

## **The “Gnomes” of the Council of Nicaea**

What follows are drafts of a text and translation of the gnomes transmitted in the Coptic tradition with material relating to the Council of Nicaea.

These are a work in progress. Beyond a great deal of checking, which needs to be undertaken, I intend to provide an introduction and commentary. I also suspect that there are some fragments of this work elsewhere among the Turin papyri, which will in due course be added.

My interest and expertise is in the church order tradition and the history of liturgy; that is the reason for my engagement with this text. I am not a Coptologist. The work in progress has an intended audience of students of early Christian literature and church orders. However, I wish to provide a text with my discussion of the document for this audience so that, on the basis that the existing editions are hard to find, those who had some knowledge of Coptic might be enabled to check the text if there was something of particular concern. The main purpose of the work is to provide a translation with introduction and commentary with a view to making this text better known and to advance the debate regarding church orders by allowing us to map these “gnomes” as part of that tradition.

However, in undertaking the task of providing the text I have noted major variations between the versions. The text is based on T (see the sigla below) on the grounds that this is the most complete of the texts, and possibly the earliest. However, there are occasions where I have preferred a version to T. Lammeyer (see the sigla below) has done the same very thoroughly, noting all variations between P and the other versions, but because of the arrangement of his work it is hard to use.

In view of my own limitations in this regard I would be very grateful to anyone with proper expertise in Coptic who might take time to look at these drafts and to alert me to the many errors which no doubt lurk below. Updated versions will be posted at intervals.

Alistair C. Stewart

vicar@uptoncumchalvey.org.uk

**Sigla:**

B: Borgia collection, 239, 73-84, now in the Museo archeologico nazionale di Napoli.

Published by Eugène Revillout, *Le Concile de Nicée d'après les textes Coptes: nouvelle série de documents* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1876)

Lammeyer: v. sub P.

P: Bibliothèque nationale Copte-sahidique 129 14/75-82. Edited by Joseph Lammeyer *Die sogenannte Gnomen des Concils von Nicaea: ein homiletischer Traktat des 4 Jahrhunderts* (Beirut: np, 1912)

Revillout: v. sub T.

Rossi: v sub T.

T: Museo Egizio di Torino, cat. 63000. Edited by Eugène Revillout, *Le Concile de Nicée d'après les textes Coptes: première série de documents* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1873) and again by Francesco Rossi, *Trascrizione di alcuni testi copti tratti dai papiri del Museo Egizio di Torino* (Turin: Loescher, 1884).

**Note:** Rossi's transcription of T is far superior to that of Revillout, who seems to have introduced several errors and seems to have been able to read far less than Rossi. Rossi provides an Italian translation, and Revillout a partial translation into French. When publishing B Revillout was content to reprint his translation of T. Lammeyer provides a German translation of P, supplemented by a translation of T where P is defective.

ΠΓΝΩΜΗ ΝΤΣΥΝΟΔΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ<sup>1</sup>

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΟΥΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΠΕ. ΠΧΣ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕ<sup>2</sup> ΑΥΩ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ. ΟΥΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΠΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ.  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΗΤΩ ΖΟΥΕΙΤΕ.<sup>3</sup> ΟΥΤΕ ΜΗ ΖΑΝ ΘΡΟΠ ΝΤΜΗΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΤΑΡΧΗ ΑΥΩ ΠΧΩΚ  
ΜΠΤΕΡΩ. ΜΗΚΤΙΣΜΑ ΘΡΟΠ ΖΗ ΤΕΤΡΙΑΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΟΥ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΑΦΩΝΤ ΜΠΤΗΡΩ. ΜΗΝ ΠΕΤΟΗΧΟΕΙΣ  
ΕΛΑΑΥ ΖΗ ΝΕΦΖΒΗΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ.<sup>4</sup> ΑΦΤ ΟΥΑΥΔΟΖΟΥΣΙΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΤ ΖΗΠΤΗΡΩ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕ  
ΝΕΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΗΣΙΣ ΟΥΩΝΩ ΕΒΟΛ.<sup>5</sup> Α ΤΕΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΗΣΙΣ ΔΕ<sup>6</sup> ΝΖΟΙΝΕ ΘΜΣΟΥ ΖΑΤΗ ΠΕΧΣ. ΑΥΩ ΔΣΧΑΣΤΟΥ  
ΠΑΡΑ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ. ΖΕΝ ΚΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΔΣΧΙΤΟΥ ΕΑΜΗΤΕ. ΜΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΣΝΤ ΛΑΑΥ ΕΦΖΟΥ. ΝΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ  
ΖΟΥ ΑΝ ΖΗ ΤΕΦΥΣΙΣ. ΑΛΛΑ ΖΗ ΤΕΥΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ. ΝΚΕ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΕΥΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ ΔΣΩΡΩ  
ΧΑΣΤΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΕΥΑΡΕΣΚΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΠΕΥΖΗΤ ΜΗΙΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΜΠΠΕΥΤΑΙΟ.<sup>7</sup> ΤΕΦΥΣΙΣ  
ΓΑΡ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΣΡΧΡΕΙΑ ΑΝ ΝΛΑΑΥ ΖΗ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΣΟΝΤΟΥ.<sup>8</sup> ΠΤΗΡΩ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΥ ΦΡΧΡΕΙΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ.  
ΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΦΣΝΤ ΛΑΑΥ ΝΦΩ ΕΦΟΥΧ. ΕΦΟΥΟΥΧΑΙ<sup>9</sup> ΓΑΡ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΙΤΗ ΤΕΝΕΡΓΙΑ ΜΠΕΦΣΟΥΩ.<sup>10</sup>  
ΜΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΩΝΤ ΛΑΑΥ ΕΙΜΗΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥΤΩ ΜΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ. ΝΣΩΝΤ ΓΑΡ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΩ  
ΠΝΑ ΝΕΥ ΑΥΖΑΝΕ ΜΜΟΥ.<sup>11</sup> ΕΡΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΕ ΝΝΕΤΣΩΤΗ ΝΣΩΦ.<sup>12</sup> ΝΕΤΣΩΤΗ ΔΕ ΝΣΩΦ ΣΕ ΣΟΥΤΩΝ  
ΖΗ ΤΕΥΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ. ΕΡΕ ΤΕΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ<sup>13</sup> ΖΗ ΝΕΦΖΒΗΥΕ. ΖΙΤΗ ΝΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΖΟΙΝΕ  
ΖΗ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΧΕ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΖΕΝΚΟΥ ΧΕ ΔΑΙΜΩΝ.

ΠΕΤΟΥΩ ΕΣΩΤΗ ΝΣΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΦΝΑΒΙΣΜΗ ΕΠΕΦΕΝΤΟΛΗ. ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΝΑΦΩΡΠΩ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ  
ΜΜΗΝΕ.<sup>14</sup> ΠΕΤΕ ΝΩΦΩΡΠΩ ΜΜΟΥ ΑΝ ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΕΦΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΕΠΕΦΟΥΧΑΙ ΜΗΙΝ ΜΜΟΥ.<sup>15</sup> ΠΕΤΗΝΤ ΓΑΡ  
ΕΡΑΤΩ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΦΩΙΝΕ ΝΣΑ ΟΥΒΟΗΕΙΑ<sup>16</sup> ΦΩΡΠΩ<sup>17</sup> ΕΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΜΗΝΣΩΣ ΑΤΕΚΤΕΧΝΗ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕ  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΣΜΟΥ ΕΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ<sup>18</sup> ΝΝΕΚΒΙΧ. ΠΕΤΩΦΩΡΠΩ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΤΕΦΤΕΧΝΗ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΗ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΕ  
ΠΕΦΩΒ ΝΑΦΩΠΕ ΖΗ ΟΥΜΗΤΑΤΖΟΤΕ. ΑΝΑΖΤΕ ΝΝΕΝΤΑΚΣΟΤΜΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΗ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΑΝ ΕΚΡΩΒ Η  
ΕΚΜΟΥΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΤ ΝΑΡΝΟΒΕ ΑΝ ΠΕ.<sup>19</sup> ΟΥΝ ΠΕΤΩΦΩ ΕΖΕΝΜΗΣΕ ΟΥΩΦ ΕΡΟΥ ΖΗ ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ. ΦΣΟΤΗ

<sup>1</sup> So TB, though preceded by ΔΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ. This, however, may have reference to the *vita* of Athanasius which precedes the gnomes in this codex. However in B it is preceded by ΤΣΥΝΖΟΔΟΣ ΝΗΚΑΙΑ. Cf. P: [ΝΑΙ ΝΕ] ΝΕΚΑ[Ν]ΩΝ ΝΤΕΚ[ΚΛΗ]ΣΙΑ [ΝΤΑΣ] Ζ[ΔΙ]ΟΥ ΝΒΙ ΙΠΠΟΛΙΤΟΣ ΝΑ[ΡΧΕΠΙ]ΚΟ[ΠΟΣ Ε]ΤΟΥΑΔΒ [ΝΖ]ΡΩΜΗ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΕ[Γ]ΝΩΜΗ ΝΤΣΥΝ[Ζ]ΟΔΟΣ Ε[ΤΟΥΑΔΒ].

<sup>2</sup> ΠΧΠΟΕΙΣ ΠΕ is in a secondary hand. Revillout suggests that it should read ΟΥΑΓΑΘΟΣ, however B reads  $\overline{\text{ic}} \text{ πε}\overline{\text{xc}}$  ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕ and P reads  $\overline{\text{pe}}\overline{\text{xc}} \text{ ic}$  ΠΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ.

<sup>3</sup> ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΗΤΩ ΖΟΥΕΙΤΕ TB. P: ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΗ[ΤΩ ΘΡΟΠ] ΑΡΧΗ.

<sup>4</sup> ΤΗΡΟΥ P. Om TB.

<sup>5</sup> ΑΦΤ ΟΥΑΥΔΟΖΟΥΣΙΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΤ ΖΗΠΤΗΡΩ ΧΕΚΑΣ ΕΡΕ ΝΕΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΗΣΙΣ ΟΥΩΝΩ ΕΒΟΛ TB. Cf. P: ΑΦΤ ΟΥΑΥΔΟΖΟΥΣΙΟΝ ΜΠΤΗΡΩ.

<sup>6</sup> ΔΕ P. om. TB.

<sup>7</sup> ΧΑΣΤΟΥ... ΠΕΥΤΑΙΟ TB. Cf. P: ΧΑΣΤΟΥ ΝΒΙ ΤΕΥΠΡΟΖΑΙΡΕΣΙΣ ΕΥΑΡΑΝΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΗ ΠΕΥΖΗ ΜΗΙΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΜΠ ΠΕΥΤΑΙΟ. Although the meaning is the same, the divergence is odd, and in particular the use of Coptic words rather than Greek.

<sup>8</sup> ΝΣΡΧΡΕΙΑ ΑΝ ΝΛΑΑΥ ΖΗ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΣΟΝΤΟΥ T. P: ΝΣΕΡΧΡΙΑ ΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΩΠΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ. ΝΣΡΧΡΙΑ ΑΝ ΝΛΑΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΩΠΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ. Given the agreement of P and B against T we might well adopt this reading.

<sup>9</sup> T reads ΕΦΟΥΟΥΧΑΙ. Corrected following B.

<sup>10</sup> ΟΥΤΕ ΝΝΕΦΣΝΤ... ΜΠΕΦΣΟΥΩ om. P.

<sup>11</sup> ΠΩ ΠΝΑ ΝΕΥ is inserted in a second hand in T above the line. B reads ΝΣΩΝΤ ΓΑΡ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΦΠΝΑ ΑΥΖΑΝΕ ΜΜΟΥ. P is distinct, reading ΝΣΩΝΤ ΓΑΡ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΦΠΝΑ ΦΑΦΤΡΟΥΑΙ. In spite of textual confusion the overall meaning is clear.

<sup>12</sup> This line is completed following BP, where T is damaged.

<sup>13</sup> ΜΠΡΩΜΕ PB. Cf. T: ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

<sup>14</sup> ΜΜΗΝΕ P. Om. TB.

<sup>15</sup> ΜΗΙΝΜΜΟΥ T. BP: ΜΑΥΑΑΦ.

<sup>16</sup> ΕΦΩΙΝΕ ΝΣΑ ΟΥΒΟΗΕΙΑ T. BP: ΕΦΣ ΩΟΥΖ ΝΑΦ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΟΥΒΟΗΕΙΑ.

<sup>17</sup> P reads ΚΟΥΝΕ.

<sup>18</sup> P inserts ΤΗΡΟΥ here.

<sup>19</sup> ΠΕΤΩΦΩΡΠΩ ... ΝΑΡΝΟΒΕ ΑΝ ΠΕ om. P.



ζῆ οὐβω. παῖ γὰρ ἡταγταὰ ἡνεριόμε.<sup>36</sup> εἴδε κῆναρμαῖκος μὲ ἡθε ἡοῦςζιμε ἡαὸητ ἐκωοβε  
 ερος ζῆ οὐ. πρσοῦτ γὰρ ἐφκῆ εἰραι ἡτεςζιμε<sup>37</sup> ἡθε ἡπζηγεμὼν ἡοῦπολῖς. οὐρῶμε ἡμαιῶνρε  
 ῥνατςβω ἡνεφῶνρε καλῶς. τεφῶερε δὲ ῥνατςαβος ἐπνομος. ῶωπε ἡθε ἡοῦζηγεμὼν  
 ἡνεκῶνρε ἀγῶ ἡνεκχιῶπε ἐξῶοῦ.

ερῶαν τεκῶερε ἐπιῶμει εὐμῆτπαρθενος ἀκῆπῶα ἡοῦνος ἡχαρίς<sup>38</sup> σενάρπεκμееγe γὰρ  
 ἐτβннтс̄<sup>39</sup> ζιτῆ πχοῖς. πχοῖς γὰρ οὔααβ ἀγῶ ἐφμε ἡνεγούααβ.<sup>40</sup>

οὔπαρθενος ἡσαβε πε ἐστῆτωνс̄<sup>41</sup> ἐμαρία.<sup>42</sup> ἡμ πετναεῶαδε ἐπαναῖ ἡτμααγ ἡπχοῖς  
 ἡτα πνοῦτε μεριτс̄ ἐтве πεсζβнγe.<sup>43</sup> ἐтве παῖ ἀφβοῖλε ερος ἡπεφῶνρε ἡμεριτ.<sup>44</sup> εὐμοῦτε  
 ἐπειῶτ ἡαγεнетος χε πειῶτ ἡπεχс̄<sup>45</sup> ἀγῶ ἡτοῦ πε ζῆ οὔμε.<sup>46</sup> εὐμοῦτε ζῶως ἐμαρία χε  
 τμααγ ἡπχοῖς. ἀγῶ ζῆ οὔμε ἡτος τεπταсхпо ἡπентаῖπлассе ἡμος. οὔτε ἡπῆῶωхв χε  
 асхпоῦ<sup>47</sup> ἡῶι μαρία<sup>48</sup> ἀγῶ ἡτος ζῶως<sup>49</sup> ἡпстако ἡтеспарθenia. εасице ἡпенсῶтнр. ἀλλὰ  
 ἡζοῦο ἡτοῦ ἀφζαρεζ ερος ναῖ ἡθε ἡοῦαζο ἐφταιнγ.<sup>50</sup> ἡπε μαρία ναγ ἐπρὸ ἡζοῦοῦт ἐнез  
 ἡῶнмо. ἐтве παῖ ρῶ асῶтортῖ ἡтepecсῶтῆ ἐтесмῖ ἡгаврнл παггелос. ἡτος δὲ несоῦωн  
 ан ζῶс ессанῶ ἡοῦсῶма ἀλλὰ εῶасоῦωн<sup>51</sup> ἐтве танагкн ἡтесфγсῖс χε ἡнесмоῦ ζαὸн  
 ἡпесоῦοeиῶ.<sup>52</sup> нессооῦн γὰρ пескῶказнγ ἡмин ἡμος. οὔτε ρῶ меска несбῖх. ἐр ἡпвол  
 ἡнеспаллеин ἐнез.<sup>53</sup> ἡμ γὰρ пентаῖ ἡпῶаῖнаγ ἐпρὸ нтeиpec х пeпнoῦтe ἐнез.<sup>54</sup>  
 несанαῶpei γὰρ πε ζῆ песнῖ мааγс еγῶаκoneи нас ζиτῆ наггелос<sup>55</sup> ἀγῶ тесмааγ ἡмин  
 ἡμος. есῶанноуe δὲ евок ῶарос ἡῶи тесмааγ<sup>56</sup> немесῶнбom етаγe λaаγ ἡῶаде нас ἡса  
 песζῶв ἡматe. еволхе астеркос етῆтaмaс елааγ ἡζῶв еπαпeикoсmос пе.<sup>57</sup> несζmoос δὲ  
 не ἡсоп ἡμ еpe песζο бῶωтῖ еῖма ἡῶа еволхе несῶлнл пе ехῆ ῶхῆ.<sup>58</sup> неpe нессннγ δὲ  
 епeиῶμeи εῶаде нῆас ἀγῶ месанῖхе εῶаде нῆмаγ.<sup>59</sup> неpe ἡаггелос γὰρ ннγ ῶарос ἡζαз

<sup>36</sup> παῖ γὰρ ἡταγταὰ ἡνεριόμε T. P: παῖ ἡταγταὰ εὔκοsmнсῖс ἡνεριόμε.

<sup>37</sup> εἰραι ἡτεςζιμε B. P: εἰραι ехῆ ἡтесζиme, T εἰραι.

<sup>38</sup> ἡοῦνος ἡχαρίς B. ἡοῦχαρίς T. ἀκматe нoῦζнот εἰραι ехῶс P. Possibly the underlying Greek is ὑπερήφανη χάρις.

<sup>39</sup> So B. T is defective here, with much scratched out. P: ἀγῶ сenάρпeкмееγe ζaтem пeγxоce етвннтс̄.

<sup>40</sup> So TB. Cf. P: πχοῖς γὰρ ἐφme ἡνεγούααβ тнpoῦ.

<sup>41</sup> естῆτωνс̄ T. BP: нaрестῆτωνс̄.

<sup>42</sup> P adds τμαаγ ἡпχοῖς here.

<sup>43</sup> P adds етнaнoῦoῦ.

<sup>44</sup> So TB. Cf. P: ἀφxоoῦ ἡпeφxнpe ἀφoῦῶз нннтс̄. This is conceivably the correct reading.

<sup>45</sup> P adds тс̄ пeнxоeиc.

<sup>46</sup> ζῆ οὔμε BP; om. T.

<sup>47</sup> асхпоῦ. асмастῖ B. Since the words are so close in meaning, the variation is unexpected.

<sup>48</sup> P adds тπαρθενос.

<sup>49</sup> ζῶως B; P, whilst structured differently, tends to support its inclusion.

<sup>50</sup> So T, supported largely by B. Cf P: асице ἡпeнxоeиc ἀλλὰ ἡтоῦ ζῆ οὔme. ἀφζαρεз epас наῖ ἡθε ἡοῦαζο еφтoвe.

<sup>51</sup> B adds ἡῶи маρία here.

<sup>52</sup> ἡπε маρία... ζαὸн ἡпeсoῦoeиῶ is utterly distinct in P which reads: ἡтос δe несхῖтpофнῆ тeнгаврнл паггелос. несоῦωн γὰρ ан ζῶс ессанῶ ἡοῦсῶма.

<sup>53</sup> οὔτε... ἡнеспаллеин ἐнез B. T is difficult to read; P, whilst distinct, supports the sense.

<sup>54</sup> ἡμ γὰρ пентаῖ ἡпῶаῖнаγ ἐпρὸ нтeиpec х пeпнoῦтe епeз P. Cf. B: ἡμ γὰρ пентаῖ аποлаγe енаγ ἐпρὸ ἡтeῶoтoкoc маρία ἐнез. Om. T.

<sup>55</sup> наггелос P. Om. TB.

<sup>56</sup> ἡῶи тесмааγ P. Om. TB.

<sup>57</sup> So P. Cf. TB: еволхе астаркос етῆтpестaмoс елааγ ἡοῦῶ еπαпeикoсmос пе.

<sup>58</sup> So T. B: несζmoос δe зῖ пeнῆт. еpe песζο ἡпeсзнт бῶωтῖ ἡннаῶа еволхе несῶлнл ехῆ ῶхῆ. P: пeсῶлнл γὰρ не ахῆ ῶхῆ ἡнаγ ἡμ пpоoῦ ἡнтeγῶн.

<sup>59</sup> So B. TP: ἀγῶ немесанῖхе.

ἡσὼπ εὐθὲσφρει ἡπεχαρκτηρ ἡτεςπολιτεια εὐρῶνρη ἡμοϋ.<sup>60</sup> несѣкотѣ де он прос  
 техρσις ἡπρηνβ ἡмаτε αῶω ρωс есѣ ἡтон ἡпессωма ан. οὔτε γαρ ἡпснаϋ επκωκαρηνϋ  
 ἡпессωма ενεϋ.<sup>61</sup> εсωανноϋ γαρ εφορει ἡοϋωτηн несαωстан ἡнесвал пе.<sup>62</sup> εтве παωαι  
 γαρ ἡτεςρзгνια ἡпечωωпе ἡзнтѣ ἡби псωνт ἡнезιομε.<sup>63</sup> несо γαρ ἡатсооϋн εзаз ἡρωв  
 ἡте пвиос<sup>64</sup> εволхе несоϋнϋ εвол ἡзомelia<sup>65</sup> ἡнезιομε. ἡта пхоеис γαρ σωωт εвол ρῃ  
 печсωνт τηρῃ ἡпῃ наϋ еπετειне ἡмос.<sup>66</sup> εтве παι асотнѣ наϋ еγмааϋ. εωхе οϋн οϋει σε  
 οὔωω етреγмоϋте ерос хе парθενос<sup>67</sup> марестнѣтωнѣ емариа.<sup>68</sup> таи де наме сенамοϋте  
 ерос хе тсωне ἡтмааϋ ἡпхоеис.<sup>69</sup>

οὔπαρθενос емесннстее ἡмне φарοϋζε ἡῃ ωсом ἡῃос ерпарθενос. тпарθενос<sup>70</sup> γαρ  
 εсωооп ката псран. наноϋс γαρ ἡтехιραι<sup>71</sup> εροϋο ерос нтепорнеϋе. ἡтеοϋωω ан εхиραι  
 ἡпῤтсio ἡоеик οὔτε зиннв. мнпote ἡсеze ετοϋлампас еасхена. мере парθενос космει  
 ἡмос. οὔτε ρω μεϋеia пегро. тегωорῃ γαρ ἡспοϋдн пе тωοϋн εзтооϋе ἡсеϋи ἡпхωωме  
 ἡсеωω. αῶω εωαγῤρωв ἡсix хин хпснѣ ωа хпῥите ἡπεзооϋ етпе.<sup>72</sup> тснѣте γαρ ἡοϋноϋ  
 ἡωωрῃ εωаγаϋ еϋωω. αῶω он хе хин хпῥите.<sup>73</sup> тегкосмнсис τηρѣ есωооп наϋ εволзῃ  
 плогос. οὔπαρθενос γαρ есамеlei етанагнoωсис ἡснаеиме ан епоϋωω<sup>74</sup> ἡнеснϋмфиос. οϋ  
 пе пзнϋ ἡοϋκωзѣт затῃ οϋрооϋе. αῶω οϋпе пзнϋ ἡοϋмонахн затῃ οϋсзime есзмоос ἡῃ ραι.  
 οϋмонахн<sup>75</sup> ере песзоите онаϋеiaγан нескеπαθос οῃминемине. тмнѣтωаϋ ἡѳсω пе паγан  
 ἡпосῤт. тетхooсе де ἡтесῤвсo ρῃ οϋωоϋсoϋ<sup>76</sup> тесῥγхн кнм ἡпара<sup>77</sup> οϋсooϋпе. οϋмонахн  
 ἡсаве месωахе ἡῃ зооϋт епτηрῃ. таөнт де φассωве ἡῃ нeιρῥωipe.<sup>78</sup> ἡөе ἡпран еттаеинϋ  
 ἡте пноϋте ἡте ἡаөнт ἡрωме тааϋ ἡeιδωлон таи те өе ἡпран ἡтннѣтпарθενос еϋт ἡμοϋ  
 εзен аөнт ἡсзime.<sup>79</sup> пран γαρ он ἡтннѣтпарθενос пе пран ἡпноϋте.<sup>80</sup> ἡῃ οϋмонахн  
 ἡпарθενос<sup>81</sup> насωωт нса οϋноϋв<sup>82</sup> ἡῃ οϋмаркаритнс. петнѣтоотѣ сoтῃ ерооϋ ἡпеснаϋ.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>60</sup> So T, supported by P. Cf. B: νερε ἡαγγελος ннϋ ἡρар ἡсoп. εὐθὲσφρει ἡмос εὐρῶνρη ἡπεχαρκτηρ ἡτεςπολεѣа.

<sup>61</sup> οὔτε γαρ ἡпснаϋ επκωκαρηνϋ ἡпессωма ενεϋ T. Om. P, cf. supra. B: οὔτε γαρ ἡпснаϋ επκωκαρηνϋ ενεϋ.

<sup>62</sup> So B. T is damaged and partly illegible here though what may be read supports B. Om. P.

<sup>63</sup> So B. T is corrupt to the point of illegibility. P supports the sense.

<sup>64</sup> So TB; P τεπειкосμος.

<sup>65</sup> So P. TB ἡομoлoγia, surely in error.

<sup>66</sup> So B. T: ἡмариа T. Cf. however P, tending to support B: ἡпϋсeппeт тнтoн ерас.

<sup>67</sup> ерпарθενос B. However note P, supporting T: εωхе οϋн οϋει хе есоϋωω емоϋте ерос хе парθενос...

<sup>68</sup> марестнѣтωнѣ емариа TB: cf. P: марес ρареz енезвнѣ τηроϋ ἡтннѣтпарθενос.

<sup>69</sup> So P. T: тмааϋ ἡпхоеис, taking the subject to be Mary, B likewise, but also apparently preserving something of P's reading: тсωне ἡпхоеис αῶω тeμмааϋ.

<sup>70</sup> So TP. B: тпарθeμia.

<sup>71</sup> So TB. P adds αῶω σicзime. Possibly a scribal gloss by somebody who did not understand the subsequent reference to πορνεϋе.

<sup>72</sup> ἡπεзооϋ етпе supplied from B.

<sup>73</sup> This sentence is absent from B. T is damaged here but the lacunae may readily be completed from P which is here very close to T.

<sup>74</sup> епоϋωω TB; P: επкеοϋωω.

<sup>75</sup> монахн TB; P: парθενос.

<sup>76</sup> ρῃ οϋωоϋсoϋ supplied from P. Om. TB.

<sup>77</sup> кнм ἡпара: so P. Revillout read T as кн ἡпара οϋсooϋпе, whereas Rossi suggested that the text should read кнм пара. P would appear to support Rossi's suggestion.

<sup>78</sup> нeιρῥωipe: so TB. P: нeιaтῤнт.

<sup>79</sup> The text here is given according to T. B and P employ different constructions, though the meaning is the same.

<sup>80</sup> This sentence is not found in P.

<sup>81</sup> So TB. P has a further, illegible, word here. Lammeyer suggests ἡсаве.

<sup>82</sup> P has ἡῃ followed by a further illegible word. Lammeyer suggests οϋρaт.

<sup>83</sup> ἡпеснаϋ, so TB; P: τηроϋ.

ΝΘΕ ΝΕΤСОТἢ ΕΠΝΟΥΒ Ζἢ ΘΥΛΗ.<sup>84</sup> ΤΑΙ ΤΕΘΕ ΜΠΕΤСОТἢ ΕΤΜἢΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟС Ζἢ ΝΑΡΕΤΗ. ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΑ  
 ΔΕ ΜΠCΩΜΑ ΕΜἢΤΑC ΜΜΑΥ ΝΤΕΠΙCΤΗΜΕΙ ΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΟΥΜἢΤCΟC ΤΕ.<sup>85</sup> ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΖΗΥ ΝΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC  
 ΕCCEΥΖ ΝΟΥΒ ΕΖΟΥΝ. Η ΑΩ ΠΕ ΠΖΗΥ ΝΤΕΤΜΟΥΖ ΝΖΕΝΤΑΙΒΕ ΝΖΟΙΤΕ ΕCΩΟΥΩΟΥ ΜΜΟC<sup>86</sup> ΧΕ ΑΝἢ  
 ΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC. ΠΜΑ ΝCΩΟΥΖ ΝΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΠΕ ΠΑΖΟ ΝΤΕCΨΥΧΗ. ΝΕΤΚΗΚΑΖΗΥ ΕCΩΑΝἢ ΖΙΜΟΥ  
 ΑCΩΟΥΖ ΝΑC ΕΖΟΥΝ ΝΟΥΑΖΟ.<sup>87</sup> ΤΜἢΤΩΑΥ ΤΗΡC ΝΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΑ ΤΕ ΤΖΥΠΟΤΑΓΗ ΑΥΩ ΤΑΠΟΤΑΓΗ  
 Μἢ ΤΕΤΕ ΜΠΕCΤCΙΟC ΝΟΕΙΚ.<sup>88</sup> ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΕCΩΠΠΕ ΝCΑ ΟΥΩΜ Μἢ ΠΕ ΧC ΝΩΩΕ ΑΝ ΕΡΟC. ΕΜΕΖ ΖΗΤC  
 ΝΟΕΙΚ ΕΠΤΗΡῤῥ.<sup>89</sup> ΤΕCΦΡΑΓΙC ΜΠΤἢΒΟ ΤΕ ΝΗCΤΙΑ. ΠΕΤΤΑΩΟ ΔΕ ΝΝΕΥΤΡΟΦΗ ΝΑΤΑΩΕ  
 ΝΕΥΩΩΝΕ.<sup>90</sup> CΑΖΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΥΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΝΤΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΑΥΩ ΜΠἢCΩΩἢ ΝCΑ ΤΕΤΕΟΥΝΤCΖΑΙ ΧΕ  
 ΝΝΕΚΡΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΖΩC ΩΑΛἢΠΕ.<sup>91</sup> ΟΥΜΟΝΑΧΗ ΕCΜΟΟΩΕ ΜΜΕΕΡΕ ΝΟΥΜΟΝΑΧΗ ΑΝ ΤΕ. ΑΥΩ  
 ΤΕΤΜΟΟΩΕ ΜΑΥΑΑC ΕCΖΗΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΥΠΟΡΝΙΑ.

ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΕΥΠΟΡΝΕΥΕ ΕΟΥΝΤἢ CΖΙΜΕ ΜΜΑΥ ΟΥΑΤΩΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΖΑΤἢΩΗΡΕ ΠΕ. Μἢ ΟΥἢ ΟΥΟΕΙΕ  
 ΝΑΑΝΕΧΕ ΕΧΕ ΝΕΥCΟΡΟC ΕΧἢ ΟΥΠΕΤΡΑ.<sup>92</sup> ΥCΟΟΥΝ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ Νῤ ΝΑΡΩΤ ΑΝ ΝΑΥ. ΟΥΤΕ ΟΝ<sup>93</sup> Μἢ CΑΒΕ  
 ΝΑἢ ΜΠΕΥCΠΕΡΜΑ ΝΖΕΝΠΟΡΝΗ. ΧΕ ΝῤΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΥ ΑΝ ΚΑΝ ΕΥΩΑΝΩΩΠΕ ΟΝ ΕΥΝΑΩΩΠΕ  
 ΕΠCΑΖΟΥ.<sup>94</sup> ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΘΗΤ<sup>95</sup> ἢCΟ Εἢ ΝΤΕΥΩἢΤΗΝ ΝΖΕΝΠΟΡΝΗ ΩΑΥἢ ΝΑΥ<sup>96</sup> ΜΠΕΥCΠΕΡΜΑ  
 ΕΤΤΑΕΙΝΥ. ΟΥ ΠΕΤΤΑΕΙΝΥ<sup>97</sup> Ζἢ ΠΕCΡΩΩC ΤΗΡΟΥ. ΠΕCΡΟC ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ.<sup>98</sup> ΠΑΘΗΤ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΥ CΗΩ  
 ΝΑΖΡΑΥ. ΩΩΕ ΕCΑΑΝῤ ΝΕΚΩΗΡΕ ΚΑΛΩC ΑΥΩ ΩΩΕ ΕἢCΟ ΕΠΕΚCΠΕΡΜΑ.<sup>99</sup> ἢCΟ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΑΥΑΑΚ Ω  
 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΝἢἢCΟ ΕΠΕΚΩΗΡΕ.<sup>100</sup> Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ CΑΖΩΚ ΖΑΒΑΛ ΝΟΥCΖΙΜΕ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΑΥΩ  
 ΜΠἢCΩΩἢ ΝCΑ ΤΕ ΤΕΥΕΝ ΤCΖΑΙ ΜΜΑΥ. ΧΕΝ ΝΕΥἢΖΑΠ ΕΡΟΚ ΚΑΚΩC.<sup>101</sup> ΠΕΤΖΜΟΟC Μἢ CΖΙΜΕ  
 ΑΖΡΟΥ ΥCΩΩἢ ΝCΑ ΚΕΟΥΕΙ.<sup>102</sup> ΕΡΩΑΝ ΟΥΑ ΓΑΡ CΩΩἢ ΕΜἢΤΥCΖΙΜΕ ΜΜΑΥ ΠΕΥΝΟΒΕ ΚΗΒ ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ  
 ΠΕΤΥΖΜΟΟC Μἢ ΟΥCΖΙΜΕ.<sup>103</sup> ΕΥΤΑΜΟ ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ Ζἢ ΠΤΡΕΥCΩΩἢ ΧΕ ΟΥΠΟΡΝΟC ΠΕ.<sup>104</sup> ΥCΗΖ ΓΑΡ

<sup>84</sup> Ζἢ ΘΥΛΗ is partially restored from B where T cannot be read. P supports the reconstruction.

<sup>85</sup> Read from B, with support from P. T has been defaced with illegible correction. For ΝΤΕΠΙCΤΗΜΕΙ P reads ΝΤΕΠΙCΤΗΩ. This may represent ἐπίστασις, though Lammeyer suggests that ἐπιστήμη lies behind this as well.

<sup>86</sup> P adds ΕΖΡΑΙΕ ΧΩΟΥ here and continues the phrase: ΑΥΩ ΕCΧΩΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ... The variation in the latter part of the sentence may simply amount to a smoother Coptic rendering of the Greek, but the former variation indicates a distinct Greek text.

<sup>87</sup> So TB. Cf. P: ΠΜΑ ΝCΩΟΥΖ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΑ ΠΕ ΠΤΑΝΖΟ ΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΕΤΕΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΧΕCΖΩΒC ΝΝΕΤΚΗΚΑΖΗΥ. See the note to the translation.

<sup>88</sup> So T. B and P are each corrupt.

<sup>89</sup> Sentence complete in P only. T has a lacuna where ΝΩΩΕ is found, and does not include ΕΡΟC. B has only a few letters of ΕCΩΠΠΕ ΝCΑ ΟΥΩΜ and reads ΝΛΑΑΥ rather than ΕΠΤΗΡῤῥ, presumably a secondary revision.

<sup>90</sup> So B. For ΝΑΤΑΩΕ T has ΝΑΩΕ, which Revillout emends to ΤΑΩΕ P has some differences (e.g. ΓΑΡ for ΔΕ) but conforms in meaning.

<sup>91</sup> Sentence illegible in P.

<sup>92</sup> So T, though a half line has been effaced. Cf. B: Μἢ ΟΥΟΕΙΕ ΝΑΑΠΙΧΕ ΕΧΕ ΠΕΥCΟΥΟ ΕΧἢ ΟΥΠΕΤΡΑ, P Μἢ ΟΥἢ ΟΥΑ (possibly a scribal error for Μἢ ΟΥΟΕΙΕ) ΝΑΑΠΙΧΕ ΕΧΩΜ ΠΕῤCΟΡΟC ΕΧἢ ΟΥΠΕΤΡΑ. Whereas the meaning is clear, the precise text is not ascertainable, though only the defacement to T would lead one to doubt the text.

<sup>93</sup> ON supplied from B, P. Om. T.

<sup>94</sup> So principally following P supported by B. T is slightly distinct though there is no difference in meaning.

<sup>95</sup> So BP. T: ΝCΑΒΕ, though in the hand of a corrector. Revillout makes the correction in his edition, with reference to B.

<sup>96</sup> ΝΖΕΝΠΟΡΝΗ ΩΑΥἢ ΝΑΥ (so plural) T. Cf. BP: ΝΟΥΝΠΟΡΝΗ ΩΑΥἢ ΝΑC (sing.)

<sup>97</sup> Supplied from BP. Om. T. Again Revillout alters the text of T.

<sup>98</sup> ΠΕCΡΟC ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΠΕ BP, om. T (with Revillout making the alteration). See the note to the translation for this entire passage, which reads in T: ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝCΑΒΕ ἢCΟ Εἢ ΝΤΕΥΩἢΤΗΝ ΝΖΕΝΠΟΡΝΗ ΩΑΥἢ ΝΑΥ ΜΠΕΥCΠΕΡΜΑ ΕΤΤΑΕΙΝΥ Ζἢ ΠΕCΡΩΩC ΤΗΡΟΥ.

<sup>99</sup> So TB. P, whilst almost identical in meaning, differs slightly in reading ΩΩΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΕCΑΑΝῤ ΝΕΚΩΗΡΕ ΚΑΛΩC ΑΥΩ ΕἢCΟ ΕΠΕΚCΠ(Ε)ΡΜΑ.

<sup>100</sup> So T. Om. P. B: ἢCΟ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΑΥΑΑΚ Ω ΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΝἢἢCΟ ΕΤἢΧΑΖΗΜΕΚ.

<sup>101</sup> So P. Om. TB.

<sup>102</sup> So T, and B (though reading ΚΕCΖΙΜΕ instead of ΚΕΟΥΕΙ.) Cf. P: ΠΕΤΖΜΟΟC Μἢ ΤΕΥCΖΙΜΕ ΝΩΩΕ ΑΝ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΖΜΟΟC Μἢ ΚΕΟΥΕΙ. TB seems to make the better sense.

<sup>103</sup> So TBP with minor variations.

δε μὴ πορνὸς νακληρονομεῖ ντμῆτ̄ρρο ἡπνοῦτε.<sup>105</sup> ὡς ἐροκ ἐμερε τεκςζιμε ἀγὼ οὐ γὰρ  
 ἐροκ ἐρος.<sup>106</sup> ἐσεῖνε γὰρ<sup>107</sup> ννεζιame τηροῦ. πετ̄σεет ἡν τεφςζιμε<sup>108</sup> μαγαας қнаεmтoн  
 ἡζηт εχ̄ωс.<sup>109</sup> ἀγὼ ἡνπετ̄σωτ̄ ἡс̄ωс ζωωс.<sup>110</sup> ζῆ πωι еткнаωи ἡмоқ еynaωи ἡмоқ  
 нақ.<sup>111</sup> πεт̄сеет μὴ τεφςζιμε κατὰ τμῆтωау ἡпгамос қнанау езенωнре ἡсаве. ἀγὼ  
 пет̄нат̄во ζῆ πεζооу ἡсynaге neφωнре наω̄м̄ωе нақ.<sup>112</sup> пет̄ ω̄м̄ωе δε ἡпχоеис ζῆ οὔμε  
 neφωнре наω̄м̄ωе нақ ζῆ οὔμε.<sup>113</sup> ἡн οὔм̄тoн ἡζηт ωооп πωνῆ ἡпρωme ἡе ἡпет̄еоῡнт̄  
 ζен ωнре ἡсаве еγoγoχ̄ еωωne еγoнxωωpe.<sup>114</sup> пет̄наρ̄ζ̄м̄з̄ал̄ δε ἡпχоеис ζῆ οὔμε  
 сенатаау нақ. теп neкωнре етeкклнcиa ἀγὼ еζῆ ма̄нс̄ω аη.<sup>115</sup> тсавооу δε ет̄с̄иncωт̄м̄ ζῆ  
 оγкарωқ. ἀγὼ ζῆ πeoγoeиω ἡтeкм̄т̄ѣλλo сенаcл̄с̄ωл̄к̄ ζῆ ἡωаx̄е ἡпноῦте. ep̄<sup>116</sup> ἡρωme  
 p̄ѣλλo ет̄вe тme. тм̄т̄ωаразе γὰρ<sup>117</sup> ес̄ωооп ἡἡрeқx̄иc̄ол̄.<sup>118</sup> оγωпнре пe пвиос  
 ἡнат̄е̄иc̄н̄ωе ἡром̄пe x̄е ἡпоγс̄н̄ нoвe ἡс̄ωоу.<sup>119</sup> тaи тe е ἡпρωme ет̄наp̄aт̄нoвe еқнаp̄  
 оγнoс̄ ἡз̄азе.<sup>120</sup> ἡпоγ̄p̄aт̄coоῡн ἡпноῦте ἡси neтme ἡтme. тм̄т̄рeқx̄иc̄ол̄ coоῡн аη ἡмoс  
 маγaас̄.<sup>121</sup> ἡἡρωme ἡхpиcт̄иaнoс̄ наx̄иc̄ол̄. тм̄т̄aт̄coоῡн γὰρ оγрeқx̄иc̄ол̄ тe.<sup>122</sup> оγρωme  
 γὰρ еқx̄и eвoл̄з̄м̄ пс̄ωмa ἡпēx̄с̄ ἡωωе аη epoқ еx̄иc̄ол̄.<sup>123</sup> пноῦте γὰρ οὔμε пe. ἀγὼ neтme  
 ἡпноῦте мeγx̄иc̄ол̄.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>104</sup> So TB; om. P.



ρῆ ππαθος ἡμμοστε αἰω οὔωπηρε πε δε εἰ ὁμοῖον ερον τηρῆ.<sup>128</sup> πετμε ἡπετρίτοῦω  
 εἰμε ἡπποῦτε. πετμε δε ἡπποῦτε πποῦτε ναμερίτῃ. πεтере πποῦτε δε με ἡμοῦ οὔωπηρε  
 πε ἡτε πποῦτε. οὔωτε<sup>129</sup> ναρῆ πποῦτε πε οὔωμε εἰκτο ἡμοῦ εβολ ἡπσωμα ἡπεῖς<sup>130</sup>  
 εἰεπλοῖε δε ἡῖῃω αἡ. πε τε ἡῖερε ἡμοῦ αἡ ἡῖω ἡπμῡστηριον<sup>131</sup> ρναχι ἡρεν  
 νοῖῃω.<sup>132</sup> οὔ πε πρηῖ ἡπετςῡναγε ἡπῡωτῃ ἐπωῡ ἡνεγραφῃ. πετε ἡπῡωτῃ γαρ<sup>133</sup>  
 ἐπωῡ ἡῖαναγνωσις ναποστολος ἡῖεγαγγελιον<sup>134</sup> εἰωβε ἡσα πμῡστηριον ἡπεῖς.<sup>135</sup> πετε  
 ἡῖαισῡανε δε αἡ ἐτῃῖταῡεῖτης<sup>136</sup> ἡπσωμα ἡῖ πςῡωῡ ἡπεῖς<sup>137</sup> ἡπῡτρεῖχι εβολ  
 ἡρητῃ.<sup>138</sup> πετπιστεῡε δε ερωῡ ρναῖωορῃ ἐτεκκλησια.<sup>139</sup> <sup>140</sup> πρῡμε γαρ ἡρεῖρῡτε ναλῡπει  
 εὔωαν σῃλ ἡσε ῡαλλει ἐμπατῡωκ ἐτεκκλησια.<sup>141</sup> παμελῃς δε ἡτοῡ ῡαῖρῡδε αἰω μεῖχι  
 σμοῡ. πετῡωορῃ ἐτεκκλησια ρναχι ἡοῡσμοῡ εἰκῃβ. πετναῖρῡδε δε<sup>142</sup> ῡωρις αναγκῃ αῖρῡδε  
 ἐπςῡωῡ. ῡωε εἰ εβολῡ πσωμα ἡῖ πςῡωῡ ἡπεῖς ἡπςῡωτ ἡοῡκοῡ εἰωβε ἡτερῡτε  
 ἡτεῖμαῡ.<sup>143</sup> πετε ἡῖχι γαρ αἡ εβολ ἡρητῃ ἡῖτῃ ὡῖ ἡμαῡ. πετχι δε ἡμοῦ εἰρῃ οὔῡωῡ  
 ἡμμοστε ἡ ρῆ οὔακαῡαρσια ἡπορνεια ῡοοῡ ἐπετῃπεῖχιτῃ.<sup>144</sup> ἡῖ ἡοβε ροοῡ ναρῆ πποῦτε  
 ἡῖε ἡπμοστε. εβολ γαρ ρῆ παῖ εῡαρεῡωτῃ ῡωπε. πετῃοῡε δε ρῆ οὔῡοβε ἡπαρῃ φῡσῃ  
 πςῡω δε πε ἡπετμοστε.<sup>145</sup> ῡαρε ταγαπῃ εἰω εβολ ἡῖοβε ἡῖ. πμοστε δε ρῡωῡ ῡαῖῡοορ  
 εβολ ἡναρετε.<sup>146</sup> ερε ταγαπῃ πρεπει ἡῖεῡρεῖςῡιανος. πετχι γαρ ἡπεῖς ῡωε ερωῡ εἰ  
 ἡπεῖςῡωῡ.

ἡῖτε ταγαπῃ ἡῖτατςῡοῡῖ ἡαῡ. ταγαπῃ γαρ σῡοῡῖ ἡρῡμε ἡῖ. πῡωκ ἡταγαπῃ πε  
 ῡπετῃαῡοῡῖ ἡρῡμε ἡῖ. πετῡπετῃαῡοῡῖ δε ἡῖεῡμμοστε ἡμοῦ ρνατῃῡωῡῖ ἐπποῡτε.  
 ἡῖρῡμε ἐῖῡαγαπῃ ἡρητῃ ἡῡῖβε.<sup>147</sup> πετῡπετῃαῡοῡῖ δε<sup>148</sup> ἡῖεῖῡαδε ρναχι ἡοῡκῡοῖ  
 ἡατῡῡῡ. ἡῡῖρε ἡῖναῖπετῃαῡοῡῖ αἡ πρῡμε ἡῖ ἡῖεῖρε ἡῖεῖῡαδε. ερε  
 ππετῃαῡοῡῖ δε ῡοοῖ ἡματε αἡ εβολ ρῆ ραῖ ἡῡρημα. πρεῖρῡπετῃαῡοῡῖ γαρ ῡαῖῡωκ εβολ  
 ρῆ οὔαποτ ἡμοοῡ ἡμοῡῖωῡῡ ἡῖοῡεῖ ἡοῡωτ.<sup>149</sup> οὔωπῃ πε ἡοῡῡρεῖςῡιανος εἰρητῃ ῡτηῖ  
 σῖτε<sup>150</sup> εἰωῡῡ ἡμοῦ ἐπετε ἡῖταῖ. εῡῡε ρῆ ὡῡῡ τῃ κοῖνωῖ ἡῖνεῖρηῡ ὡςῡ ἡαλλοῖ

<sup>128</sup> πετῡ πεῡοοῡ... τηρῆ TB. Om. P.

<sup>129</sup> οὔωτε TB. οὔῖτε P.

<sup>130</sup> εἰκτο ἡμοῦ εβολ ἡπσωμα ἡπεῖς TB. P: εἰρητ ραβαλ ἡπσωμα ἡῖπςῡωῡ ἡπεῖς.

<sup>131</sup> ἡῖῃω ἡπμῡστηριον TB. P: ναῖος ἐνεμῡστηριον.

<sup>132</sup> ρναχι ἡρεν νοῖ ἡῃω T. B: ρναχι ἡρεῖῖῃω. P: ρναχι ἡῖσαῡ.

<sup>133</sup> γαρ TB. Om. P.

<sup>134</sup> αναγνωσις ναποστολος ἡῖεγαγγελιον P. αναγνωσις ἡῖεγαγγελιον TB.

<sup>135</sup> ἡπεῖς P, om. TB. P moreover employs a different construction, though having the same meaning.

<sup>136</sup> πετε ἡῖαισῡανε δε αἡ ἐτῃῖταῡεῖτης TB. P: πετεῖῡοῖ ἡῖῡῖῡῡῡωρε.

<sup>137</sup> ἡπεῖς TP. B: ἡπεῖς ῡ.

<sup>138</sup> ἡπῡτρεῖχι εβολ ἡρητῃ TP. B: ἡπῡτρεῖχιτῃ.

<sup>139</sup> πετ πιστεῡε δε ερωῡ ρναῖωορῃ ἐτεκκλησια TB. P: πετ πιστεῡε δε ρῡω ερωῡ ρῆ πρητ τηρῃ ρναῖωορῃ ἡῡαρηῖ ἐτεκκλησια.

<sup>140</sup> P concludes here.

<sup>141</sup> So T. Cf. B: πρῡμε γαρ ἡρεῖρῡτε ναλῡπει εὔωανῡαλλει ἡπατεῖωκ.

<sup>142</sup> δε B, om. T.

<sup>143</sup> ἡτερῡτε ἡτεῖμαῡ are in a secondary hand in T, which has been corrected with the erasure of two words. The inclusion of these words is, however, supported by B.

<sup>144</sup> So B. T is damaged here. ἐπετε ἡῖτῃ ἐπετεῖ may be read, followed after a gap by χῃ. This led Revillout to translate “mieux vaudrait pour lui n’avoir pas la vie...” A line has been erased and illegible corrections made.

<sup>145</sup> ἡῖπετμοστε conj. T: πετμοστε, B: ἡῖμμοστε.

<sup>146</sup> ῡαρε ... ἡναρετε. So TB. T is corrected through erasure, and ἡναρετε is found in a secondary hand in the middle of an erased line, but the line nonetheless makes sense and is supported by B.

<sup>147</sup> ἡρητῃ ἡῡῖβε supplied from B. T is lacunose.

<sup>148</sup> δε B, om. T.

<sup>149</sup> ἡοῡωτ T, om. B.

<sup>150</sup> B concludes here.

NETNATAKO. APIMAIPOME ENZIPOMIMO GAP THPNI. MN LAAY NANE<sup>151</sup> ZMI PPOME EBOL ZNI TKOLACIC  
 NOE NTAGAPH. APIMAIPOME ZEWS EKPOOP. NIGNWSC AN. OYHP PE PEKAZE ZIXMI PKAZ. NEKXO  
 IMOC EBOL ZNI OYPETWOUYET. OYNOYZOY COTI NAZPM PCOFOS AYW WAPPAWE EXMI PZHY  
 NOYZOY NOYT. PAETH DE NTOY WAPXE PEKAZE EBOL ZNI OYZOY MIPCOC WAPWXM MEQSEN  
 LAAY ZNI PEQSI. OYNI OYPOME NCABE NATCO EXOOC XE PCOX. NAETH DE NTOY WAPTAYE  
 COW<sup>152</sup> NIM. CENAKRINE MIPPOME ZA NWAXE NPW. NCE NARPOWJ GAP NNIKE MEEYE MPEQZHT.

OYOEI MIPPOME ETOWW IMOC EPOT OYAAQ. AYTAAC [ ] NAK ZITNI NEKPRAZIC ETPKNOYTE.  
 TEKAMELIA MAYAAC CENATNTWN EPDAIMON. KAI GAP NTAGPTZEI ETBE TEGAMELIA. OYAMELHC  
 MIPPOME QZE EZOYN EPTAKO. PETE NQCPOOYW GAP AN ZA PEFOYXAI MAYAAQ<sup>153</sup> NIM  
 PETNATANZOYT. PETCPOOYW ZA PEFOYXAI POUWN NPOEIC ZIPNI PRO MPMI MPMOYTE AYW  
 NNEQPARCPOOYN ENETOYNAOWOY. PETONATCPOOYN EPENAIGNOCIC OYTBNI PE. PETT NZHTH EPW  
 NQNAPOVE AN. PETME MPWAXE MPMOYTE EQME MPMOYTE. PETEIRE DE IMOC EQO NDVHP  
 EPMOYTE.

PETBHK EZOYN EXMI PCOMA MPEPXOIC ZNI OYTZE EQWNT MPMOYTE.<sup>154</sup> PETNAXI DE  
 EBOLNZHTI EQTAZE EQTAKO MPEQWNZ MAYAAQ. OYOOEIOY PETPOOP NOYWM ZI CW KATA PWI  
 MME. PEOOEOY DE MPMYCTHPION. WPE EAAQ ZNI OYNOB NZAPEZ. PETXI MPCOMA MI PESNOY  
 MPEXC ZNI OYTBBO AQXI NOYNOB NTOYCIA<sup>155</sup> AYW OYNBOM IMOC ETOYNES PEQMOOYT. CMTNI  
 DE<sup>156</sup> ETOYNES PEQMOOYT EZOYO EPEIOE NOYZAIPETIKOC. NZAIPETIKOC GAP NCETICTEYE AN  
 EPMOYTE OYTE NEQPETOYAAV ALLA EPEYOYW MIM IMOY. OYW DE NIM NZEN EBOL AN NE ZMI  
 PE PNA ETOYAAV EYXI EPECHT EAMITE.

OYWPHP PE PM ZNI PETXOC. OYLAAY PE NAZPM PEOOY MPMOYTE. [ ]<sup>157</sup> TAI TE OE MPEOY  
 MPM NAZPM PEOOY MPMOYTE. EOXE MNBOM MIPPOME ENAY EPZO MPM EQPOOP ZNI TEINO  
 MNTEYTELHC TAI TE OE MNBOM NLAAY ENAY EPMETEΘOC MPMOYTE MNPOME GAP NAY EPZO  
 NQWNZ. NTAQW GAP PEAXI MPEQMA NWOME ZMI PM. PEQMA NWOME DE NOYEIN ZNI OYME.  
 EOXE MNWOM NLAAY ENAY ETOYCIA MPM ETBE PMA NWOME MPMOYTE ETZOWQ<sup>158</sup> KAIPER  
 EQWXB EATE NZPM PEOOY MPMOYTE. PARA EPTHP [ ] EOYA NAWXOOC. [ ] TA OYKOYI NE  
 AYW EQ [ ] MI TEIZE. PAI GAP AQI MPEQ ZMME MN KAPOC [ ] PWA. OYDE TEKTIC<sup>159</sup> NA [ ] AY  
 AN AXNTI APNOYTE GAP KAICTA IMOC ETEZOYCIA MPEZOY. EOXE PCONT GAP TAEIN NTIZE  
 EIE [ ] NTAQCONTI OYOTB EPOT NOYHP. EOXE EPE NZEONOC THPOY O NOE NOYAPOT IMOY  
 EBOLZNI THALACCA NAZPM PEOOY MPMOYTE ZO [ ] Y DE QXOC AYW QTAEIN NAZPM CONT NIM  
 NTAN. PMOYTE GAP OYAMHTHTOC PE AYW EQMOYZ MPTHP. E [ ] ZIXNI NEKHOYBIN EQWXM  
 MPTHP QO NZOTE. OYEPOMIA THP PE. NIM GAP PENTAQHEI MPEZLOE MPMOYTE EPEZ. ETBE  
 PEZLOE GAP NATWAXE EPOT WAP NE TOYAAV CONE IMOC NOYEWAY EPOT. ETWANPEIOE IMOY  
 NOYKOYI NQTCABOY EYKOYI MPEOC [ ]<sup>160</sup> ETBE PAI QXWMMOC TCTHY NTWTC<sup>161</sup> NTAGAPH  
 AYW PETE NQNAEPMOYMEI NCA ETMAY EQZHP ZMI PEQCOMA MI PEQCOY. PAI PW EYMOYTE EPOT

<sup>151</sup> NANE conj. Rossi. T is damaged.

<sup>152</sup> T is unclear. Rossi reads caw, indicating the w as conjectural; cf. Revillout zw.

<sup>153</sup> Only aaq can be read in T. The word is completed following Rossi.

<sup>154</sup> See on this the comment on the translation.

<sup>155</sup> NTOYCIA. Cf Revillout's reading: NOYWM. Rossi notes Revillout's reading in a footnote.

<sup>156</sup> Revillout supplies te here.

<sup>157</sup> An entire line and a half line following have been erased and rewritten here in an illegible hand. See the translation for a possible reconstruction.

<sup>158</sup> ETZOWQ: so Rossi, indicating the second w as unclear. Cf. Revillout who reads ETZA IMOY.

<sup>159</sup> Such is Rossi's reading. Cf. that of Revillout: OYTEKTIC

<sup>160</sup> Four lines follow in which individual letters only are legible.

<sup>161</sup> NTWTC is written in a secondary hand. These lines are much erased and corrected.



<sup>172</sup> *ἔσσαν* may be read, followed by approximately one third of an illegible line.

<sup>173</sup> ετβε παι ω ναμερατε ζωс εανειμε δε ερε πογωω ιππογυτε γμ пна ма̄рнμερε пна. So T. Cf. however Revvillout's reading, which begins ετβε παι ωνα μερατε, and omits ма̄рнμερε пна at the end. For the sense he derives from this, see the notes to the translation.

## The Sentences of the holy synod<sup>174</sup>

God the Father is good (ἀγαθός). Christ is Lord, and the Holy Spirit is good (ἀγαθός). God has no beginning (P: ἀρχή), nor is there any end to his divinity, for (γάρ) he is himself the beginning (ἀρχή) and the end of all that is. There is no creation (κτίσμα) in the trinity (τριάς) but (ἀλλά) the Lord himself created all that is. There is no other Lord but he over all his works. He gave freewill (αὐτεξούσιον) to those who are in the world so that they their free-choice (προαίρεσις) might be manifest.<sup>175</sup> Free-choice (προαίρεσις) (δέ) brings some to be seated by Christ, and exalts them over (παρά) the angels (ἄγγελος). Others it leads to hell. The demons (δαίμων) are not evil by their nature (φύσις), but by their free-choice (προαίρεσις); as to the angels (ἄγγελος) of God, their free-choice (προαίρεσις) principally exalts them, in goodness (ἀγαθόν), to be entirely well-pleasing (ἀρέσκειν) to God, for their own advancement and for their glorification. For the nature (φύσις) of God has no need (χρεία) of anything that he created,<sup>176</sup> rather everything has need (χρεία) of God. Nor has he created anything that might remain in a state of salvation,<sup>177</sup> for everything is saved through the force (ἐνέργεια) of his desire to save it.<sup>178</sup> God has created nothing except (εἰμήτι) by means of his Son, and it is his Spirit which gives growth (αὔξανειν) to all creatures. God loves those who are obedient to him. Those who are obedient to him are upright in their free-choice. A man's free choice is in his deeds. Thus some men are called angels (ἄγγελος) and some called demons (δαίμων).

Somebody who is obedient to God pays attention to the commandments (ἐντολή). Such a person hurries daily<sup>179</sup> to the church. Anyone who does not hurry to the church is neglecting his own salvation; anyone who takes recourse at the feet of God is seeking assistance (βοήθεια).<sup>180</sup> Hurry to church (ἐκκλησία) and afterwards to your work (τέχνη)<sup>181</sup> so that God may bless the work of your hands. Anyone who hurries to work, rather than to the house of God, shall have this considered infidelity. Take hold of what you hear in the house of God before you work or go anywhere, and you will not sin.<sup>182</sup> What has the church (ἐκκλησία) to do with anyone who lends at interest? Somebody who simply sleeps at home is better than that. The church (ἐκκλησία) is called the place where sins are remitted. And everyone should weep on account of their sins.<sup>183</sup> The time on earth is brief.<sup>184</sup> Therefore it is fitting that we should grieve over our sins.

---

<sup>174</sup> So TB, in T preceded by "discourse of Athanasius", which may, however, related to the preceding life of Athanasius. Cf. P: "These are the canons of the church which Hippolytus, the sainted archbishop of Rome, ordered. These are the sentences of the holy synod."

<sup>175</sup> "So that... manifest" is omitted in P.

<sup>176</sup> He created T. BP: "That exists."

<sup>177</sup> So following Rossi's reading translation; cf. Revillout, who translates "Nothing is created which subsists for its own sake." Rossi suggests that the point is that everything is saved by God, and by no other means.

<sup>178</sup> "Nor has he created... to save it." Om. P.

<sup>179</sup> "Daily" is not in T or B.

<sup>180</sup> Or, if the reading of B and P is followed, "is assembling to find assistance."

<sup>181</sup> Cf. Revillout: "Hâte-toi vers l'Église après ton travail." This is perhaps the more obvious meaning of the Coptic, but does not fit the context.

<sup>182</sup> These two sentences are absent in P.

<sup>183</sup> Cf., in this entire passage, the distinct order of P which, as already noted, omits the two sentences following on from "bless the work of your hands" and continues: "For the church is called the place for the remission of sins. What has the church to do with anyone who gives mind to usury? Somebody who simply sleeps at home is better than that, better indeed, Therefore it is fitting that we should grieve over our sins. And everyone should weep in the church."

<sup>184</sup> This sentence is not in P.

The work of the church is simply prayer and intercession. Anyone who speaks in church, especially during reading, is abusing God. What good is it to go to the house of God, only to abuse him there? Yet God is incapable of being abused, his nature is glorious, beyond anything that exists.<sup>185</sup> For anyone who dares (τολμᾶν) transgress the will of God is escalating his own punishment (τιμωρία).

Anyone who looks on a woman in church is escalating anger (κόλασις) against himself. A woman who dresses up for church is making a fool of her husband and her father. A woman like this will lose her soul. A woman who dresses herself in gold and goes to church just to make a show is like a worshipper of idols. Gold is valued no more than eye-shadow by the wise. Any woman who wears jewellery on her head is making a display of her stupidity, and whatever woman wears her hair loosened, that it to say in ringlets, is sending out an invitation to the senseless. A woman comes to be loved by God and by men on account of her prudence and the care she takes of her house. A vain beauty is accompanied by hatred. Adorn yourself for your husband by the works of your hands and the moderation of your speech. For the saints called their husbands “My lord.” Do not love adornment, women, but remember all those beauties who are in the tomb. Likewise beauty departs from anyone lying on a sickbed. Adorn your souls with the love of God, and give your heart to the word of God, listening well. A wise man will not stay with a foolish wife;<sup>186</sup> any woman who is not obedient to her father and husband is foolish.<sup>187</sup> My son, stay away from women who love adornment (κόσμος), for curls and jewels are indications of adultery. A woman who hates sin may be known by the purity (καθαρός) of her face; a woman who puts on eye-shadow demonstrates her vanity all the more.<sup>188</sup> The body has no need of anything such; to wear such as this is vanity. Where does eye-shadow come from? An attractive appearance (εἰκὼν) is obtained from the smoke of lamps.<sup>189</sup> Anyone who adorns himself contrary to (παρά) nature (φύσις) is insulting the creator (δημιουργός); cover your face in church and in the streets<sup>190</sup> and give no scandal to any soul. There are those who go about in an evil manner (σχῆμα) thinking that they are drawing attention to themselves; such people are utterly senseless.

A man who shaves his beard desires to be like a child, in ignorance. Those who are without knowledge are without knowledge of themselves. Your clothes should serve (πρός) your bodily (σῶμα) necessities (χρεία), and you should not adorn (κοσμεῖν) yourself with hair, for (γάρ) this is for women.<sup>191</sup> If you love adornment like a senseless woman, in what way are you any different from her? A man is set over his wife like a governor (ἡγεμών) of a city (πόλις). A man who loves his sons will instruct his sons well (καλῶς). He will give his daughters instruction in the law (νόμος). Be as a governor (ἡγεμών) to your children and you shall have no shame on their account.

If your daughter desires (ἐπιθυμεῖν) a state of virginity (παρθένος) you obtain a mighty grace<sup>192</sup> for on her account you are remembered by the Lord. For (γάρ) the Lord is holy and loves his holy ones.<sup>193</sup>

---

<sup>185</sup> This sentence is not in P.

<sup>186</sup> P reads “man.” Presumably an error.

<sup>187</sup> P omits mention of a father.

<sup>188</sup> Or, if the reading of P is followed, “increases her vanity.”

<sup>189</sup> Check Zoega catalogues, 576.

<sup>190</sup> P adds “o woman” here.

<sup>191</sup> “...for this is for women.” TB. P: “...this is adornment (κόσμησις) for women.”

<sup>192</sup> “Mighty” supplied from B, not in T. P reads: “You have been made worthy of grace on high.” Possibly the original was “exalted grace.”

A wise virgin is like Mary.<sup>194</sup> Who can speak of the blessedness of the mother of the Lord, whom God loved on account of her deeds?<sup>195</sup> On this account his beloved son dwelt in her.<sup>196</sup> The unbegotten Father is called the Father of Jesus Christ, and this he is in truth.<sup>197</sup> Mary, likewise, is called the Mother of Christ,<sup>198</sup> and in truth she gave birth to the one who formed (πλάσσειν) her. He was not diminished by being borne by Mary,<sup>199</sup> nor for her part<sup>200</sup> did she suffer any loss of her virginity. She gave birth to our Saviour, but for his part he guarded her like a precious treasure.<sup>201</sup> Mary never saw the face of a strange man, on which account she was disturbed on hearing the voice of the angel Gabriel. She ate not for the nourishment of the body (σῶμα) but she<sup>202</sup> ate on account of the necessity (ἀνάγκη) of her nature (φύσις), so that she would not die before her time.<sup>203</sup> She had no knowledge of her own nakedness. She did not put her hands outside, nor ever did she wave (πάλλειν) them. For who at all is worthy of looking upon the face of the one who bore God?<sup>204</sup> She remained (ἀναχωρεῖν) in the house alone, served (διακονεῖν) by angels and by her own mother.<sup>205</sup> If her mother<sup>206</sup> came in to her she was unable to say anything to her concerning what had happened, because she had sworn to herself to inform nobody of this world regarding the matter. She would settle herself with her face turned at all times to the east because she was praying without ceasing.<sup>207</sup> When her brothers desired (ἐπιθυμεῖν) to speak with her she forbore (ἀνέχειν) conversation with them. For angels would approach her frequently; they would look upon her character (χαρακτήρ) and her conduct (πολιτεία) and admire.<sup>208</sup> She would sleep only out of the necessity (χρῆσις) for sleeping and so give no rest to her body. Nor did she ever look upon the nakedness of her own body;<sup>209</sup> if she put on a garment she would close her eyes. Because of the greatness of her purity (ἀγνεσία) the way of women was not within her. She was ignorant of much regarding life<sup>210</sup> because she distanced herself from the company (ὁμιλία)<sup>211</sup> of women. The Lord looked out over all his creation and saw nothing resembling her.<sup>212</sup> Therefore he chose her to be his mother. So if anyone desires to be called a virgin<sup>213</sup> she should be like Mary.<sup>214</sup> On this account she is called sister of the mother of the Lord.<sup>215</sup>

<sup>193</sup> So TB; P: For the Lord loves all his holy ones.

<sup>194</sup> So T. BP: Let a wise virgin be like Mary. P further adds here "the mother of the Lord."

<sup>195</sup> TB: P: "... on account of her deeds of goodness."

<sup>196</sup> So TB. Cf. P: He sent his son to be within her.

<sup>197</sup> "In truth" is not found in T.

<sup>198</sup> P: "Mother of Jesus Christ the Lord."

<sup>199</sup> P adds "the virgin."

<sup>200</sup> "For her part" is not in T.

<sup>201</sup> So TB; cf. P: She gave birth to our Lord, but in truth. He guarded her like an excellent treasure.

<sup>202</sup> So T; B, "Mary ate."

<sup>203</sup> The text of P is utterly distinct from "Mary never saw" to "die before her time." It reads: "She was nourished (τροφή) by the angel (ἄγγελος) Gabriel, for she ate not for the nourishment of the body." Possibly the text read was corrupt and the scribe attempted to make sense of it by ascribing feeding activity to Gabriel.

<sup>204</sup> So P. T has nothing here, B reads: for who is at all worthy to have the advantage (ἀπολαύειν) of looking on the face of Mary the Mother of God (θεοτόκος).

<sup>205</sup> So P. TB omit mention of angels.

<sup>206</sup> "Her mother" P; TB lack a specific subject.

<sup>207</sup> So T. B reads: She would settle herself away from the west, her face and her heart turned to the east because she would pray without ceasing. Cf. P: For she prayed without ceasing at all times, both day and night.

<sup>208</sup> So TP; cf. B: "Angels would come frequently. They would look upon her, admiring her character and conduct."

<sup>209</sup> So T. B: Nor did she ever look upon her nakedness. P omits this entire sentence.

<sup>210</sup> So TB. P: "wordly things",

<sup>211</sup> So P. TB "confession" (*homologia*, probably a copyist's error.

<sup>212</sup> So B. T: "resembling Mary. Cf. however P, tending to support B: "He found nobody who was like her."

<sup>213</sup> B: "...act as a virgin." However note P, supporting T: "... if anyone desires that she should be called a virgin."



A virgin who does not fast (νηστεύειν) daily until the evening lacks the ability to be a virgin (παρθένος). For (γάρ) a virgin (παρθένος)<sup>216</sup> should deserve (κατά) her name. It is better to take a husband<sup>217</sup> than to fornicate (πορνεύειν). If she does not wish to marry she should not satiate herself with bread or sleep, so that her lamp (λαμπάς) should not be extinguished. Virgins (παρθένας) should not adorn (κοσμεῖν) themselves, nor wash their faces. Their first concern (σπουδή) is to rise at dawn and to take up a book and read. And if they labour with their hands, this is from the second to the ninth hour of the day. The first two hours are set aside for reading, as is the time from the ninth hour on.<sup>218</sup> For their entire adornment is by means of the word (λόγος). For a virgin who neglects reading (ἀνάγνωσις) will not know<sup>219</sup> what her bridegroom (νυμφίος) desires. What is the good of a fire close to straw? And what is the good of a *monache* close to a woman who lives with her husband? The passions (πάθος) of a *monache*<sup>220</sup> whose clothes are coloured are similarly unstable. Propriety in dress is in the colour of wool. Whoever dyes her clothes in idleness<sup>221</sup> has a soul which is blackened like a sack.<sup>222</sup> A wise virgin does not speak to men at all; the senseless sports with the young.<sup>223</sup> Just as senseless men give the honourable name of God to idols (εἰδωλον), so they give the name of virgin to senseless women likewise. For the name of virginity is a name of divinity.<sup>224</sup> A virgin *monache*<sup>225</sup> does not look upon gold or<sup>226</sup> pearls (μαργαρίτης); what she possesses is better than both of these.<sup>227</sup> Like somebody who chooses gold from among material things (ύλη), so is someone who chooses virginity from among the virtues (ἀρετή.) Virginity of the body without training (ἐπιστήμη) of the soul is foolishness. What good is a virgin who stores up gold? Or what the use of one who stores up clothing in boxes whilst boasting of herself “I am a virgin.”<sup>228</sup> The place set aside for a virgin (παρθένας) is the treasure of her soul (ψυχή); she who clothes the naked stores up treasure for herself.<sup>229</sup> The value of virginity is submission (ὑποταγή) and renunciation (ἀποταγή) and abstinence. A woman who seeks after food is unworthy of Christ, and it does not satisfy her entirely. The seal (σφραγίς) of virtue is fasting (νηστεία); whoever has an abundance of food has an abundance of weakness. Conduct yourself as a virgin of the Lord, and do not look upon yourself as a married woman, so that

---

<sup>214</sup> “...she should be like Mary” TB: cf. P: “... she should guard her virginity in all things.”

<sup>215</sup> So P. T: “she is the mother of the Lord”, taking the subject to be Mary, B likewise, but also apparently preserving something of P’s reading: “She is the sister of the Lord and his mother.”

<sup>216</sup> “A virgin”, TP. “Virginity” B.

<sup>217</sup> P adds “and to take a wife.” As suggested in the apparatus this may be a scribal gloss in the light of the statement that this is better than fornication.

<sup>218</sup> This sentence is absent in B, but present both in P and T.

<sup>219</sup> Cf. P: Will also not know.

<sup>220</sup> So TB, P reading “virgin.”

<sup>221</sup> “In idleness” is only found in P.

<sup>222</sup> Such is the reading of P. TB are less clear; this is one possible reading, though it is also possible to read them as “has a soul which remains like a sack” (presumably empty.)

<sup>223</sup> Young: TB; P reads “senseless”.

<sup>224</sup> This sentence is not found in P.

<sup>225</sup> So TB. P has a further, illegible, word here, possibly “wise.”

<sup>226</sup> So TB. P has a further “nor”, followed by a further illegible word, possibly “silver.”

<sup>227</sup> So TB. P: “... any of these.”

<sup>228</sup> So TB. Cf. P: “... whilst boasting of her profession, saying of herself ‘I am a virgin.’”

<sup>229</sup> So TB. Cf. P: “The storehouse of virginity is in the life of the soul, in that she clothes the naked.” Neither text is convincing, but it is hard to determine what the original readings of the underlying texts might have been. A convincing reading might result from combining the two: “The storehouse of virginity is in the life of the soul; she who clothes the naked stores up treasure for herself.” θησαυρός may have stood in the first clause, translated as “storehouse” by the translator of P, and garbled in transmission in T and P.

you are not judged (κρίνειν) sacrilegious. A *monache* who promenades at midday is no *monache*; and if she walks on her own she is coming close to fornication (πορνεία).

A man (δέ) who fornicates (πορνεύειν), whilst having a wife, is worthless, and an infanticide. Any farmer will avoid (ἀνέχειν) sowing his seed onto stone (πέτρα),<sup>230</sup> for he knows that it will not grow on it. Nor (οὐδέ) likewise does a wise man give of his seed (σπέρμα) to prostitutes (πορνή); it will produce nothing, and if indeed it does produce something it will produce a curse. The foolish man guards against giving his clothing to prostitutes, yet is accustomed to give them his precious seed, one precious above any seed, the seed of a man.<sup>231</sup> But the foolish man holds it in disregard. It is fitting to nourish your children well (καλῶς) and it is fitting to be sparing with your seed.<sup>232</sup> Be sparing with yourself alone, man, and do not be sparing with your children.<sup>233</sup> Man, withdraw your gaze from women and girls and do not look upon your wife alone, so that they do not judge you ill (κακῶς).<sup>234</sup> Why would a man, married to a woman, look upon another?<sup>235</sup> For if a man who is unmarried since twice over in looking upon a woman, this is especially so (μάλιστα) of one who is married.<sup>236</sup> He is demonstrating, through so looking, that he is a fornicator.<sup>237</sup> For it is written: “A fornicator will not inherit (κληρονομεῖν) the Kingdom of God.”<sup>238</sup> It is right that you should love your wife and be content with her.<sup>239</sup> For she is like all other women. He who stays with his wife<sup>240</sup> alone shall enjoy peaceableness with her,<sup>241</sup> and not the one with a roving eye.<sup>242</sup> With the measure with which you measure it will be measured out for you.<sup>243</sup> He who lives with his wife in accordance with (κατά) the purpose of marriage (γάμος) will see wise children, and whoever remains chaste at the time sunage(;) will be honoured by his children. Whoever honours the Lord in truth, so will his sons honour him in truth.<sup>244</sup> There is no better

---

<sup>230</sup> So T, although a half line has been rubbed out. B and P, whilst distinct, are close. “Any farmer will avoid sowing his wheat onto stone” (B) and “Anyone will avoid sowing his seed onto stone.” (P).

<sup>231</sup> So BP, except that “prostitutes” is given in the singular in these versions (whereas T has a plural, as here). T is distinct, though heavily marked by corrections, which Revillout suspects, and so gives the text of B in his edition, which is nonetheless based on T. T, however, is transcribed intact by Rossi. If T is followed the passage would read: “A wise man guards against giving his clothing to prostitutes, so would he give them his seed, precious above all seeds?” Revillout, in a footnote to his translation of T suggests that what lay behind this passage originally was a statement like “A wise man is careful not to give of his seed to prostitutes, but gives his precious seed solely for procreation.” This is feasible, in view of the earlier discussion of farmers not sowing on stone, but there is no textual basis. As it is, it is hard to judge between the texts as given.

<sup>232</sup> So TB. P, whilst almost identical in meaning, differs slightly in reading “It is fitting for you to nourish your children well and to be sparing with your seed.”

<sup>233</sup> So T. Om. P. B: Be sparing with yourself alone, man, and do not (sic) be sparing with polluting yourself.

<sup>234</sup> So P. Om. TB. I suspect some confusion; a man is to look only on his wife.

<sup>235</sup> So T, and B (though reading “another woman” instead of simply “another.” Cf. P: It is improper that anyone who is married to a wife should marry another.” TB seems to make the better sense.

<sup>236</sup> So TBP with minor variations.

<sup>237</sup> So TB; om. P.

<sup>238</sup> So P, cf. TB: “A fornicator, it is said, shall not inherit the Kingdom of Heaven.”

<sup>239</sup> So P, Cf. TB: “Be content with your wife.”

<sup>240</sup> So BP. T reads “a wife.”

<sup>241</sup> So T. B is of the same meaning, whilst slightly different in expression, whereas P reads “he shall enjoy peace contentedly (καλῶς) with his children.” Whereas TB would seem to make more sense, the reading of P may be preferred on the basis that the reading of TB may be seen as a corruption of that of P.

<sup>242</sup> So TB. Cf. P: “and not the one who looks upon his wife.”

<sup>243</sup> Matt 7:2. The different mss cite this saying in different ways. P is particularly distinct: “for the measure which a man measures, so it will be measured out for him, himself.”

<sup>244</sup> So TB. Cf P: ...whoever remains chaste at the time sunage will be honoured by his children in truth, just as he himself honours the Lord in truth. The text of P may result from a misreading of a version or Greek *Vorlage* of TB, with the resultant omission of material.

relief in life for the heart of a man than the possession of wise sons, free of illness and strong.<sup>245</sup> He will grant this to whomsoever is a servant of the Lord in truth. Accustom your son to the church (ἐκκλησία), and not to take pleasure in drinking-places.<sup>246</sup> Teach him to learn in silence, and in the time of your old age he will comfort you with the words of God. There are men who obtain<sup>247</sup> old age in the truth, for<sup>248</sup> the lifespan of liars<sup>249</sup> is brief. It is a wonder if somebody's life (βίος) were nine-hundred years of age because they are found not to sin at all.<sup>250</sup> Those people who commit no sin receive length of days.<sup>251</sup> Those who love the truth are not ignorant of God. For (γάρ) deception is ignorant of itself.<sup>252</sup> No Christian (χριστιανός) should be deceptive, for ignorance is a deception.<sup>253</sup>

For it is not fitting for a man who is deceptive to participate in the Body (σῶμα) of Christ.<sup>254</sup> For God is truth and those who love God do not deceive.<sup>255</sup>

What a wonder is the daring (τολμηρός) of those who approach the body (σῶμα) of Christ<sup>256</sup> whilst filled with envy and hatred. God is a lover of humanity, and anyone who hates humanity is without shame in his heart for God, nor (οὐδέ) is there any fear in his heart.<sup>257</sup> Those who hate one another hate God and reject (ἀποτάσσω) him as they say "Do not love us." Woe (οὐαί)<sup>258</sup> to those who hate the image (εἰκών) of God. Anyone who does evil to a human being is doing it to themselves. There is no pleasure (ἡδονή) in the passion (πάθος) of hatred, and it is strange that it should have power over us all.<sup>259</sup> Whoever loves his neighbour loves God. And whoever loves God will be loved of God. And whoever God loves is a child of God. The man who turns away from the body of Christ is an abomination before God,<sup>260</sup> making the excuse that he is not worthy. Whoever does not make himself worthy<sup>261</sup> of the

<sup>245</sup> So T. P: "strong and free of illness."

<sup>246</sup> "He will grant this to whomsoever is a servant of the Lord in truth. Accustom your son to the church, and not to affection for a drinking-place." So TB. Cf. P: "To whomsoever is a servant of the Lord in truth will he grant that you might accustom your son to the church and not to a place of drinking wine." This latter construction is, however, rather awkward.

<sup>247</sup> So TB (though B has a copyist's error.) P: "He pledges to men..."

<sup>248</sup> For: so TP. B: "yet."

<sup>249</sup> "Liars" T. B: "The falsehood". P: "Blasphemers."

<sup>250</sup> So B. T is slightly defective, but what is readable supports B. Cf P: For (gar) it is a wonder when somebody's life (bios) is three-hundred years because they are are found not to commit sin at all. In particular the difference in the number of years is notable. There is no basis to decide which is the more likely, though the term of nine-hundred puts one in mind of the patriarchal narratives, and the assertions of Augustine that the greater ages of the patriarchs was a result of the relative lack of sin in the world.

<sup>251</sup> So TB. P is utterly distinct.: "Any person who sins in these times enjoys no length of life." It is possible that both clauses stood originally, and that each branch of the manuscript tradition has omitted one of them.

<sup>252</sup> So B. Cf. T: "God is not ignorant of those who are ignorant of him. For ignorance is a deception." In neither clause is it easy to see what the right reading should be and, as noted below, there is no guidance from P which omits the passage altogether. B has been preferred because the second clause of T, albeit with a different expression, repeats the content of the final clause of the passage, present in both.

<sup>253</sup> P omits the whole passage from "Those who love the truth" to "ignorance is a deception."

<sup>254</sup> So TP. Cf. B: "A deceptive man should not approach the Body of Christ, and it is not fitting that he should be a deceiver."

<sup>255</sup> "For God is truth... do not deceive" om. P.

<sup>256</sup> "Of Christ" TP. "Of the Lord" B.

<sup>257</sup> So P. "In his heart for God... in his heart" om. TB.

<sup>258</sup> So TB. P "For woe is..."

<sup>259</sup> "Anyone who does evil... over us all." TB. Om. P.

<sup>260</sup> So TB. Cf. P: The man who flees from the body and blood of Christ is a tribulation(?) before God.

<sup>261</sup> P, whilst having the same meaning, employs the Greek *axios*, whereas TB employ Coptic terminology.

mystery (μυστήριον) shall be greatly punished.<sup>262</sup> What is the use of attending the gathering (συνάγω) and not listening to the scriptures (γραφή). For (γάρ) whoever does not listen to the reading (ἀνάγνωσις) of the apostle (ἀπόστολος) and the Gospel (εὐαγγέλιον)<sup>263</sup> is making a mockery of the mystery of Christ.<sup>264</sup> Whoever does not observe (αἰσθάνεσθαι) the power (αὐθεντία)<sup>265</sup> of the body (σῶμα) and the blood of Christ<sup>266</sup> shall not receive in his heart,<sup>267</sup> but (δέ) whoever believes (πιστεύειν) in it shall hurry to the church (ἐκκλησία).<sup>268</sup> <sup>269</sup> For the devout man is grieved (λυπεῖν) if there is prayer or singing (ψάλλειν) before he arrives at church.<sup>270</sup> However the careless (αμελής) one is usually last and receives no blessing. Anyone who hurries to church receives a double blessing; anyone who is late except of (χωρίς) necessity (ἀνάγκη) is too late to be blessed. It is right to receive the body and the blood of Christ as a little child thirsts for his mother's milk. For (γάρ) whoever does not receive it in his heart has no life in him. However (δέ) whoever receives it whilst polluted by hatred or by the impurity (ἀκαθαρσία) of fornication (πορνεία) does evil in receiving.<sup>271</sup> There is no sin as bad in the sight of God as hatred; for from this murder comes about. Whoever goes on the path of sin, contrary to (παρά) nature (φύσις), is a brother of anyone who hates. Love (ἀγάπη) washes every sin away, but hate, on the other hand, undoes virtue (arete). Love (ἀγάπη) is fitting (πρεπεῖν) for those who are Christians (χριστιανός), for (γάρ) whoever receives Christ should also receive his will.

Love (ἀγάπη) does not have acquaintance, for love acknowledges all people. The goal of love is to do good to all people; anyone who does good to one who hates him will be like God. Anyone with no love (ἀγάπη) in his heart will receive no reward. Anyone who does good to his enemies shall receive a crown which will not fade. When somebody does good to his enemy, how shall he not do good to all? Yet (δέ) good is not done simply through extensive almsgiving (chrema); for (γάρ) good may be done entirely through a cup of cold water or a single<sup>272</sup> loaf. It is shameful that somebody who has two garments<sup>273</sup> should be neglectful of somebody who has none. If we have communion (κοινωνία) with one another in life, how much more so (πόσῳ μᾶλλον) in death. Be loving to people, for we are all pilgrims. There is nothing which will save a person from chastisement (κόλασις) like love (ἀγάπη). Be loving to people while (hews) you live; you are not here for long. How long is life on the earth? Do not spend in vanity. For the wise (σοφός) there is a better day, and he rejoices in the utility of every day. However (δέ) the foolish lets his life run away each day, and when destruction comes he has nothing in his hand. The man who is wise avoids saying any word of abuse, whereas (δέ) the foolish utters all kinds of calumny.<sup>274</sup> A man is to be judged (κρίνειν) by the words of his mouth; the thoughts of his heart will likewise not be forgotten.

<sup>262</sup> B omits "greatly."

<sup>263</sup> So P. TB: "Reading of the Gospel."

<sup>264</sup> "Mystery of Christ" P. TB: "Mystery".

<sup>265</sup> Rather than using these Greek words, P employs Coptic words. Rossi, 88, rather oddly translates the word as "sacrificio."

<sup>266</sup> "Of Christ" TP. B: "Of Jesus Christ."

<sup>267</sup> So TP. B: Shall not receive it.

<sup>268</sup> So TB. Cf. P: "but whoever believes, on the other hand, with all his heart, shall hurry to be early in the church."

<sup>269</sup> P breaks off here.

<sup>270</sup> So T. Cf. B: "For the devout man is grieved if there is singing before he arrives."

<sup>271</sup> "does evil in receiving" renders B. See the apparatus for T.

<sup>272</sup> "Single" T, om. B.

<sup>273</sup> B concludes here.

<sup>274</sup> Here following Rossi's reading of T. Were Revillout to be followed, the phrase would be rendered: "...whereas (δέ) the foolish utters all kinds of things."

Woe to the man who forgets himself. You have given yourself divinization on the basis of your deeds (πρᾶξις);<sup>275</sup> your very carelessness (ἀμέλεια) has caused you to assume the likeness of a demon (δαίμων), for indeed (καὶ γάρ) it is their carelessness (ἀμέλεια) which has made them thus. A careless (ἀμελής) man is destroyed in oblivion. Who will bring to life anyone who is careless regarding his own salvation? Anyone who is concerned for his salvation spends the night within the doorway of the house of God and is not ignorant of what is to be read. Anyone who is ignorant of the reading (ἀνάγνωσις) is a beast. Whoever applies his heart to the reading does not sin. Anyone who loves the word of God loves God. Anyone who troubles himself with this is a friend of God.

Anyone who comes to the Body (σῶμα) of the Lord in a state of drunkenness angers God;<sup>276</sup> anyone who receives it whilst drunk loses his own life. There is a time for eating and drinking in accordance with (κατά) proper moderation; there is a time for the mystery (μυστήριον), and it is fitting to undertake this with great carefulness. Anyone who receives the body and blood of Christ in purity receives a great essence (οὐσία),<sup>277</sup> and a great power to raise the dead. It is easier to raise the dead than to persuade (πείθειν) a heretic (αἰρετικός.) For (γάρ) heretics (αἰρετικός) have no belief in God, nor (οὔτε) in the saints, but (ἀλλά) in their own desires. Any desire, however (δέ), which does not come from the Holy Spirit leads to hell.

The sun in the heights is a wonderful thing, but it is nothing compared to the glory of God. [Like a spark before a furnace]<sup>278</sup> so is the sun before the glory of God. Just as no man is able to look directly at the sun, slight (ευτελής) as is its size, so nobody is able to look upon the greatness (μέγεθος) of God, for (γάρ) nobody looks upon his face and lives. For (γάρ) he has established, it says, his place in the sun, yet (δέ) his place is light in truth. If nobody is able to look upon the essence (οὐσία) of the son, because of the dwelling place of God which is within it, even though (καίπερ) it is insignificant before the face of the glory of God...<sup>279</sup> For (γάρ) it gives its heat so that fruit (καρπός) may ripen,<sup>280</sup> nor (οὐδέ) would creation (κτίσις) survive<sup>281</sup> without it, for (γάρ) God has established (καθιστιέναι) it to have authority (ἐξουσία) over the day. If that which is created is so to be honoured, how much does the one who created it surpass it. Since all the nations (ἔθνος) are as a cup of water from the sea (θάλασσα) compared to the glory of God, how much more is he to be exalted and honoured, compared to all he created on our account. For (γάρ) God is immeasurable (ἀμέτρητος) and he fills the universe. (Seated) upon the cherubim he leaves the universe in fear. He is our whole desire (ἐπιθυμία). For (γάρ) who ever bears the sweetness of God? On account of the sweetness the saints pray to him, though they do not see him. He gives only partial (μέρος) instruction to those who are persuaded (πείθειν) only a little. [ ]<sup>282</sup> On this account it is said: “Who would resist love (ἀγάπη) and would anyone not desire the good things concealed in

<sup>275</sup> There is a slight lacuna in the text at this point, but there is sufficient to form sense.

<sup>276</sup> Such is the literal translation. The expression is slightly awkward, however and, especially in the light of the following clause, we might follow Revillout and Rossi who translate “Anyone who comes to the Body of the Lord as though to a drinking-bout. . . .” There is insufficient basis to emend the text, but it is possible that the confusion entered in the process of translation, were the introductory conjunction ἵνα rendered as εἰ.

<sup>277</sup> *Ousia* is certainly the right reading, though Revillout, unaccountably, reads *ouōm* (food).

<sup>278</sup> A line and a half-line following have been erased and illegibly rewritten. The bracketed material is purely conjectural, based on a suggestion of Revillout, followed apparently by Rossi.

<sup>279</sup> Three largely illegible lines follow. Some words can be read but nothing which makes coherent sense.

<sup>280</sup> T is damaged here, and the verb is conjectural, based on sense.

<sup>281</sup> T is damaged here, and the verb, once again, is conjectural.

<sup>282</sup> Approximately four lines here are illegible.

his body (σῶμα) and his blood?” So they call it the “sacred mystery (μυστήριον).”<sup>283</sup> Anyone who dares (τολμᾶν) to receive it without being purified is guilty (ἐνοχος) of the body (σῶμα) and the blood of the Lord. This is the sanctification (ἁγιασμός) which a man may receive in his heart and love.

Firstly,<sup>284</sup> whatever you would not want to befall you, do not do to anybody else. And be loving to your neighbour. This is the law (νόμος) and the prophets (προφήτης). A man who does injustice to his neighbour has no communion (κοινωνία) with the saviour (σωτήρ.) Anyone who neglects his neighbour in nakedness will be neglected in nakedness at the tribunal (βῆμα) of Christ. Anyone who approaches the altar (θυσιαστήριον) defiled with adultery will be delivered to unquenchable fire. For (γάρ) the man who is a fornicator (πόρνος)...<sup>285</sup>

Keep your eyes from looking upon vanities. Keep your tongues from cursing (καταλαλία). Keep your ears from hearing vanities. Keep your mouth from shameful and fearful oaths. Each of you should lay up mercy to his neighbour, each of you should strive (σπουδάζειν) to keep the commandments (ἐντολή), to find the way to come to the house of God for prayer. For (γάρ) if you enter the house of God wearing the colours of the devil (διάβολος), how are you to keep the commandments (ἐντολή) of God? How can you pray in the house of God? You fast, but your heart is not upright, nor are your hands clean. Wearing these colours you will never be able to bear the commandments (ἐντολή) which are the public (treasury) (δημόσιον) of the church (ἐκκλησία). “I fast (νηστεία)” you say. You labour in vain. Your body (σῶμα) is full of lust (πορνεία), your heart full of impurity, your soul (ψυχή)...<sup>286</sup> The tongue full of cursing (καταλαλία), the hands full of blood, the feet pursuing evil (κακία), the mouth exulting in violence, the ears listening out for anything disgusting. You are a friend of clowns, you direct your feet to fortune-tellers, you go to those who make incantations, you feed those who make philtres (φαρμακός), you keep company with blasphemers, you mix with gluttons, your hand is one with robbers. The ship is filled with a cargo of all kinds of evil (κακία), and you say “I fast (νηστεία), I pray.” Is it not on account of all these evils that the prophet (προφήτης) cries out: “You have made the house of prayer a cave (σπήλειον) of thieves”? He also says: “If you stretch out your hands towards me I shall turn my eyes away, for your hands are full of blood.” It is also written: “My soul (ψυχή) hates your fasting and abstinence.” Jeremiah the prophet (προφήτης) also said: “Is a hyena’s nest my inheritance (κληρονομία)?”<sup>287</sup> For (γάρ) (he says) to us through the prophets (προφήτης) “I have sent in the midst of your city (πόλις), I have burnt your household goods<sup>288</sup> in the midst of your square (πλατεῖα), and you have not turned yourselves to me, says the Lord. I have struck your children and your youth with a violent death, and you have not turned yourselves to me, says the Lord. I have sent disease on all the fruit (καρπός) in your land, and still you have not turned yourself to me, says the Lord. I have destroyed you as (κατά) I destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, and still you have not turned to me, says the Lord.”<sup>289</sup> Are all these things not very much upon us today, yet (δέ) you take no notice (αἰσθάνεσθαι), like somebody who is

<sup>283</sup> There is significant corruption in this line. Rossi’s reconstruction is followed.

<sup>284</sup> There is some corruption here, and at least one word is untranslated.

<sup>285</sup> Three and a half lines follow which have been largely erased and are illegible. A few words may be made out, (“fasting”, and in the following line “darkness”) but nothing from which coherent sense may emerge.

<sup>286</sup> Five illegible lines follow.

<sup>287</sup> The following three lines are largely effaced.

<sup>288</sup> The translation follows the suggestion of Rossi that the word here *sanhou* is a corrupt form of *sanhoun*. Lammeyer rather desperately translates as “monastic rule”, whereas Revillout leaves the word untranslated.

<sup>289</sup> Cf. Amos 4:11.

foolish...<sup>290</sup> They would say in times of old (ἀρχαῖος)<sup>291</sup> of the hyena that it was an impure animal (θηρίον), in that it would change its nature (φυσικόν) into another nature (φύσις). At one time (καιρός) it would be male, at another time (καιρός) female. We too, brothers, are changeable in our nature (φύσις) like the hyena. At times (μέν) we go running to the church (ἐκκλησία), we extend our hands in our prayer and our fasting (νηστεία). At times, then (δέ) we have recourse to fortune-tellers, to those who make philtres (φαρμακός) and to sorcerers saying “Be our protection.” Beloved, how is God not angered with us, how nor pour out his wrath (ὀργή) upon us? How can he look upon our fasting and our prayer? Is it not on account of such wicked deeds that God cries out to us through the prophet (προφήτης) Jeremiah: “It is on this account that I do not visit you, says the Lord. Why does my soul (ψυχή) not take revenge on a people (ἔθνος) like this? What indeed is the vengeance that God will take upon us unless we repent (μετανοεῖν)... Repentance (μετάνοια δέ) conquers every sin in truth. The sign of repentance (μετάνοια) is tears; tears (δέ) wipe away sins.

Instruct your son not to keep company with sinners and he will advance (προκόπτεσθαι) in accordance with your will. He should seek after the instruction of the teachers in the church (ἐκκλησία), he should examine their teaching in his heart. Let your mouth be familiar with the word of God and journey with the wise. Do not familiarize your mouth with oaths, and do not curse anyone who is in the image (καθίκων) of God. Seek out blessing, and let a blessing be in your mouth. Do not be abusive to anyone at all, and if you do not wish anyone to insult you, do not yourself insult.

Honour an elder and give him your seat to sit on.

Be humble to all and nobody will do you harm.

Do not make anyone weary, and do not ask (αἰτεῖν) from a rich man twice.

If you have bread, share it with your neighbour.

Visit the sick, and go also to visit those who are imprisoned. Even if (κἄν) you are rich perform your sacred duty (ἀγιακονία) on your feet.

Be like Abraham; he was likewise wealthy in worldly goods (ὕπαρχοντα), and on account of his hospitality was found worthy to dine with God. Above all else be merciful always so that somebody may pity you.

The head (ἄρχων) of the town (πόλις), his are all things in the town (πόλις). On this account it is not fitting that he should begrudge (φθονεῖν) anyone. It is all the more fitting that anyone who is rich should act faithfully (πιστός), and spend time in the church (ἐκκλησία). God loves anyone who pities the poor one who is naked as though he built a sanctuary (τόπος) in his name; a rich man who pities the poor is enriched by God. The poor man rejoices when a rich man addresses him; he hopes (ἐλπίζειν) for some consolation from him. It is fitting for a rich man to rejoice the more when he meets the poor man and he should be glad that he has had companionship with a man of God. The wise ruler (ἄρχων), his is the wealth of the world

---

<sup>290</sup> Several lines are missing.

<sup>291</sup> It is also possible, given the corruption, that there was a subject, such as “people”, and that the adjective “ancient” stood in apposition to this missing subject.

(κόσμος); the poor man, however, his is the wealth of the other age (αἰών) which is the kingdom of the heavens.

A fearful thing is God with his glory. The glory of God fills the universe. Who is there who can escape his eye? The foolish thinks that there is nobody who sees him. He does not know that in life it is a dinner-table (τραπέτης).

Man, fear God. Serve him with your will (προαίρεσις). Reveal your mind (νοῦς) to him. Call upon him in pity for the poor.

Give your bread to anyone who is hungry. And hurry to the church (ἐκκλησία). And stretch out your hand to the poor daily. And give to him in accordance (κατά) your ability. Make an offering (προσφορά) in the house of God, and hurry to bring the firstfruits (ἀπαρχή) of your produce (γέννημα) to the priest. Give for your soul (ψυχή) while (ὅσον) you live, for (γάρ) when a man dies his word does not remain. If those who do not have anything except the thing which is of their hands have charity...<sup>292</sup> blame him ...<sup>293</sup> since he blames the poor man, because he is not compassionate. What indeed will it be for a rich man who piles gold upon gold until it rusts, and fills coffers with clothes until they are moth-eaten? On this account, my beloved, as (ὥς) we know what the will of God is with regard to mercy, let us love mercy.<sup>294</sup> It is said that<sup>295</sup> compassion is more highly exalted than judgement (κρισις). For, he says,<sup>296</sup> “Blessed are the compassionate, compassion will be shown to them.” The Lord Jesus said: “Be merciful, because your Father is merciful. Do not judge (κρίνειν) so that you be not judged (κρίναι). Do not condemn, that you be not condemned. Forgive, and you will be forgiven. Give, and it will be given to you. A measure, goodly, plentiful, pressed down, overflowing, will be poured into your lap. For (γάρ) with the measure with which you measure, will it be measured for yourselves.

So to him be glory, and to God, to the ages of the ages. Amen.

---

<sup>292</sup> A half line is missing here.

<sup>293</sup> A further half line is missing.

<sup>294</sup> “On this account... love mercy.” Cf., however, Revillout’s rendering, based on a rather odd reading of T (on which see the notes to the text): “Ne savons nous pas à ce sujet que le volonté de Dieu est la miséricorde?”

<sup>295</sup> Or “He says” (followed by direct speech).

<sup>296</sup> Or “It is said” (followed by indirect speech).