

# The Sahidic Coptic Version of 4 Maccabees

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## Abstract

The Coptic Sahidic version of the Fourth Book of Maccabees was discovered by Enzo Lucchesi in the nineteen eighties, but up to this day has not been published. This article presents the extant fragments of the manuscript, stored at the National Library in Paris and the library of the University of Michigan. The paleography of the manuscript and the contents of the version are discussed in the introductory remarks, which are followed by a transcription and English translation of the fragments.

## Keywords

4 Maccabees – Coptic Bible – Coptic Old Testament

In the early nineteen eighties, Enzo Lucchesi published two short notes in which he identifies a number of Coptic parchment leaves as remnants of a Sahidic Coptic translation of the Fourth Book of Maccabees (4 Macc).<sup>1</sup> The leaves, though once part of the same codex, are now deposited in two different libraries: the National Library in Paris and the library of the University of Michigan. There are two leaves in Paris, of which one is complete (BnF Copte 131<sup>3</sup> f. 28) and one is extant in three fragments (131<sup>6</sup> f. 114, 132<sup>3</sup> f. 171, and 132<sup>3</sup> f. 214). There are three leaves in Michigan (Mich. Ms. 158 [34] a-b, c-d, and e-f). The lower left and upper right corners of the Michigan leaves are missing, but only a few lines of text are lost.

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<sup>1</sup> Lucchesi, 1981; Lucchesi, 1983.

According to Louise A. Shier, the Michigan leaves of 4 Macc “were bought in Cairo by the late Francis W. Kelsey in May, 1924.”<sup>2</sup> The Paris leaves of 4 Macc were among the manuscripts Gaston Maspero brought from the White Monastery to the National Library in 1886-7.<sup>3</sup> The codex therefore belonged to the White Monastery.

The Paris leaves preserve the beginning of the first chapter; the Michigan leaves, many verses of the last four. The page numbers have survived only on the Paris leaf that bears the inventory number 131<sup>3</sup> f. 28. It is paginated 175-6; since it immediately follows the leaf that is extant in fragments 131<sup>6</sup> f. 114, 132<sup>3</sup> f. 171, and 132<sup>3</sup> f. 214, the latter must have been paginated 173-4.<sup>4</sup> Fragment 132<sup>3</sup> f. 171 preserves the superscription with the text’s title, “The Book of the Maccabees.”<sup>5</sup>

The leaves originally measured 32×25cm.<sup>6</sup> The superscript is written in sloping uncials; the rest, in bimodular uncials. The text is arranged in two columns that contain 30-31 lines each. New paragraphs are indicated by considerably enlarged initials that are sometimes enhanced by red ink. The initial letter is marked with an obelos above and a “budded” diplē below it; the two signs may be used either singly or together. The blank parts of the lines preceding the new paragraphs are filled with several dots and a stroke.

The supralinear system found in this manuscript displays a number of distinguishing features. Throughout the manuscript, the supralinear strokes are shaped as dots. The supralinear strokes are often placed above the definite articles π- and τ- if they precede a consonant (e.g. ῖρϞΒ); the same phenomenon sometimes occurs when a word begins with two consonants (e.g. ḥΒϞ). The supralinear strokes are also employed to indicate that a vowel is autosyllabic, i.e. constitutes an independent syllable (e.g. ḗΒϞλ). The syntactic units are occasionally set off with raised points.

The dialect of the text is Sahidic, with a Fayyūmic tendency. The latter is manifested by the fact that the supralinear strokes are occasionally replaced by ε (e.g., the prepositions εχḤ, ḤḤ, and ḤḤ are often spelled as εχεν, Ḥεν, and

<sup>2</sup> Shier, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> See Hyvernāt and Porcher, 1933, pp. 108-11.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lucchesi, 1981.

<sup>5</sup> This fragment was mentioned already in Crum, 1926, p. 197, n. 9, who suggested that it came from a lectionary.

<sup>6</sup> Note that the size of 131<sup>3</sup> f. 28, 25×17 cm, given in Hyvernāt and Porcher, 1933, p. 151, is not the size of the whole leaf, but only of its written area. According to Alin Suciu, this is the case with all the manuscripts described by Émile Porcher (private communication).

ⲉⲛ), and especially by the use of -B as the personal suffix in the expression ⲟⲩⲩⲟⲃ ⲉⲛⲉⲃⲟⲃ.

The size of the manuscript's leaves,<sup>7</sup> its ornament, its supralinear system, and its linguistic features indicate that it was copied in the scriptorium of Toutōn in the Fayyūm. To be more specific, its style resembles the style of the manuscripts produced by the "second generation" of Toutōnian scribes.<sup>8</sup> According to their colophons, these manuscripts were copied in Toutōn and donated to the White Monastery in the first half of the tenth century.<sup>9</sup> It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that our manuscript was also produced in the first half of the tenth century and donated to the White Monastery.

In what follows, I will discuss the contents of the Sahidic 4 Macc and then offer a transcription and translation of the Coptic text. The text of the Paris leaves corresponds to 4 Macc 1:1-16 in Rahlfs' edition of the Septuagint. The text of the Michigan leaves corresponds to 4 Macc 15:16-21, 16:14-23, 17:7-12, and 18:6-15.

The Coptic version is an abridgement of 4 Macc. The omissions made by the redactor cannot be explained by the poor condition of the Greek *Vorlage*, nor by the carelessness of a scribe. Since the omissions quite often coincide with the narrative shifts (e.g., the text breaks off after 16:23 when the mother finishes her exhortation), it is clear that the text was deliberately shortened. The redactor's goal was probably to make the text less repetitive and more dynamic.

The Coptic version is sometimes significantly different from the Greek one. Some alterations seem to be an attempt to polish off the incoherence that resulted from the abridgement. This point may be illustrated by the Coptic text that corresponds to 17:7 in the Greek original. While both versions start with similar introductory formulae, their content is different. The difference is probably caused by the fact that, in the abridged version of 4 Macc, verse 17:7 follows the mother's exhortation (16:16-23) urging the sons to fearlessly die for the law. In order to connect the exhortation with the following verses the redactor modified verse 17:7 so that it encouraged readers to follow the martyrs' lead.

Occasionally the redactor's abbreviations can result in a slightly altered meaning. The most illustrative case is 15:21, which is significantly shorter than the Greek version. The Greek original contains a rather vivid simile in which the effect on the mother of the voices of her children is likened to the effect of the sirens on those who hear them. By contrast, the Coptic text reads simply, "Not of this kind are the songs that are sweet in that manner of (those

<sup>7</sup> The leaves of the Toutōnian manuscripts usually measure 32-35×25-27 cm. See Nakano, p. 154.

<sup>8</sup> See Nakano, p. 152.

<sup>9</sup> See Depuydt, p. cxv; Nakano, p. 151.

of) the sirens." By shortening the text, the redactor has thus altered a poignant simile into a rather banal statement which does not flow well with the previous text.

It is difficult to ascertain when the text was abridged. According to Lucchesi, the Greek *Vorlage* of the Coptic version was already abridged.<sup>10</sup> It is, however, also possible that the text was abridged at a later stage of transmission; we know that the Latin version of 4 Macc, *Passio Sanctorum Machabaeorum*, was abridged after it was translated.<sup>11</sup> Sometimes the translators even abridge the text themselves: according to Hugh M. Olmsted, Maksim Grek in his Church Slavonic translation of 4 Macc skipped those passages that he considered redundant.<sup>12</sup>

There is, however, a peculiar feature that brings the Coptic version closer to the abridged versions of 4 Macc in Greek and distinguishes it from the abridgements available in other languages. It has been noted that the Church Slavonic version and the abbreviated Latin version omit the introductory philosophical section of 4 Macc.<sup>13</sup> The beginning of the Coptic version, judging from what has survived, does not indicate any abbreviation process; it seems that only the last chapters were abbreviated. The same phenomenon is attested by a number of Greek manuscripts, most notably by Mss 690 (tenth century) and 58 (eleventh century).<sup>14</sup> Since the omissions in the Greek manuscripts and in the Coptic version rarely overlap, there can be no direct relationship between them. This notwithstanding, it seems possible to say that all these manuscripts exhibit the same tendency.

Perhaps the most peculiar feature that distinguishes the Coptic version from the Greek one is that Eleazar is considered to be the husband of the mother and the father of her sons (see the Coptic translation of 16:15, 17:9, and 18:9). In this regard, the Coptic version of 4 Macc is probably indebted to the Byzantine tradition that goes back to Gregory of Nazianzus. Gregory seems to be the first to call Eleazar the father of the seven brothers. In his view, Eleazar is not the biological father, but the spiritual one, and not only of the brothers,

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10 Lucchesi, 1983, p. 22.

11 Whenever the *Passio* occurs in a medieval biblical manuscript, it is almost twice as short as the original text of the translation. See Dörrie, pp. 8-10.

12 Олмстед, pp. 96-8.

13 Maksim Grek omitted verses 1:10-3:21; the *Passio*, when it occurs in a biblical manuscript, lacks verses 1:6-4:26. See Олмстед, p. 97; Dörrie, p. 10.

14 Ms 58 omits a number of sections in chapters 13 through 18; Ms 690, in chapters 14 through 17. I am indebted to Robert J. V. Hiebert for this information. For the description of these manuscripts see Rahlfs, pp. 246 and 264-5.

but also of their mother. We find evidence of this in Gregory's portrayal of the mother's exclamation: εὐχαριστῶ σοί, φησί, Πάτερ ἅγιε, καὶ σοί, παιδευτὰ νόμῳ, καὶ σοί, πάτερ ἡμῶν καὶ προαγωνιστὰ τῶν τέκνων τῶν σῶν Ἐλεάζαρ, ὅτι τὸν τῶν ἐμῶν ὠδίνων καρπὸν παρεδέξασθε, καὶ ὅτι μήτηρ ἐγενόμην πασῶν μητέρων ἱερωτέρα.<sup>15</sup>

As Mariano Rampolla pointed out,<sup>16</sup> however, just a few centuries after Gregory, Andrew of Crete considered the Maccabean martyrs to be a family, in which Eleazar was both father and husband: εὐσεβῶς συντραφέντες, παῖδες σοφοί, μαρτυρικῶς τοῦ τυράννου τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἀνδρείως κατησχύνετε, ὡς τοῦ νόμου ὑπέρμαχοι καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκόλουθοι γενόμενοι, ἄγιοι, σὺν μητρὶ θεόφρονι προθύμως ἠθλήσατε.<sup>17</sup> This view, for which Andrew appears to be the earliest witness, is also attested in Syriac literature<sup>18</sup> and in two Latin inscriptions from the sarcophagus that allegedly contained the relics of the Maccabean martyrs.<sup>19</sup>

Although a careful modern reader of 4 Macc would certainly consider the idea of Eleazar being married to the mother of the seven a forced and artificial interpretation of the Greek text, the person responsible for the version attested by the Coptic translation most probably saw it as a natural and logical explanation for the relations between Eleazar, the mother, and the sons. Moreover, certain passages were apparently read as supporting this interpretation. First, in 4 Macc 9:6, the brothers call Eleazar their "teacher" (παιδευτής), while in 18:9-19 the mother says that it was the father who "taught" (ἐδίδασκεν) them the law and the prophets. And second, γυνή in 17:9 can be interpreted not merely as "woman," but also as "wife." The Coptic translation of these verses reflects an attempt to spell out what did not seem to be properly expressed. Having this purpose in mind, the redactor changed "seven sons" to "their seven sons" in 17:9 and pointed out that the father's death was the one "to which you are called," i.e. the death of a martyr (18:9; cf. the same expression in 16:16).

In what follows, I offer a transcription and translation of the Coptic text.<sup>20</sup> Greek words in the parentheses correspond to the Greek loan-words employed in the Coptic text. A dash preceding a Greek word in the parentheses indicates that this loan-word is part of a composite noun.

15 *In Machabaeorum laudem*, 9 (PG 35, p. 925C).

16 Rampolla, p. 465.

17 Μηναία, p. 283; cf. p. 286 (προενηθλήσε πατήρ, συναθλοῦσι καὶ υἱοί· ἐφεπέσθω σὺν ἡμῖν καὶ ἡ μήτηρ, δικαστά) and p. 292 (τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς ὑμνήσωμεν Μακκαβαίους, Ἐλεαζάρου παῖδας Σολομονῆς τε).

18 Giamil, p. 449; cf. Witakowski, p. 163.

19 Rampolla, pp. 460-1; Marucchi, pp. 317-8; cf. Schatkin, pp. 110-1.

20 Due to the unsatisfactory quality of the photographs I have at my disposal I have not here been able to include the Paris fragments 132<sup>3</sup> f. 171, 132<sup>3</sup> f. 214, and 131<sup>6</sup> f. 114.

BnF Copte 131<sup>3</sup> f. 28

ṛōē

ἰκωου · (1:7) ου		σανος ·
η οom δε on η		ναῖ ἡταγτω
μοῖ εογένη		ογν ραροογ
παῖ εβολ κατα		ωαῖραῖ επιμογ ·
ςμοτ nīm · δε	5	αγώ αγογένη
κας εἴεταμω		ἡρωβ εβολ ·
τη δε ἰλχοεῖς		δε ἰλογιςμος
νηπαθος πε		εχῆ ἡπαθος ·
ἰλογισμος ·		(1:10) ανοκ ρω ἡεπαῖ
(1:8) ογῆ οom δε on	10	νογ ἡταρε
ημοῖ εβελῖ		τη ἡνεῖρω
παῖ ηητη ε		με · ναῖ
βολ επερογό		ηταγμογ εχῆ
αγώ ταταμω		ἡρωβ ετνα
τη ερογ ρῆ	15	νογ · αγώ
νεqmḥṯω		ετcotḥ ἡτο
ώρε ·		ογ ἡῆ τεγμα
ναῖ ἡταγααγ		αγ · αγώ ἡ
ἡοῖ ελεαζα		ἡμαεῖο ἡμο
ρος · ἡῆ ἡ	20	ογ ρῆ ογνος η
σαωq ἡcon ·		ταεῖο ·
αγώ ἡῆ τεγ		(1:11) ηεηρωμε ἡ
μααγ ·		ματε αν ἡῆ
ναῖ ἡταγμογ		ταγρ ωπη
εχῆ ταρετη ·	25	ρε ἡτεγḥṯ
(1:9) ναῖ γαρ		χωώρε ·
ητερογ		νετөөωρεῖ ἡ
овωογ ενῖ		μοογ ἡματε
σε · αγώ ἡ		αν · αλλα αγ
τερογκαταφ		
poneῖ ἡῆβα	30	ṛ ὡπηρε on ἡ

ii 23-25 ἡῆταγρ ὡπηρε: i.e. ηεηταγρ ὡπηρε.

## ῥῶς

σ1 NETBACANĪ		XE ETEΓZΓΠO
ZE ĨMOOY ·		MONH ·
AYW AYΩW		(1:13) TENOY ΔE EĪWĪ
PE ON NLOICE		NE XENE ΠXO
ETPEYKATA	5	EĪC ĨNĪPAΘOC
ΛY NTĪNTTY		PE ΠLOGĪCMOC ·
PANOC ĨTAC†		(1:14) MAPĒNOPXOY
OYBĒ PEYZEO		EBOL ĨNEΓĒ
NOC · EAXPO		PHY · NTĪ
EPTΓPANOC ·	10	EĪME XE OYHP
ZΩCTE ĨCETB		NE NECMOT
BO ĨTEYPAT		MĪLOGĪCMOC ·
PĪC ZĪTN		AYW OYHP NE Ĩ
TEYMNĪTXΩW		PAΘOC · AYW
PE ·	15	XENE QO NXO
(1:12) EĪWANĒI ΔE		EĪC ENΔĪ TH
·		POY ĨOĪ ΠLOGĪC
EĪNATAXE		MOC ·
EΘICTOPĪA		(1:15) OY CE PE ΠNOYC
ĨNENTAYΩW	20	PAĪ EΩAQAZE
PE ĨMOOY · †		PATĒ ZĪTN OY
NATAYĒ ĨZΩB		LOGĪCMOC EQ
THPĒ KATA ΘE		COYTON · EQ
EΩAĪAAC EP		TΑĪO MĪBĪOC
COΠ ·	25	NTCOFĪA EQ
†NA† EOOY ΔE		KW ĨMOC XE
MĪNOYTE Π		NTOC TE TΩOP
COΦOC MĪTH		PE ·
PQ ·		(1:16) TCOFĪA ZW
AYW ĨTEĪZE	30	OC TE TEG
TAKTOĪ TAWA		[NOCIC

ii 4 XENE: i.e. XE ENE.

ii 15 XENE: i.e. XE ENE.

## Mich. Ms. 158 (34) a

(15:16) ω [η]ειξ[ις]ε ετ]		[                    ]
ειωε η[ταυ]		[                    ]
χοντε η		[                    ]
[ξ]ητογ ω τμα		[                    ]
αγ ηνεϊξρωρε	5	[                    ]
ηαι ηταρχι<τ>		(15:19) α[γω η]ερθεω[ρει]
πε ημοογ ευ		ηηβαλ ηπογα
ροσε · ερογε η		πογα ημοογ ·
ξισε ηηηαακε		ηθε ηνεϊβαλ
ηαι ηταρωη	10	ημασε ευωο
ξισε ηζηη		οη ηη η'βα'σανος
ερτ ηαακε η		αγω ευηαγ ε
πογα πογα η		<η>ευβασανος η
μοογ ·		ηηη ημοογ ·
(15:17) ω τεϊξριμε	15	αγω ητο ερεω
ηαι ηταρξ		ρει ηνεγσβωα
πε ηηηηρεη		εγογωνη εβολ
ωμεωμεογ		ηηημαειν η
τε εςχηκ εβολ		πεγμογ ·
ηαγαας ·	20	(15:20) αγω ηπεριμε ε
(15:18) ηπεηπωωηε		χεν ησαρξ η
ηπογλογις		νογωνηρε ·
μος ησι ηωο		εηερηαγ γαρ η
ρη ηταρκα		σαρξ ηηνογωνη
πηηγ ·	25	ρε · ευρωκξ
ογδε ηπεωη		ημοογ εχεν
βε · ερεπημεξ		ησαρξ ηνεγε
ςηαγ σωωτ		ρηγ ·
ερο ηη ηβασα		ηερθεωρει ηνεγ
μος εφο ητα	30	απηγε ευωο
λαίπορος ·		

ι 6-7 ηταρχι<τ>πε: the manuscript reads ηταρχιηε. According to W. E. Crum, the verb χιηε is attested only once, in the Vienna leaf K9815; he posits that it may be a scribal error for χι ηηε.<sup>21</sup> The text to which Crum refers is Shenoute's

21 Crum, 1939, p. 778a, s.v. χιηε. Crum's "K9814" is to be corrected to "K9815."



*Let Our Eyes.*<sup>22</sup> As Stephen Emmel has pointed out, however, Crum's  $\chi\iota\pi\epsilon$  is a result of an erroneous word division.<sup>23</sup> Since the word is unattested elsewhere, it requires an emendation. What Crum once proposed for K9815 seems to be the most suitable option for our manuscript.

ii 12-13  $\epsilon<N>\epsilon\gamma\beta\alpha\varsigma\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ : the manuscript reads  $\epsilon\tau\pi\epsilon\gamma\beta\alpha\varsigma\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ .

ii 23-24  $\dot{N}\varsigma\alpha\rho\dot{\zeta}$ : i.e.  $\epsilon\alpha\varsigma\alpha\rho\dot{\zeta}$ .

Mich. Ms. 158 (34) b

[ΩΤ ΜΜΟΥ		ΦΕΝΟΥ[ΤΕ ΕΝΑ]
[		ΝΟΥC · [ΑΥΩ Ν]
[		ΤΑΣΕΡ ΧΟΕΙ[C ΕΤ]
[		ΜΕΝΤΡΕΦΩ[Ν]
Ν]	5	ΦΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤ
[ΜΟ]ΟΥ ΕΧΕΝ Ν		ΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ ·
ΟΙΧ ΝΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ ·		ΑΛΛΑ · ΑΡΩΩ
ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΕΡΝΑΥ		ΠΕ ΕΡΟ ΝΓΕΝ
ΕΖΕΝΡΕΦΜΟ		ΝΑΙΔ ΑΥΩ
ΟΥΤ ΕΥΝΗΧ ·	10	ΑΡΧΡΟ ΕΠΤΥ
ΕΧΕΝ ΖΕΝΡΕΦ		ΡΑΝΟC ·
ΜΟΥΤ ·		ΑΡΩΩΠΕ ΕΡΩΝ
ΑΥΩ ΝΤΕΡΕΡ		ΣΟΜ ΖΝ ΝΟΥΩΔ
ΩΩ ΕΡΝΑΥ ΕΠ		ΧΕ ΜΝ <N>ΟΥΜΕΕΥΕ ·
ΜΗΗΦΕ ΝΝΟΥ	15	ΑΥCΕΝΤΕ ΓΑΡ
ΦΗΡΕ ΕΥΜΟ		ΕΡΟ ΝΧΩΩΡΕ ·
ΟΥΤ · ΑΥΩ		(16:15) ΚΑΙΓΑΡ ΝΤΕ
ΕΥΝΗΧ ΖΕΝ ΟΥ		ΡΟΥΔΜΑΖΤΕ Ν
ΜΑ ΝΟΥΩΤ Ν		ΜΟ ΜΝ <N>ΟΥΦΗΡΕ ·
ΠΕΡΡΙΜΕ ΕΠ	20	ΝΕΡΑΖΕΡΑΤΕ ΕΡ
ΤΗΡΩ ·		ΝΑΥ ΕΛΕΔΖΑΡΟC
(15:21) ΝΖΕΝΤΕΪΜΙΝΕ		ΠΟΥΗΝΒ ΠΟΥ
ΔΝ ΝΕ ΝΧΩ ΕΤ		ΖΑΪ ΕΥΒΑCΑΝΙ
ΝΟΤΝ ΝΤΕΪΖΕ ·		ΖΕ ΝΜΟΥ ·
ΝΤΕ ΝΖΥΡΗ	25	ΝΕΡΩΔΧΕ ΓΑΡ ·

<sup>22</sup> Edited in Emmel 2008, pp. 190-7.

<sup>23</sup> See Emmel 2002, p. 106, n. 56.

ΝΟΣ ·		ΜΕΝ ΠΟΥΔΑ ΠΟΥΔΑ ·
(16:14) Ω ΤΕΪΜΑΔΥ		ΝΝΟΥΩΗΡΕ ·
ΕΤ		ΝΤΑΣΠΕ ΝΕΝ
ΤΑΕΪΗΥ Ν		ΖΕΒΡΑΪΟΣ ΕΡΧΩ
ΤΑΣΩΩΠΕ		
ΜΗΑΤΟΪ ΝΟΥ	30	ΜΜΟΣ · ΧΕ
ΜΗΤΡΕΩΩΕΜ		(16:16) ΝΑΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΪΑ

ii 14 ΜΗ <Ν>ΟΥΜΕΕΥΕ: the manuscript reads ΜΗ ΟΥΜΕΕΥΕ.

ii 19 ΜΗ <Ν>ΟΥΩΗΡΕ: the manuscript reads ΜΗ ΟΥΩΗΡΕ.

ii 21 ΕΛΕΔΖΑΡΟΣ: i.e. ΕΕΛΕΔΖΑΡΟΣ.

Mich. Ms. 158 (34) c

ΓΩΝ Ν[ΤΑΥΤΕ]		[            ]
ΖΗ ΤΗΥΤΝ		[            ]
ΕΡΟQ ΕΤΒΕ Τ		[            ]
ΜΗΤΗΜΗΤΡΕ		ΠΕΤ[
ΜΠΕΝΖΕΘΝΟΣ	5	ΝΗΤΝ ·
ΔΓΩΝΙΖΕ ΖΗ ΟΥ		(16:19) ΕΤΒΕΠΑΪ ΠΕΤΕ[Ω]
ΟΥΡΟΤ ΕΤΒΕ Π		ΩΕ ΕΡΩΤΗ ΠΕ
ΝΟΜΟΣ ΝΕΝ		ΕΖΥΠΩΜΙΝΕ
ΕΙΟΤΕ · (16:17) ΚΑΙ		ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ·
ΓΑΡ ΟΥΖΩΒ Ε	10	(16:20) ΚΑΪΓΑΡ ΠΕΝΕΪ
ΝΕΩΩΒ ΠΕ ΠΑΪ Ε		ΩΤ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ·
ΤΗΖΥΠΩΜΟ		ΕΦΘΕΠΗ ΕΚΩ
ΝΗ ΕΝΕΪΒΑΣΑ		ΝΣ ΝΙΣΑΔΚ
ΝΟΣ · ΕΤΒΕ Τ		ΠΕΩΩΗΡΕ ·
ΜΗΤΡΕΩΩΗ	15	ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ
ΩΕΝΟΥΤΕ ·		ΠΕΙΩΤ ΝΗ
ΝΤΩΤΗ ΔΕ Ν		ΖΕΘΝΟΣ · ΝΕ
ΤΕΤΗ ΖΗΩΗ		ΡΕΤΩΡΤΕ Ν
ΡΕ ΩΗΜ · ΠΕ		ΤΟΟΤQ ΕΕΝΤC
ΤΕΩΩΕ ΕΡΩΤΗ	20	ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩQ ·
ΠΕ ΕΤΗΠΩΤ		ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕΩΩ
ΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΗΒΑ		ΤΟΡΤΡ ΕΠΤΗ
ΣΑΝΟΣ ·		ΡΕQ ·
(16:18) ΑΡΪ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ Ω ΝΑ		(16:21) ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΔΑΝΪΗΛ
ΩΗΡΕ ΧΕ ΕΤΕ	25	ΠΔΪΚΑΪΟΣ ΑΥ
ΤΕΝΩΟΟΠ ΖΗ		ΝΟΧΕQ ΕΠΩΗ

πίκοσμος ἐπεῖ		μήμογι̇ ·
ζωβ ετβε ἰ	30	αγω он · ἀνανῖ
νουτε ·		αc · αζαρῖαc ·
αγω ετβηητῑ		micαηλ · αγ
он τετнар рпо		ноχοу етка

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[MINOC		[MMIN] MMON
[ ]		]α] τεγζγ
[ ]		πομονη ·
]λοι		(17:8) ενεεζεστῖ nan ·
[ζε ncexi] πεκ	5	τενογ πε εс
[λο]м · nῑ		ζαῖ ἡνειφαχε
mentatṭa		εζραῖ ἐχεμ πεγ
ko ḡcekḡro		εμζααγ · χε
nomeῖ ḡπω		κας netωoop
nḡ etmhn ebol ·	10	ζῆ πενζεθ
(16:22) anon ζωων		noc ḡcekxoc ·
ḡarenkw		χε (17:9) eic oγzλλo
nan ḡṭpic		εφογὰαβ · mḡ
tiс etxi ē		oγzλλω ḡczῖ
zoγῑ epnoγ	15	me · mḡ πεγ
te · aγw		caωq ḡωhre ·
ḡperṭrenep		εγκн εζραῖ εγ
ḡabzht epth		tomc zḡ peῖto
peq · (16:23) oγzewb		noc παῖ ·
ḡap enebwb pe	20	ntooγ δε aγbwλ
netcooγῑ ḡṭ		ebol ḡṭsom
mḡṭpeqωḡ		ḡṭṭḡpanoc ·
ωenoγte et		etbe ṭπολγ
peγṑwṭ ntoo		ṭῖa ḡḡzebpaῖ
toγ ḡḡbacα	25	oc · (17:10) δεκαс
noc ·		epwan oγpw
(17:7) anon ζωων πε		me oγwω ἐxi
teωωe epom		petzῖtoγ
pe · etpenṭ		ωq ḡsonc ·
ḡpenoγoῖ ē	30	eqenaγ nba
χεμ penmoγ		canoc etxi

ii 8 ΕΜΖΑΔΥ: i.e. ΜΖΑΔΥ.

ii 30-31 ΝΒΔCΔΝΟC: i.e. ΕΝΒΔCΔΝΟC.

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ἐξογν̄ ἐπμογ̄ ·		θξη[οc εττβ]
ἵταγρ̄πομ̄ι		βη[γ αγω ηπι]
νε ἐροογ̄ ἡσ̄ι		τ̄ααc ἡ[λααγ]
νεῖγεννεοc ·		αγω αἰζαρεξ̄ ε[τ]
(17:11) ογμε πε πεῖα	5	βητ̄cπ̄ιρ ἡ
γων̄ · αγω̄		ταγκοτ̄τ̄ Ν<τοοτ>c
παγων̄ ετ		(18:8) ἡπερωμε ἡ
ταεῖηγ̄ ἐμα		λοῖμοc · δε
τε · παῖ ἵταγ		ζεμ̄ τ̄cωωε ·
ωωπε ἡζητ̄γ̄	10	ἵταε̄ρμμοc ·
(17:12) αγωωπε γαρ		ογδε ἡπεπ
εγο̄ ηωοεῖα		ρογ̄ ἡρεφ̄απα
ἐπερογ̄ο̄ · αγ		τα · δεζη̄
Δωκ̄ιμαζε		ἵττβω ἵτα
γαρ ἵταρετη	15	παρθενῖα ·
ζῖτεν τεγρ̄γ̄		(18:9) αἰρ̄ πεγ̄οεῖω
πωμονη̄ ·		ἵταμ̄ν̄τ̄β̄ρ
αγω̄ πεγ̄ᾱρο̄ ·		ρε̄ μεν̄ παρ̄αῖ̄ ·
αφωωπε ζῖ		ντερ̄ιερ̄ νοc
ογμ̄ἵτ̄ατ̄	20	αῖᾱπε̄ τηγ̄τ̄η̄ ·
τακο̄ ·		πετ̄μ̄μαγ̄ ζω̄
(18:6) ἵμααγ̄ γαρ ἡπι		ωγ̄ ἐτε̄ πε
σαωγ̄ ἡζε̄ρ		τενεῖωτ̄ πε
ωῖρε̄ ἐνεc̄αω̄		αφμογ̄ ζωωγ̄
ἐροογ̄ ἡνεῖ	25	ζη̄ πείμογ̄ ἡ
Δῖκαῖω̄μᾱ ·		κοῖνων̄ ·
εc̄αω̄ ἡμοc̄ δε		παῖ ἵταγ̄τε
(18:7) ἀνοκ̄ αῖζαρεξ̄ ·		ζη̄ τηγ̄τεν̄
[α]γω̄ αῖωωπε		ερωγ̄ ·
[ει]ογ̄ααβ̄ ζεν̄	30	αγω̄ ναῖατ̄γ̄
[τα]μ̄ἵτ̄παρ		ἡῖρωμε̄

ii 6 Ν<τοοτ>c: the manuscript reads noc.

Mich. Ms. 158 (34) f

[            ]		[ⲭⲉ] ἀνανιάσ ·
ⲉⲙ ⲡⲱⲛ[ⲉ ⲛ]		ⲙⲛ αζαρίας ·
ⲱⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲗ ⲛ		ⲙⲛ ⲙῖσανη ·
ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲣⲉⲓ		ⲛⲁῖ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲛⲟ
ⲱⲉⲙⲱⲉⲛⲟⲩ	5	ⲭⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲣⲱ
ⲧⲉ · ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲁ		ⲛⲥⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩⲉ ·
ⲱ ⲁⲗⲟⲙ ⲉⲡ		(18:13) ⲁⲓⲱ ⲁⲓⲧ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ
ⲧⲙⲣⲓ ·		ⲁⲁⲛῖⲛⲗ ⲉⲓⲉⲓ
(18:10) ⲡⲁῖ ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲧ ⲥⲱⲱ		ⲡⲱⲛῖ ⲛῖⲙⲟⲩῖ ·
ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲩ	10	ⲁⲓⲱ ⲁⲓⲙⲁⲕⲁ
ⲟⲩⲟⲉῖⲱ ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟ		ⲣῖⲗⲉ ⲛῖⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉ
ⲛⲉ ⲉῖ ⲡⲛⲟ		ⲉⲟⲩⲟ
ⲙⲟⲥ · ⲙῖ ⲛⲉ		(18:14) ⲁⲓⲧⲣⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲣ̅ ⲡ̅
ⲡⲣⲟⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ·		ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧ
(18:11) ⲁⲓⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲩ	15	ⲣⲁⲑⲏ ⲛⲏⲥⲁῖ
ⲧⲏ ⲉⲧⲱⲉ ⲕⲁ		ⲁⲥ ⲉⲓⲱⲱ ⲛῖⲙⲟⲥ ·
ⲉῖⲛ ⲡⲁῖ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ		ⲭⲉ ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉⲕⲱⲁⲛ
ⲉⲱⲧⲱ ⲛⲁⲱⲉⲗ		ⲉῖ ⲉⲱⲟⲗ ⲉῖⲧⲏ ⲟⲩ
ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲟⲛ ·		ⲱⲁⲉ ⲛⲕⲱⲉⲧ
ⲁⲓⲱ ⲉⲧⲱⲉ ⲉῖⲥⲁ	20	ⲛῖⲛⲁⲣⲟⲕⲉⲕ
ⲁⲕ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁ		ⲁⲛ · (18:15) ⲁⲓⲱ
ⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲗⲣⲁῖ ⲛⲟⲩ		ⲟⲛ ⲡⲣⲉⲓⲕⲏⲉ ⲛ
ⲥῖⲁ ·		ⲉⲓⲓⲙⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲁⲁ
ⲉῖⲧⲁ ⲁⲓⲧ ⲥⲱⲱ		ⲛⲉⲓⲧ ⲥⲱⲱ ⲛⲏ
ⲛⲏⲧⲏ ⲉⲧⲱⲉ	25	ⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲧⲁⲗ
ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲑ ⲉⲓ		ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲉ
ⲉῖ ⲡⲉⲓⲧⲉⲕⲟ ·		ⲗⲟⲥ · ⲭⲉ ⲛⲁ
(18:12) ⲁⲓⲱ ⲉⲧⲱⲉ ⲡῖ		ⲱⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲟⲗῖ
ⲛⲉⲉⲥ ⲡⲣⲉⲓⲕⲱⲉ ·		ⲩῖⲥ ⲛⲉⲛⲁῖ
ⲁⲓⲱ ⲟⲛ ⲁⲓⲧ	30	ⲕⲁῖⲟⲥ · ⲡ̅[ⲭⲟ]
ⲥⲁⲱⲉ ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲏ		ⲉῖⲥ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲉ[ⲙⲟⲩ]

[ⲛⲉⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ]

i 10-11 ⲡⲉⲓⲟⲩⲟⲉῖⲱ: i.e. ⲡⲉⲓⲟⲉῖⲱ. See Kasser, p. 77b, s.v. ⲟⲩⲟⲉῖⲱ.

### Translation

... them. 1:7 And (δέ) also I am able to make this clear in (κατά) every way in order to tell you that reason (λογισμός) is the lord of the passions (πάθος). 1:8 And (δέ) also I have the power to unveil this for you to an exceeding degree and to tell you about him by his feats, the ones that Eleazar accomplished with the seven brothers and with their mother, they who died for the sake of virtue (ἀρετή). 1:9 For (γάρ) having disregarded the suffering and despised (καταφρονέω) the torments (βάσανος), they bore them even unto death. And they made the matter clear, namely that reason (λογισμός) is over the passions (πάθος). 1:10 As for me, I too praise (ἐπαινέω) the virtue (ἀρετή) of these people, who died for the thing that is good and select, they along with their mother. And I am praising them with great honor. 1:11 It was not only the people who had marveled at their prowess. It was not only those who were watching (θεωρέω) them. But (ἀλλά) those too who were tormenting (βασανίζω) them marveled. And they also became a motive for the tyranny (-τύραννος) that fought their nation (ἔθνος) to be destroyed (καταλύω), having defeated the tyrant (τύραννος) so that (ὥστε) their homeland (πατρίς) might be purified by their prowess. 1:12 And (δέ) when I (now) come to speak about the story (ἱστορία) of the things that happened to them, I will tell the entire matter as (κατά) I often do. And (δέ) I will give glory to God, the wise one (σοφός) of everything, and in this way again speak about their endurance (ὑπομονή). 1:13 And (δέ) now I ask whether reason (λογισμός) is the lord of the passions (πάθος). 1:14 Let us separate them one from another and understand how many kinds of reason (λογισμός) there are and how many passions (πάθος) there are and whether reason (λογισμός) is the lord of all of them. 1:15 Furthermore, what is the mind (νοῦς), that which tends to rise through upright reason (λογισμός)? It honors the life (βίος) of wisdom (σοφία). It grants that she is the first. 1:16 Wisdom (σοφία) is also [knowledge (γνώσις)].

15:16 O (ὦ) those bitter troubles by which you, o (ὦ) mother of these young men, were tested, which you <tasted> as being more difficult than the labor pains that you suffered for each when you were in labor! 15:17 O (ὦ) that woman who alone gave birth to the perfect godliness! 15:18 The first (son) who drew last breath did not turn your reason (λογισμός), nor (οὐδέ) were you changed when the second (son) looked at you in the torments (βάσανος), miserable (ταλαίπωρος)... 15:19 And you watched (θεωρέω) the eyes of each one of them, like those calf eyes, when they were in the torments (βάσανος), and when they saw <their> own torments (βάσανος), and when you, on your part, watched (θεωρέω) their nostrils that manifested the sign of their death. 15:20

And you did not weep over the flesh (σάρξ) of your sons. For (γάρ) you saw the flesh (σάρξ) of your sons being burned, their flesh (σάρξ) stacked on top of one another. You watched (θεωρέω) their heads being [cut off] . . . their hands stacked on top of one another and while you also saw dead people lying on top of one another. And when you kept seeing how your great number of sons were dead and lying in the same place, you did not weep at all. 15:21 Not of this kind are the songs that are sweet in that manner of (those of) the sirens (σειρήν).

16:14 O (ὦ) that honored mother who became a soldier of good godliness [and] who became a master of perfect godliness! But (ἀλλά) you came to be a noble woman (γενναία) and you defeated the tyrant (τύραννος). You came to be strong in your words and <your> thoughts, for (γάρ) you were found to be strong. 16:15 Moreover (καὶ γάρ), when you and <your> sons were seized, you stood (there) seeing Eleazar the priest, your husband, being tormented (βασανίζω). For (γάρ) you spoke with each one of your sons in the language of the Hebrews (ἑβραῖος), saying, 16:16 “My sons, as for this contest (ἀγών) to which you have been called to bear witness for our nation (ἔθνος), contend (ἀγωνίζομαι) eagerly for the sake of the law (νόμος) of the fathers. 16:17 Moreover (καὶ γάρ), it is a disgraceful thing not to endure (ὑπομονή) these torments (βάσανος) for the sake of godliness. As for (δέ) you, you are children; it is fitting for you not to flee from the torments (βάσανος). 16:18 Remember, o (ὦ) my sons, that it is because of God that you are in the world (κόσμος) for this end and it is also because of God that you will rule . . . to you. 16:19 For this reason it is fitting for you to endure (ὑπομένω) for the sake of God. 16:20 Moreover (καὶ γάρ), when our father Abraham hastened to slay his son Isaac, that is, the father of the nations (ἔθνος), the knife was in his hand to bring it down on him, and he was not troubled at all. 16:21 And also Daniel the righteous (δικαίος) was thrown into the lions’ pit. And also Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael were thrown into the furnace (κάμινος). . . . filth. [And they will receive] the wreath of imperishability<sup>24</sup> and inherit (κληρονομέω) everlasting life. 16:22 Let us too acquire faith (πίστις) relating to God and let us not be afraid at all. 16:23 For (γάρ) it is a disgraceful thing that the ones who know godliness flee from torments (βάσανος).”

17:7 And we too ought to advance toward our [own] death . . . their endurance (ὑπομονή). 17:8 It would now be fitting (ἔξεστι) for us to write these words on their tomb so that the ones who are among our nation (ἔθνος) might say: 17:9 “Behold, an old man who is a saint, an old woman and their seven sons

24 Cf. 1 Cor 9:25. The expression ὁ στέφανος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας is often used in the martyrdoms, see, e.g., *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 17, 1 and 19, 2. See also 4 Macc 17:15.

are laid down and buried in this very place (τόπος). And (δέ) they destroyed the power of the tyrant (τύραννος) for the sake of the state (πολιτεία) of the Hebrews (ἑβραῖος); 17:10 so that, whenever a man wants to abuse his neighbor, he might see the torments (βάσανος) that relate to death that these noble persons (γενναῖος) endured (ὑπομένω). 17:11 This contest (ἀγών) is true and so is the exceedingly honorable contest, the one in which they have come to be. 17:12 For (γάρ) they became exceedingly athletic. For (γάρ) (their) virtue (ἀρετή) was tested (δοκιμάζω) by their endurance (ὑπομονή) and their victory took place imperishably.”

18:6 For (γάρ) the mother of those seven young men told them these commandments (δικαίωμα), saying, 18:7 “As for me, I was on guard and I was holy in [my] pure virginity (-παρθένος) [and I did not] give it away [to anyone.] And I guarded [the] rib <from> which I have been built. 18:8 No pestilent (λοιμός) man defiled the field of my wilderness (ἔρημος), nor (οὐδέ) did the deceitful (-ἀπατάω) serpent defile the purity of my virginity (παρθενία). 18:9 I spent the time of my youth with my husband. When I grew up, I gave birth to you. As for that one too, that is, your father, he too died this common (κοινός) death, the one to which you have been called. Blessed is the man . . . in the eternal life of godliness. He did not groan at all, 18:10 he who was teaching you the law (νόμος) and the prophets (προφήτης) at the time when he was alive. 18:11 He told you about Cain, who killed his brother Abel, and about Isaac, who was offered as a sacrifice (θυσία). Then (εἶτα) he taught you about Joseph when he was in prison 18:12 and about the zealous Phinehas. And he also taught you [that] it was into the burning fiery furnace that Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael were thrown.<sup>25</sup> 18:13 And he glorified Daniel when he was in the lions’ pit. And he praised (μακαρίζω) him exceedingly. 18:14 He made you remember the scripture (γραφή) of Isaiah, when he says, ‘Even if (ἂν) you go through the fiery flame, it will not burn you.’<sup>26</sup> 18:15 And also David the hymn (ὕμνος)-writer was teaching you sweetly in his psalms (ψαλμός), ‘Many are the afflictions (θλίψεις) of the righteous ones (δίκαιος); the Lord will rescue [them from them all].’<sup>27</sup>

25 Cf. Dan 3:17.

26 Isa 43:2.

27 Ps 34:19 LXX.





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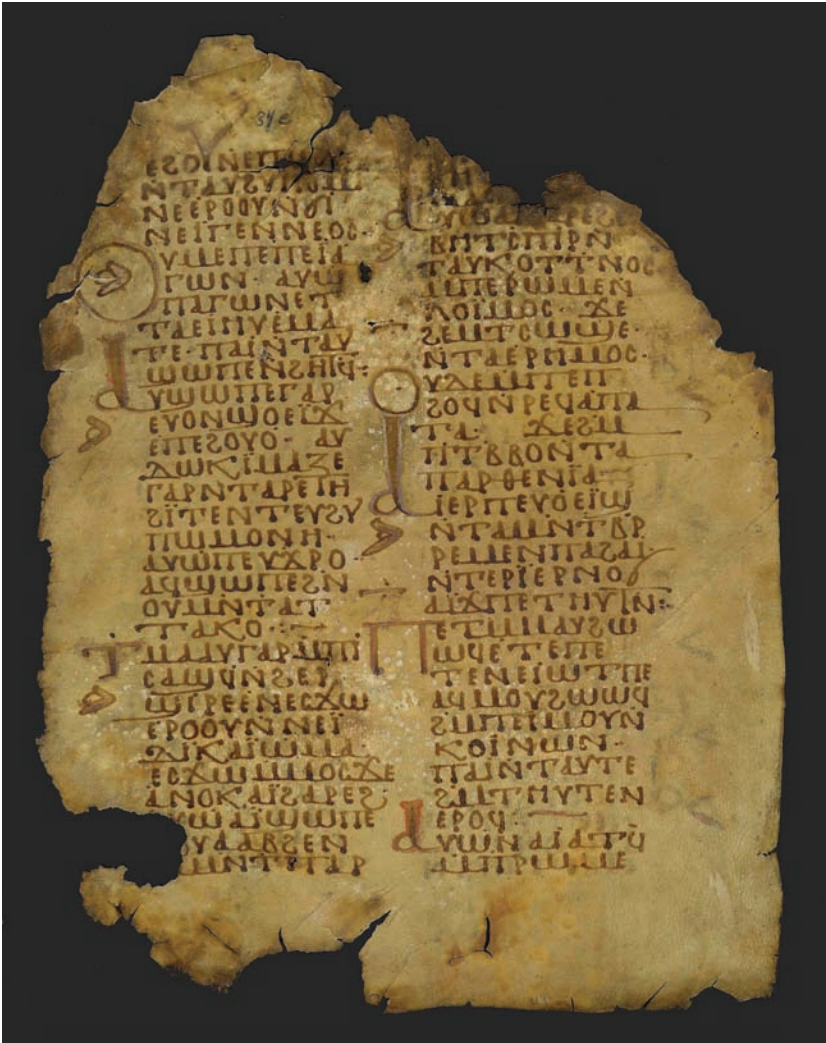


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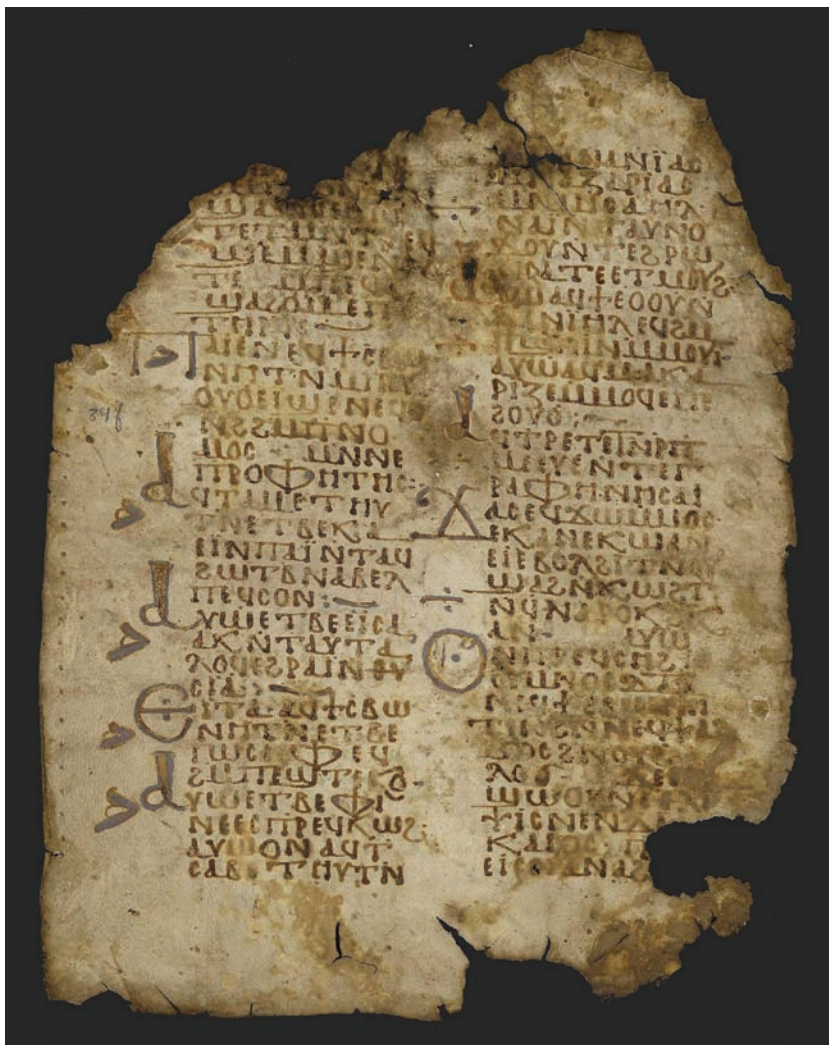


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