

THE *SERMO ASCETICUS* OF STEPHEN THE THEBAN IN SAHIDIC COPTIC

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Abstract

Stephen of Thebes was an Egyptian ascetic author whose *floruit* must probably be placed to the late fourth or early fifth century. His writings have survived in Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, and Greek. Additionally, part of his most widespread text, the *Sermo asceticus*, is preserved in some Greek and Armenian manuscripts of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. Stephen of Thebes's literary corpus has close connections with the ascetic literature of Lower Egypt, suggesting that he lived in the monastic communities from Scetis, Nitria, and Kellia. This essay offers the *editio princeps* of Stephen's *Sermo asceticus* in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic. The author suggests that the *Sermo asceticus* was originally composed in Coptic and translated later into Greek, from which derive directly or indirectly the Arabic, Ethiopic, and Georgian versions. The essay thus proposes that Stephen of Thebes should be considered one of the earliest authors of Coptic literature.

ALTHOUGH the writings of Stephen the Theban once enjoyed a wide dissemination, they remain largely neglected today. This situation is partly due to the elusiveness of the author, about whom no historical documentation can be assembled. The attempt of Constantin Diobouniotis to identify him with Stephen the Sabaite is surely wrong.¹ Nevertheless, there are arguments that Stephen the Theban was an Egyptian ascetic of the late fourth or early fifth century, who probably lived at least for a certain period of his life in one of the semi-eremitic milieux of Scetis, Nitria, and Kellia.² Thus, although Stephen was a native of the Thebaid, as his name seems to imply, his writings are

¹ C. Diobouniotis, 'Στρέφανος ὁ Σαβαΐτης', *Τερψ Σύνδεσμος* 193 (15 May 1913), pp. 9–12, at 10–11; continuation in *Τερψ Σύνδεσμος* 194 (1 June 1913), pp. 10–13.

² I argued in favour of this hypothesis in A. Suciу, 'Revisiting the Literary Dossier of Stephen of Thebes: With Preliminary Editions of the Greek Redactions of the Ascetic *Commandments*', *Adamantius* 21 (2015), pp. 301–25.

impregnated with the monastic spirituality of Lower Egypt. This is ascertained by the numerous literary contacts between his texts and the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (CPG 5560), the works of Evagrius, and the *Asceticon* of Isaiah of Scetis (CPG 5555; *clavis coptica* 0217).³

The following texts attributed to Stephen the Theban have been identified to date:⁴

1. *Sermo asceticus* (CPG 8240; *clavis coptica* 0253) (Coptic, Greek, Arabic, Ethiopic, Georgian)
2. *Commandments* (Greek, Old Slavonic)
3. *Diataxis* (Greek, Old Slavonic)
4. *Gnomai* (Arabic)

The *Sermo asceticus* is undoubtedly the most significant of his writings. The text is preserved in Arabic, Coptic (Sahidic), Ethiopic (GeV'əz), Georgian, and Greek. Furthermore, excerpts from it exist in *Paterica* collections extant in Armenian, Greek, Arabic, and Ethiopic. This variety of languages shows the importance that both the Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian monks attached to the *Sermo asceticus*. The present article singles out the Sahidic Coptic text, offering the first complete edition of the surviving fragments in this language. The first part will briefly survey the ancient versions of the *Sermo asceticus*. In the second part, I will introduce the Coptic text. It is in this context that I will examine some quotations from and allusions to Clement of Rome's *Epistle to the Corinthians* (= *1 Clement*) (CPG 1001; *clavis coptica* 0122) in the *Sermo* and will tentatively suggest that Stephen's text may originally have been written in Coptic and translated later into Greek, the language from which derive, directly or indirectly, all the other versions.

STEPHEN THE THEBAN'S *SERMO ASCETICUS* AND ITS VERSIONS

The *Sermo asceticus* contains precepts of an ascetic teacher to his spiritual son, written in the style of gnomic literature. Stephen's aphorisms and advices are meant to serve for the

³ The *Apophthegmata Patrum* records the names of other natives of Thebaid who lived in the semi-eremitic communities of Scetis, Nitria, and Kellia, such as Isaac the Theban, John the Theban, and Marcellus the Theban.

⁴ For a review of Stephen's literary corpus and problems of authenticity, see Suciu, 'Revisiting the Literary Dossier of Stephen of Thebes'.

accomplishment of the solitary life, offering details as to how the anchorite should perform the daily routines in the cell and defend against the attacks of the demons, who inspire impassioned thoughts. Consequently, special attention is given to the techniques of attaining tranquillity (Greek *ἀνάπαυσις*; Coptic *𠁻𠁻*).⁵

The first published version of the *Sermo asceticus* was the Arabic.⁶ The text has survived in four manuscripts in this language, amongst which stands out *Vaticanus arabicus* 71. This parchment codex was inscribed in the year 885/886 CE in the Great Lavra of Saint Sabbas in Palestine for the Monastery of St Catherine at Sinai.⁷ While the translation into Arabic was probably made in the Palestinian Melkite milieu, the Coptic community later adopted it. Furthermore, the Coptic scholar al-Safī ibn al-‘Assāl composed an *epitome* of the Arabic *Sermo asceticus*, which has survived in a couple of manuscripts.⁸

The Greek text was published in 1969 by Édouard des Places according to Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF) Grec 1066, fos. 86^r–94^r (eleventh–twelfth centuries).⁹

⁵ On the equivalence of *𠁻𠁻* and *ἀνάπαυσις*, see M. Sheridan, ‘The Spiritual and Intellectual World of Early Egyptian Monasticism’, in M. Sheridan, *From the Nile to the Rhone and Beyond: Studies in Early Monastic Literature and Scriptural Interpretation* (Studia Anselmiana, 156, Analecta monastica, 12; Rome: Pontificio Ateneo di S. Anselmo, 2012), pp. 47–87, at 26.

⁶ J.-M. Sauget, ‘Une version arabe du “Sermon ascétique” d’Étienne le Thébain’, *Le Muséon* 77 (1964), pp. 367–406.

⁷ Ibid., p. 373. Description in A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, vol. 4 (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1831), pp. 143–5, although the year of the completion of the manuscript is misprinted there as 788 CE (see *ibid.*, p. 599 for the real date). See also J.-M. Sauget, ‘Les Fragments de l’Asceticon de l’abbé Isaïe de Scété du Vatican arabe 71’, *Oriens christianus* 48 (1964), pp. 235–59, at 235. Additionally to *Vaticanus arabicus* 71, fos. 226^v–234^r, the Arabic version of the *Sermo asceticus* is extant in Sinai, Arabic 236, fos. 208^r–215^v, Sinai, Arabic 571, fos. 216^r–222^v, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 253, fos. 246^r–250^v. There is another witness of the text in the *Vaticanus arabicus* 695, but this is just a modern copy made from *Vaticanus arabicus* 71.

⁸ See Sauget, ‘Une version arabe du “Sermon ascétique” d’Étienne le Thébain’, pp. 371–2; K. Samir, ‘Stephen the Theban’, in A. S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7 (New York: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 2154b–2155b, at 2155b.

⁹ É. des Places, ‘Le “Discours ascétique” d’Étienne de Thèbes: Texte grec inédit et traduction’, *Le Muséon* 82 (1969), pp. 35–59. Des Places’s edition of the Greek has served as the basis for a few modern translations: French translation by Dom M. van Parys in L. Regnault *et al.*, *Enseignements des Pères du désert: Hyperéchos, Étienne de Thèbes, Zosime* (Spiritualité orientale, 51; Bérolles-en-Mauges: Solesmes, 1991), pp. 57–91; Italian translation in L. Cremaschi, *Parole dal deserto: Detti inediti di Iperonio, Stefano di Tebe e Zosima* (Padri orientali; Magnano: Comunità di Bose, 1992), pp. 51–88; English

Although des Places was aware that Athos, Lavra I8, fos. 29^v–34^v contains the same work, this codex remained inaccessible to him.¹⁰ Two other Athonite manuscripts have surfaced recently, both of them attributing the *Sermo* to the iconodule martyr Stephen the Younger: Pantaleimon 114, fos. 22^r–29^r (fifteenth century) and Lavra I181, pp. 67–75 (eighteenth century).¹¹ A new edition of the Greek text, based on all the manuscripts identified to date, remains a desideratum.

In 1970, Gérard Gariotte edited the Georgian version of the *Sermo asceticus*, which is preserved in a single manuscript from the Monastery of St Catherine at Sinai (Georgian 35, fos. 90^r–94^r; tenth century).¹² According to Gariotte, the Georgian text was translated from Greek. This version is shorter, omitting two large chunks of the text, corresponding to §§11–49 and 67c–83 of the Greek.

The Ge'əz version is contained in only one manuscript, EMML 4493, fos. 103^r–105^r. It was copied in 1528 CE and it is currently kept in the church of Gur Səllase in the region of Moga-Wädära (ሞጋ-ወዳራ) in the North Šäwa (ሻዋ) province.¹³ The Ethiopic text was rendered from Arabic. Interestingly, it stops abruptly after §78 of the Arabic text edited by Sauget, the remaining part of the codex accommodating extracts from the *Arägawi Mänfasawi*, the Ethiopic name of the eighth-century East Syrian mystic John of Dalyatha.¹⁴ Additionally, a Ge'əz translation of §37 of the *Sermo asceticus* features anonymously in

translation by T. Vivian in T. Vivian *et al.*, *Words to Live By: Journeys in Ancient and Modern Egyptian Monasticism* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2005), pp. 283–321.

¹⁰ The manuscript was identified for the first time in J. Darrouzès, 'Étienne le Thébain', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, vol. 4/2 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1961), pp. 1525–6, at 1525.

¹¹ Fr Filotheus Bălan of Petru Vodă Monastery, Romania, found the manuscripts during a research trip to Mount Athos.

¹² G. Gariotte, 'Le "Discours ascétique" d'Étienne le Thébain en géorgien', *Le Muséon* 83 (1970), pp. 73–93; for the description of the manuscript, see Gariotte, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du Mont Sinai* (CSCO 165, Subsidia, 9; Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1956), p. 111.

¹³ The manuscript is described in G. Haile, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville*, vol. 10 (Collegeville, MN: HMML/St. John's University, 1993), pp. 181–8. See also A. Bausi, 'Monastic Literature', in S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 3: *He–N* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), pp. 993a–999b, at 996a. I am currently preparing the edition of the Ge'əz version.

¹⁴ On John of Dalyatha, see e.g. R. Beulay, 'Précisions touchant l'identité et la biographie de Jean Saba de Dalyatha', *Parole de l'Orient* 8 (1977–8), pp. 87–116.

the *Gädlä Abäw Qəddusan*, a *Patericon* collection that most likely has an Arabic *Vorlage*.¹⁵

Although the *Sermo asceticus* has not been found until now in Armenian, §§49–51 are included as two anonymous sayings in the Armenian translation of the systematic collection of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*.¹⁶ The same apophthegms are extant in Greek in several manuscripts, the oldest of which is Athos, Lavra B37, inscribed in the year 970 CE.¹⁷

Finally, Stephen the Theban's *Sermo asceticus* is preserved also in Coptic in two fragmentary Sahidic parchment manuscripts. One of them is a dismembered codex from the Monastery of Apa Shenoute, or the White Monastery as it is more commonly called, situated near Sohag in Upper Egypt. Fragments of another codex were found in 1965 at Qasr el-Wizz in Nubia.

THE SAHIDIC MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *SERMO ASCETICUS*

Both Coptic manuscripts of the *Sermo asceticus* identified to date are incomplete. The White Monastery codex has the siglum MONB.ON in the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* (CMCL) database.¹⁸ The only fragments of this manuscript

¹⁵ V. Arras, *Geronticon* (CSCO 476–7, *Scriptores Aethiopici*, 79–80; Louvain, 1986), vol. 1, p. 291 (Gə'əz text), vol. 2, p. 198 (Latin translation). The saying also appears in the Arabic *Patericon* in *Vaticanus arabicus* 460 (fo. 144v); see J.-M. Sauget, 'Une nouvelle collection éthiopienne d'*Apophthegmata Patrum*', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 31 (1965), pp. 177–82, at 182, n. 4.

¹⁶ The text is available in the first volume of the Armenian *Vitae Patrum*, Վարպետ սուրան և բաղարավարութիւնը նողին բան կրկին թարգմանութեան նախնեաց, vol. 1 (Venice: San Lazzaro, 1855), pp. 560–1. Latin translation in L. Leloir, *Paterica armeniaca a P.P. Mechitaristis edita* (1855) *nunc latine redditia* (CSCO 353, Subsidia, 42; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1974), p. 167 (= 32 R, b–c); French translation in L. Regnault, *Les Sentences des Pères du désert*, vol. 2: *Nouveau recueil* (2nd edn., Sablé-sur-Sarthe: Solesmes, 1977), p. 255.

¹⁷ AP/Syst III.46–47. See L. Regnault, *Les Sentences des Pères du désert*, vol. 3: *Troisième recueil* (Sablé-sur-Sarthe: Solesmes, 1976), p. 71; *Les Apophthegmes des Pères: Collection systématique. Chapitres I–IX*, ed. J.-C. Guy (Sources chrétiennes, 387; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1993), p. 177, n. 1. On this manuscript, which received the siglum H in Jean-Claude Guy's research on the Greek collections of *Apophthegmata Patrum*, see J.-C. Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum* (2nd edn., Subsidia Hagiographica, 36; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984), p. 120.

¹⁸ Available online at <http://www.cmcl.it/> (retrieved June 2018). CMCL is an international project, directed by Tito Orlando, which attempts to reconstruct virtually the dismembered manuscripts from the White Monastery.

which have been published until now are two folios kept in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, which were edited without identification by Giovanni Luigi Mingarelli in 1785.¹⁹ Almost two hundred years later, Tito Orlandi re-edited them, but mistakenly attributed the text to Paul of Tamma, another late-antique Egyptian ascetic author.²⁰ In a brief note published in 1997, Enzo Lucchesi properly identified the Venice fragments as belonging to Stephen the Theban's *Sermo asceticus*.²¹ Moreover, Lucchesi added to the same manuscript five folios in Naples (Biblioteca Nazionale, IB.9, fos. 52–6)²² and one fragment in Paris (BnF Copte 132¹, fo. 87).²³ In a previous article, I identified two supplementary fragments of MONB.ON, namely Paris, BnF Copte 133², fo. 42 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Copt. F. 157(P).²⁴

¹⁹ G. L. Mingarelli, *Ægyptiorum codicum reliquiae Venetiis in Bibliotheca Naniiana asservatae* (Bologna: Typis Lælii a Vulpे, 1785), pp. 328–37 (= no. 15).

²⁰ T. Orlandi, *Paolo di Tamma: Opere* (CMCL; Rome: CIM, 1988), pp. 65–8 (semi-diplomatic edition of the Sahidic text), 116–21 (continuous Sahidic text and Italian translation). The text of the Venice fragments features in Orlandi's edition as *Opus sine titulo*.

²¹ E. Lucchesi, 'Une version copte du *Sermo asceticus* d'Étienne le Thébain', *Analecta Bollandiana* 115 (1997), p. 252. See also Lucchesi, 'À propos d'une édition récente des œuvres de Paul de Tamma', *Studia Orientalia Christiana: Collectanea* 28 (1995), pp. 161–5, where Lucchesi already states that the Venice leaves do not belong to the same codex as the fragments from the works of Paul of Tamma.

²² These fragments belonged to the collection of the Cardinal Stefano Borgia, and were formerly kept in the Museum at Velletri, near Rome: see G. Zoega, *Catalogus codicum Copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Vellitris adservantur* (Rome: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1810), p. 570 (= no. 234). The fragments are held today, together with a significant part of Borgia's Sahidic manuscripts, in the National Library in Naples: see P. Buzi, *Catalogo dei manoscritti copti borgiani conservati presso la Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III di Napoli* (Accademia dei Lincei – Memorie Ser. IX, 25/1; Rome: Scienze e Lettere, 2009), pp. 222–3.

²³ Despite Lucchesi's correct identification of the Venice folios as Stephen the Theban's *Sermo asceticus*, they have continued to be treated as parts of the works of Paul of Tamma in Vivian *et al.*, *Words to Live By*, pp. 286–7: '[o]ne scholar [scil. Lucchesi] has argued that the untitled piece cannot belong to Paul, in spite of the attribution in the manuscript'. Actually, the fragments of Stephen the Theban published by Orlandi feature no formal identification of their content. They have been attributed to the codex of Paul of Tamma's writings (MONB.GU) on the sole basis of a slight palaeographical resemblance.

²⁴ Suciu, 'Revisiting the Literary Dossier of Stephen of Thebes', p. 307.

Here is a tentative codicological reconstruction of codex MONB.ON:

Location	Call number	Pagination	Hair (H)/ Flesh (F)
Paris	BnF Copte 132 ¹ , fo. 87 + BnF Copte 133 ² , frag. 42C	lost	H/F
1 folio missing			
Venice	Marciana 192, fo. 99	[1]–2	H/F
Naples	National Library IB.9, fo. 52	3–4	F/H
Naples	National Library IB.9, fo. 53	5–6	H/F
Naples	National Library IB.9, fo. 54	7–8	F/H
Naples	National Library IB.9, fo. 55	9–10	H/F
Naples	National Library IB.9, fo. 56	11–12	F/H
Venice	Marciana 192, fo. 100	13–14 (end of quire 11)	H/F
unknown number of folios missing			
Oxford	Bodleian Library MS. Copt. F. 157(P)	lost (last page of the text and colophon)	H/F

Although kept today in separate volumes, the two fragments in the National Library in Paris originally belonged to the same leaf. They offer portions of *Sermo asceticus* §§7, 10, 11 (?), 21, 23–4, 28–9, 31–2. Unlike the poor vestiges in Paris, the next seven surviving leaves of the codex are intact. They preserve §§38–74 of the text. As these seven folios are paginated consecutively from 1 to 14, but the last of them bears on the verso the signature of quire 11 (1a), it becomes obvious that the scribe started the pagination of the codex again after the tenth quire. It was common practice

among Coptic scribes to start anew the pagination of a manuscript, while keeping consecutive the numbering of the quires.²⁵ This scribal practice can be misleading when we attempt to reconstruct the succession of the leaves in fragmentary codices like those from the White Monastery. However, as in the case of MONB.ON, the recovery of the signature of the quires proves to be providential for the codicological reconstruction. It can be established, thus, that the aforementioned cluster of folios represents most of the manuscript's eleventh quire, except for the first leaf, which has either been lost or not yet found. Finally, Bodleian Library MS Copt. F. 157(P) is a small fragment having on its recto the end of §107 and the beginning of §108, which is the last of the *Sermo asceticus*. The verso of this fragment features vestiges of the codex's colophon:²⁶

ΜΗ]ΝΑ ΣΛΑ^χ ΔΙ Κ(ΑΙ) . [. . . .] ΔΙ Κ(ΑΙ) ΜΛΘΕ[OC]
 2 [ΑΠΑ ΧΑΗΑ ΠΩΗΡΕ [ΜΠ]ΑΤΗΡΗΜ . . .
 ΚΑ]ΛΑΜΩΝ ΣΜΠΤΩΦ ΠΗΜ· ΦΛΗΑ ΕΣΧ
 4 [ΩΝ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ· Κ]Ω ΝΑΝ ΈΒΟΛ ΜΠΑΦΔΑΙ ΝΝΕΝΟΒΕ
] . ΑΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΡΦ· ΑΥΓΩ ΝΠΤΧΑ^ρ
 6 [ΕΠΕΝΚΟΥΓΙ ΝΣΩΒ ΝΘ]ΙΧ ΣΤΒΟΚΧ· ΖΣ ΜΠΑΤΕΝΝΟΙ ΚΑΛ
 [ΩΣ· ΛΛΑ ΈΧΙΣΕ]Ω· ΚΙ ΣΑΡΟΝ ΣΤΒΕ ΠΟ΢ ΠΑΝΤΩΦΚΡ
 8 [ΑΤΓΟΡ· ΑΥΓΩ ΕΦΩΦΠΕ] ΛΝΦΩΦΒΤ ΝΟΥΛΕΞΙC· ΖΣ ΝΤΑΝ
 [Σ2ΑΙ] [ΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΑΥΑΦ·]
 [...] [Me]na the very humble deacon, and [...] the deacon, and
 Matthe[w]
 2 [...] Apa Chael, the son [of P]aterm[oute ?]
 [...] Kalamon in the nome Fayyum. Pray over
 4 [us that God] forgives the multitude of our sins

²⁵ For similar examples of discontinuous pagination in White Monastery codices, see e.g. E. Lucchesi, 'Deux nouveaux fragments sahidiques du Panégyrique de Grégoire le Thaumaturge par Grégoire de Nysse', *Analecta Bollandiana* 122 (2004), pp. 277–82, at 279; T. Orlandi, 'Un codice copto del "Monastero Bianco": Encomii di Severo di Antiochia, Marco Evangelista, Atanasio di Alessandria', *Le Muséon* 81 (1968), pp. 351–405, at 354–5; A. Suciù, 'Coptic Scribes and Manuscripts: Dated and Dataable Codices from the Monastery of Apa Shenoute. I: The Codices Inscribed by Victor, Son of Shenoute (First Half of the 12th Century)', *Journal of Coptic Studies* 16 (2014), pp. 195–215, at 207.

²⁶ This colophon was not edited in A. van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte* (Bibliothèque du Muséon, 1; Leuven: J.-B. Istan, 1929).

[...] the whole world, and gives grace

6 [to our little work of the] humble [hand], for we have not yet apprehended well, [but still learn]. Tolerate us because of the Lord the Al-

8 [mighty, and if] we corrupted a word, for we have [transcribed] [...] God alone.

As is apparent from the information provided in the colophon, the manuscript was produced by several scribes, including the deacons Mena and Matthew. However, palaeographical arguments indicate that the deacon Matthew of Touton inscribed all the fragments of the *Sermo asceticus*. This scribe from the Fayyum, who had a distinctive handwriting, copied several codices for the White Monastery, including two which are dated 656 Era of the Martyrs (= 939–40 CE).²⁷ On their basis, we can safely date the White Monastery manuscript of the *Sermo asceticus* to the second quarter of the tenth century.

Given that more than one scribe seems to have been involved in copying the White Monastery codex of the *Sermo asceticus*, it is difficult to establish which other fragments from the White Monastery belonged to the same manuscript, as it may be expected to feature different handwriting styles. Nevertheless, it is impossible to attribute the fragments of the *Sermo asceticus* to MONB.BQ, one of the White Monastery codices that contain the Sahidic version of Abba Isaiah of Scetis' *Asceticon*, as has been proposed.²⁸ While it is true that Matthew of Touton both copied

²⁷ The colophons of these two manuscripts are edited in van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons*, pp. 86–90 (= nos. 54–5). The first manuscript contains an encomium on the archangel Gabriel attributed to John Chrysostom: see E. Lucchesi, 'Deux témoins coptes de l'homélie sur l'archange Gabriel, attribuée à Jean Chrysostome', *Analecta Bollandiana* 129 (2011), p. 324. The colophon of this codex, which does not have a CMCL siglum yet, has survived on the verso of the fragment Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, K 351. The second dated manuscript is MONB.OQ, which contains a sermon on the Ascension attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria (CPG 2198; clavis coptica 0446), and another one on Pentecost, attributed to John Chrysostom (CPG 4536; clavis coptica 0165). Apparently, Matthew of Touton inscribed only pages 84–92 of this codex, including the colophon. The first part of the manuscript came from the pen of another scribe, who is not named in Matthew's colophon. On the codicological reconstruction of MONB.OQ, see A. Suciu, 'The Borgian Coptic Manuscripts in Naples: Supplementary Identifications and Notes to a Recently Published Catalogue', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 77 (2011), pp. 299–325, at 317–19.

²⁸ Lucchesi, 'Une version copte du *Sermo asceticus* d'Étienne le Thébain', p. 252: '[d]es indices codicologiques pointent du doigt l'*Asceticon* d'Isaïe'.

codex MONB.BQ and collaborated in the production of MONB.ON, a codicological detail precludes us from merging them into a single manuscript. As has been explained above, from the codex of the *Sermo asceticus* has survived almost the totality of the eleventh quire, which is paginated anew from 1 to 14. However, from MONB.BQ are extant the last folio of quire 13 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 1613, fo. 8) and the first of quire 14 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, K 9766), which are paginated 206 and 207 respectively.²⁹ This clearly demonstrates that the pagination of the codex containing the *Asceticon* of Abba Isaiah did not start again with quire 11. This codicological argument eliminates the possibility of attributing the fragments of Stephen the Theban's *Sermo asceticus* to the same manuscript as the *Asceticon* of Abba Isaiah.

Additionally to the White Monastery codex MONB.ON, two fragmentary parchment leaves discovered in 1965 at Qasr el-Wizz in Nubia attest a portion of the *Sermo asceticus* (§§53–8).³⁰ They belonged to a codex of small dimensions, similar in format and palaeographical aspect to the Sahidic manuscripts from the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara.³¹ On the basis of this palaeographical resemblance to the Apa Jeremias codices, which are more or less securely dated around 600 CE, we can tentatively date the Qasr el-Wizz fragments of the *Sermo asceticus* to the late sixth or early seventh century.³²

Finally, an ostraca containing the library catalogue of the Monastery of Apa Elias of the Rock in the Theban region, probably datable to the seventh century, mentions that this monastery possessed a book which included one or more discourses by Apa Stephen the Anchorite (ἀπα στεφανος παναχωρ(ιγης)).³³ As

²⁹ For the codicological reconstruction of this manuscript, see Suciu, 'The Borgian Coptic Manuscripts', pp. 307–9.

³⁰ There are two other palaeographically related fragments from the same codex, but their content has not yet been identified. Dr Alexandros Tsakos (Bergen University) will soon publish the Coptic literary material from Qasr el-Wizz, these fragments included.

³¹ As I have checked only some black-and-white photographs of the fragments, duly provided to me by A. Tsakos, I am not able to give the exact measurements of the leaves. Presumably, the fragments are kept today in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, together with the other manuscripts found during the excavations at Qasr el-Wizz.

³² On the dating of the manuscripts from the monastery of Apa Jeremias, see H. Thompson, *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), p. x.

³³ R.-G. Coquin, 'Le Catalogue de la bibliothèque du couvent de Saint-Élie "du rocher" (ostracon IFAO 13375)', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 75 (1975), pp. 207–39, at 211.

Lucchesi has suggested, it is likely that Stephen the Theban is meant here.³⁴ Indeed, the lemma of Stephen's *Commandments* in Paris, BnF Grec 1598 calls him 'Abba Stephen the Anchorite' (Ἐντολαὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Στεφάνου τοῦ ἀνακωρητοῦ). Unfortunately, it is not possible to know from the laconic reference in the ostracon if the Monastery of Apa Elias possessed a copy of the *Sermo asceticus* or of some other writing of Stephen the Theban.

WAS THE *SERMO ASCETICUS* ORIGINALLY WRITTEN IN COPTIC?

In his thirty-ninth festal letter, written for the occasion of Easter 367, Athanasius of Alexandria included a list of biblical books that he considered canonical.³⁵ Furthermore, he mentioned other writings that, although not part of the canon, are useful for the catechumens: the Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobit, the *Didache* (CPG 1735), and the *Shepherd of Hermas* (CPG 1052).

Although Athanasius warns that these texts are the only ones invested with divine authority, it does not mean that his proposal was accepted as *quod ubique quod ab omnibus*. There is rather good evidence that, long after Athanasius issued his paschal letter, Egyptian Christians continued to use apocryphal and deutero-canonical books, while at the same time they received with circumspection the *Apocalypse of John*, which was regarded as canonical by the patriarch of Alexandria.³⁶ For example, the

³⁴ E. Lucchesi, 'Retractatio à propos de l'identification d'Étienne le Thébain', *Analecta Bollandiana* 125 (2007), pp. 15–16. Lucchesi had proposed earlier that Stephen must be identified with the homonymous author mentioned by Palladius in *Historia Lausiaca* 11.4 and 55.3: see E. Lucchesi, 'Vers l'identification d'Étienne de Thèbes', *Analecta Bollandiana* 116 (1998), p. 106.

³⁵ The relevant passage can be found in *S. Athanase: Lettres festales et pastoriales en copte*, ed. L. T. Lefort, 2 vols. (CSCO 150–1, Scriptores coptici, 19–20; Louvain: Imprimerie orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1955), vol. 1, pp. 18–19 (Sahidic text), vol. 2, pp. 36–7 (French translation); A. Camplani, *Atanasio di Alessandria: Lettere festali. Anonimo: Indice delle Lettere festali* (Lettura cristiane del primo millennio, 34; Milan: Paoline, 2003), pp. 510–11. On the background of Athanasius' thirty-ninth festal letter, see e.g. D. Brakke, 'Canon Formation and Social Conflict in Fourth-Century Egypt: Athanasius of Alexandria's Thirty-Ninth Festal Letter', *Harvard Theological Review* 87 (1994), pp. 395–419; Brakke, 'A New Fragment of Athanasius's Thirty-Ninth Festal Letter: Heresy, Apocrypha, and the Canon', *Harvard Theological Review* 103 (2010), pp. 47–66; Camplani, *Atanasio di Alessandria*, pp. 498–503.

³⁶ It is not surprising that in the early phase of Coptic literature, to which belong authors like Pachomius, Paul of Tamma, Shenoute, and Besa, one can hardly find any reference to the *Apocalypse of John*. On the contrary, the use of this text increases notably only after the seventh century CE. It is likely that

writings of Paul of Tamma, which have literary connections with those of Stephen the Theban, contain quotations from and allusions to the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (CANT 211.III), the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias in the City of the Cannibals* (CANT 236), the *Physiologus* (CPG 3766), and the *Apocalypse of Paul* (CANT 325).³⁷ The fact that Paul mingled biblical and paracanonical sources has even made some modern scholars speculate that he did not represent mainstream monasticism, but rather a solitary form of asceticism, which the church could not control.³⁸

Stephen the Theban, who probably wrote not very long after Athanasius penned his thirty-ninth festal letter, used in his turn in the *Sermo asceticus* several extra-canonical texts, including 6 Ezra³⁹ and 1 Clement. In the following pages, I will investigate

from this period date the so-called commentary on the Apocalypse attributed to Cyril of Alexandria (clavis coptica 0107) and the homily on the Twenty-Four Elders of the Apocalypse by Ps.-Cyril of Jerusalem (clavis coptica 0560). On the use of the Apocalypse of John in Coptic Egypt, see C. Askeland, 'The Sahidic Apocalypse in Early Islamic Egypt', in M. Sigismund, M. Karrer, and U. Schmid (eds.), *Studien zum Text der Apokalypse* (Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung, 47; Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), pp. 271–87.

³⁷ Paul of Tamma quotes from the *Acts of Paul* in *De humilitate* 10 (clavis coptica 0252): see D. Brakke, 'The Making of Monastic Demonology: Three Ascetic Teachers on Withdrawal and Resistance', *Church History* 70 (2001), pp. 19–48, at 41 and D. Bumazhnov, 'Reigentanz der zwölf Tugenden in der Seele eines Demütigen: Eine Plotinreminiszenz bei dem koptischen Mönch Paulus von Tamma? Zum Problem der Traditionszuordnungen im frühen ägyptischen Mönchtum', in D. Bumazhnov (ed.), *Christliches Ägypten in der spätantiken Zeit: Akten der 2. Tübinger Tagung zum Christlichen Orient (7.–8. Dezember 2007)* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 79; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), pp. 93–111, at 101, n. 38. Furthermore, Paul alludes to the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* in *De cella* 117 (clavis coptica 0251). In *De cella* 110 he refers to the *Physiologus*, as Philippe Luisier has demonstrated in 'Paul de Tamma, *Lettre sur la cellule*: Une traduction française', in A. Bastit-Kalinowska and A. Carfora (eds.), *Vangelo, trasmissione, verità: Studi in onore di Enrico Cattaneo nel suo settantesimo compleanno* (Ori Christianoi, 15; Trapani: Il pozzo di Giacobbe, 2013), pp. 265–83, at 268. Finally, in *De cella* 2, Paul of Tamma mentions the Acherusian Lake, which appears in several apocryphal texts, including the *Book of Adam*, the *Apocalypse of Paul*, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*: see K. P. Copeland, 'Sinners and Post-Mortem "Baptism" in the Acherusian Lake', in J. N. Bremmer and I. Czachesz (eds.), *Apocalypse of Peter* (Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha, 7; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), pp. 91–107, at 103–4.

³⁸ L. S. B. MacCoull, 'Paul of Tamma and the Monastic Priesthood', *Vigiliae Christianae* 53 (1999), pp. 316–19; Brakke, 'The Making of Monastic Demonology'.

³⁹ The quotation from 6 Ezra is analysed in A. Suciu, 'A Quotation from 6 Ezra in the *Sermo asceticus* of Stephen the Theban', forthcoming in *Apocrypha* 29 (2018).

the quotations from and references to *1 Clement* in the *Sermo asceticus*. As I will argue, the quotations from *1 Clement* are of prime importance for establishing the original language of our text. I hope that this research may bring some fresh ideas to the old debate concerning the priority of Coptic or Greek originals for certain Egyptian ascetic writings. I will try to make this issue clearer before proceeding to the analysis of the select passages.

It is notorious that, in the absence of proper historical documentation, it is difficult to decide whether a text was originally composed in Greek or in Coptic solely on a linguistic basis. Suffice to mention in this regard the failure of René Draguet to demonstrate that there is an early Coptic stratum detectable in some Greek ascetic texts like Athanasius' *Life of Anthony* (CPG 2101), the *Historia Lausiaca* (CPG 6036), and the *Asketicon* of Isaiah of Scetis.⁴⁰ Another way to establish the original language in which a literary work was written is by examining the biblical quotations. However, this method remains highly contentious because translators usually adjusted quotations in order to conform them to the version of the Bible in the target language. It is therefore not surprising to discover that the biblical quotations follow the Greek version of the Bible in Greek texts, and the Coptic version in Coptic translations of the same works. This adjustment of biblical quotations during the translation process constitutes a serious obstacle when we tackle the question of Greek versus Coptic originals.

However, the situation changes when we deal with quotations from extra-canonical writings. As these quotations are usually much harder to identify than those from biblical texts, translators and copyists could not adapt them so easily to the target language. Consequently, they may shed a good deal of light on the question of the original language of some Egyptian texts that exist both in Greek and in Coptic, and whose original language is otherwise

⁴⁰ R. Draguet, *La Vie primitive de saint Antoine conservée en syriaque* (CSCO 417-18, Scriptores syri, 183-4; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1980), vol. 2, pp. 100*-112*; Draguet, 'Le Chapitre de l'*Histoire Lausiaque* sur les Tabennésiotes dérive-t-il d'une source copte?', *Le Muséon* 57 (1944), pp. 53-145, and 58 (1945), pp. 15-95; Draguet, 'Une nouvelle source copte de Pallade: Le ch. VIII (Amoun)', *Le Muséon* 60 (1947), pp. 227-55; Draguet, *Les Cinq recensions de l'Ascéticon syriaque d'abba Isaïe*, 4 vols. (CSCO 289-90, 293-4, Scriptores syri, 120-3; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1968), vol. 3, pp. 44*-72*.

difficult to establish. Stephen the Theban's *Sermo asceticus* is highly relevant in this context because it quotes directly from a non-canonical text, i.e. *1 Clement*, which has survived both in Greek and in Coptic (Akhmimic), allowing thus a proper comparative study. As we will see, the evidence that can be gleaned from this comparison leans heavily in favour of a Coptic original of the *Sermo asceticus*.

In §§25–8, Stephen the Theban uses *1 Clement* 17.1–6 in a discussion about the humility of the saints mentioned in Jewish scriptures. In this context, he quotes an apocryphal saying of Moses which appears in *1 Clement* 17.6.⁴¹ As this portion of the text is lost in Sahidic because of the fragmentary state of the manuscripts, I will refer here only to the Greek version of the *Sermo asceticus*:

1 Clement 17.6 ⁴²	<i>Sermo asceticus</i> 27
Ἐγὼ δέ εἰμι ἰσχνόφωνος καὶ βραδύγλωσσος. καὶ πάλιν λέγει: Ἐγὼ δέ εἰμι ἀτμὸς ἀπὸ κύτρας.	πρόσεχε Μωϋσῆ λέγοντι· ἰσχνόφωνος εἰμι καὶ ἀτμὸς ἐκ τῆς χύτρας.
‘But I am weak of speech and slow of tongue.’ And he says again: ‘But I am smoke from the pot.’	Pay attention to Moses who says: ‘I am weak of speech and smoke from the pot.’

Clement of Alexandria also quotes this apocryphal saying of Moses in his fourth book of the *Stromata* (CPG 1377) under the form ἐγὼ δέ εἰμι ἀτμὸς ἀπὸ χύτρας.⁴³ However, in view of the fact that Stephen obviously knew *1 Clement* since he quotes from it elsewhere in the *Sermo asceticus*, there can be no doubt that the Apostolic Father was his immediate source.

⁴¹ The quotation was identified for the first time by M. Aubineau, *Homélies pascales (cinq homélies inédites)* (Sources chrétiennes, 187; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1972), p. 240.

⁴² Greek text from J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, part 1/2: *Clement of Rome* (London: Macmillan, 1890), p. 65.

⁴³ See Clement, *Stromata* IV.17.106.4 in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, vol. 2: *Stromata. Buch I–VI*, ed. O. Stählin and L. Früchtel (GCS, 52; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985), p. 295.

Given that this passage could not be traced to any canonical text, some of the scribes who copied the *Sermo asceticus* must have found it suspicious. Thus, it is omitted in the codex Lavra T8, but also in the Arabic and Ethiopic versions, which can ultimately depend at this point on a textual tradition represented by the Athonite manuscript.

In *Sermo asceticus* §71, Stephen warns the monk against rash judgement. In ascetic literature, judging others is strictly forbidden not only because it goes against the teaching of the Scriptures (cf. Matt. 7:1; Luke 6:37, 41; John 8:7; Ro. 2:1 etc.), but also because one of the cardinal virtues of the solitary monk is humility and mourning over one's own sins. Judging others is actually a demonic temptation meant to disturb the *hesychia*, the peace of mind. As Graham Gould adroitly writes, the 'number of stories illustrating the necessity of not judging others, and the urgency with which abstaining from judgement was commended, confirms the importance of the problem of judgement' for the early Egyptian monks.⁴⁴ It is in this context that Stephen the Theban quotes from what he calls 'the written word'. Notably, the Sahidic and the Greek texts are different at this point, albeit they express the same idea:

<i>Sermo asceticus</i> 71 (Sahidic)	<i>Sermo asceticus</i> 71 (Greek)
ἘΤΒΕ ΠΩΔΑΧΕ ἘΤCHΣ· χε ἘΤΕΤΗΝΟ ΠΩΗΗΒΕ ΕΧΝΝΕΝΟΒΕ ΠΝΕΤΓΙΤΟΥΓΩΤΕΝ· ἘΤΕΤΗΝΩΠ ΜΠΕΓΑΦΩΦΩΤ χε ΝΟΥΤΗ ιε·	χάριν τοῦ λόγου τοῦ γεγραμμένου· πενθήσατε ἐπὶ ταῖς ταλαιπωρίαις ἀλλήλων καὶ λογίζεσθε ὅτι τὰ ὑστερήματα αὐτῶν ὑμῶν ἐστιν·
(...) because of the written word: 'Mourning over the sins of your neighbours, you are counting their shortcomings to be yours.'	(...) because of the written word: 'Mourn over the miseries of one another and reckon that their shortcomings are yours.'

⁴⁴ G. Gould, *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community* (Oxford Early Christian Studies; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 123.

In fact, the passage offers a direct quotation from *I Clement* 2.6. As this part of *I Clement* is preserved in Greek, but also in two Akhmimic Coptic manuscripts, we can analyse it in both languages. Interestingly, while the Greek *Sermo asceticus* does not correspond to the original text of *I Clement*, the Sahidic follows exactly what we find in the Akhmimic version:

1 Clement 2.6 (Akhmimic) ⁴⁵	1 Clement 2.6 (Greek) ⁴⁶
ἘΤΕΤῆΡ ΣΗΒΕ ΑΧΝΗΝΙΑΒΕ [ΠΝΕΤ]ΣΙΤΟΥΓΩΤΝΕ· ἘΤΕΤῆΡΩΠ ΜΠΟΥΓΩΤΑ ΧΕ ΝΩΤΗΝ ΝΕ·	ἐπὶ τοῖς παραπτώμασιν τῶν πλησίον ἐπενθεῖτε· τὰ ὑστερήματα αὐτῶν ὅδια ἐκρίνετε.
Mourning over the sins of your neighbours, you are counting their shortcomings to be yours.	You mourned over the trespasses of your neighbours, you judged their shortcomings to be yours.

Albeit written in different dialects, the quotation from *I Clement* in the Sahidic *Sermo asceticus* and the parallel Akhmimic text are lexically and syntactically identical, which cannot be explained as a mere accident. By contrast, the Greek *Sermo asceticus* diverges so much from the original text of *I Clement* that it cannot under any circumstances be called a quotation of it, despite the fact that this is precisely what it claims to be.

Furthermore, while the quotation in the Greek *Sermo asceticus* differs from the original *I Clement*, it presents several features which seem to indicate that it is a translation from the Coptic. Thus, the word order does not follow the original Greek text of *I Clement* but the Coptic, placing the verb at the beginning of each clause of the quotation rather than at the end; the verb *λογίζομαι*, ‘to count, to reckon’, seems to be rather a translation of the Coptic *ῳτι* than a synonym of *κρίνω*, which is used by Clement in

⁴⁵ C. Schmidt, *Der erste Clemensbrief in altkoptischer Übersetzung* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 32/1; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908), p. 33; F. Rösch, *Bruchstücke des ersten Clemensbriefes nach dem akhmimischen Papyrus der Strassburger Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek mit biblischen Texten derselben Handschrift* (Strasbourg: Schlesier & Schweikhardt, 1910), p. 5.

⁴⁶ Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, part 1/2, pp. 18–19.

his letter; the conjunction *ὅτι* stands for the Coptic *xe* and does not appear in the parallel passage of *1 Clement* in Greek.

If a Greek original of the *Sermo asceticus* is admitted, then one must suppose that the translator into Coptic either knew by heart *1 Clement* or went through the pain of searching for the source of the quotation, found it, and adapted it according to the Coptic version of this writing. However, such a possibility must be excluded from the outset because, as we have seen, the quotation in the Greek *Sermo asceticus* does not correspond to the parallel passage in *1 Clement*, making it difficult for the translator to identify its source.

One additional remark is in order here concerning the shift in tense between the Coptic and the Greek texts of the *Sermo asceticus* at the beginning of the quotation. The quotation in Greek features an imperative, whereas the Sahidic is a focalized circumstantial clause. If we hypothesize that the Greek is in fact a translation of the Coptic, it is apparent that this discrepancy is due to the fact that the Greek translator failed to identify the quotation from *1 Clement* and tried to adapt the text according to James 4:9 and 5:1, which must have sounded more familiar: *ταλαιπωρήσατε καὶ πενθήσατε καὶ κλαύσατε* (4:9); *κλαύσατε δολούλζοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς ταλαιπωρίαις ὑμῶν* (5:1).

Because the translators could not find its source, this passage from *1 Clement* was problematic for the ancient translators of the *Sermo asceticus*. For example, while keeping the imperative clause of the Greek text, the Arabic translator (or a later scribe) misattributed the quotation to Paul:

كما هو مكتوب في بولس ابكتوا على خطايا بعضكم بعض وفي مناقصكم فكروا بانها لكم

... as it is written in Paul: 'Cry over your sins of one another, and as to your shortcomings, consider that they are yours.'

In its turn, the Gə'əz version mentions that the text appears 'in the Law' (በኢትዮጵያ አ[ማ]:):

EMML 4493, fo. 104v col. C, lines 32–6:

በዚህም፡ የአዲስ፡ በዚሁት፡ አ[ማ]: አ.ትርክም፡ እስከ፡ በ.ገኘ[ሙ፡] በበደናትክም፡ ወተል
[ሙ፡] እዱዱክም፡ ካም፡ ለክም፡ ይኢት፡

... as it is written in the Law: 'Do not see the sin of each another, and consider your deficiency as it is yours.'

It is thus obvious that the quotation from *1 Clement* 2.6 was challenging not only for the Greek translator, but also for those who

rendered the *Sermo asceticus* into Arabic and Ge'əz. As to the Georgian, this version does not contain the portion of the text that interests us here. Because none of the translators was able to find the source of the quotation, they all tried to explicate the text, as can be judged from the fact that each version gives a different text at this point. It is only the Sahidic that follows *ad litteram* the Coptic version of *1 Clement*.

Furthermore, in §43 b, which is extant only in Sahidic, Stephen the Theban refers again to *1 Clement*, this time to 30.6: 'God detests those who praise themselves alone.'⁴⁷ Unfortunately, as this paragraph of the *Sermo asceticus* does not appear in Greek, we cannot compare properly the two texts. Nevertheless, we can observe again that the Sahidic obviously depends on the Coptic version of *1 Clement*:

1 Clement 30.6 (Greek) ⁴⁸	1 Clement 30.6 (Akhmimic) ⁴⁹	Sermo asceticus 43b (Sahidic)
αὐτεπαινετούσ γὰρ μισεῖ ὁ θεός.	ΠΝΟΥΤΡΕ ΓΑΡ ΜΑΣΤΕ ΜΠΕΤΤΜΑΪΟ ΜΜΑΥ ΟΥΑΓΓΕΤΟΥ·	ΠΝΟΥΤΡΕ ΜΟΣΤΕ ΜΝΕ<Τ>ΤΜΑΙΟ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΜΑΥΑΥ·
For God detests those who praise themselves.	For God detests those who praise them- selves alone.	God detests those who praise them- selves alone.

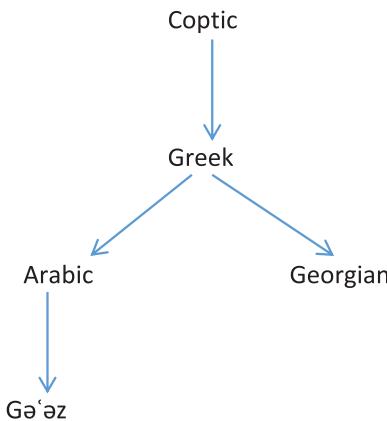
In the light of this evidence, it is tempting to speculate that Stephen the Theban wrote the *Sermo asceticus* in Coptic and either used the Akhmimic version of *1 Clement* or, more likely, a lost Sahidic version which served as a model for the Akhmimic text. Thus we can propose a Coptic original of the *Sermo asceticus*,

⁴⁷ Remarkably, the same passage appears in an ascetic text attributed to Pachomius, *De monacho iniuriaie memore* (CPG 2354.1); see L. T. Lefort, *Œuvres de S. Pachôme et de ses disciples*, 2 vols. (CSCO 159–60, Scriptores coptici, 23–4; Louvain: Imprimerie orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1956), vol. 1, p. 3, ΠΝΟΥΤΡΕ ΜΟΣΤΕ ΜΠΕΤΤΜΑΪΟ ΜΜΟΥ ΟΥΑΥ· ('God detests whoever praises himself alone').

⁴⁸ Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, part 1/2, p. 97.

⁴⁹ Schmidt, *Der erste Clemensbrief*, p. 80.

from which derive the other versions, according to the following stemma:



My philological argument remains to be re-evaluated once we understand better the fourth-century social and historical context in which ascetics like Stephen the Theban wrote. Nevertheless, it is perhaps time to challenge the conventional view according to which most, if not all, monastic literary productions of the period were written in Greek. Thus, even in cases such as the *Lives of Pachomius* or the letters of Antony, which were, at least originally, addressed to audiences that spoke Coptic, scholars have preferred to postulate Greek originals.⁵⁰ This position primarily rests on the assumption that during the fourth century and later native Egyptian monks were not capable of writing texts charged with a specific theological vocabulary. One may recall, for example, that François Halkin spoke about 'l'impuissance native' that prevented Coptic-speaking Pachomian monks from composing narratives about the founder of the *Koinonia*.⁵¹ According to Halkin, it was

⁵⁰ On the problem of the original language of the *Lives of Pachomius*, see P. Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian* (Oxford Historical Monographs; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 245–7. For the *Letters of Antony*, see P. Luisier, 'Autour d'un livre récent et des lettres de S. Antoine', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 61 (1995), pp. 201–13, who argues in favour of a Greek original.

⁵¹ F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae* (Subsidia hagiographica, 19; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1932), p. 103*.

rather the Hellenist monks who put together the first *Lives* of Pachomius, which were only later translated into Coptic.

On the other hand, if we favour the pre-eminence of Greek originals for Egyptian ascetic writings, it is hard to explain the appearance of such a prolific author as Shenoute of Atripe, who obviously wrote Coptic.⁵² It is likely that Shenoute did not appear in a vacuum, but other authors who used Coptic as a literary language must have preceded him. For his part, Tito Orlandi has argued that one such author who wrote Coptic was the Middle Egyptian ascetic Paul of Tamma.⁵³ It is thus possible to imagine that Shenoute sprang up in a historical context in which Pachomius, Paul of Tamma, and Stephen the Theban had already used Coptic as a literary vehicle. In this case, Stephen the Theban could rightly be considered as one of the early authors of Coptic literature.

EDITION OF THE SAHIDIC TEXT OF THE *SERMO ASCETICUS*

The following edition is semi-diplomatic. However, the supralineation system does not reproduce that of the manuscript, being standardized by the editor. In the translation, the paragraphs follow the numbering system established by Sauget in his edition of the Arabic version of the *Sermo asceticus*, which was subsequently adopted by des Places for the Greek text, and by Garitte for the Georgian.

⁵² Enzo Lucchesi, for example, believes that Shenoute also wrote at least some of his texts in Greek, something which cannot be completely ruled out: see his article 'Chénouté a-t-il écrit en grec?', in *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont: Contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux* (Cahiers d'Orientalisme, 20; Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 1988), pp. 201–10.

⁵³ Orlandi, *Paolo di Tamma*. See also Luisier, 'Paul de Tamma', p. 267, who agrees that Paul of Tamma's *De cella* may have been written in Coptic, although he leaves the question open. For arguments concerning the fact that Paul wrote in Coptic, see A. Suciu, 'Sitting in the Cell: The Literary Development of an Ascetic Praxis in Paul of Tamma's Writings. With an Edition of Some Hitherto Unknown Fragments of *De Cella*', *JTS*, ns 68 (2017), pp. 141–71, at 159–60.

BnF Copte 132¹, fo. 87^r + BnF Copte 133², frag. 42C^v*unknown number of lines missing*

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 [...] τθ[]
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 [̄] περωπε
 [ε] κο ̄ναω̄
 [χ] ε ̄γμογ ̄
 [θ] η ̄μπεκογ
 [ειω] :-
 [̄μπερ] ωωπε ω
 [παω] ιρε εκο
 [.] . . ̄

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 [̄νηι] τηρογ [.]
 [̄μπερ] ωωπε ̄
 [.] ω πα
 [ωηρ] ε . αλ
 [αλ ω] ωπε ̄
 [ρ̄μρ] αω . ρε ̄
 [ρ̄μρ] αω ιετ
 [νακ] ληρονο
 [μει ̄] πκασ.

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 εκθεβη [γ ε]
 ρωμε ι[ιμ:-]
 σωω̄τ ε[πεκ]
 σας ̄θε [λη]
 μοοω [ε ̄
 θεβιο [εφκω]
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φωφωτ̄ εη[τε]
λωνης πα[φη]
ρε εαπνουγ̄[ε]
τμαιοις ετβ̄[ε]
πεχθειο·
μοοφε γηογ̄
γηκε παφ[ηρε]
χε φωρ̄[ετμητ]
γηκε [θεβε π]
ρωμε[::]
μπερ[...]
.

unknown number of lines missing

[.]. χε[
 [.] ΝΕΤΩ[
 ΚΑΤΑ Τ[ΕΝΤΟ]
 ΛΗ ΜΠ[ΕΧΣ]
 ΤΑΡΕΚ[ΣΕΡΒΕ ΕΠ]
 ΝΟΥΤΕ [ΑΥΩ Π]
 ΝΟΥΤΕ [
 ΝΑΚ:-
 ΣΕΡΒΕ ΕΠ[ΝΟΥΤΕ
 Νήχλο[σ
 Νήχο[ΟΥΗ ΜΠΕΨ]
 ΟΥΩΦ[φ

margin

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		[λ]
ΟΣ ΣΗΤΕΚΡΙ		σωμῆτ ^τ σητῆ
ΦΩΠΙΕ ΝΘΕ Ν		πογμοτης.
ΝΕΙΚΑΣ ΝΝΕΕΒ		παρηρε τλακ
ΕΤΕ ΡΣΜΜΕ Μ		επνογτε σῆ
ΠΕΥΧΟΙ· ΕΚ	5	τεκεομ τηρῆ.
σωμῆτ ^τ εβολ		ταρεμιδε εσ
ΣΗΤῆ ΜΠΤΗΥ		ραι εχωκ η
ΧΕ ΕΦΗΗΥ ΝΑΚ		σκεπαζε μ
ΣΗΛΑΩ ΝΙΑΣ:-		μοκ· η
Η ΝΗΕΙ ΝΤΗΥ Ν	10	σομ νακ· η
ΝΟΥΒΕ· Η η		μιδε μηνετ
ΕΙ ΝΤΗΥ ΝΣΕ		μιδε μημακ.
ΒΩΩΝ:-		χε αχεν πνογτε
ΦΩΠΙΕ ΕΚΧΟΟΡ		ηγναεωθ
ΣΜΠΠΟΛΥ	15	σομ αν εερλα
ΜΟΣ· ΝΤΩΦ		λγ· λλλα
ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΤΩ		ερφανπρωμε
ΟΥΜΗ ΠΤΗΥ		τωβε μπνογ
ΝΕΜΣΙΤ· Ν		τε· οχαρεπ
ΕΙ ΠΤΟΥΓΡΗΣ·	20	ηογτε η σομ
ΝΓΝΙΒΕ ΕΣΟΥΗ		ναφ· ηπροεις
ΣΜΠΑΚΥΠΟΣ·		εροφ· ημαζη
ΝΤΕΝΑΣΗΝΕ		ησοφια· σι
· ΜΠΕΥΣΤΟΙ:-		μητρεμη
ΕΚΣΜΟΟΣ Σῆ	25	σητ· η
ΤΕΚΡΙ ΠΑ		μοειτ ^τ σητῆ
ΦΗΡΕ· ΜΠΕΡ		εσογη επερ
ΦΩΠΙΕ ΝΘΕ Ν		ωοχη:-
ΝΙΚΡΙΤΗΣ:-		εκσμοος σῆ
ΜΠΕΡΓΣΙΕ ΕΤΩ	30	τεκρι μπή
Β· λγω σενα		φωπιε εκ
ΣΩΤΗ ΕΡΟΚ·		σορμ εβολ:-
ΕΚΣΗΟΥΣΙΣΕ		ηηφε μοκ

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ΧΕ ΕΚΣΜΟΟC		ΜΑΥΛΑΚ ΧΕ Π
ΠΑΟΙ ΠΣΕ· ΜΠΙΡ		ΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΟΣΤΕ
ΕΡ ΘΕ ΠΝΙΤΒΝΗ		ΠΝΕ<Τ>ΤΜΑ
ΕΤΖΩΡΜ Π		ΙΟ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΜΑΥ
ΣΑΠΡΩΜΕ· ΛΑ	5	ΑΛΥ·-
ΛΑ ΑΡΙΠΡΩΜΕ		ΩΛΑΣΩΩΤ· Λ.Ε
ΠΤΟΦ ΕΤΖΩ		ΠΤΟΦ ΕΣΜ
ΡΕΜ ΠΝΑΠΤ·		ΠΕΩΛΗΛ Π
ΗΗ:-		ΝΕΤΘΕΒΙΗΥ·-
ΕΚΣΜΟΟC ΣΠ	10	ΕΚΣΜΟΟC ΣΠ
ΤΕΚΡΙ· ΚΑ ΟΥ		ΤΕΚΡΙ ΜΠΙΡ
ΡΟΣΙC ΠΤΟΟΤΚ·		ΚΑ ΛΛΑΥ ΜΜΡ
ΜΠΕΡΚΑ ΠΣΩ		ΡΕ ΠΤΟΟΤΚ·
ΜΑ ΣΠΤΡΙ· ΕΡΕ		ΣΩ ΕΠΕΣΟΟΥ
ΠΕΚΣΗΤ ΣΠ	15	ΠΕΣΟΟΥ ΕΝΕΨ
ΚΗΜΕ·-		ΣΒΗΥ· ΤΑΡΕΚ
ΑΛΛΑ ΕΡ ΠΕΚΣΩ		ΣΩ ΕΚΜΟΤΝ·
ΜΑ ΠΕΡΠΙΕ ΜΠ		ΠΠΟΒΕ ΠΤΟΦ
ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΝΙΓΕΡΖ		ΣΑΡΕΣ ΕΡΟΚ Ε
ΝΕΚΜΕΣΣΥ·	20	ΡΟΦ ΕΤΜΑΛΨ·-
ΤΑΡΕΚΣΠΟ ΝΑΚ		ΕΚΣΜΟΟC ΣΠ
ΜΠΙΜΕΣΣΥ· ΕΤΣ		ΤΕΚΡΙ· ΠΡΟΣ
ΜΟΝΤ·-		ΚΑΡΤΗΡΕΙ Ε
ΕΚΣΜΟΟC ΣΠ		ΝΕΚΑΙΛΗΛ
ΤΕΚΡΙ ΜΠΕΡ	25	ΜΠΙΝΕΚΗΗC
ΚΑ ΠΕΚΣΗΤ Ε		ΤΙΑ· ΜΝΠΑ
ΖΙΣΣ ΠΤΟΟΤΚ·		ΓΩΦΝ ΜΠΙΣΚ
ΟΥΛΑΕ ΜΠΕΡ		ΣΗΤ· ΤΑΡΕΚ
ΖΑΣΤΚ		ΣΩ ΣΠΝΑΠΤ·
ΣΜΠΙΦΟΣ·	30	ΒΟ ΜΠΙΣΗΤ·
ΝΕ ΜΠΕΚ		ΧΕ ΑΧΕΝ ΤΡΗ
ΣΗΤ· ΟΥΛΑΕ		ΗΗ ΜΝΠΤΤΒΟ
ΜΠΙΡΤΜΑΙΟΚ		

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ΜΕΝΑΛΛΑΥ ΙΑ		ΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΠΟΡ
ΝΑΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ:-		ΝΑΚ ΗΡΜΗΝΗΐ
ΕΚΣΜΟΟC ƧH		ΤΑΡΕΦΧΡΟ ΕΜ
ΤΕΚΡΙ· ҢΤΕ		ΜΕΣΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ
ΟΥΣΟΝ ΕΝ ΣΕΝ	5	ΕΤ-Η ΗΜΜΑΚ·
ΦΑΖΕ ΕΣΟΥΝ		ΧΕ ΠΡΡΟ ΗΜΠΑ
ΝΑΚ· ΗΠΕΡΚΑ		ΕΟΣ ΠΕ ΠΜΕΣΥΕ
ΠΕΚΣΗΤ ΣΙΩ		ΗΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΕΤΕ
ΟΥ· ΤΑΡΕΚΒΩ		ΠΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ ΠΕ·
ΕΚΜΟΤΗ· ҢΤΕ	10	ΕΚΣΜΟΟC ƧH
ΠΕΚΣΗΤ ΣΩ		ΤΕΚΡΙ· Ή ΕΣΟΥΝ
ΕΨΕΒΡΑΣ-Τ· ΧΕ		ΕΣΡΑΚ· ΤΑΡΕΚ
ΝΑΦΕ ΗΜΕΣΥΕ		ΧΙ ΗΠΕΣΜΟΤ
ҢΤΡΙ:-		ҢΤΡΙ· ΧΕ ΟΥ-Η
ΕΚΣΜΟΟC ƧHΤ	15	ΤΕΤΡΙ ΗΟΥ-Ζ
ΡΙ· ΚΑ ΟΥΜΕ		ΜΟΤ:-
ΛΕΤΑ ƧΗΡΦΩΚ·		ΕΚΣΜΟΟC ƧHΤΕΚ
ΕΚΦΑΝΚΑ		ΡΙ· ΗΠΡΤΣΑ
ΡΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΚΑ		ΒΟΚ ΕΣΩΦΗ
ΟΥΡΟΕΙC ҢΤΟ	20	ΗΝΑΡΦΩΜΕ·
ΟΤ-Κ· ΧΗΝΝΕΥ-Σ		ΟΥΔΑΕ ΟΗ ΗΠΕΡ
ΔΡΜΕΚ ΕΒΟΛ·		ΚΑ ΠΡΩΜΕ Ε
ΤΑΡΕΚΒΩ ƧH		ΣΦΩΦΤ· ΣΗΤΚ·
ΝΑΠΤ-ΒΩ· ҢΤΕ		ΟΥΔΑΕ ΟΗ ΗΠΕΡ
ΠΕΠΠΗΑ ΕΤΟΥ	25	ΣΦΩΦΤ· ΗΣΑ
ΑΛΒ ΕΡΦΩΒΗΡ		ΡΩΜΕ· ΤΑΡΕΚ
ΕΡΟΚ:-		ΣΩΔ ΕΚΜΟΤΗ·
ΕΚΣΜΟΟC ƧH		ΑΛΛΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΝ
ΤΕΚΡΙ· ΠΩΤ		ΤΟΛΗ ΗΠΝΟΥ
ҢСАПΙΜΕΣΥΕ	30	ΤΕ· ΖΙ ΣΑΝΕΤ
ΕΤΟΥΓΑΛΒ· ΛΥΩ		ΗΗΥ ΕΧΩΚ:-
ΠΜΕΣΥΕ ΗΠ		ΕΡΦΑΝΟΥΣΟΝ

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ΕΡ ΟΥΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ		ΠΙΣΩΤΗΜΗΝΙΕΚ
ΣΑΣΤΗΚ· ΦΙ		ΜΑΛΑΚΕ:-
ΣΑΡΟΦ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΝ		ΦΩΠΕ ΕΚΤΑΝ
ΤΟΛΗ ΜΠΝΟΥ		ΣΗΥ ΠΑΟΥΗ
ΤΕ:-	5	ΡΕ· ΕΚΦΑΝ
ΕΡΦΑΝΟΥΣΟΝ		ΝΑΥ ΕΣΩΘ ΝΙΜ
ΕΙ ΕΠΤΟΟΥ ΕΚ		ΜΑΡΟΥΕΡΣΗΥ
ΣΙΦΩΦ· ΦΙ ΣΑ		ΗΑΚ· ΤΑΡΕΚ
ΡΟΦ ΦΑΝΤΕΦ		ΒΩΚ ΕΤΕΚΡΙ
ΣΕΝ ΟΥΡΙ ΕΤΒΕ	10	ΕΚΜΟΤΗ:-
ΤΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΜΠ		ΕΚΣΜΟΟΣ ΣΗΤΕΚ
ΝΟΥΤΕ· ΛΥΦ		ΡΙ ΠΑΟΥΗΡΕ·
ΠΕΤΠΗΣ ΦΑ		ΚΑ ΠΜΕΣΥΕ ΜΠ
ΡΟΚ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΚ		ΝΟΥΤΕ ΣΗΠΕΚ
ΣΟΜ ΑΡΙΦ· ΖΕ Ν	15	ΣΗΤΗΝΑΥ ΝΙΜ
ΤΟΚ ΣΩΦΩΚ ΕΚ		ΠΤΕΤΕΨΑΟΤΕ
ΦΑΛΒΩΚ ΕΥ		ΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ:-
ΤΟΟΥ· ΚΗΛΟΥ		ΖΕ ΦΑΡΕΘΟΤΕ
ΦΩΦ ΕΤΡΕΥ· ΤΟ		ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ
ΟΤΟΥ ΝΗΜΑΚ·	20	ΝΟΥΖΕ ΣΒΟΛ ΣΗ
ΤΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΓΑΡ		ΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΝΝΟ
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΕ		ΒΕ ΝΙΜ· ΣΙΓΑ
ΤΑΙ· ΝΑΙ· ΝΕΣ		ΚΟ ΝΙΜ· ΣΙΑΝΟ
ΒΗΥΕ ΝΤΡΙ· ΠΑ		ΜΙΑ ΝΙΜ:-
ΦΗΡΕ:-	25	ΠΕΝΤΑΨΙΠΟ
ΕΚΝΗΥ ΣΒΟΛ		ΝΑΡΗ ΝΘΟΤΕ
ΣΗΤΡΙ ΚΑ ΠΕΚ		ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ·
ΣΗΤΗ ΜΜΟΚ· ΖΗ		ΑΡΧΠΟ ΝΑΡΗ
ΝΕΚΕΝ ΠΧΟΙ		ΧΑΡΙΣΜΑ ΝΙΜ:-
ΣΒΟΛ ΕΦΟΠΤΗ ΝΓ	30	ΠΕΤΡΕΟΥΓΕΝΤΑΡΗ
ΦΟΥΟΦ· ΝΓΜΟΟ		ΜΜΑΥ ΝΘΟΤΕ
ΦΕ· ΕΤΒΕ ΠΝΑΥ		ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΗ
ΝΝΕΚΒΑΛ· ΜΗ		ΤΑΡΗ ΜΜΑΥ Ν

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ΣΕΝΑΣΩΜΩΡ		Μ ΜΗΤΡΩΜΕ:-
ΕΥΜΕΣ ΠΑΓΑ		ΣΑΡΕΣ ΕΡΟΚ ΕΠΟ
ΘΟΗ ΝΙΜ· ΣΕ		ΟΥ ΕΤΑΦΟΥ
ΦΑΡΕΘΟΤΕ ΜΗ		ΕΙΤ ΣΗΝΝΕΠ
ΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΟΥΣΕ	5	ΝΟΥΤΕ ΣΕΕΡΕ
ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΠ		ΝΕΚΚΕΕΣ ΕΒΟΛ·
ΝΟΒΕ:-		ΠΕΚΣΩΒ ΤΗΡ
ΑΓΩ ΣΗΘΟΤΕ		ΑΡΙΦ ΕΤΒΕ Π
ΜΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΕ		ΝΟΥΤΕ:-
ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΡΙ	10	ΠΗΝΟΥΑΔΙΚΟΣ ΓΑΡ
ΚΕ ΜΗΜΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ		ΑΝ ΠΕ ΠΗΝΟΥΤΕ
ΕΜΠΕΘΟΟΥΓ:-		ΕΤΩΜΩΒΕ ΝΑΚ
ΕΚΣΜΟΟΣ ΣΗΤΕΚ		ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΚΣΩΒ:-
ΡΙ· ΚΑ ΤΕΚΡΙ		ΤΒΒΕ ΠΕΚΣΗΤ
ΣΙΣ ΜΠΕΚΕΜ	15	ΠΑΦΗΡΕ· ΤΑ
ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ· ΝΓΕΡ		ΡΕΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΣΩ
ΝΕΣΒΗΥΣ Μ		ΤΜ ΕΡΟΚ ΣΗΟΥ
ΠΩΗ· ΜΟΡΚ		ΣΕΠΗ:-
ΝΤΕΣΒΩ ΕΣΗΝ		ΤΑΣΟΚ ΕΡΑΤ
ΤΕΚ·ΠΕ:-	20	ΠΟΥΣΩΤΠ ΜΠ
ΑΓΩ ΕΚΕΣΩΜ Ε		ΝΟΥΤΕ:-
ΧΗΝΙΕΚΧΙΣΕ		ΜΠΕΡΚΑΤΕΧΕ
{ΣΕ}ΕΥΕ ΕΥΟΥ		ΜΜΟΚ ΜΑΓΑ
ΦΑΦ:-		ΑΚ· ΝΓ· ΠΟΥ
ΜΠΕΡΦΩΦΙΕ	25	ΖΟΟΥ ΠΙΑΟΥΖΩ
ΠΑΤΣΒΩ ΠΑ		ΟΥ· ΝΓΦΩΦΙΕ
ΦΗΡΕ· ΛΛΑ		ΠΑΜΕΛΗΣ ΜΤΕ
ΑΡΙΣΟΤΕ ΣΗΤ		ΠΕΚΟΥΟΣΙΩ
ΜΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΓ		ΟΥΩ ΝΤΟΟΤ
ΣΑΡΕΣ ΕΝΕΨΕΝ	30	ΝΓΣΟΥΕΡ ΠΕΣΩ
ΤΟΛΗ:-		ΟΥ ΝΤΑΥΖ
ΠΑΦΗΡΕ ΜΠΕΡΡ		ΠΟΚ:-
ΣΗΣΑΛ ΝΤΕΨ		ΤΣΩΝ ΣΤΟΟΤ
ΖΟΤΕ ΣΗΟΥΓΕΟΟΥ		ΠΑΦΗΡΕ ΣΕ Μ

Col. A 33-4 ΠΓΕΨΟΤΕ] ΜΠΕΨΟΥΦΩΦ ΜΠΓΕΨΟΤΕ B (the Qasr el-Wizz fragment) || Col. B 14 ΠΕΚΣΗΤ] ΠΕΚΣΩΒ B ||

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ΠΕΡΜΟΟΩΦΕ ΜΗ		ΜΠΙΣΤΟΣ· ΟΥ
ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΓΝΑΤ·		ΡΩΜΕ ΕΡΕΠΕΑ
ΣΗΥ ΕΡΟΦ ΑΝ·		ΣΩΦ ΣΧΟΣΕ Ε
ΣΧΝΝΕΚΕΙ Ε		ΠΟΚ· ΟΥΡΦ
ΣΧΜΠΕΚΓΟ:-	5	ΜΕ ΗΜΑΙΝΟΥ
ΜΠΕΡΜΟΟΩΦΕ ΜΗ		ΤΕ· ΟΥΡΩΜΕ
ΟΥΡΕΦΕΦΗΤ·		ΝΦΕΦΩΦΤ· ΑΝ Ε
ΜΠΕΡΡΦΩΒΗΡ ΕΥ		ΝΑΠΕΙΜΑ· ΣΕ
ΡΕΦΚΑΤΑΛΛΑ		ΝΑΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΕΤ
ΛΕΙ:-	10	ΠΟΦΡΧ· ΜΠΡΦ
ΜΠΕΡΜΟΟΩΦΕ ΜΗ		ΜΕ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ:-
ΟΥΡΕΦ· ΣΕ·		ΜΠΕΡΡΦΩΒΗΡ ΕΥ
ΜΠΕΡΡΦΩΒΗΡ ΕΥ		ΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΙΑ
ΡΕΦΚΩΣ·		ΠΕΙΜΑ· ΣΕ ΙΑ
ΜΠΕΡΜΟΟΩΦΕ ΜΗ	15	ΠΕΙΜΑ ΝΕΤ
ΟΥΣΑΣ ΝΙΩΑΧΕ·		ΠΟΦΡΧ· ΜΠΡΦ
ΤΑΡΕΚΩΦΠΕ		ΜΕ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ:
ΕΚΟ ΝΙΡΜΡΑΦ·		ΑΡΙΩΒΗΡ ΝΤΟΦ
ΣΕ ΝΙΡΜΡΑΦ		ΕΥΣΗΚΕ ΗΜΑΙ
ΝΕΤΝΑΚΛΗΡΟ	20	ΝΟΥΤΕ:-
ΝΟΜΕΙ ΝΙΠΚΑΣ·		ΟΥΣΗΚΕ ΕΦΕΒ
ΜΠΕΡΡΦΩΒΗΡ ΕΥ		ΒΙΗΥ:-
ΦΤΕΡΤΓΙΡ·		ΟΥΣΗΚΕ ΕΜΜΑΙ
ΜΠΕΡΜΟΟΩΦΕ ΜΗ		ΦΩΜΜΟ:-
ΟΥΡΦΜΕ ΕΦΟ Π	25	ΟΥΣΗΚΕ ΕΦΣΗΚ
ΦΒΗΡ ΕΥΣΙΜΕ \ΟΥΔΕ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ/		ΣΗΘΟΤΕ ΜΠ
ΟΥΔΕ ΜΠΕΡΚΑ		ΝΟΥΤΕ:-
ΜΝΤΦΩΒΗΡ ΙΑΚ		ΟΥΣΗΚΕ ΕΦΦΕΙ
ΜΝΟΥΓΣΙΜΕ·		Σ·Φ·Ο·Σ·:-
ΜΠΕΡΜΟΟΩΦΕ	30	ΟΥΣΗΚΕ ΕΦΕΦΑΦΤ
ΜΝΟΥΓΚΟΥΙ ΕΡΟΚ·		ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΕΟΥΗ
ΣΧΝΝΕΚΤΑΣΤ·		ΟΥΣΑΡΕΣ ΣΗΤΕΑ
ΝΙΓΕΙ ΕΠΑΣΟΥ:-		ΤΑΠΡΟ:-
ΕΚΦΩΔΗΚΑ ΟΥΦ		ΠΑΦΗΡΕ ΑΡΙΦ
ΒΗΡ ΙΑΚ· ΚΑΛΦ	35	ΒΗΡ ΕΡΩΜΕ

Col. A 26 ουδε ουκούι added later

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ΝΙΜ ΕΦΕΡΣΟΤΕ		ΝΑΡ. ΣΕ ΝΤΟΡ
ΣΗΤΑΙ ΜΠΝΟΥ		ΠΕΤΝΑΤΑΧΡΕ
ΤΕ· ΛΥΩ ΕΦΑ		ΠΕΚΣΗΤ ΝΑΡ
ΡΕΣ ΕΝΕΡΕΝ		ΝΠΑΙΙ ΣΛΟΒ.
ΤΟΛΗ:-	5	ΝΤΕΠΕΦΚΩΣΤ
ΜΠΕΡΚΑ ΤΕΚ		ΦΩΠΕ ΝΗΗΤΚ.
ΣΕΛΠΙΣ ΣΠΡΦ		ΝΠΡΦΚΣ ΝΝΕΚ
ΜΕ ΠΑΦΗΡΕ ΕΤ		ΜΕΣΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ:-
ΒΕ ΤΜΟΤΝΕΣ Μ		ΕΦΑΦΤ ΕΠΙΝΟΥ
ΠΕΙΜΑ· ΤΑΡΕΚ	10	ΤΕ ΠΑΦΗΡΕ· ΤΑ
ΣΩ ΕΚΟ ΝΡΜΣΕ:-		ΡΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΣΩ
ΝΕΧ. ΠΕΚΡΟΟΥΓΩ		ΤΜ ΝΙΣΩΚ:-
ΕΠΧΟΟΙΣ· ΤΑ		ΣΩΤΜ ΝΙΣΑΠΝΟΥ
ΡΕΦΠΙ ΡΟΟΥΓΩ		ΤΕ ΠΑΦΗΡΕ.
ΣΑΡΟΚ:-	15	ΤΑΡΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ
ΚΑ ΤΕΚΣΕΛΠΙΣ		ΣΩΤΜ ΕΡΟΚ:-
ΣΜΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΠΑ		ΠΩΤ ΣΩΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ.
ΦΗΡΕ· ΣΕ ΝΤΟΡ		ΤΑΡΕΨΠΩΤ
ΠΕΤΝΑΜΟΟΝΕ		ΣΩΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΚ· Ν
ΜΜΟΚ:-	20	ΤΣΑΒΟΚ ΕΠΕΑ
ΝΤΟΡ ΠΕΤΝΑΡΟ		ΝΟΜΟΣ· ΝΠΟΥΕ
ΣΙΣ ΕΡΟΚ·		ΝΕΣ ΠΕΦΚΟΟΥΝ
ΝΤΟΡ ΠΕΤΝΑ		ΕΡΟΚ· ΝΠΦΩ
ΣΑΝΟΥΓΦΚ·		ΠΕ ΝΑΚ ΝΧΑΛ
ΝΤΟΡ ΠΕΤΝΑΣΚΕ	25	ΜΟΕΙΤ· ΣΟΥ
ΠΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΚ·		ΤΕΝ ΠΕΚΣΗΤ· Ε
ΝΤΟΡ ΠΕΤΝΑΤΑΧ.		ΣΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΦ· ΤΑ
ΡΕ ΠΕΚΣΗΤ·		ΡΕΦΜΟΟΦΣ Ν
ΝΤΟΡ ΠΕΤΝΑΖΙ		ΜΑΚ ΕΦΑΟΥ
ΜΟΕΙΤ ΣΗΤΚ·	30	ΤΩΝ:-
ΚΑ ΠΗΟΥΤΕ		ΦΩΠΕ ΕΚΑΦΕ
ΝΑΚ ΝΒΟΗ		ΕΡΟΦ ΝΤΕΓΥΦΗ
ΘΟΣ ΠΑΦΗΡΕ·		ΜΝΠΕΖΟΟΥ· ΣΕ Ν
ΝΙΓ· ΚΑΡΠΟΣ		ΤΟΡ ΠΕΤΝΑΡΟ

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ἱ		
ΕΙΣ ΕΡΟΚ:-		ΑΡΙΦΒΗΡ ΕΠ
ΣΑΝΟΥΦΚ ΣΜΠ		ΣΟΖΣΕΧ. ΤΑ
ΧΟΕΙΣ ΣΕ ΉΤΟΨ		ΡΕΚΑΦΩΠΕ
ΠΕΤΝΑΤ ΝΑΚ		ΣΜΠΕΜΤΟΝ:-
ΗΝΑΙΤΗΜΑ	5	ΑΡΙΦΒΗΡ ΕΠ
ΜΠΙΕΚΣΗΤ:-		ΣΙΣΕ ΤΑΡΕΚ
ΕΚΦΑΝΑΙΤΕΙ		ΦΩΠΕ ΣΜ
ΗΟΥΣΩΒ ΉΤΟ		ΠΕΜΤΟΝ. ΑΥΦ
ΟΤΦ ΗΠΙΟΥ		ΗΝΕΚΜΕΣΤΕ
ΤΕ ΗΠΕΡΕΙ ΕΠΑ	10	ΟΥΣΩΒ ΕΨΩ
ΣΟΥ. ΣΕ ΦΑΡΕ		ΣΕ. ΣΕ ΣΙΤΕΗ
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΣΕΝΤ		ΣΑΣ ΗΣΙΣΕ ΕΡΕ
ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΝΑΥ		ΠΡΩΜΕ ΙΑ
ΣΕ ΦΝΑΣΥΠΟ		ΗΟΥΣΜ:-
ΜΙΝΕ. ΛΛΑ	15	ΠΑΦΗΡΕ ΕΙΤ. Σ
ΣΜΠΕΚΣΗΤ		ΒΩ ΝΑΚ ΣΗΝΕ
ΤΗΡΦ ΑΙΤΕΙ ΑΥΦ		ΣΙΟΟΥΕ ΜΠΙΩ
ΚΝΑΧΙ:-		ΗΑΣ. ΕΙΤΑΛΟ
ΠΑΦΗΡΕ ΕΚΣΜΟ		ΜΜΟΚ ΕΣΡΑΙ
ΟΣ ΣΗΤΕΚΡΙ	20	ΕΣΗΝΕΣΙΟΟΥΕ
ΚΑ ΤΠΥΛΗ ΕΤ		ΕΤΣΟΥΤΩΝ:-
ΣΗΥ ΜΠΙΕΚΕΜ		ΜΠΕΡΜΟΟΦΕ
ΤΟ ΕΒΟΣ:-		ΣΗΟΥΣΦΩΦΜΕ.
ΕΚΣΜΟΟΣ ΣΗ		ΛΛΑ ΜΟΟΦΕ
ΤΕΚΡΙ ΚΑ ΤΕΝ	25	ΗΤΟΨ ΕΚΣΟΥ
ΤΟΛΗ ΜΠΙΝΟΥ		ΤΩΝ ΣΗΣΩΒ
ΤΕ ΉΤΡΟΟΤΚ:-		ΝΙΜ:-
ΕΦΩΠΕ ΕΚ		ΗΠΕΡΟΥΛΑΣΚ Η
ΦΑΝΟΥΦΩΦ		ΣΑΦΙΝΕΡΣΩΒ
ΠΑΦΗΡΕ ΚΝΑ	30	ΝΙΜ:-
ΣΙ ΣΒΩ. ΕΚ		ΗΠΕΡΦΩΦΩΦ
ΦΑΝΜΕΡΕ ΣΦ		ΜΗΤΗΥ ΝΙΜ:-
ΤΗ ΚΝΑΧΙ:-		ΦΩΠΕ ΉΤΟΨ

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Θ

ΕΚΤΑΧΡΥ		ΜΑΙΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΗ
ΕΧΗΝΕΤΗΣ·		ΡΟΥ:-
ΑΥΦ ΠΝΟΜΟΣ		ΧΙ ΣΕ ΝΑΚ ΝΔΑΙ
ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΚΑ		ΕΙΔ. ΕΦΩΔ
ΑΦ ΣΜΠΕΚ	5	ΕΒΟΛ ΕΡΕΣΑΟΥΛ
ΣΗΤ ΝΗΛΑΥ		ΠΗΤ ΝΙΣΩΔ·
ΝΙΜ:-		ΧΕ ΛΗΓ ΟΥΟΥΣΟΡ
ΣΩΤΗ Δ.Δ.Δ.		ΕΦΜΟΟΥΤ· ΑΥΦ
ΕΦΩΔ ΕΒΟΛ		ΛΗΓ ΟΥΠΗΙ ΝΟΥ
ΕΦΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ·	10	ΩΤ:-
ΧΕ ΝΙΣΑΒΗΛ ΧΕ		ΝΑΙ ΒΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΛ
ΠΕΚΝΟΜΟΣ ΦΩ		ΦΗΡΕ ΛΙΧΟΟΥ
ΟΠ ΝΑΙ ΜΜΕΛΕ		ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΘΕΒΙΟ:-
ΤΗ· ΝΕΙΝΑΤΑ		ΧΙ Δ.ΔΥΕΙΔ. ΝΑΚ
ΚΟ ΠΙΣ ΣΜΠΑΘ	15	ΟΝ ΝΙΣΜΟΤ ΕΡΕ
ΒΙΟ:-		ΝΕΔΧΑΖΕ ΠΗΤ
ΑΥΦ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΤΗΛΑ		ΝΙΣΩΔ· ΕΦΩΔ
ΤΕΛΗΛ ΕΧΜ		ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΤΗΛΑ
ΠΕΚΩΔΑΖΕ ΝΟΕ		ΠΩΤ ΝΙΣΑΝΑ
ΜΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΝ	20	ΧΑΖΕ ΝΤΑΤΑ
ΣΑΣ ΝΙΦΩΔ·		ΖΟΟΥ· ΑΥΦ Ν
ΑΥΦ ΜΑΡΕΠ		ΝΑΚΤΟΙ ΜΠΟΥ
ΦΛΑΖΕ ΜΠΝΟΥ		ΩΧΕΝ:-
ΤΕ ΣΛΟΣ ΣΗΤΕΚ		Δ.ΔΥΕΙΔ. ΜΕΝ ΣΩ
ΤΑΠΡΟ· ΝΟΕ Ν	25	ΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΑ
Δ.ΔΥΕΙΔ. ΧΕ Α		ΜΙΦΕ ΟΥΒΕ Ν
ΝΕΚΩΔΑΖΕ 2		ΧΙΣΣΕΥΓΕ ΕΤΟΥ
ΛΟΣ ΣΗΤΑΦΟΥ		ΟΝΣ ΕΒΟΛ· ΕΑ
ΦΒΕ· ΕΣΟΥΓΕ		ΘΑΡΕΙ ΜΠΝΟΥ
ΕΟΥΓΕΒΙΩ ΣΗ	30	ΤΕ ΕΦΜΙΦΕ Ε
ΡΩΙ:-		ΧΩΦ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΦ
Δ.ΔΥΕΙΔ. ΓΑΡ ΕΑ		ΠΡΟΣΛΙΡΕΣΙC
ΦΩΟΠ ΜΠΡΟ		ΕΤΕ ΟΥΕΝΤΑΖC
ΣΩΠΟΝ ΝΜ		

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		τά
ετεγραφή ε		σ'ως· αλλα ἥδοι
σωφ ἐβολ χε ἥ		σιαγαπίη:-
τάγκεττηγ		μπρτρεμέση
τη εραι εχητ		τές παρηρε εγ
σητε ἥηναπος	5	τσαβο ἥμοκ ε
τωλος μηνεπ		μιψε· εκμούρ
ροφητης:-		μπλιαβολος
ητοκ շօմ		ενεκογερητε
παρηρε· շրմ		μαγλακ· εκ
πιπωρի շեօλ	10	τωβε χ<ε> μπερ
ηνεκοιχ. εκε		χιτή շօցη ε
շրօ շնեτ· իմ		πραմօս· εκ
մակ:-		μօյրε շմու
εκայարշու		բամօս երօկ
շնր մինոյ	15	մայլակ:-
տէ շկես շեօլ		օյն շնշնյε
շմօւ մηնեկ		գար երերօմե
շայշ շնօշին.		դ մմօ երօօյ.
շշեմօտի շա		եպմօյր մπլալ
տեկհ իշայր	20	බօլօս երօ մայ
նշին:-		ձագ:-
նեկշայշ շտ-		օյշ իկոտ գար
նմմակ նշ ի		ու լալաբօլօս.
մեշյե շտ· իմ		զաշեն շենշ
մակ:-	25	բնյե գար ինգա
ա- շ ն ի ն ա կ ի ա		դ մ բրօմե
փիրե իօշօմ		զանտեգենտ-
շեօլ շրմի		տբօրօշ շեն
նօյրէ· տաք		շնիյե մ մին
շրօ շնետ· իմ	30	զիշտիկ ի
մակ տիրօյ:-		նօյշ ն պրէշ
ի ն ա ն ի ն օ յ		պեկօյմօյ
ի ն ա ն ի ն օ յ		միշտաղանի.

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τι		
νητωδε		ειτα εκθμοος
πετσαδε μη		επιτμητε η
πετσολε:-		επρωμε· φι
τωβε σε μη		πεκρογιφ
νογτε παφη	5	μαγλακ· εκ
ρε· χηνεκει		φληναγ εσωρ
ενεφασε:-		ηιμ· μοψτκ
εγερσαλ γαρ μη		χε ενεακεν
ρεψωμασ		πχη εβολ 2η
νογτε σησεν	10	πεκβαλ:-
2ηηγε μ μηντ		λγω μπρχι λλ
νογτε:-		λγ ηφαχε ητε
ηοε παλαμ		λλαγ εσογη ε
ηταγερ		ρωμε· εμ
2αλ μμορ 2η	15	πενεκβαλ ηαγ
ογσμη μ μηντ		εροφ· ητενεκ
νογτε· λφ		μαλχε σοτμογ·
τεσ πετσολε		ηγη μπεφνο
μηπετσαδε:-		βε ηγταλοφ ε
ροεισ σε ρωμοκ	20	χωκ:-
ετεμ· ησηνη		ετβε πομαχε
ηηεκβαλ· ρεκ		ετση2· χε ετε
ρικε ηηεκβογ		τηνο ηηηηε
2ε· χε εκεερ		εχηηηενοβε η
βολ ηοε ηογ	25	ηετσιτογιφ
σασσε εβολ 2ηογ		τεη· ετετηη
2λσε· λγω η		ωπ μπεγιφω
θε ηογ2αλητ		ωτ χε νογτηη
εβολ 2ηογπαδ:-		ηε· εκφλαν
2ενσαρεσ ηιμ	30	ωπ μπφωμωτ
2λρεσ επεκ		μπετσιτογ
2ητ· 2ησιο		ωκ χε νογκ
ογε γαρ ηωηη		ηε· μεκκρηηε
ηε εβολ 2ηηαι:-		ηλλαγ· μεκ

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χίσε πήσητ εχει		ζήπιεκσμοτ·
λλαγ· λλαλ		ερεπεκσητ·
φλακη σλασωβ		ο πθε πογκωστ·
νιμ ετρε τα		εσογη επνο
γλαπη μπνογ	5	βε:-
τε:-		μπερφωψε εκ
φωψε πχρης		βηλ εβολ ɔμ
τος παρη		πεκσητ· φω
ρε χε νετο π		πε πτοφ εκ
χρηστος νετ	10	τορζ ɔησωβ
ναογωδε σιχμ		νιμ:-
πκαζ· λγω		μπερκα πεκσητ·
πιβαλσητ νετ		εερχοεις εροκ·
ναρισχη 21		λλα λριχοεις
χωψ:-	15	πτοφ επεκ
λγω χε ταγαπη		ζητ:-
φλασερχρης		μπερογχαζκ π
τος· εφχω μ		σαπιεκσητ· αλ
μος χε εκφαι		λλα μαρεπεκ
ναγ· εσωβ νιμ·	20	ζητ ογχαζκ π
λριχρηστος·		σωκ:-
σιβαλσητ· τα		μπερσωτμ πια
ρεκε επεοογ		πεκσητ· αλ
μπνογτε:-		λλα μαρεπεκ
μπερφωψε πθε	25	ζητ πτοφ σω
ννειαφοντε		τμ πισωκ:-
ετρητ σιχμ		μπερκα πεκ
τοογ· ετε πνογ		ζητ εερνογτε
τε πε· φωψε		νακ· λλα
πτοφ πθε πογ	30	μαρεπεκσητ·
καρ εφρητ σι		πτοφ σωτμ
χηογμοογ ετε		πισαπνογτε:-
πνογη πε·		κογωφ εσωτμ
φωψε εκμοτη		πισαπνογτε·

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Ι.Α.	Ι.Α.
ΠΑΦΩΗΡΕ· ΝΓ·	ΕΠΙΧΙΝΩΗ:-
ΝΑΟΥΜΑΦ ΑΝ	ΑΓΩ ΟΝ ΧΕ ΑΝ<Α>
ΕΣΩΤΗ ΝΙΑ	ΑΙΝΟΜΙΑ ΧΙΣΕ
ΝΕΚΟΥΜΑΦ·	ΕΤΑΛΛΙΕ· ΑΥ?
ΝΓ· ΣΩΤΗ ΝΙΑ	ΡΟΦ ΕΧΟΙ Ν
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ:-	ΟΣ ΝΟΥΓΕΤΠΩ
ΠΟΥΦΦ ΜΠΝΟΥ	ΕΣΧΟΡΦ:-
ΤΕ ΠΕ ΣΑΡΕΣ Ε	ΤΕΝΝΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ
ΝΕΦΕΝΤΟΛΗ·	ΕΡΦΑΝΠΡΩ
ΕΚΙΩΔΑΣΑΡΕΣ	ΜΕ ΤΟΦΑ ΕΠΙΝΟΥ
ΓΑΡ ΕΝΕΦΕΝΤΟ	ΤΕ· ΘΑΦΛΟ ΕΨ
ΛΗ· ΚΝΑΙΦΩ	ΣΟΡΦ ΝΝΟΒΕ·
ΠΕ ΕΟΥΓΕΝΕΩΜ	ΩΛΡΕΠΙΦΛΑΣΕ
ΜΜΟΚ ΣΗΝΝΕΚ	ΜΠΙΣΩΤΗΡ
ΣΒΗΥΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ·	ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ε
ΑΓΩ ΠΕΚΣΩΦ	ΧΩΦ· ΧΕ ΕΤΕ
ΝΑΦΩΦΠΕ Ν	ΤΗΝΦΑΝΕΦ ΣΗ
ΣΩΤΗ· ΧΕ ΝΕΨ	ΠΛΑΦΑΣΕ· ΤΕ
ΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΝΙΣΕ	ΤΗΝΑΚΟΥΓΕΝ Τ
ΣΟΡΦ ΑΗ:-	ΜΕ· ΑΓΩ ΤΜΕ
ΕΦΑΦΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΝ	ΝΑΕΡΤΗΥΤΗΝ
ΧΕ ΑΜΗΓΓΗ ΦΑ	ΠΡΜΣΕ:-
ΡΟΙ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ	ΕΦΑΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ
ΕΤΣΟΣΕ ΑΓΩ Ε	ΧΕ ΠΗΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑ
ΤΟΤΗ· ΑΓΩ	ΕΡΤΗΥΤΗΝ Ν
ΑΝΟΚ ΦΗΑ· Φ ΕΜ	ΡΜΣΕ ΕΝΕΤΗΝ
ΤΟΝ ΝΗΤΗΝ:-	ΠΟΒΕ· ΕΒΟΛ
ΑΓΩ ΟΝ ΦΩΦ	ΧΕ ΠΗΝΟΥΤΕ
ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΒΕ ΣΟΙΝΕ	ΠΕΤΤΈΒΟ ΜΗ
ΕΥΣΟΣΕ ΕΠΧΙΝ	ΡΩΜΕ:-
ΧΗ· ΝΘΕ ΕΤ	ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΦΗΣ ΧΕ
ΣΗΣ ΧΕ ΛΑΡΡΟΟΥ	ΠΕΤΤΈΒΟ· ΜΗ
ΝΕΤΣΟΣΕ· ΣΕΣΟΣΕ	ΝΕΤΟΥΤΗΒΟ

c.20 lines missing

[...] . . .
 [κ]λρπος φ[η]τ[η]
 ββοφ:-
 ξ[γ]φηζε φ[ε] πλ
 φηρε ταρεκ
 σω 2ηηαπτβ
 βο τηρογ· ει
 τε 2ηηεκβαλ·
 ειτε 2ηηεκ
 2ητ· ταρεκει
 [ετ]εκαρχη
 ηθε 2ηηεικογι
 ηφηρε 2ητα

margin

c.20 lines missing

[αγφ 2ηηομοογ]
 ειοη[· τενογ·]
 αγφ [2ηηοειο]
 ηηη[· φλεηε2·]
 ηηη[ε2· 2λ]
 ηη[η:-]

TRANSLATION

[A] *Unknown number of lines missing*

7. [...] and do not quarrel about anything.

10. [Do] not be hard [so that] you do not die before your [time].⁵⁴

11. [Do not] be, O [my] son, [...]

Unknown number of lines missing

21. [...] [run immediately from] all [these things]. [Do not] be [...], O my [son], but be [meek], for the [meek will] inherit the earth.⁵⁵

Unknown number of lines missing

23. [...] and [the] Devil [will not have] power [over you]. Be [calm] and humble with all people.

[A] BnF Copte 132^r, fo. 87^r + BnF Copte 133², frag. 42C^v

⁵⁴ Eccles. 7:17.

⁵⁵ Matt. 5:5.

24. Look at [your] teacher how [he] walked [in] humbleness, [setting] for us [a model] so that [...]⁵⁶

[B] *Unknown number of lines missing*

28. [Look at] Isaiah [crying] out and [saying]: '[Our] entire righteousness is like [a] menstrual rag'⁵⁷ [before] you.

29. [And our] Lord [instructed] those [who followed] him: 'If you [do] every[thing] that [has been] ordered [to you] [...]'⁵⁸

Unknown number of lines missing

29a. Look at the tax collector, my [son], whom God praised for his humbleness.

31. Walk in poverty, my [son] for [the] poverty [humbles] the person.⁵⁹ Do not [...] [...] according to the [commandment] of [Christ], so that you [devote yourself to] God [and] God [...] you.

32. Devote yourself to [God] [...] his sweetness and you will [know his] wish.

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[C] 38. [Sitting] in your cell, be like a master-pilot who steers his ship,⁶⁰ observing the wind, from which side it comes to you, whether comes the good wind or comes the bad wind. Be strong in the battle and cry out: 'Arise, north wind, and come, south wind, and blow in my garden so that my spices give scent.'⁶¹

39. Sitting in your cell, my son, do not be like a judge.

40. Do not weary of praying and you will be heard.

41. While you are in a labour, look for rest.

42. My son, give yourself to God with all your strength so that he fights for you,⁶² protects you, gives you power, and fights with those who fight against you. For you shall not be able to do anything apart from God, but if the person supplicates God, then God gives him power, watches him, fills him with wisdom and understanding, and leads him with his counsel.⁶³

[B] BnF Copte 132¹, fo. 87^v + BnF Copte 133², frag. 42C^r

[C] Venice, Marciana 192, fo. 99^r (p. 1)

⁵⁶ 1 Pet. 2:21.

⁵⁷ Isa. 64:5.

⁵⁸ Luke 17:10.

⁵⁹ Prov. 10:4.

⁶⁰ Cf. 4 Macc. 7:1.

⁶¹ S. of S. 4:16.

⁶² Cf. Exod. 14:14.

⁶³ Cf. Ps. 72:24.

43. Sitting in your cell, do not be wandering forth. Pay attention [D] how you sit. Do not become like a beast that hastens after the person, but rather be the person who drives the beast. Sitting in your cell, have a guard to you. Do not have the body in the cell, while your heart is in Egypt, but make your body a temple of God⁶⁴ and strengthen your thoughts so that you obtain for yourself the stable thought.

43a. Sitting in your cell, do not let your mind exalt with you, or exalt yourself by the deliberation of your mind,⁶⁵ or praise yourself alone, for God detests those who praise themselves alone,⁶⁶ but he looks upon the prayer of those who are humble.⁶⁷ Sitting in your cell, do not have any fetters. It is sufficient (to do) for each day its works⁶⁸ so that you remain calm. Guard yourself not to commit sin. Sitting in your cell, persist in your prayers, fasts, and the fight of your heart, so that you abide in the things that belong to the purity of the heart, for without peace and holiness [E] no one will see God.⁶⁹

44. Sitting in your cell, if a brother brings reports against you, do not let your heart be concerned with them, so that you remain calm and your heart remains quiet, for many are the thoughts of the cell.

45. Sitting in the cell, keep recitation in your mouth. If you stop, put a guard to you or else you are led astray, so that you remain in the pure things and the Holy Spirit befriends you. Sitting in your cell, seek after the blameless thought, and the thought of God makes him a member of your household, so that he overcomes all the thoughts that fight against you. For the thought of God, which is the reason, is the king of the passions.⁷⁰

46. Sitting in your cell, fight against yourself, so that you obtain the grace of the cell, for the cell has grace.

[D] Venice, Marciana 192, fo. 99^v (p. 2)

[E] Naples, National Library IB.9, fo. 52^r (p. 3)

⁶⁴ Cf. 1 Cor. 3:16.

⁶⁵ Sir. 6:2.

⁶⁶ *1 Clement* 30.6.

⁶⁷ Ps. 101:18.

⁶⁸ Cf. Matt. 6:34.

⁶⁹ Cf. Heb. 12:14.

⁷⁰ Cf. 4 Macc. 1:7, 13; 18:2. The idea that reason rules over passions is based on 4 Macc. 1:1 ff.

47. Sitting in your cell, do not teach yourself to pine for a person, do not let a person wait for you, and also do not wait for a person, so that you remain calm, but, because of the commandment of God, support those who come to you. If a brother [F] spends a Sunday with you, support him, because of the commandment of God. If a brother comes to the monastery⁷¹ while you are in it, support him until he finds a cell, because of the commandment of God. And do according to your capacity that which depends on you, for you also, if you go to a monastery, you want to be helped. For this is the commandment of God, and these are the works of the cell, my son.

48. If you come out from the cell, be careful⁷² so that you do not bring out the laden ship and empty it, and you do not walk by the sight of your eyes and the hearing of your ears. Stay safe, my son, and let all the things that you see be profitable to you, so that you return calm to your cell.

49. Sitting in your cell, my son, have constantly the thought of God in your heart, and his fear shall encircle you.

50. For the fear of God drives out from the soul all sin, corruption, and transgression.

51. The one who has obtained the fear of God has obtained all grace. The one who has the fear of God has [G] treasures filled with all good things. For the fear of God delivers the person from sin, and it is in the fear of God that everyone turns away from evil.

52. Sitting in your cell, keep the judgement before you and perform the things of life. Gird yourself about your loins with the teaching⁷³ and you shall trample upon your bruised enemies.

53. Do not be undisciplined, my son, but fear God and keep his commandments.⁷⁴

54. My son, do not be the slave of your cowardice⁷⁵ for human glory. Guard yourself against vainglory or else God shall scatter your bones.⁷⁶

[F] Naples, National Library IB.9, fo. 52^v (p. 4)

[G] Naples, National Library IB.9, fo. 53^r (p. 5)

⁷¹ Literally, 'mountain', a word which designates a monastery or a monastic settlement.

⁷² Literally, 'hold your heart'.

⁷³ Cf. Eph. 6:14.

⁷⁴ Eccles. 12:13.

⁷⁵ Literally, 'of his cowardice/fear'. The Qasr el-Wizz fragment has 'of his desire and his fear'. The Sahidic text is perhaps corrupted at this point; the Greek reads μὴ γίνου δοῦλος τοῦ θελήματος σου ἔνεκα δόξης ἀνθρωπίνης.

⁷⁶ Cf. Ps. 52:6; Ezek. 6:5.

55. Do your entire work for God,⁷⁷ for God is not unjust to reward you according to your work.⁷⁸

56. Cleanse your heart, my son, so that God listens to you immediately.

56a. Present yourself approved to God.⁷⁹

57. Do not restrain yourself and strive day after day, and do not be negligent so that your time does not cease from you and you curse the day you were born.

58. I bid you, my son, [H] do not walk with a person from whom you will not profit, so that you do not fall upon your face. Do not walk with an angry person.⁸⁰ Do not befriend a slanderer. Do not walk with a drunkard. Do not befriend an irascible person. Do not walk with a garrulous person, so that you become meek, for the meek will inherit the earth.⁸¹ Do not befriend a hasty person. Do not walk with a person who is friend with a woman or a child, nor be friends with a woman. Do not walk with someone younger than you, so that you are not confused and do not go backwards.

59. If you make a friend, let him be a believer, a person whose work surpasses yours, a God-loving person, a person who does not look at the things of this world, for it is the things of this world that separate the person from God. Do not be friends with a person on account of the things of this world, for it is the things of this world that separate the person from God.

60. Rather, be friends with a God-loving pauper, a humble pauper, a hospitable pauper, a pauper girded with the fear of God, a pauper who carries the cross, a pauper who gives heed to God and has a guard on his mouth.⁸²

61. My son, befriend [I] everyone who fears God and keeps his commandments.⁸³

[H] Naples, National Library IB.9, fo. 53^v (p. 6)

[I] Naples, National Library IB.9, fo. 54^r (p. 7)

⁷⁷ Cf. Col. 3:23.

⁷⁸ Following the Qasr el-Wizz fragment; codex MONB.ON has 'your heart'. Cf. Heb. 6:10.

⁷⁹ 2 Tim. 2:15.

⁸⁰ Cf. Prov. 22:24.

⁸¹ Matt. 5:5.

⁸² Cf. Ps. 140:3.

⁸³ Cf. Eccles. 12:13.

62. Do not put your hope in a person,⁸⁴ my son, on account of the ease of this world, so that you remain free. Cast your concern to the Lord,⁸⁵ so that he takes care of you. Put your hope in God,⁸⁶ my son, for he is the one who will pasture you,⁸⁷ he is the one who will watch over you,⁸⁸ he is the one who will nourish you,⁸⁹ he is the one who will protect you, he is the one who will strengthen your heart, he is the one who will lead you.

63. Let God be a helper to you, my son, and bear fruit for him, for he is the one who will strengthen your heart to him and it will become sweet, and his fire will dwell in you and it will burn all your thoughts.

64. Give heed to God, my son, so that God listens to you. Obey God, my son, so that God listens to you. Run towards him, so that he runs towards you, teaches you his law, reveals to you his knowledge, and becomes a guide to you.

65. Set straight your heart⁹⁰ towards him, so that he walks straight with you.⁹¹ Cling to him night and day, for he is the one who will [J] watch over you. Nourish yourself in the Lord, for he is the one who will give you the requests of your heart.⁹² If you ask something from God, do not go backwards, for God tests the person to see that he endures, but ask with all your heart and you will receive.

66. My son, sitting in your cell, keep the narrow gate before you.⁹³ Sitting in your cell, keep the commandment of God. If you wish, my son, you will be taught, if you love to listen, you will receive.⁹⁴ Be friends with affliction, so that you are in tranquillity. Be friends with labour, so that you are in tranquillity. And do not detest a painful work,⁹⁵ for it is through many sufferings that the person will be saved.

[J] Naples, National Library IB.9, fo. 54^v (p. 8)

⁸⁴ Cf. Jer. 17:5.

⁸⁵ Ps. 54:23.

⁸⁶ Ps. 42:5.

⁸⁷ Ps. 36:3.

⁸⁸ Ps. 120:5.

⁸⁹ Ps. 54:23.

⁹⁰ Sir. 2:1.

⁹¹ Cf. Prov. 3:6.

⁹² Ps. 36:4.

⁹³ Cf. Matt. 7:13.

⁹⁴ Sir. 6:32-3.

⁹⁵ Sir. 7:15.

67. My son, I am teaching you in the paths of life and I am putting you on the straight paths.⁹⁶ Do not walk in crookedness, but rather walk upright in everything. Do not follow every manner of work. Do not be scattered by every wind,⁹⁷ but rather be [K] strong over the Scriptures, and keep constantly the law of God in your heart. Listen to David crying and saying: 'Were it not that your law is meditation for me, I would be perishing in my humbleness',⁹⁸ and again: 'I shall rejoice over your word like the one who has found much spoil'.⁹⁹ And let the word of God be sweet in your mouth like David: 'Your words were sweet in my throat, more than honey in my mouth'.¹⁰⁰

67a. For David is the image of all God-lovers. Therefore, imitate David crying out while Saul pursues him: 'I am a dead dog and I am a single flea'.¹⁰¹ Therefore all these things, my son, have I said about humility. Take again the example of David: while his enemies pursue him, he is crying out: 'I will pursue my enemies to catch them, and I will not return before they perish'.¹⁰²

67b. As David is fighting physically against the visible enemies, trusting that God is fighting on his side because he chose [L] him,¹⁰³ you too, O my son, be strong and cry out: 'I will pursue my enemies to catch them', these being the wicked thoughts that fight against you, 'and I will not return before they perish. I will crush them and they will not be able to stand up. They will fall under my feet, for you girded me with power in the battle'.¹⁰⁴ Because God is the one who gives power to the person who follows him, fighting with those who fight against him. For he said to those who followed him: 'I gave you power to trample over serpents and scorpions and over the entire force of the enemy and nothing will hurt you'.¹⁰⁵

[K] Naples, National Library IB.9, fo. 55^r (p. 9)

[L] Naples, National Library IB.9, fo. 55^v (p. 10)

⁹⁶ Prov. 4:11.

⁹⁷ Sir. 5:9.

⁹⁸ Ps. 118:92.

⁹⁹ Ps. 118:162.

¹⁰⁰ Ps. 118:103.

¹⁰¹ Cf. 1 Kgs. 24:15.

¹⁰² Ps. 17:38.

¹⁰³ Literally, 'because of his choice which he had for him'.

¹⁰⁴ Ps. 17:38–40.

¹⁰⁵ Luke 10:19.

67c. Lest ever you say that he gave power only to the apostles, the Saviour cries out: 'What I say to you, I say to everyone: watch.'¹⁰⁶ Or emulate the bravery of Joshua, the son of Nun, the bold one in war, who set up in battle array with the visible Amalekite. For he immediately defeated the Amalekite through spreading out the hands of Moses.¹⁰⁷ Never say that Joshua was a prophet, but hear¹⁰⁸ [M] the Scripture crying out: 'You have been built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.'¹⁰⁹

67d. You, in your turn, my son, by the spreading out of your hands you shall vanquish those who fight against you. If you fear God, you shall go out to fight with your enemies in a direction and they shall be defeated before you in seven directions.¹¹⁰ Your enemies who fight with you are the thoughts that fight with you. Therefore, ask for yourself, my son, power from God, so that you vanquish all those who fight with you. For God has not given us a spirit of weakness, but of power and love.¹¹¹

68. Let us not find out, my son, that you are taught to fight, you alone binding the Devil to your legs. By praying 'Do not lead us into temptation'¹¹² you alone are binding temptation to yourself. For there are things to which the person gives himself, he alone binding the Devil to himself. For the Devil is guileful, for he brings the person to charitable works until he leads him to the trap with works of false compassion,

69. and he (i.e. the Devil) mixes your will with love, [N] and mixes that which is bitter with that which is sweet. Therefore, pray to God, my son, or else you are going to his snares. For the one who worships God is deceived with works of piety, just as Adam was deceived with a divine voice and he confused that which is sweet with that which is bitter.

[M] Naples, National Library IB.9, fo. 56^r (p. 11)

[N] Naples, National Library IB.9, fo. 56^v (p. 12)

¹⁰⁶ Mark 13:37.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Exod. 17:8–13.

¹⁰⁸ Literally, 'I hear'.

¹⁰⁹ Eph. 2:20.

¹¹⁰ Deut. 28:7.

¹¹¹ 2 Tim. 1:7.

¹¹² Matt. 6:13.

70. So you too watch out that you do not give sleep to your eyes and slumber with your eyelids, so that you shall escape like a gazelle from a trap and like a bird from a snare.¹¹³ Watch over your heart with all vigilance, for from these things are ways of life.¹¹⁴

71. Furthermore,¹¹⁵ give heed only to yourself while you dwell in the midst of people. If you see something, examine yourself, whether you have taken out the mote from your eye.¹¹⁶ And do not be persuaded by any report against a person unless your eyes have seen and your ears have heard, (but) take his sin and lay it upon you on account of the written word: 'Mourning over the sins of your neighbours, you are counting their shortcomings to be yours.'¹¹⁷

72. If you count the shortcoming of your neighbour as yours, you do not judge anyone, you are not [O] proud against anyone, but you endure everything for the sake of the love of God. Be kind, my son, for the kind shall inhabit the earth and the innocents shall remain on it,¹¹⁸ and because love is kind.¹¹⁹ It is said: 'If you see something, be kind and innocent, so that you find the glory of God.'¹²⁰ Do not be like a thorn that grows on the mountains, which is God, but rather be like a reed that grows by the water, which is the Abyss.¹²¹ Be calm in your appearance, and let your heart be like a fire towards sin. Do not be faint-hearted, but rather be vigilant in everything. Do not let your heart rule over you, but rather rule your heart. Do not follow your heart, but let your heart follow you. Do not obey your heart, but rather let your heart obey you. Do not let your heart become your god, but rather let your heart obey God.

[O] Venice, Marciana 192, fo. 100^r (p. 13)

¹¹³ Prov. 6:4–5.

¹¹⁴ Prov. 4:23.

¹¹⁵ The text should normally have the conjunction *erre* instead of *ειτε*, the Coptic being probably corrupted at this point. The Greek has *ειτε ονν καθεζη εν τω κελλιω, ειτε μεσον ανθρωπον ει.*

¹¹⁶ Matt. 7:5.

¹¹⁷ 1 Clement 2.6.

¹¹⁸ Prov. 2:21.

¹¹⁹ 1 Cor. 13:4.

¹²⁰ Unidentified.

¹²¹ Greek: *Mη γίνου ώς τὰ ξύλα τὰ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη φνέντα αὐστηρά, ἀλλὰ γίνου ώς τὰ καλάμια τὰ φνέντα ἐν τοῖς ὄνδασιν ἄπινα ἀπαλά.* The Coptic seems to be corrupted because the two glossae express the opposite of what Stephen intends to say.

73. Desire to obey God, [P] my son, and you will not desire to obey your wish, and you will obey God. God's wish is to keep his commandments. For if you keep his commandments, you will make yourself strong in all your works, and your work will be excellent, for his commandments are not burdensome.¹²² He is crying out again: 'Come to me, all who are weary and burdened and I will give you rest.'¹²³ And again he cries out against some who labour in vain, as it is written: 'Why do those who labour, labour in vain?'¹²⁴ And again: 'My iniquities were higher than my head, they weighed upon me like a heavy burden.'¹²⁵

74. For we see that if a person clings to God, he ceases to be burdened by sin and the word of the Saviour is accomplished in him: 'If you continue in my word, you will know the truth and the truth will make you free.'¹²⁶ He is saying: 'God will free you from your sins, because it is God who purifies the person.'¹²⁷ Because it is written: 'The one who purifies and the one who is purified'¹²⁸ [...].

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[Q] *c.20* lines missing

107. [...] fruit, he [will] purify it.

108. [Therefore], fight, my son, so that you remain in all the things of purity, either with your eyes, or with your heart, so that you return [to] your beginning like a little child who [...]

c.20 lines missing

[...] [and consubstantial, now] and [always], [until the ages] of the ages. Amen.

[P] Venice, Marciana 192, fo. 100^v (p. 14)

[Q] Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Copt. F. 157(P)^r

¹²² 1 John 5:3.

¹²³ Matt. 11:28.

¹²⁴ 6 Ezra 16:46.

¹²⁵ Ps. 37:5.

¹²⁶ Cf. John 8:31–2.

¹²⁷ Unidentified.

¹²⁸ Heb. 2:11.