would fail to condemn those who believe that with the eye of the flesh, which requires a great height to enable us to perceive what is below and at our feet, the kingdoms of the Persians, Scythians, Indians and Parthians were seen, and the manner in which their rulers are glorified by men?⁶⁶

This explanation, typical of the controversial principle of *defectus litterae* so clearly enunciated by Origen, is not found elsewhere. The *Opus Imperfectum* attempts to maintain the historicity of the literal level by saying that the devil indicated to Jesus the different parts of the earth.⁶⁷

Matt 4:12-17 Capharnaum, Zebulon and Naphthali

In his treatment of the statement that Jesus left Nazareth and went to Capharnaum, Rufus gives first the interpretation «that he left the terri-

65. The point is clearer in both Origen (*hom. in Lc.* 31,5) and Jerome (*comm. in Mt.* 1,4,6) who cite verse 13 in which it is said that «you will tread on the lion and the dragon.» This reference to the dragon may be what moves Rufus later on to refer to the dragon (M.45). Origen develops the point about the dragon at greater length (*hom. in Lc.* 31,7). Like Rufus, both Origen (*hom. in Lc.* 31,4) and Jerome also cite Heb 1:5.

66. *P. Arch.* 4,3,1. The translation is by G. W. Butterworth in Origen, *On First Principles* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 289.

67. «Ostendit autem ita, non ut ipsa regna, vel civitates eorum, vel populos, vel argentum, vel aurum videret: sed partes terrae, in quibus unumquodque regnum, vel uniuscuiusque regni civitas posita erat: ut puta si ascendas super excelsum locum, digito extenso dicam tibi, Ecce ibi est Roma, aut ibi est Alexandria, non sic ostendo tibi, ut videas civitates, sed partes terrae in quibus positae sunt» (PG 56:637).

tory of the people and he went to the gentiles» (M.45). This interpretation, which is found elsewhere,⁶⁸ finds support further on in the text of Matthew (v. 15) where Galilee is described as «Galilee of the nations.» Then he adds a second interpretation based on the etymology of the name Capharnaum, «field of consolation.»⁶⁹ In this second, individualizing interpretation, Capharnaum represents «the soul which will become a field of the Word for him to plough and fertilize and do his farming in it so that it brings forth the fruit of consolation.» This interpretation has not been found elsewhere.

Further on Rufus makes much of the fact that Capharnaum is said to be located «within the territories of Zebulon and Naphthali» (M.47). These he interprets to mean «the faithful from the circumcision and the whole church of the gentiles,» basing himself on a complex series of associations having as point of departure the etymologies of the two names. Zebulon means «flow by night»⁷⁰ and this refers to «the worship from the circumcision.» Naphthali means «extent»⁷¹ and this refers to the gentiles. The fact that Capharnaum is said to fall within these two territories, which are not distinguished from one another, forms the basis for Rufus' assertion that, by dwelling in Capharnaum, Jesus has symbolically joined together the Jews and the gentiles, the old and the new, the law and the gospel. Such an interpretation is not found in the other extant commentaries on this passage.

Matt 5:17 The Ark of Noah (M.59-60)

In commenting on Matt 5:17, Rufus dwells on the notion of fulfillment and the meaning of Jesus being called the Nazorean (Matt 2:23). The notion of fulfillment leads to an unusual interpretation of John 19:30 based on the plural form (ΑΥΧΩΚ), which occurs in the Sahidic version. This in turn leads Rufus to conclude that Jesus fulfilled all of the law and the prophets. He then proceeds to give numerous examples of fulfillment, all of which are drawn from the New Testament, with the exception of that of Noah and the ark. This latter is a theme that had

68. See John Chrysostom, *hom. in Mt.*, 14,1; Chromatius of Aquileia, *comm. in Mt.*, Tract. 15,1.

69. Wutz, 40.

70. Wutz, 481-482.

71. Wutz, 558.

already received early and extensive patristic development, though not in the setting of the Gospel of Matthew. It is in fact one of the most frequently and thoroughly allegorized Old Testament stories.⁷²

The allegorical interpretation that Rufus offers of the ark is extended and detailed:

Noah made an ark for the salvation of his house. He made it of two and three storeys, smeared with bitumen, with its door in its side, three hundred by fifty cubits by thirty, extending a cubit above (cf. Gen 6:14-16), but that also was incomplete until the living Word came and fulfilled it. When he had formed the church, that is, his flesh, he put the door in its side, that is, the spear wound in his side (cf. John 19:34). He made it three hundred cubits in length, that is, the faith in the holy Trinity, fifty cubits wide, that is, the holy Pentecost, the repentance of forgiveness of sins (cf. Acts 2:38).

One finds a remarkable variety in the patristic interpretations of these details of the story.

Clement (*Stromata* VI, 11, 475) offers an elaborate geometrical interpretation to show that the proportions of the ark correspond to an ideal divine plan, but he also says that there are those who say that the number 300 is to be understood as a symbol of the Lord and 50 as a symbol of hope and the pardon of Pentecost. In this last idea he is following Philo (cf. Philo, *De Mut. Nom.* 228 and Danielou, *From Shadows to Reality*, 109). Didymus, although he follows Origen in explaining the literal sense of the ark, surprisingly offers no allegorical interpretation (See Didyme L'Aveugle, *Sur la Genèse*. Tome II (Sur Genèse V-XVII) (ed. P. Nautin, L. Doutreleau; SC 233; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1978), 72-75). Cyril of Alexandria refers the number 300 to the Trinity, the ark to the church and Noah to Christ but he gives no interpretation of the door and the number 50 (*Glaphyra*, PG 69:65-68). In a Bohairic homily (based on a Greek original from the same period as Rufus) attributed to Basil of Caesarea, the 300 cubits are interpreted to refer to three peoples engendered in the church: virgins, monks and married people. The dimensions of the length and width are made to refer to the rich and the poor and the door is interpreted as both Christ and the wound in his side. See Henri De Vis, *Homélies coptes de la Vaticane II* (Hauniae: Gyldendal, 1929), 221-223 and Müller, *Die alte koptische Predigt*, 24-25.

72. The Christian allegorical interpretation of the story of Noah and the ark begins already in the New Testament (1 Pet 3:20-21) and involves the exploitation of many other elements of the story than those for which Rufus offers an explanation. The literature is extensive. One may usefully consult: Jean Danielou, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers* (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1960); H. Rahner, «Die Arche Noah als Schiff des Heils» *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 86 (1964): 137-179; J. P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968).

Of the four elements that Rufus interprets allegorically, the door, the 300 cubits, the 50 cubits, and the ark itself, three are found interpreted allegorically in virtually the same way in Origen's homilies on Genesis.

Origen, *hom. in Gen.* 2,5: «Hic ergo centenarius totius creaturae rationabilis numerus quoniam non ex semetipso subsistit, sed ex trinitate descendit et longitudinem vitae, hoc est immortalitatis gratiam, ex patre per filium ac Spiritum sanctum suscepit, idcirco triplicatus ponitur, utpote qui ad perfectionem per gratiam Trinitatis augetur et qui ex centenario per ignorantiam lapsum per agnitionem Trinitatis restituat in trecentos. Latitudo quinquagenarium numerum tenet, qui numerus remissioni et indulgentiae consecratus est. Secundum legem enim quinquagesimo anno remissio erat, id est ut, si quis distraxisset possessionem, reciperet; si liber in servitutem venisset, reciperet libertatem; indulgentiam debitor acciperet, exul rediret ad patriam. Spiritalis ergo Noe christus in arca sua, in qua humanum genus de interitu liberat, id est in ecclesia sua, hunc quinquagenarium remissionis numerum in latitudine collocavit.»

Origen does not interpret the door as the spear wound in the side of Christ, perhaps because for him Noah is the figure of Christ. This latter element is missing in Rufus' interpretation, at least as far as one can see, since the text breaks off at the end of this passage. Rufus in fact seems to be combining two different typologies, that of the ark as the church and that of the ark as the body of Christ.⁷³

Specific Interpretations of Luke's Gospel

Luke 1:1: «Since many have attempted» (L.3)

This fragment appears to be part of a commentary on the phrase «many have attempted» of Luke 1:1. The writings that Rufus mentions are the «Gospel of Marcion» and the «Gospel of the Manichaeans.» The fragmentary state of the text makes it uncertain whether or not these are the only ones mentioned.

Both Origen and Ambrose use this phrase as an occasion to mention other gospels that they consider heretical. Origen mentions that «according to the Egyptians,» that «according to the twelve apostles,» and those of Basilides, Thomas and Matthias. Ambrose mentions the

73. For the interpretation of the ark as the body of Christ, see Rahner, «Die Arche Noah als Schiff des Heils,» 167-169. This line of interpretation also has its roots in Philo.

same ones with the exception of that according to the Egyptians.⁷⁴ «Anonymous» of Jerusalem mentions Basilides.⁷⁵ The fragment from Titus of Bostra refers to those of the Egyptians and the twelve.⁷⁶ None of these texts mention Marcion or the Gospel of the Manichaeans as Rufus does. Jerome mentions the same ones as Origen but adds Bartholomew and Apelles, a disciple of Marcion.⁷⁷ Although the text of Rufus is too fragmentary for us to be certain whether or not he makes reference to the other traditionally mentioned apocryphal writings, the inclusion of Marcion and Mani may be more than a traditional reference.⁷⁸ It could be a sign of a contemporary campaign against these heretical groups.⁷⁹

74. Origen, *hom. in Lc.* 1,1-2; Ambrose, *comm. in Lc.* 1,2. Eusebius (*Hist. eccles.* 6,25) had already assembled all of the texts from Origen that deal with the question of inclusion or exclusion from the canon. Although Origen mentions Marcion and Mani elsewhere, he does not do so in this context.

75. Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare*, 17.

76. Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien*, 143.

77. *comm. in Mt.*, pref. Jerome's sources are Origen and Eusebius. See W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*. I. Gospels and Related Writings (trans. R. McL. Wilson; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991), 43-50 for the texts referring to apocryphal gospels other than those of Marcion and Mani, and 399-410 for those referring to Marcion and Mani.

78. The description that Rufus gives of Marcion's Gospel («Those things opposed to his blasphemy, he omitted») is in accord with what we know of this work and suggests that Rufus may have had first hand acquaintance with it. The inclusion of Marcion here may also be related to the fact that Marcion's work was an abridged version of Luke's Gospel without the first two chapters and with changes of detail to suit Marcion's doctrinal views (see Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* 1:348). The same first hand acquaintance is suggested by Rufus' description of the «Gospel of the Manichaeans» as containing «old women's fables» and «words that our Lord did not utter.» See Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* 1:355-357.

79. See Stephen Gero, «With Walter Bauer on the Tigris: Encratite Orthodoxy and Libertine Heresy in Syro-Mesopotamian Christianity» *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism, and Early Christianity* (ed. Charles W. Hedrick and Robert Hodgson, Jr.; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1986). Gero has assembled evidence that suggests that the peak of Marcionite influence in Persian territory should be dated to the fifth and sixth centuries and that this is partially due to the expulsion of Marcionites and Manichaeans from Byzantine territory at this time (290). The *Synodicon* cited by Gero mentions Manichaeans and Marcionites together with «Severan Theopaschites.» The latter were certainly a sixth century phenomenon. See J. B. Chabot, *Synodicon orientale ou Recueil de synodes nestoriens* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), 585. See also the discussion in the Introduction, 53-54.

Luke 1:3 ΓΡΑΤΙΣΤΕ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕ (L.4)

Rufus interprets the name «Theophilus» to mean not only the specific person to whom Luke was addressing himself but to represent everyone who is God-loving or loved by God. This interpretation goes back to Origen who says that «If you are men truly loved of God, you also are likewise 'theophili,' and it is for you that the Gospel is written.» Ambrose likewise says that it is written «for that one who is loved of God. If you love God, it is for you that it is written.»

The epithet ΓΡΑΤΙΣΤΕ is interpreted by Rufus to mean «the strong one» or the one who has become strong. This interpretation also goes back to Origen, who says that if a person is a «theophilus,» he is «both very good and very strong as is expressed by the Greek word κράτιστος.» Origen also cites Ps 104:37, as does Rufus, to back up the assertion that every man who is «theophilus» is strong. «He draws his strength and vigor from God and from his Word.» But he does not quote the part about gold and silver as Rufus does. Rufus quotes it in order to introduce the interpretation of ΝΟΗΜΑ as the source of the strength (see chap. 4, 252).⁸⁰

Salvation history account (L.8)

At this point Rufus inserts a summary of salvation history into the commentary with an apparently individualizing application. This has no parallel in the commentaries of Origen or Ambrose. Such moral interpretation is favored by Origen and is developed extensively in his commentaries on the Pentateuch.

The virginity of Elizabeth (L.9)

Rufus seems to stress the virginity of Elizabeth before marriage as part of the point of the text. Neither Origen nor Ambrose comment in this way.

Luke 1:5 «righteous before God» (L.10)

The text of Rufus is too fragmentary to be certain what he is saying. It

80. Origen, *hom. in Lc.* 1,6; Ambrose, *comm. in Lc.* 1,12.

seems to require a negative or perhaps it is a question. Both Origen and Ambrose cite the text from Job 14:4 LXX, which appears to contradict the assertion of Luke, and both also distinguish between being righteous before God and being so before men. Origen insists that all have sinned but that it is possible to cease sinning and recover blamelessness as did Zachary and Elisabeth.⁸¹

Luke 1:7 Elizabeth barren (L.11)

Rufus interprets the name Elizabeth allegorically to mean «oath of God» and thus the oath of God was without a son. Neither Origen nor Ambrose comment on this verse but the etymology is found in Origen, *comm. in Jo.* 2,33. See Wutz, 743.

The appearance of the angel to Zachary (L.13)

When the text of this fragment becomes readable, Rufus appears still to be commenting on the appearance of the angel to Zachary and the conditions for seeing God. In this context both Origen and Ambrose comment at length on the possibility of seeing spiritual beings. Both introduce the idea of the need for a pure heart and Ambrose cites Matt 5:8 as does Rufus.⁸²

Luke 1:24-25 Elizabeth concealed herself (L.15)

The text of Luke 1:24 says that Elizabeth concealed herself for five months. Rufus interprets this to have an «other sense,» which is clearly allegorical and refers to the period of the five books of Moses and the five books of legislation. Something (it is not clear what) was pregnant during this time with the prophetic spirit. This is not found in Origen or Ambrose.

Luke 1:26-27 «Gabriel the angel was sent» (L.19-22)

As can be seen from the notes to the translation, the points of similarity between Rufus' comments and Origen's sixth homily on Luke are so close and numerous that one must conclude that Rufus had a copy

81. Origen, *hom. in Lc.* 2,1; Ambrose, *comm. in Lc.* 1,17.

82. Origen, *hom. in Lc.* 3,1-3; Ambrose, *comm. in Lc.* 1,24-27.

of Origen's homily available. These points include the question as to why God chose a virgin already betrothed, the use of 1 Cor 2:6-8 and the motif of hiding the Incarnation from the devil, the idea of the devil's ignorance or forgetfulness, the use of the term *oijkonomiva*, the affirmation that Jesus never revealed his identity and commanded his disciples also not to do so, and the comment on the uniqueness of the greeting «Hail, full of grace.» To this list may be added also the idea that Mary was learned in the law, found in the same homily of Origen and in Rufus' comment on Luke 1:28 (L.35). (See p. 302 below).

The Fall (L.23-28)

Rufus introduces a long digression on the story of the Fall. This is not found in Origen or Ambrose.

Luke 1:28 Contrast of Mary and Eve (L.28)

Rufus draws a contrast between the conduct of Eve when tempted by the serpent and that of Mary when addressed by the angel. In addition to noting the contrast between the two virgins (Eve before the fall was evidently still a virgin) and the disobedience of Eve, Rufus dwells particularly upon the reticence of Mary with the angel in contrast to the behavior of Eve with the serpent: «Mary, on the other hand, was mindful of her who had been deceived and she confirmed her words. Moreover she answered with discernment and prudence» (L.28). After quoting at length the entire pericope from Luke on the Annunciation, Rufus returns again to what might be termed a psychological and moral analysis of Mary's reticence in the face of the angel's greeting:

She was amazed at this greeting as though it evoked familiarity and she became alert at a speech that was soft as if full of human affection and she was wondering what business has a male speaking with a woman. She regards indeed the outward appearance as worthy of respect for it is an angel she sees in the likeness of a man. She considered further what sort of greeting this was. «May it not be,» she said, «that I am being deceived by the deception with which the mother of my race was deceived in the beginning,» and she was disturbed. This sort of disturbance is preferable, O my beloved. It saves man from a greater fear which occurs at the end. Would indeed that the first woman also had been afraid so as not to have acted thoughtlessly and to have spoken in haste. If only indeed she had not answered or not responded to the greeting she had been given! You see, the fact of her not answering is an assurance of her virginity. She thought that the act of answering would be an encouragement to the one who had said to her, «Hail» (L.32-33).

It becomes clearer later on in these homilies (L.45-46) that Rufus has painted this picture of Mary in order to provide a model of conduct for the virgins whom he is addressing with regard to their behavior toward the opposite sex.

The contrast or typology of Eve and Mary is first introduced into the tradition by Justin Martyr. Justin draws a contrast between the virgin Eve, who receives the word of the serpent and begets disobedience and death, and the virgin Mary, who hears the good news from the angel Gabriel and conceives faith and joy.⁸³ Irenaeus similarly contrasts the seduction of the virgin Eve by an angel and her disobedience with the obedience of the virgin Mary when confronted with the announcement of the good news by the angel.⁸⁴

Origen, surprisingly, does not develop the idea in his homilies on Genesis and makes no reference to Eve in his homilies on Luke.⁸⁵ Ambrose does not refer to Eve either but does comment on the reticence of Mary and admonishes virgins to do the same.⁸⁶ Cyril of Jerusalem, on the other hand, does continue the explicit contrast between the virgin Eve being deceived by the serpent and the virgin Mary receiving the good news from the angel.⁸⁷ «Anonymous» of

83. *Dial. Trypho* 100,5.

84. *Adv. Haer.* V,19,1: «et seductione illa soluta qua seducta est male illa quae jam viro evangelizata est bene ab angelo jam sub viro Virgo Maria - quemadmodum enim illa per angelicum sermonem seducta est ut effugeret Deum praevaricata verbum ejus, ita et haec per angelicum sermonem evangelizata est ut portaret Deum obaudiens ejus verbo; et sicut illa seducta est ut non obaudiret Deo, sic et haec suasa est obaudire Deo, uti virginis Evae virgo Maria fieret advocata; et quemadmodum adstrictum est morti genus humanum per virginem, solutum est per virginem, aequa lance disposita virginali inobaudientia per virginalem obaudientiam.....» See also *Adv. Haer.* III,22,4.

85. The contrast is missing altogether in the surviving works of Origen. See Alois Müller, *Ecclesia - Maria: Die Einheit Marias und der Kirche* (Second edition; Paradosis 5; Frigbourg: Universitätsverlag, 1955), 121. The contrast is found in a sermon on the Nativity ascribed to Origen's pupil, Gregory the Wonderworker: «Quoniam vero prior virgo a Satana cecidit seducta, Mariae virgini nuntium dedit Gabriel, ut virgo virgini, partus partui similis fiat. Blanditiis decepta protulit Eva sermones lethiferos, Mariaque nuntium accipiens verbum incarnatum et vivificum edidit. Ob Evae sermones Adamus de paradiso eiectus est. Verbum autem de virgine crucem revelavit, qua latro paradisi Adami ingressus est.» The text is found in J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra* 4 (Venice, 1883), 394-395.

86. *comm. in Lc.* 2,8.

87. *Cat.* 12,15: διὰ παρθένου τῆς Εὔας ἦλθεν ὁ θάνατος, ἔδει διὰ παρθένου, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκ παρθένου, φανῆναι τὴν ζωὴν, ἵνα, ὥσπερ ἐκείνην ὄφεις ἠπάτησεν, οὕτω καὶ ταύτην Γαβριὴλ εὐαγγελίσσεται (PG 33,741B).

Jerusalem also contrasts Mary and Eve and appears to stress the psychological aspects as does Rufus.⁸⁸ There was thus a rich tradition of drawing a contrast between Eve and Mary for Rufus to draw upon. He seems to have emphasized the prudence of Mary in contrast to the imprudence of Eve for his own parenetic purposes.

Luke 1:28 «Hail Mary, full of grace» (L.35)

As part of the contrast between Mary and Eve Rufus describes Mary as learned in Scripture (**ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΗC**).⁸⁹ In this context Origen says «she had indeed the knowledge of the Law, she was holy and she knew by her daily meditations the oracles of the prophets.» In the Bohairic catena, in a comment ascribed to Eusebius, she is called **ΟΥΝΟΜΟΜΑΘΗC**.⁹⁰

Origen says that this salutation was «a new formula which I have not been able to find elsewhere in all of Scripture.» He says that Mary also knew it was unique (because of her knowledge of Scripture). Ambrose also says that it was a new formula not elsewhere encountered.⁹¹

Summary and Conclusion

Rufus an Alexandrian Exegete

From the examples that have been analyzed, it is evident that the exegesis given by Rufus is in large part traditional, which is what one would expect from any patristic author. Using traditional elements, he also seems to have exercised a certain creativity. He does not appear to be following any one author or any one particular previous commentary, as is sometimes the case with patristic authors.⁹² He shows a

88. J. Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, pp 31-32: εὐλογημένη ἀκούει ἐν γυναιξίν ὡς ἂν εὐθὺς ὑποψία πᾶσα λυθῇ καὶ μὴ ἀπάτη νομισθῇ τὸ λεγόμενον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ προσίων ὄφεις τῇ Εὐᾶ οὐκ εὐλογίαν, ἀλλὰ κατάραν αὐτῇ ἐτεκτήσατο. εἰπὼν γὰρ. ἥ δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ φάγησθε ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, ἀνοιγῇσονται «ὕμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἔσεσθε ὡς θεοί», μεγάλην αὐτῇ τὴν πτώσιν προξένησεν ἀβασανίστως πιστευσάσῃ τῷ ῥήματι. εἰ γὰρ ἂν ἐλογίσατο τὸ λεγόμενον, οὐκ αἶν ἐπίστευσεν ἀδύνατον εἶναι νομίσασα. νῦν δ' εὐαγγελίζεται τῇ παρθένῳ ὁ ἄγγελος ἐνοικισμὸν θεὸν τὸν ὑπερφῶ καὶ δεδοικῶ τῆς Εὐᾶς τὸν ὄλισθον, οὐκ εὐθὺς πεπίστευκεν.

89. See Lampe, s.v. 4: «for νομομαθής.»

90. Paul de Lagarde, *Catena in Evangelia Aegyptiacae quae supersunt* (Göttingen: Arnold Hoyer, 1886), 118.

91. Origen, *hom. in Lc.* 6,7; Ambrose, *comm. in Lc.* 2,8.

wide acquaintance with patristic exegesis of the whole Bible and not merely with the exegesis of the gospels. When constructing his homilies on the gospels, he draws on all this material.

The type of exegesis that Rufus offers is thoroughly Alexandrian. His primary interest lies in the spiritual meaning, as he himself makes clear not only in specific examples but in the theoretical considerations that he offers. He makes use of the traditional rules and techniques such as *defectus litterae*, the *onomastica sacra* and the use of Scripture to interpret Scripture. In a number of cases his exegesis is the same as that of Origen or very close to it. It is difficult not to conclude that he had direct access to the works of Origen. At least that would be the most obvious explanation, if it were not for the known opposition to Origen in this period and the opposition to Alexandrian exegesis which seems to have inhibited some earlier exegetes such as Cyril.⁹³ It is also clear that Rufus was not limited to Origen. He uses traditional elements that are not found in Origen, at least not where one would expect to find them.⁹⁴

If it were not for the anti-Origenist polemic to be found in other sources and for the condemnation of Origen and his principle disciples in the mid-sixth century, it would be reasonable to suppose that Rufus had access not only to authors such as Justin, Irenaeus, Eusebius, Athanasius and Cyril but to Origen, Didymus and Evagrius as well. An educated exegete, such as Rufus appears to be, would have collected all available sources from which to extract spiritual nectar for his flock, to use the figure that he himself invokes.

This raises the question of the extent to which one can rely upon the anti-Origenist polemic found in Egyptian sources to give a balanced picture of the intellectual climate in Egypt in this period. Related to this is the question of the extent to which the condemnation of Origen in the mid-sixth century by Justinian and the Council of Constantinople had affected that intellectual climate.

92. This seems to be part of Jerome's reproach with regard to Ambrose. See F. Fournier in Origène, *Homélies sur S. Luc: Texte latin et fragments grecs* (ed. Henri Crouzel, François Fournier, Pierre Périchon; SC 87; Paris: Les Éditions de Cerf, 1962), 70-74.

93. See Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria*, 219-220. In the *Glaphyra* (Cyril's interpretation of Old Testament institutions), Cyril, in contrast to Origen, Didymus, and Rufus, does not use the principle of *defectus litterae*.

94. Such statements of course must always be qualified by the admission that our knowledge of Origen's work is limited by the fact that so much has been lost.

Anti-Origenist Polemic in Egyptian Sources

Polemical material against Origen is found in the History of the Patriarchs in the notices devoted to the patriarchs Demetrius and Cyril. In the section devoted to the patriarch Demetrius, Origen is described as a man «who abandoned the books of God and began to speak blasphemously of them.»⁹⁵ Demetrius is said to have removed him from the church for this reason. Further on, the author says that Origen «whom Demetrius had cut off on account of his composing unlawful books of magic . . . wrote many treatises containing many blasphemies. Among these was his doctrine that the Father created the Son, and the Son created the Holy Ghost.» The author is aware of a few details of Origen's life such as his move to Caesarea and his ordination there but is clearly innocent of any first-hand contact with his writings. Considering the distorted character of his material, it seems unlikely that he was even acquainted with what Eusebius had to say of Origen.⁹⁶ Another notice devoted to the patriarch Cyril says that «he would not follow the doctrine of Origen, nor even take his books into his hand for a single day; but when he heard that one of the faithful had read Origen, he condemned and excommunicated him who had so read.»⁹⁷

The polemic found in the Pachomian material is even more confused. In the first Greek life of Pachomius, it is said that Pachomius

hated the man called Origen, first of all because he was cast out of the Church by Heraclas, the archbishop of Alexandria, before Arius and Meletius, who had uttered blasphemy against Christ. He hated him also because he recognized him as a blasphemer, having heard that there were dreadful things in his writings, and because he had acted rashly against his own life. [Origen] had mingled things he thought plausible with the true words of divine Scripture, to the ruination of the ignorant, just as a poisonous drug is mingled with honey. Therefore the great Pachomius emphatically ordered the brothers not only not to dare to read that man's writings but not even to listen to his sayings. One day, having found a book of Origen, he threw it into the water and destroyed it, saying, «If the name of the Lord were not written in it, I would have burnt his blasphemies and nonsenses.»⁹⁸

In another story in the *Paralipomena* (7) an angel reveals to Pachomius the reason for the stench that emanated from some anchorites

95. Evetts (ed.), *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, 162-163 [64-65].

96. Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.* 6.

97. Evetts (ed.), *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, 429 [165].

who came to see him. It was because they held «some doctrines of impiety from Origen.» Pachomius called them back and admonished them: «Behold, I bear testimony to you before God that every man reading Origen and accepting his writings is going to reach the bottom of hell....» He also exhorts them to «take all of Origen's books you have and cast them into the river, and never want to read them again, and especially the blasphemous ones.»⁹⁹ It seems clear that these authors also had no first hand knowledge of Origen's writings.

In the *Apophthegmata patrum* there is found a story that also reflects anti-Origenism. Abba Lot took in an old monk who was sick and looked after him. But this monk began to propagate the ideas of Origen to visitors. After seeking counsel from another monk, Lot advised the man that he was welcome to stay with him but that he must not speak of such things. The old monk decided to leave.¹⁰⁰ A few other stories from the *Apophthegmata* can be interpreted to reflect the Origenist controversy of the end of the fourth century.¹⁰¹

Additional evidence of anti-Origenist sentiment is found in the recently edited work by Shenoute that Orlandi has entitled *Contra Origenistas*.¹⁰² The name of Origen in fact occurs only once in this

98. The translation is by Armand Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1982), 1:317-318. See also the note on p. 411 with regard to the Greek text. Veilleux dates this text toward the end of the fourth century (after the death of Horsiesius in 387), p. 5.

99. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, 2:28-29. Veilleux (pp. 1-2) indicates that the date of this text must be after that of the first Greek life, hence not earlier than the end of the fourth century. For additional discussion of the influence of Epiphanius upon Pachomian monasticism, see Jon F. Dechow, *Dogma and Mysticism in Early Christianity: Epiphanius of Cyprus and the Legacy of Origen* (North American Patristic Society Patristic Monograph Series 13; Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1988) 218-229.

100. *Apophthegmata patrum*, Lot 1 (PG 65:253).

101. See Arsenius 42 (PG 65: 105) and Sopater (PG 65:413). For an account of the Origenist controversy at the end of the fourth century, see also Hugh G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n Natrûn. Part II: The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis* (ed. Walter Hauser; New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1932), 125ff.

102. Tito Orlandi, *Shenute contra Origenistas: Testo con introduzione e traduzione* (Rome: C.I.M., 1985). See also A. Grillmeier, «La 'peste d'Origène'. Soucis du patriarche d'Alexandrie dus à l'apparition d'origénistes en Haute Egypte (444-451)» *Alexandrina. Mélanges offerts à Claude Mondésert* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1987), 221-237.

work, which is also directed against apocryphal writings and other things the author regards as false and heretical ideas. Shenoute does show that he has some idea of Origen's basic approach to exegesis, although he does not seem really to understand it.¹⁰³ He asserts that Origen did not uncover the secrets of Scripture but rather «the mysteries of his father the devil.» He likewise says that those are wicked who say that there is another teaching hidden in the Scriptures and that the Scriptures are not clear.¹⁰⁴ This is of course the opposite of what Origen and Rufus would assert.¹⁰⁵ It is also a century and a half before the time of Rufus.

The Condemnation of 553

Origen had in fact never been formally condemned, despite the controversies surrounding his ideas, before the fifth ecumenical council held in Constantinople in 553. There Origen, Didymus and Evagrius were anathematized, a condemnation which was repeated at successive councils held in the Lateran in 649, in Constantinople in 680-681 and in Nicaea in 787.¹⁰⁶ We do not really know what effect the condemnation of 553 had in Egypt. Most of the church in Egypt was no longer in communion with Constantinople at this point. It has been theorized that the manuscripts of Origen and Didymus found at Toura were hidden as a result of the condemnation of 553.¹⁰⁷ This is conceivable since the monastery of Arsenius at Toura was a Melkite monastery. But this is not necessarily an indication of what was happening in upper Egypt.

103. It is possible that his knowledge is second hand, obtained from the festal letters of Theophilus against Origen. On these, see A. Guillaumont, *Les «Kephalaia Gnostica» d'Evagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'origenisme chez les Grecs et les Syriens* (Patristica Sorboniensia 5; Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1962), 99-101.

104. Orlandi, *Shenoute contra Origenistas*, 33, 0359-0363.

105. It is also hardly in accord with either the theory or practice of Cyril who, though less extreme in this regard than Origen or Didymus, is at pains to insist upon the need to search out the spiritual sense. See Kerrigan, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria*, 110-240. This makes one wonder to what extent Shenoute was acquainted with the theory or practice of Cyril, since he would hardly have wanted to censure the great champion of Alexandrian orthodoxy.

106. On the condemnation of 553 and its effects, see especially Guillaumont, *Les «Kephalaia Gnostica» d'Evagre le Pontique*, 133-170.

Rufus as Counter Evidence

The fact is that we know very little about what was being read or studied in Egypt in this period. The scattered polemical texts against Origen that have been cited above may not in fact be much of an indication of what the situation really was. They reflect little or no knowledge of the subject. On the other hand, the existence of these fragments by Rufus is evidence of a very different level of culture, evidence that, at least in one small town in upper Egypt at the end of the sixth century, the tradition of Alexandrian exegesis was alive and well. The homilies of Rufus in fact manifest a cultural level far above that represented by the anti-Origenist polemic.

The simplest solution for the more learned in the face of this polemic was to use the works of the controversial authors without naming them and thus avoid conflict. Writers such as John Cassian, John Climacus or Maximus the Confessor, made extensive use of the writings of Origen and Evagrius but without mentioning their names.¹⁰⁸ That was one way to deal with the problem of hostile ignorance. Given the level of the anti-Origenist polemic we know of, it seems unlikely that those who engaged in it would have recognized the thought world of Origen or Didymus as long as their names were not mentioned and specific items of controversy were not raised.¹⁰⁹

Even the little that survives of Rufus' originally prodigious output does much to fill out our picture of Coptic culture in the period just before the Arab invasion. Rufus must have been well read in the Greek fathers. He must be reckoned a learned man even by the standards of the fourth century. It is the more surprising to find him at the end of the sixth century.¹¹⁰ This is evidence that it was still possible to acquire a good Greek education in upper Egypt in this period. The evidence offered by his writings does not fit the dismal picture of the

107. L. Koenen and W. Müller-Wiener, «Zu den Papyri aus dem Arsenioskloster bei Tura» *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 2 (1968): 51-52. The authors cite one of the Pachomian texts mentioned above as evidence of the attitude of the Egyptian monks toward such writings, but this text is one hundred and fifty years earlier. The manuscripts from Tura date from the sixth century, evidence that Origen and Didymus continued to be copied and studied in Egypt despite the controversy at the end of the fourth century.

108. See Guillaumont, *Les «Kephalaia Gnostica» d'Evagre le Pontique*, 163-164.

109. It must be admitted that at one point (M.14) Rufus does seem somewhat defensive about his teaching, but he insists that it is traditional.

Coptic bishops painted by Maspero.¹¹¹ Even if Rufus is an exception, an exception must get his education somewhere.¹¹² There must have been books available to read. And, last but not least, his audience must have been able to understand something of the complex exegesis that he was offering them as spiritual food. The preaching activity in which he was engaging was comparable to that of figures such as Didymus, Ambrose and Chromatius at the end of the fourth century, the golden age for this type of literature. Rufus' homilies are all the more striking in view of the fact that no one else seems to have been engaging in this kind of activity, as far as we know, either in the Coptic speaking world or in the Greek speaking society of his time.

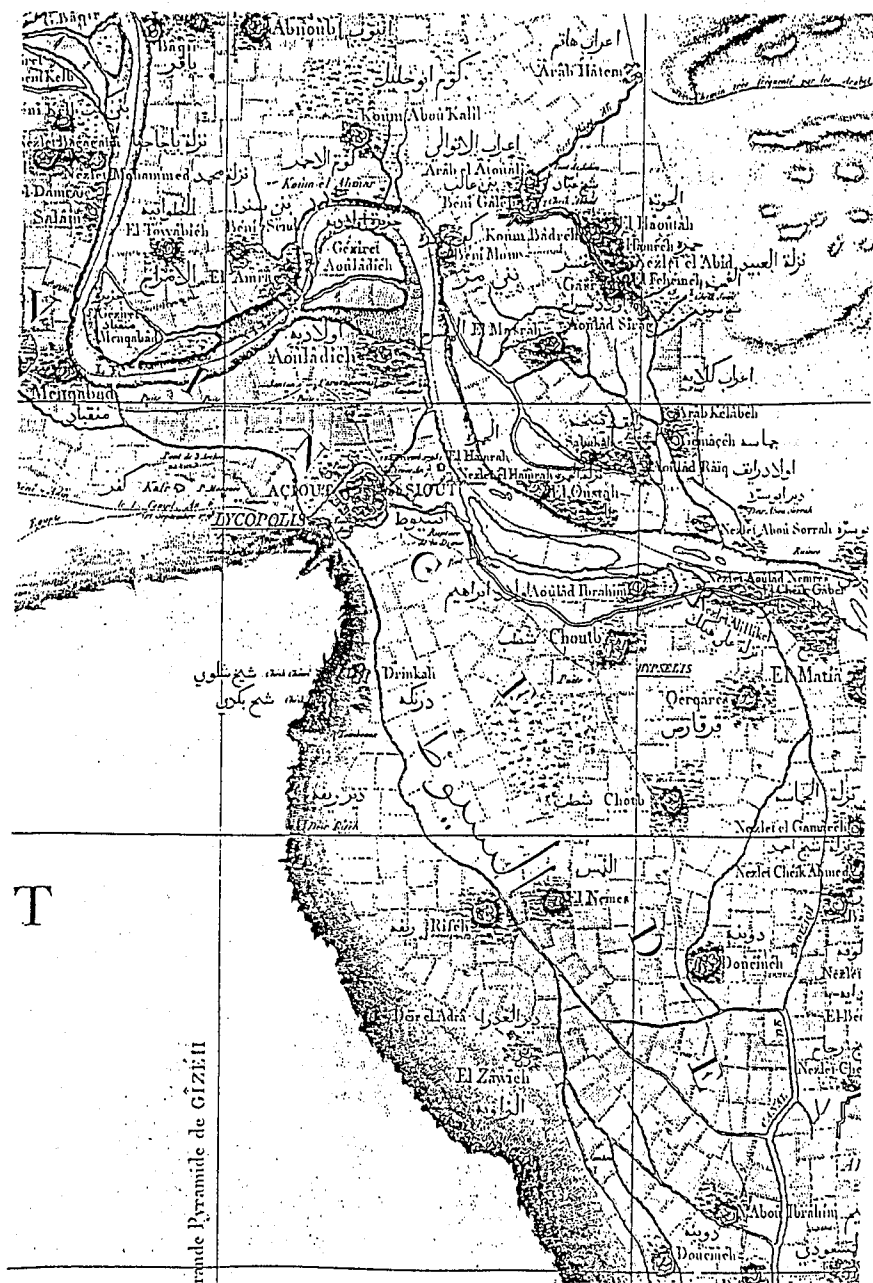
110. Garitte remarks that at this time Byzantine exegesis had already entered the era of compiling the catenae. See Garitte, «Rufus,» 33. What Rufus was doing in delivering such a series of homilies in Shotep about the year 600 is essentially the same as what Origen was doing in Caesarea in 240 or John Chrysostom in Antioch in 390. There is no evidence to suggest that anyone was still doing it in the Greek world in this period. The tradition was being carried on in Rome, however, in the person of Gregory the Great.

111. See Maspero, *Histoire des Patriarches*, 17-18.

112. Almost nothing is known of the state of education in Egypt outside of Alexandria in this period but the school exercises published by Crum and White are evidence that the traditional Greek system was still in place. See W. E. Crum and H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1926), 2:320-322.

APPENDIX

Map of Upper Egypt showing Shotep/Hypsele: Detail from *La Description de l'Égypte, Atlas Géographique*, Paris 1818, planche no. 12.



Texts of BM which duplicate BN

1. A10v BL OR 3581.A 34v; PMH.

ΟΥΠ̄ΝΑ ΠΕΤΧΙ · ΟΥ
 ΨΗΡΕ Ν̄ΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΠΕΤΟΥΧΙ Μ̄[Μ]ΟϢ
 ΝΨΑΥΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕ
 Μ̄ΠΕΤΕΝ̄CΕΤΗΚ
 ᾹΝ Ν̄ΖΗΤ ΕΧΩϢ
 ΝΨΑ[Υ]Χ,Ε̄Ν̄ΤΠΕΤΕ
 Ν̄CΕCΟΟΥΝ ᾹΝ ΝΤΕϢ
 ΔΟΚΙΜΗ Ν̄ϢΧΙ
 ΝΟΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΠΙΡΑ
 ΖΕ Μ̄ΜΟϢ · ΕΥΤΩ̄
 ΝΕΤΟ ΝΑΤ,ΝΑΖΤΕ,
 ΕΠΕΧ[ΠΟ ΚΑΤΑCΑ]
 Ρ̄Ξ ΕΠΕ[ΝCΩΤΗΡ]
 ΝΕΤΧ[Ω ΜΜΟϢ ΧΕ]
 Μ[ΠΕCΕΙ ΕΥΟΟΤΕ]

Μ[ΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΕΝ]ΤΕΖΙΗ
 Ν̄ΤΜ[Ε ΝΤΟ]Κ ΔΕ
 ΤΕΤΠΕ[ΚΖΗΤ] Ω
 ΠΡΩΜΕ [ΝΧ]ΡΙCΤΙ
 ΑΝΟC Ν̄ΚΕΙΜΕ ΕΠΡΩ
 ΜΕ ΠΕΧ̄C ῙC ΠΕΝ
 ΤΑϢΤΑΑϢ [Ν]CΩΤΕ
 ΖΑΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΝ
 ΤΑΥΜΗΗΩΕ ΠΩ
 Ψ̄C ΕΧ̄ΝΤΕϢΟΙΝΕΙ
 ΨΑΡΟΝ · ΑΛΛΑ
 ΧΕΚΑC Ν̄ΝΕΝΒΩΚ
 ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΝΟΥΑΨΗ
 [ΝΨΑΧΕ] · CΩΤΜ

2. A11 Naples I.B. 13, fasc.438 (Zoega 261,f.2); [P̄S̄λ]

The text is intact but the pagination has been lost. In the middle of the top margin of the recto are the remains of a design marking the beginning of a quire (cf. A9). In the corner of the top left of the recto one can see the remnant of a signature which ends with the numeral $\bar{\lambda}$ (1). On the basis of this evidence Garitte concluded (pp. 20-21) that it must have been paginated 161-162 since, according to the text, A11 belongs after A10, which forms part of quire 10 (it is paginated 147-148), and before A13, which forms part of quire 12 (it is paginated 187-188). Therefore it must mark the beginning of quire 11 which in a codex of regular quaternions (cf. A8) would begin with p. 161. A11 must then have been paginated 161-162. See Zoega, *Catalogus*, p. 618.

ΤΥΡΙΑ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΠΕ
 ΧΑΥ · ΧΕΦΝΑΖΩΩ
 ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΦΑΓ
 >ΓΕΛ[OC] ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ
 >ΕΤΡΕΥΧΙΤΚ ΕΧΝ
 >ΝΕΥΟΙΧ ΜΗΠΟΤΕ
 >ΝΚΧΩΡΠ ΕΥΩΝΕ
 >ΝΤΕΚΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ
 CΩTM ΕΠΑΤCΒΩ
 ΧΕΕΙΝΑ†CΒΩ Μ
 ΠΕΤ†CΒΩ ΤΕΙΛΕ
 ΞΙC ΟΥΝΘΟΜ ΜΜΟC
 ΕΑΠΑΤΑ ΝΖΑΖ ΧΕ
 CΕCHΖ ΝΑΜΕ ΕΤΒΕ
 ΠΕNCΩΤΗΡ · ΖΟΠΟΥ
 Δε ΠΕΙΨΑΛΜΟC ΠΕΙ
 ΜΕΖΠCΤΑΪΟΥ ΕΥ
 CHΖ ΑΝ ΕΧΜΠCΩ
 ΤΗΡ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΧΝ
 ΝΔΙΚΑΪΟC ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΕΤΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ ΕΟΥ
 ΩΖ ΖΑΤΒΟΗΘΙΑ
 ΜΠΠΕΤΧΟCΕ ·
 ΝΑΩ ΓΑΡ ΝΖΕ ΚΝΑ
 ΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΧΟΟC
 ΜΠΕΙCΩΤΗΡ ΧΕ
 ΕΡΕΠΕΙCΩΤΗΡ

ΝΗΥ ΕΧΩΥ · ΖΟ
 ΠΟΥ ΕΥCHΖ ΧΕΠΕ
 >ΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΑΤΒΟΗ
 >ΘΙΑ ΜΠΠΕΤΧΟCΕ
 >ΕΦΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΖΑ
 >ΘΑΙΒC ΜΠΠΟΥΤΕ
 >ΝΤΠΕ ΦΝΑΧΟ[O]C
 >ΜΠΧΟΕΙC Χ[Ε]Ν
 >ΤΟΚΠΕ ΠΑΡΕΦΩΟ
 >ΠΤ ΕΡΟΚ ΑΥΩ ΠΑ
 >ΜΑ ΜΠΩΤ ΑΥ
 ΚΑΡΩΥ ΔΕ ΕΝΕΤ
 ΝΑΕΛΙΧΕ ΜΜΟΥ
 ΑΥΘΕΠΝΕΙΛΕΞΙC
 ΖΝΤΜΗΤΕ ΜΠΕΙ
 ΨΑΛΜΟC · ΧΕΦΝΑ
 ΖΩ[N] ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΦ
 ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ
 ΝCΕΒΙΤΚ ΕΧΝΝΕΥ
 ΟΙΧ ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ΝΚ
 ΧΩΡΠ ΕΥΩΝΕ Ν
 ΤΕΚΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ · ΕΪ
 ΜΗΤΕΪ ΝΦΜΑΤΕ
 ΝΤΟΙΧ ΝΝΑΓΓΕ
 ΛΟC ΝΑΪ ΝΤΑΠΑΥ
 ΛΟC ΠΖΙΕΡΟC ΝΑ

3. *Allv Naples I.B. 13, fasc.438 (Zoega 261.f.2v); [P5B]*

ΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΤΑΜΟΝ
 ΕΠΕΥCΩΧΒ̄ ΝΝΑ
 ΖΡ̄ΜΠΤΑΜΙΟ ΜΠΩΗ
 ΡΕ ΕCΖΑΪ ΕCΧΩ Μ
 ΜΟC · ΧΕΝΤΑC
 ΧΟΟC ΓΑΡ ΝΝΙΜ ΝΝΕC
 >ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΝΕΖ ΧΕΝ
 >ΤΟΚΠΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ
 >ΑΝΟΚ ΑΪΧΠΟΚ Μ
 >ΠΟΟΥ ΠΛΗΝ
 ΕΠΙΔΗ ΠΧΑΧΕ
 ΠΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC ΕCΟΥ
 ΩΩ ΕΤΡΕΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ
 ΖΕ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ
 ΠΚΩΤ ΜΝΠΧΙCΕ
 ΝΤΕΥΑΡΕΤΗ · ΠΕ
 ΧΑC ΧΕΕΩΧΕ Ν
 ΤΟΚΠΕ ΠΩΗΡΕ Μ
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΟΧ̄Κ ΕΠΕ
 CΗΤ · ΠCΩΤΗΡ
 ΖΩΩC ΝΡ̄ΜΡΑΩ
 ΝΖΑΡ̄ΩΖΗΤ ΝΧ̄ΡC
 ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΡΕCΟΥΟΩ
 ΒC̄ ΖΝΟΥCΩΝΤ
 ΝΤΑCΟΥΟΩΒC̄ ΖΝ
 ΟΥΜΝΤΡΜΡΑΩ

>ΧΕCΗ2 ΟΝ ΧΕΝ
 ΝΕΚΠΙΡΑΖΕ ΜΠΧΟ
 ΕΙC ΠΕΚΝΟΥΤΕ ΕC
 ΤΑΜΟ ΜΜΟΚ ΧΕ
 ΝΝΕΚΕΡΚΟΥΙ Ν
 ΖΗΤ ΖΝΜΠΙΡΑC
 ΜΟC ΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΚ
 ΟΑΠCΠ ΖΝΝΕΘΛΙ
 ΨΙC ΝΚΖΟΥΩ
 ΕΠΕΤ†ΤΩΝ ΝΜ
 ΜΑΚ ΑΛΛΑ ΖΝ
 ΟΥΜΝΤΡΜΡΑΩ
 ΕΚΕΟΥΩΩΒ̄ ΝΑC
 ΕΚCΟΥΝ ΧΕΤΕ
 ΘΛΙΨΙC ΕCΡΖΩΒ
 ΕΥΖΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ
 ΘΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ ΔΕ
 ΕΥΖΕΛΠΙC ΘΕΛ
 ΠΙC ΔΕ ΜΕCΧΙΩΙ
 ΠΕ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ †
 CΩΤΗ ΕΡΟC ΖΜΠΜΕΖ
 ΩΟΜΝΤ ΜΠΙΡΑC
 ΜΟC ΧΕΛΥΧΙΤC
 >ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧ̄ΝΟΥΤΟΥ

4. FR-BN Copte 131.6, f.18 [P5Γ]

See Porcher [108].

>Ε4ΧΟCΕ ΜΜΑ,Τ, [Ε]
 >Α4ΤCΑΒΟ4 ΕΜ, ΜΝ, Τ
 >ΕΡΩΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ Μ
 >ΠΚΟCΜΟC ΜΝΠΕ4
 >ΕΟΟΥ ΠΕΧΑ4 ΝΑ4
 >ΧΕΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ †
 >ΝΑΤΑΑΥ ΝΑΚ ΕΚ
 >ΩΑΝΠΑ2ΤΚ ΝΚ
 >ΟΥΩΨΤ ΝΑΙ· ΕΩ
 ΧΕ 2ΕΝΩΑΧΕ ΝCΒΩ
 ΝΕ Ε4ΧΩ ΜΜΟΟΥ
 ΝΟΙΠΧΑΧΕ· ΕΠΡΕ4
 [C]ΩΝΤ ΝΤΠΕ ΜΝ
 ΠΚΑ2· ΠΡΕ4ΤΑ
 [ΧΡΟ ΜΠ]ΚΟCΜΟC
 [ΜΝ]ΝΕΤΕΝ2ΗΤ4
 [Ε]ΚΩΑΝ†[2]ΤΗΚ
 ΓΑΡ ΕΠΕ2Ρ[ΗΤΟΝ]
 ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤ[ΝΑΠΙC]
 ΤΕΥΕ ΧΕ[ΟΥΝΤΟ]
 ΟΥ Ε4ΧΟCΕ [ΝΤΕΙ2Ε]
 ΕΥΝΟΟΜ Μ[ΠΕΤ][ΝΑΑ]
 ΛΕ ΕΧΩ4 ΕΝΑΥ [ΕΜ]
 Ε ΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΙΜ [....]

,Τ,ΑΝΠΕΡCΟC
 ΤΑΝΕ2ΡΩΜΑΙΟC
 ΤΑΝΕΝ2ΝΤΟΥ·
 ΤΑΝΕCΚΥ[Θ]ΗC
 ΤΑΝΕΒΡΗΤΤΑ
 ΝΟC
 ΤΑΝΜΑΥΡΟC
 ΜΝΝΕΟΟΩ
 ΧΙΝΜΜΟΝ ΟΥΩΑ
 ΧΕ ΝΩΟΥ2ΕΤ2Ω
 Τ4 ΠΕΤΕΡΕΤΕ
 ΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΑΜΟ Μ
 ΜΟΝ ΕΡΟ4 ΜΠΕΙΜΑ
 ΑΡΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΠΑΡ
 ΧΩΝ ΜΠΙΑΙΩΝ
 ΠΑΙ ΝΤΑ4ΧΟΟC
 ΧΕ†ΝΑΕΙΡΕ 2Ν
 ΤΑC[Ο]Μ ΑΥ,Ω, 2Ν
 ΤΑ[ΜΝΤΡΜΝ2ΗΤ]
 †Ν[ΑΒΙ ΝΝ2ΕΘΝΟC]
 Τ[ΑΩΩΛ ΝΤΕΥΟΜ]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]

5. FR-BN Copte 131.6, f.18v [P⁵Δ]

ΝΑΨΙΤΟΥ ΝΘΕ Ν
 ΖΕΝCΟΟΥΖΕ ΕΑΥΛΟ
 ΖΑΡΟΥ · ΕΑΨ[ΕΙ]
 ΕΠΙΒΙΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΑΨ
 ΞΙΠΕCΧΗΜΑ Μ
 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΒΕΠΟΥ
 ΧΑΪ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΨ
 ΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ<Ε>ΨΝΑ<ΕΨ>ΕΡ
 ΖΑΛ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΝΝΕΨ
 ΨΑΧΕΝ̄CΟΛ · ΛΟΙ
 ΠΟΝ ΑΨΟΥΨΒ ΝΑΨ
 Ν̄CΙΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΧΡC
 ΕΨΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ
 ΒΩΚ ΠCΑΤΑΝΑC
 ΨCHZ ΓΑΡ ΧΕΠΧΟ
 >ΕΙC ΠΕΚΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ
 >ΤΕΚΝΑΟΥΨΤ
 >ΝΑΨ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΟΥ
 Μ₁Α₁Υ₁[ΑΑΨ ΠΕΤΕ]ΚΝΑ
 [.....] ΠΕΙ
 [.....] ΧΙ
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]

[ΟΥ] ΜΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ
 ΖΩC ΡΩΜΕ · ΑΥΩ
 ΝΤΕΥΝΟΥ ΝΤΕΡΕΨ
 ΑΠΕΙΛΕ ΕΡΟΥ Μ
 ΠΕΨΚΟΤΨ ΝΡΖΑΛ
 ΜΜΟΥ ΖΝΝΕΨΨΑ
 ΧΕ ΝΚΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ
 ΜΠΕΨΕΨΤΑΨΟΥΨ
 ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΖΜΠΚΩΤ
 ΝΤΑΡΕΤΗ ΟΥΤΕ
 ΜΠΕΨΕΨΨΩΡC
 ΕΡΟΥ ΖΜΠΨΟΥ
 ΨΟΥ ΜΠΒΙΟC · ΖΜ
 ΠΤΡΕΨΧΟΟC ΝΑΨ
 ΧΕΒΩΚ ΠCΑΤΑ
 ΝΑC ΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΔΕ
 ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΨΒΩΚ
 ΑΥΩ ΕΙCΖΗΗΤΕ
 ΕΙC ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC [ΑΥ][ΕΙ]
 ΑΥΔΙΑ₁Κ₁[ΟΝΕΙ]
 ΝΑΨ [ΜΑ]ΡΕΨΡΑ
 [ΨΕ ΝΨ]ΑΓΩΝΙΖΕ
 Ν₁CΙΠΕΤΝΑΧΡΟ
 ΧΕΕΥΝΑΔΙΑΚΟ
 Ν₁ΕΙ ΝΑΨ ΖΙΤΝ̄
 Ν₁ΑΓΓΕΛΟC · ΟΥΟΝ

6. A12v Naples I.B. 13, fasc.438 (Zoega 261, f.3v); [?]

[ΦΑΡΝΑΟΥΜ ΤΕΤ
 >ΖΑΤΝΘΑΛΑCΣΑ ΖΝ
 >ΝΤΩ ΝΖΑΒΟΥ]
 >ΛΩΝ ΜΝ<Ν> ΕΦΘΑ
 >ΛΕΙΜ · ΑΧΚΩ Ν
 CΩ4 ΝΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ
 ΠΤΙΜΕ ΕΤΤΡΑΝ
 ΕΠΕΤΝΑΟΥΩ2 Μ
 ΜΑΥ ΧΕΠΝΑΖΩ
 ΡΑΙΟΣ · ΑΧΚΩ Ν
 CΩ4 ΝΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ
 ΕΡΕΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΑΜΟ
 ΜΜΟΝ ΧΕΑΧΚΑ
 ΠΤΩ ΜΠΛΑΟΣ
 ΝCΩ4 ΑΧΒΩΚ
 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΝΖΕΘΝΟΣ
 ΕΩΧΕ ΚΝΑCΩΤΜ
 ΔΕ ΟΝ ΝΚ4Ι ΕΡΟΚ
 Ω ΠΑΚΡΟΑΤΗΣ
 ΑΡΗΥ ΕΡΕΠΕΥΑΓΓΕ
 ΛΙCΤΗΣ †ΜΑΕΙΝ
 ΝΑΝ ΕΥΚΕΦΑΛΑΪ
 ΟΝ ΜΠΕΙΜΑ ΧΕΑ4
 ΚΑΝΑΖΑΡΕΘ ΝCΩ4
 ΠΜΑ ΝΩΩΠΕ Ν
 ΝΖΕΒΡΑΙΟΣ ΝΕΙΠΕ

[ΤΟΥΑΛΒ ΖΝΝΕΥ
 ΤΩ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕΜΕΥ
 ΩΩΒ ΜΠΒΩ Μ
 ΠΕΥΕΡΗΤ ΖΕΝΟΥ
 CΙΑ ΓΑΡΝΕ ΜΠΑΡ
 ΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΝΑΪ Ν
 ΤΑΧΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟ]
 ΟΤΟΥ [ΝΤΟΠΟΣ Ν]
 ΝΕΙΑΘ[ΑΝΑΤΟΣ]
 ΑΧΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΚΑΦΑΡ
 ΝΑΟΥΜ ΠΑΪ ΕΩΔΥ
 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟ4 ΧΕ
 ΧΩΡΙΟΝ ΠΑΡΑ
 ΚΛΗCΕΩC ΤCΩ
 ΩΕ ΜΠCΟΛCΛ ΜΝ
 ΤΕ†CΩΩΕ ΝΕΝ
 ΜΕΡΑΤΕ ΝCΑΤΕ
 ΨΥΧΗ ΕΤΝΑ
 ΩΩΠΕ ΝΟΥCΩΩΕ
 ΜΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΤΡΕ4
 CΚΑΪ ΝΨΩΛ ΝΨ
 ΕΙΡΕ ΝΤΕΨΜΝΤΟΥ
 ΟΕΙΕ ΝΖΗΤC ΕΤΡΕC
 ΕΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΚΑΡ
 ΠΟC ΝCΟΛCΛ ΤΑΪ
 ΕΤΡΖΗΒΕ ΑΥΩ

7. A13 Naples I.B. 13, fasc.438 (Zoega 261.f.1); $\overline{\Pi\Pi\Xi}$

The top part of this leaf is shriveled and darkened. The first column of the recto has only 15 lines of text. The bottom of the column is occupied by a large square design filled with interlacing. The irregular form of the square shows that it was put in after the large initial of column two. The larger part of the second column of the recto is occupied by the title of the tenth homily, which is written in an italic style script distinct from that of the text. This is surrounded on the top and on the left by a band of lacing which also forms the top of the enormous initial which begins the text of the tenth homily. See Zoega, *Catalogus*, p. 618.

ΟΥΑ[ΖΟΥ ΝCΑΠΤΑ]
 ΨΕΘΕΙΩ [ΕΖΕΤΡΝΕC]
 ΖΑΪ ΜΠ[ΝΟΜΟC]
 ΕΝΕΥ[ΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ] ΑΥΩ
 ΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΑ Ν
 ΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΤΕC
 ΒΩ ΝΝΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC
 ΤΑΖΟΤΠΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΕΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΖΙΤ̄Μ
 ΠΑCΝΟC ΖΙΤ̄ΜΠΕC
 ΤΑΥΡΟC · ΠΕΘΟΥ
 Μ̄ΠΕΙΩΤ Μ̄ΝΠΩΗ
 ΡΕ Μ̄ΝΠΕΠ̄ΝΑ ΕΤΟΥ
 ΑΑΒ ΨΑΕΝΕΖ ΝΕ
 ΝΕΖ ΖΑΜΗΝ~

[ΠΜΕΖΜΗΤ ΝΛΟΓΟC ΕΑC
 ΤΑΥΟC ΝΟΙΠΕΙCΟ]
 ΦΟC [ΠΕΠΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΖΡΟΥ]
 ΦΟC ΠΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC Ν
 ΩΩΤΠ ΤΠΟΛΙC ΕC
 ΒΩΛ ΜΠΕΖΡΗΤΟΝ ΕΤ
 ΖΜΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΚΑ
 ΤΑΜΑΘΑΙΟC ΕΠΕΖΡΗ
 ΤΟΝ ΔΕΠΕ ΠΑΪ · ΧΕ
 ΧΙΝΠΕΥΘΕΙΩ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ
 ΑCΑΡΧΕΙ Ν̄ΟΙC ΕΤΑ
 ΨΕΘΕΙΩ ΑΥΩ ΕΧΟΟC
 ΧΕΜΕΤΑΝΟΪ ΔC
 ΖΩΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ν̄ΟΙ
 ΤΜ̄ΝΤΕΡΟ ΝΜΠΗΥΕ
 ΜΝΝΕΤΝΗΥ Μ̄Ν̄
 CΑΝΑΙ · Ζ̄ΝΟΥΕΙΡΗ
 ΝΗ · ΖΑΜΗΝ ~

— · · · — · · · — · · · —
 — · · · — · · · — · · · —
 ΑΝΑΥ ΕΠCΟΤΒC
 Μ̄ΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ ΧΕΟΥ
 ΖΟΤΕΠΕ ΝΑΩ Ν̄ΖΕ
 ΧΙΝ{Μ̄}ΠΕCΜΟΥΝ̄
 ΕΜΠΑΤΟΥΧΡΩ Μ̄
 ΜΟC ΕΕΙΡΕ ΝΤΕCΕΡ

8. A14 Vienna K9692r; [?]

This leaf is damaged by an irregular hole in the upper middle portion and by a round hole in the bottom of the second column of the recto. In the same area there is also a fault in the parchment around which the scribe has worked. This has resulted in an irregularly shaped column. The pagination is lost but the location of the leaf is clear because the same text is contained in manuscript BN (B12-13). Certain lines have an initial letter beginning in the left margin but these letters are not larger than the others.

ΚΤΟΝ Τ[ΕΝΝΑΥ]
 ΕΤΕΣΠΟΥΔ[Η ΝΤΕ]
 ΤΝΑΓΑΠΗ Χ[Ε ΤΕ]
 ΤΝΚΟΙΝ[Ω][ΝΕΙ]
 ΕΝΕΧΡΙΑ Ν[ΝΕΤΟΥ]
 ΑΑΒ · ΝΕCΝ[Η][Υ Α]
 ΠΕΚΡΙΤΗΣ ΖΜΟΟ[С]
 ΕΚΡΙΝΕ ΝΝΖΕΘΝ[ΟС]
 ΑΠΩΩC ΕΙ ΕΠΩΡ[Χ]
 ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕCΟΖΕ Α
 ΠΛΑΟC ΤΗΡC ΝΤΕ[Κ]
 ΚΛΗCΙΑ ΒΩΚ ΝCΑ
 ΟΥΝΑΜ · ΑCΖΚΟ
 ΓΑΡ ΑΤΕΤΝΤΜΟC
 ΑCΕΙΒΕ ΑΤΕΤΝ
 ΤCΟΒ · ΝΕCΚΗΚΑ
 ΖΗΥ ΑΤΕΤΝ†ΖΙ
 ΩΩC · ΝΙΜ ΓΑΡ
 ΠΕΤΕΝCΟΥΩΜ ΑΝ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΕΤΝΟ
 ΕΙ{Ν}<Κ> ΠΚΑΡΠΟC Ν
 ΝΕΤΝΖΙCΕ · ΝΙΜ
 ΠΕΤΕΝCΟΥ ΑΝ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠΗΡΠ
 ΝΤΕΤΝΒΩ ΝΕ
 ΛΟΟΛΕ · ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΕ
 ΜΠΕΤΕCΝΑΖΒΕ
 ΖΜΟΜ ΖΜΠCΟΡΤ

Ν,Ν[ΕΤ]Ν ΕΖΙΕΙΒ
 Ν,ΑΙΑΤΤΗΥΤΝ ΠΛΑ
 [Ο]C ΝΩΟΥΜΕΡΙΤC
 [Μ]ΠΡΤΡΕΝΖΗΚΕCΕ
 ΜΠΛΑΟC CΩΤΜ
 ΝCΕΜΚΑΖ ΝΖΗΤ ΧΕ
 ΜΝΤΑΥ Ε† · ΤΕΤΝ
 ΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΩ
 ΤΝ ΟΥΝΟCΤΕ ΕΜΝ
 ΤCΩΙ ΝΤΑΠΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΓΑΡ CΩΤΠ ΝΝ
 ΖΗΚΕ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC
 ΝΡΜΜΑΟ ΖΝΤΠΙC
 ΤΙC ΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟ
 ΜΟC ΝΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ
 ΚΑΤΑΠΩΑΧΕ Μ
 ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC ΙΑ
 ΚΩΒΟC · ΑΠΝΟΥ
 ΤΕ ΖΩΝ ΖΝΝ[Α]Ρ
 ΧΑΙ[Ο],C, ΕΤΑ
 Μ[ΙΕ]ΤΕC
 Κ[Υ]ΝΗ
 Α[Υ]Ω Ν
 ΤΑ,CΧΟΟC
 [Α]Ν ΧΕΜΑ
 Ρ,ΕΥ†ΝΟΥΒ
 ΖΙΖΑΤ ΖΙΕΝΕ ΜΜΕ
 ΕΠΕCΚΑΤΑCΚΕΥΗ

9. A14v Vienna K9692v; [?]

ΜΑΤ[Ε] ΕΤ[ΕΝΑΙ]
 ΝΕ ΝΕΚΤΗΜΑ Μ
 ΠΡΜΜΑΟ ΑΛΛΑ Α[Ι]
 ΩΤΜ ΟΝ ΧΕΧ[ΗΘΕ]
 ΖΙΩΝC ΖΙΚΟΚ[ΚΟC]
 ΖΙΒΩΝΒΑΑΜΠΕ ΝΑΙ
 ΝΤΑΥΤΑΜΙΕΝΒΩ
 ΖΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ
 ΑΥΡCΚΕΠΗ ΕΤΕC
 ΚΥΝΗ ΤΗΡC ΤΑΙ
 ΤΕΘΕ ΖΩΤΤΗΥ
 ΤΝ ΖΟΙΝΕ ΑΥΕΙΝΕ
 ΝΘΒCΩ ΝΝ[ΕΙ]ΖΒΗΥΕ
 ΖΝΟΥΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ
 ΖΟΙΝΕ ΖΝΟ_ΥΩΙ
 ΖΟΙΝΕ ΕΑΥ† ΝΤΕΥ
 CΠΟΥΔΗ ΖΕΝΚΟ
 ΟΥΕ ΕΑΥ† ΝΤΕΙΟ
 ΠΕ ΝΝΕΥCΙ_Χ
 ΝΑ[Ι] ΕΤΕΡΕ
 ΠΝ[ΟΥ]
 ΤΕ [ΝΑ]
 ΧΑΡ[Ι]
 ΖΕ Ν_ΑΥ,
 [Μ]ΠΩ
 Ν[Ζ] ΩΑ_Ε,
 ΝΕΖ ΝΤΟΥ
 ΕΙΟ ΝΤΕΥ,ΑΓΑΠΗ
 ΖΙΤ[ΝΙC] ΠΕΧC ΠΕΝ

[ΧΟΕΙC] ΕΒΟΛ
 [ΠΑ]Ι ΠΕΟΟΥ
 [ΝΑC] ΜΝΠΕCΕΙΩΤ
 [ΝΑΓΑΘΟC] ΜΝΠΕ
 [ΠΝΑ ΕΤ]ΟΥΑΑΒ Ν
 [ΡΕCΤΑ]ΝΖΟ ΑΥΩ Ν
 [Ζ]ΟΜΟΟΥCΙΟΝ ΤΕ
 [Ν]ΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ
 Ν_ΙΜ ΩΑΕΝΕΖ ΖΑΜΗΝ

— ... — ... — ... —

— ... — ... — ... —

CABBATIKH

— ... — ... — ... —

— ... — ... — ... —

Μ,ΑΡΕΠΡΕCΗΝΟΥC

ΩΤΜ ΝCCTΩΤ

ΝΤΕΠΡΕCΩΝΤ

ΩΤΜ ΝCΕΡΖΟΤΕ

ΝCΑΖΩΩC ΕΒΟΛ

Ε,ΤΟΡΓΗ ΑΥΩ ΝC

ΚΩ ΝCΩC ΜΠCΩ

ΝΤ ΜΑΡΕCΩΙΝΕ

ΝCΑ†ΡΗΝΗ Ν_ΙC

ΠΩΤ ΝCΩC ΧΕ

ΤΕΚΡΙCΙC ΜΝ

ΠCΥΝΖΕΔΡΙΟΝ

ΜΝΤΓΕΕΝΑ Ν

CΑΤΕ ΝΕΤΩΟΟΠ

ΜΠΡΕCΗΝΟΥC ΤΕ

ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΔΕ

ΝΤΜΝΤΩΗΡΕ

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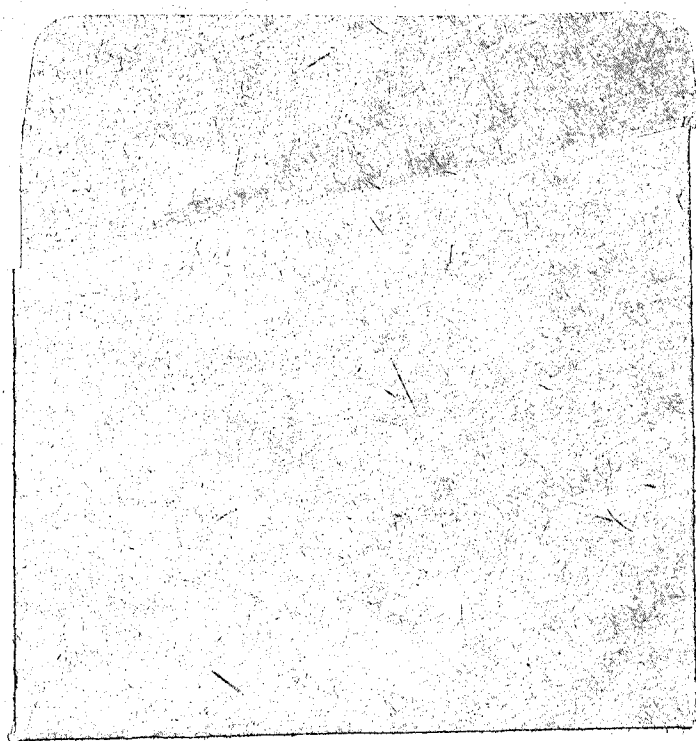
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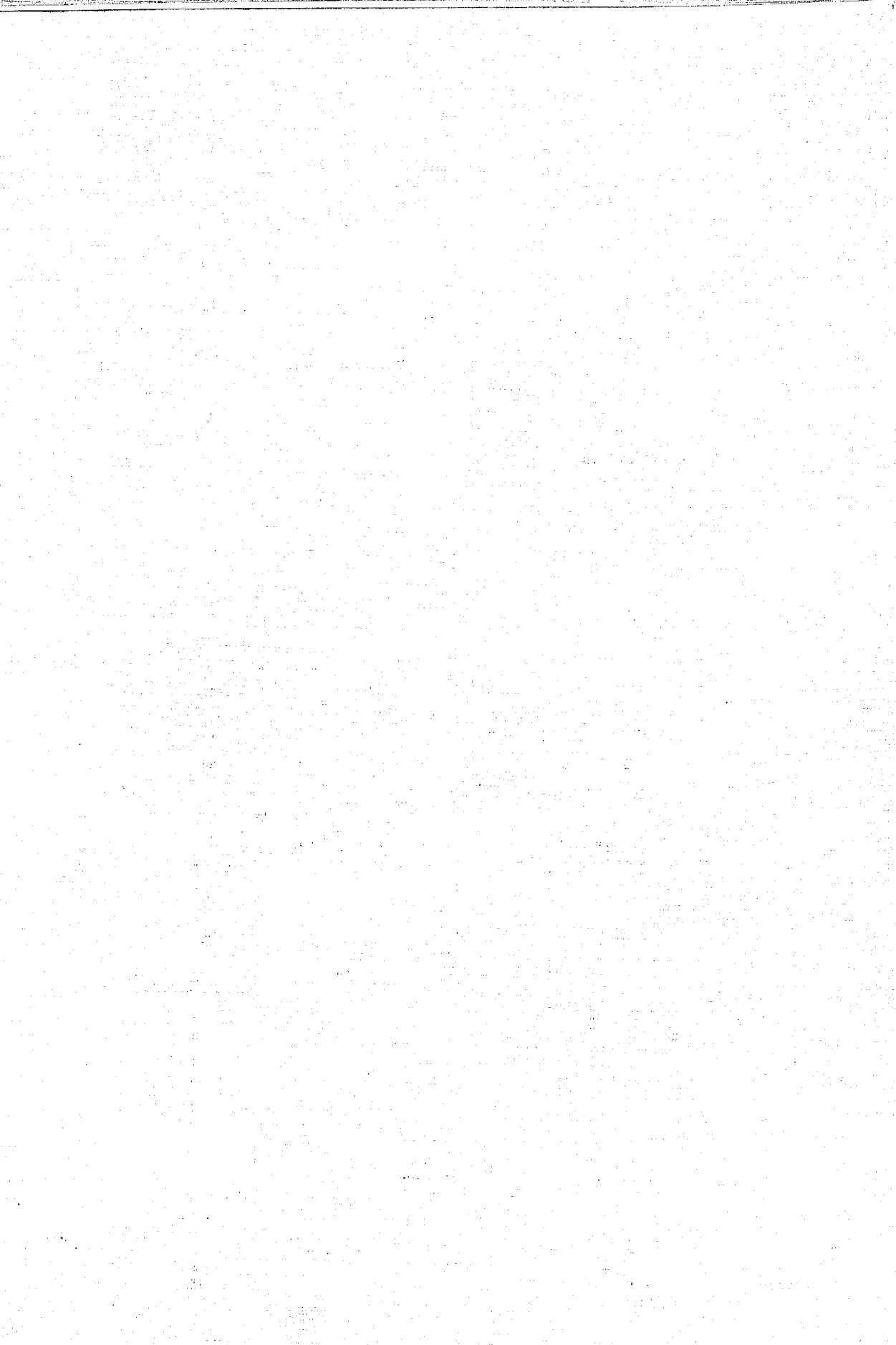
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Errata, Addenda, Corrigenda

Errata:

On pp. 41-44, the references to the text of Rufus are incorrect. They should read as follows:

Error - Correction

(p. 41)

M.38 = M.39

(p. 42)

M.39-40 = M. 41-42

L.19-43 = L. 23-47

L.19-24 = L. 23-28

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(p.43)

L.28-30 = L.32-34

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L.35 = L.39

L.36 = L.40

L.37 = L.41

L.38 = L.42

L.39 = L.43

L.40 = L.44

L.41-42 = L.45-46

(p.44)

L. 42-43 = L.46-47

On p. 190 (L.27), read **ΔΥΜΩΡΙ** (τιμωρέω), instead of **ΔΥΜΜΙΡΙ**. Likewise in the index, p. 347.

On p. 199 (L.36), read **ΝΤΑΦΟΥΩΦΒ** in place of **ΝΤΑΦΟΥΩΦΒ** (left col., l.7)

On p. 209, read: “Variants from L.47” (instead of L.43).

Addenda:

On p. 130 (M.4) “the one who knows the things that will be before they come to be” (Wis 8:8)

On p. 142 (M.28): “he does not himself tempt anyone to evil” (Jas 1:13)

On p. 228 (L.25) “when he was held in honor, did not know him” (cf. Ps 48:13,21)

Corrigenda:

p. 127 (M.1): “Their turning to one another is the bond of peace.”

p. 130 (M.5): “Having passed beyond two”

p. 133 (M.10): “drinks and drunkennesses and pleasures”

p. 148 (M.39): **ΟΥΩΑΧΕ ΝΟΥΥΖΕΤΖΩΤΥ** = “a story worthy to be examined.”

p. 160 (M.63): “Who is it who is not filled from the wine of your vine?”

p. 164: “the garment of lordship”
[**ΕΝΘΗΜΑ** = ἐνδυμα]

p. 231 (L.33): “she became anxious”
[**ΑΚΟΝΙ** = ἀγωνιάζω]

p. 237 (L.48): “He who presides [or “rules”] with diligence.” The word **σπουδή** has two meanings on which Rufus is playing.

p. 238 (L.51): “The sister of Moses danced and the women danced with her.”