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Antonia St Demiana

In Michaelem. The Encomium on Michael the Archangel Attributed to Severus of Antioch

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In Michaelem
The Encomium on Michael the Archangel Attributed to Severus of Antioch
An Edition of the Coptic Text of P. IFAO Copte Inv. 133-136, 157-158*

ANTONIA ST DEMIANA

Editorial Remarks

The semi-diplomatic edition of P. IFAO Copte inv. 133-136, 157-158 presented here was produced on the basis of transcripts made from high resolution images provided by the Ifao and from the original folios in Cairo on my visits to the Ifao in 2012-2013.[1]

In the present edition, the editorial method used is that described by Bentley Layton in his edition of *Nag Hammadi Codex II*.[2] The text has been divided according to prosodic units. Apart from the single spaces indicating word division, wherever the copyist has left a space between two characters (alphabetic or otherwise) as a type of punctuation mark (that is, the space was intentionally and significantly made noticeable to the reader), this space has been encoded in the transcription and has been represented as accurately as possible.[3]

Where a letter cannot be identified with certainty on the basis of the palaeographical traces only, this is indicated by a dot under the letter (see ⲃ̣ⲃ̣ⲃ̣). Therefore, a letter whose reading is certain from the context may receive a dot when its traces are ambiguous; while a letter without a dot may represent a badly damaged letter whose traces are unambiguous.[4]

* Including an introductory study of the fragments; English translation with commentary; and indices of proper names, toponyms, and Græco-Coptic loanwords.

1 I am grateful to Dr Anne Boud'hors and Dr Catherine Louis who initially suggested these fragments for my study. Anne Boud'hors has also generously shared her valuable knowledge and directives throughout my project, and for this I am extremely thankful. I owe an enormous debt of gratitude in particular to my supervisor Dr Victor Ghica and Professor Heike Behlmer for being tremendously supportive and generous with their time, advice, and direction. I also thank Professor Ariel Shisha-Halevy, Professor Hugo Lundhaug, and Dr Naglaa Hamdi who were immensely generous in their assistance to me.

2 Layton 1989, p. 27-36.

3 Based on Stephen Emmel's observations on significant spaces in manuscripts; cf. Emmel 2008.

4 Brakke 1991, p. xviii.

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In the edition, enlarged letters in ekthesis in the manuscript have been enlarged and offset in the margin from the remainder of the text.

The manner in which diacritics have been represented in the present edition is outlined below in the section on 'DIACRITICS'. With regard to the restoration of lacunae, supralinear strokes have been included and positioned, or omitted, to reflect the scribal tendencies of the copyist (e.g. the scribe does not use a stroke on the first ⲙ in ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ). For those words for which scribal habits are unidentifiable due to the irregularity of the diacritics (e.g. the scribe is inconsistent in his use of ⲙ̄-/ⲛ̄- and ⲙ-/ⲛ-), supralineation has been restored according to the standard Sahidic system.

In conjunction with a few of my own additions, the abbreviations and symbols used and their definitions, are taken directly from Layton's *Coptic Gnostic Chrestomathy*[5] and his edition of *Nag Hammadi Codex II*.[6]

Editorial Sigla

[...]	Uncertain remains of letters, or lacuna long enough to suit 3 standard letters (ⲛ being the standard) and 3 interliteral spaces; [..] = 2 letters, etc.
[± 3]	Uncertain remains of letters, or lacunae indicated by the *approximate* number of remains of letters or letters missing in the manuscript.
[ⲁⲁⲁ]	The ancient author's text, restored where the manuscript is missing.
ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ⲁ̣	Palaeographically ambiguous letters.
⟨ⲁⲁⲁ⟩	Ancient author's text that was accidentally omitted by the ancient copyist (e.g. letters *added* to correct haplography).
{ⲁⲁⲁ}	Letters that are not part of the ancient author's text but were erroneously written in the manuscript (e.g. letters to be *deleted* to correct dittography).
ⲛ̈	Line-final ⲛ.
⸗	Diple.
⸗	Budded diple.

Introduction

At the Institut français d'archéologie orientale in Cairo, are six folios catalogued as "Sévère d'Antioche sur Pâques et Michel" ("Severus of Antioch on Easter and Michael"), and bearing the inventory numbers P. IFAO Copte inv. 133-136, 157-158. These were purchased for the institute probably in 1882 by the French Egyptologist Gaston Maspero.[7] The fragments contain a significant portion of what has become known as the *Encomium on Michael the Archangel attributed to Severus of Antioch*.

According to the Ifao Archives' provisional catalogue, P. IFAO Copte inv. 133-136, 157-158 possibly come from a parchment manuscript originally belonging to the library of the Monastery

5 Layton 2004b, p. 5.
6 Layton 1989, p. 35.
7 Cf. Louis in press; Louis 2008, p. 83-90.

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of Saint Shenoute in Atripe (modern-day Sohag), Egypt.[8] The only fragments which survive from this manuscript are those housed in the Ifao. The date assigned to the fragments by the Ifao is "Fin XIe-début XIIe siècle?"[9] ("approximately the late 11th to early 12th century"). Like the majority of codices and fragments which come from the White Monastery library, they are written in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic.

Numerous homilies and encomia on Michael the Archangel are preserved in Coptic. Most of these, however, are attributed to authors other than Severus of Antioch, and their content is entirely different to that of this encomium.[10] The Encomium on Michael attributed to Severus of Antioch is extant in the following manuscripts and fragments:[11]

– M592[12] at the Pierpont Morgan Library is a parchment codex including a Sahidic fragment. It was originally catalogued by Henri Hyvernat[13] and then by Leo Depuydt. The fragment was copied around 822/23-913/14 AD at the Monastery of St Michael, Fayum.[14]

– M603[15] at the Pierpont Morgan Library is a parchment codex containing a Sahidic version of the encomium. It was originally catalogued by Hyvernat[16] and then by Depuydt. M603 was copied in 902/3 AD at the Monastery of St Michael, Fayum.[17]

– BL Or.7597 at the British Library is a parchment codex containing a Sahidic version of the encomium. It has been catalogued by Layton,[18] and was edited and translated into English by E.A. Wallis Budge.[19] Budge implies that MS BL Or.7597 is part of the so-called "Edfu" collection in the British Library,[20] but Layton suggests that the character of the manuscript indicates either that it was "copied far north in the Fayum and possibly has nothing to do with the "Edfu" collection," or that it was destined for shrines other than those of Edfu.[21] In agreement with Layton, Tito Orlandi lists this manuscript as one copied in the Fayum.[22] It has been dated between the 10th and 11th centuries by Layton,[23] but more specifically to the second half of the 11th century by Budge.[24]

8 Cf. Louis in press.

9 This information is provided with the fragments at the Ifao's Scientific Archives.

10 For a listing of these manuscripts and their respective editions, cf. *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* (CMCL) which can be accessed with a subscription at http://cmcl.let.uniroma1.it. Cf. also Van Esbroeck 1991, p. 1618-1619.

11 The *sigla* used here are those assigned to manuscripts by their respective libraries. The corresponding classifications of these *sigla* in the CMCL are provided in the footnotes. According to the CMCL, *In Michaelem* by Severus of Antioch corresponds to the *clavis coptica* 0346. It corresponds to the *CPG* 7043 (Geerard 1979, p. 331).

12 Classified as MICH.AV in the CMCL.

13 M592 corresponds to Hyv. no. 17; facs. vol. 22 in Henri Hyvernat's *Check List* and Facsimile Edition of 1922 (Depuydt 1993, p. 651) and catalogue no. 75 in Hyvernat's unpublished provisional *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Depuydt 1993, p. 659). See also Depuydt 1993, p. xxvii, *s.v.* "Facs" for details of Hyvernat's Facsimile Edition; p. xxix, *s.v.* "Hyv" for details of Hvyernat's *Check List*; and p. xxx, *s.v.* "Hyvernat 1935" for details of the Hyvernat catalogue.

14 Depuydt 1993, p. 230, 233 (no. 117.6).

15 Classified as MICH.BA in the CMCL.

16 M603 corresponds to Hyv. no. 21; facs. vol. 26 in Hyvernat's *Check List* and Facsimile Edition of 1922 (Depuydt 1993, p. 651) and catalogue no. 79 in Hyvernat's unpublished provisional *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Depuydt 1993, p. 657).

17 Depuydt 1993, p. 219 (no. 113).

18 Layton 1987, p. 213-214 (no. 173.2).

19 Budge 1915, p. 156-182 (text), p. 735-760 (translation).

20 Budge 1915, p. xxiii-xxiv.

21 Layton 1987, p. xxvii.

22 BL Or.7597 has been classified as MICH.CH in the CMCL, indicating that the MS originated in the Monastery of St Michael, near present-day Hamuli in the Fayum.

23 Layton 1987, p. xxvii.

24 Budge 1915, p. xxiii.

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– BL Or.8784[25] at the British Library is a bilingual Coptic and Arabic paper manuscript. It contains a Bohairic version (with a parallel Arabic version) of the encomium which was first catalogued by Robert Curzon,[26] later by Layton,[27] and was edited and translated into English by Budge.[28] The copy is dated to 1210 AD.

– BL Or.3581B(20)[29] is a paper leaf in Sahidic belonging to the British Library. It was first catalogued by W.E. Crum.[30] He suggests that the paper manuscripts featured in his catalogue were copied in Nitria, but provides no date.[31]

Among the witnesses mentioned above, there are only two containing portions of recensions parallel to P. IFAO Copte inv. 133-136, 157-158, namely: BL Or.8784 and BL Or.7597. As well as the Arabic version found in BL Or.8784[32] (French translation by Émile Amélineau)[33] P. IFAO Copte inv. 133-136, 157-158 is also paralleled by an Ethiopic version found in BL Or.691, copied in the 15th century.[34] Like the Arabic version of BL Or.8784, the Ethiopic text was probably translated from a Coptic original.

Although the beginning of the Encomium on Michael is missing from the Ifao folios, its title can be found in the following versions. The title of M603 reads:

ⲟⲩⲁⲟⲅⲱⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲥⲉⲩⲏⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲱⲡⲱⲥ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓⲱⲭⲓⲁ ⲉϥϣⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲙⲙⲛⲧϣⲁⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛⲧⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲓϫⲁⲏⲗ ⲁϥϫⲉ ϩⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡϣⲁ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲱⲛϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁϥϣⲁϫⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲙⲁⲑⲉⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲁⲅⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲩⲟ ⲡⲉⲓⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛϩⲁⲑⲱⲣ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ

A homily by the patriarch Severus archbishop of Antioch, speaking about the mercies of God and about the freedom of speech of Michael the Archangel. He also said some things about the holy Sunday[35] *because the feast of the archangel happened to coincide with it in that year. He also spoke about Matthew the merchant and his wife and children. He delivered this sermon on the 12th of Hator. In God's peace. Amen.*[36]

25 Classified as CMCL.AU in the CMCL indicating that its provenance is unknown.

26 Layton 1987, p. xlvii, mentions that BL Or.8784 is one of the Parham manuscripts originally catalogued by Robert Curzon. After Curzon's death, his son published the descriptive part of Curzon's collection: *Catalogue of Materials for Writing, Early Writings on Tablets and Stones, Rolled and Other MSS and Oriental MS Books, In the Library of the Honourable Robert Curzon at Parham in the County of Sussex* (London, 1849). BL Or.8784 corresponds to Parham no. 146, and to 251.2 in the present Layton Catalogue (1987, p. 395, 396).

27 Layton 1987, p. 395, 396 (no. 251.2)

28 Budge 1894, p. 63-91 (text), p. 51*-73* (translation).

29 The CMCL database lists BL Or.3581B(20) as BL Or.3581B(23).

30 Crum 1905, p. 135 (no. 306).

31 Crum 1905, p. xii-xiii.

32 Budge 1894, p. 155-169. For other Arabic versions of the encomium, cf. G. Graf 1944, 543; G. Troupeau 1972, vol. I, 113 (no. 148); Troupeau 1972, vol. 2, 50 (no. 4871, 14).

33 Cf. Amélineau 1888, p. 85-108.

34 This MS is listed as "Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. no. 691" in W. Wright 1877, p. 163; but in an email correspondence from the Asia Pacific and Africa Collection Reference Team at the British Library (dated 13 May, 2013), I was informed that this inventory number is now: BL Or.691. Cf. also Budge 1894, p. vi, 195-216 (text).

35 I.e. the Feast of the Resurrection.

36 Depuydt 1993, p. 219 (text and translation).

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The title of BL Or.7597 reads:

ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲁⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧ ⲫⲟⲣⲓⲛ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ϩⲛ̅ ⲟⲩⲙⲉ· ⲡⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲉⲧ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲁⲛ̅ϯⲟⲭⲓⲁ ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲥⲉⲩⲏⲣⲟⲥ· ⲉⲁϥⲧⲁⲩⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲙⲙⲓⲛ̅ⲧⲱⲛ̅ϩⲧⲏϥ ⲛ̅ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̅ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲁϥⲭⲉ ϩⲛ̅ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲑⲁⲅⲓⲁ ⲛ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ· ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ ⲡⲱⲁ ⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲭⲱⲛϥ̅ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲉⲧ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ· ⲁϥⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲙⲁⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲁⲅⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ̅ ⲧⲉϥⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ̅ ⲛⲉϥⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲡⲓ ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̅ⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̅ ⲡⲉⲃⲟⲧ ϩⲁⲑⲱⲣ· ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲙⲏⲏⲱⲉ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̅ ⲛ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ ⲉⲩⲣ̅ ⲱⲁ ⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ϩⲛ̅ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ·

The discourse which the man, who was truly inspired by Christ, the holy Patriarch and Archbishop of Antioch, Saint Severus, pronounced on the compassion of God and the freedom of speech of the holy Archangel Michael. He also spake a little concerning holy Sunday (i.e. Easter Sunday) because the festival of the Archangel fell by chance on the same day that year. He spake also concerning Matthew the merchant, and his wife, and his sons. This discourse was pronounced on the twelfth day of the month of Hathor, when all the people of the city were celebrating the festival of the holy Archangel in peace.[37]

The title of BL Or.8784:

ⲟ ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲉ̀ⲑ ⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉ̀ⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲧⲓ̀ⲟⲭⲓⲁ̀ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲥⲉⲩⲏⲣⲟⲥ ⲉ̀ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟ̀ϥ ⲇⲉ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲧⲱⲁⲛϩⲑⲏϥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲁϥⲥⲁⲭⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ̀ ⲙ̀ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉ̀ⲑ ⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲧⲙⲁⲓ ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲙ̀ ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲉ̀ⲧⲁϥⲭⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ⲛⲓⲭⲟⲣⲭⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁ̀ⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩ ⲉ̀ ϩⲁⲛⲕⲟⲩⲭⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϯⲁⲅⲓⲁ̀ ⲛ̀ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ ⲉ̀ⲑ ⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉ̀ⲑⲃⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲁ̀ ⲡⲱⲁⲓ ⲙ̀ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉ̀ⲑ ⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲉⲣ ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲧⲁⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲉ̀ⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉ̀ ϯⲁ̀ⲅⲓⲁ̀ ⲛ̀ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁ̀ⲕⲏ ⲁϥⲥⲁⲭⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲙⲁⲑⲉⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲁⲅⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲉϥⲥϩⲓⲙⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉϥⲱⲏⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ ⲡⲓⲣⲏϯ ⲉ̀ⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉ̀ ⲫϯ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓϯϩⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉ̀ⲑ ⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲉ̀ⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟ̀ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲇⲓⲁ̀ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ ⲥⲟⲩ ⲓ̅ⲃ̅ ⲙ̀ ⲡⲓⲁ̀ⲃⲟⲧ ⲁ̀ⲑⲱⲣ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲏⲱ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲑⲟⲩⲛⲧ ⲉ̀ ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉ̀ⲑ ⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲉⲩⲉⲣ ⲱⲁⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̀ ϧⲏⲧϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ.

[Here beginneth] the discourse of Abba Severus, the holy patriarch and Archbishop of Antioch, in which he shewed forth the compassion of God, and spake concerning the presence of the holy Archangel Michael, and of his love towards man, and how he delivereth men from the snares of the Devil. In it he also spake briefly concerning the holy Lord's Day – now in that year the festival of the holy Archangel Michael happened to fall upon the holy Lord's Day – and he spake, moreover, concerning Matthew the merchant, and his wife, and his son[s], and of how

37 Budge 1915, p. 156 (text), p. 735 (translation).

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they believed in God through the prayers of the holy Archangel Michael. This discourse was pronounced on the twelfth day of the month Athor, at the gathering together of the multitude to celebrate the festival of the holy Archangel Michael at his shrine, in the peace of God. Amen.[38]

It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the Ifao bifolia belong to a work which had a similar title, for example, "A Homily on the Compassion of God and the Freedom of Speech of Michael the Archangel…", etc.

As can be inferred from the title, the Encomium on Michael the Archangel was presumably composed especially for a feast of the archangel which coincided with the Feast of the Resurrection. As is often the case with edification literature, the text is interspersed with numerous miracles, several of which are narrative parts. The discourse begins with a series of quotations from the Psalms and the Gospel of Saint Matthew, followed by the author's call to believers to celebrate the twofold festival since God and Michael the Archangel are present to receive their prayers. After this brief introduction, the author proceeds to tell the story of a rich merchant named Gedsôn[39] in order to demonstrate the power of God and the efficaciousness of Michael's help to those who believe in him.[40]

Gedsôn was a native of *Entikê* who, on one occasion, sailed to Galonia[41] to sell his merchandise. He arrived there early in the month of Hator when the citizens were preparing to celebrate the festival of Michael the Archangel at his shrine. After a series of events leading to his conversion to Christianity, Gedsôn sought baptism. He travelled to his native town to persuade his wife to become Christian, and then returned to Galonia with his wife, and their four sons. The bishop baptised them, giving them the names of Matthew, Irene, John, Stephen, Joseph, and Daniel.

Following their short stay in Galonia, Matthew and his family returned to *Entikê* where he soon died, and after which the citizens of *Entikê* began to persecute Irene and her sons (because they had become Christians). On the advice of John, they went to live in *Entia* (the capital of *Entikê*).[42] The encomium then relates how the Devil, being envious of Matthew's sons because of their good works, stirred up trouble against them. They were accused of plundering the house of a magistrate named Sêlôm, and then of the murder of a man. In both trials, they were brought before Gesanthos, the king of *Entia/Entikê*,[43] and Michael the Archangel appeared and proved their innocence. Between these two events, the narrative also includes a short story of how John settled an outstanding debt for two men, saving them from death.

38 Budge 1894, p. 63 (text), p. 51* (translation).

39 "Ketsôn" (ⲕⲉⲧⲥⲱⲛ) in the Bohairic version of BL Or.8784 (Budge 1894, p. 66, 69, 71 [text], p. 53*, 56*, 58* [translation]).

40 According to Terry Wilfong (2001, p. 299) "most Coptic saints' lives were intended to be read aloud, especially on specific holy days; thus the writer often addresses his audience directly to point out the relevance or importance of specific incidents." This information evidently applies to *In Michaelem*.

41 "Kalônia" (ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲛⲓⲁ̀) in the Bohairic version (Budge 1894, p. 66, 70, 71 [text], p. 53*, 56*, 57* [translation]). According to the Sahidic version of BL Or.7597, Galonia was "the city of the Philippians" (Budge 1915, p. 161 [text], p. 740 [translation]).

42 For a discussion on *Entikê* and *Entia* see Composition, p. 392-395.

43 Cf. the discussion on *Entikê* and *Entia* in Composition, p. 392-395.

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King Gesanthos and all of *Entikê* believed in Christianity because of what they had seen, and Gesanthos wrote to the emperor Constantine asking him to send a bishop to baptise them. Constantine then wrote to John, the Archbishop of Ephesus, who set out for *Entia/Entikê*, taking with him all that was necessary for the founding of a church.

After the church was built, the archbishop baptised all the people and consecrated John the son of Matthew as bishop over them. The new bishop built a church in honour of Michael the Archangel and consecrated it on the 12th day of Hator. On the same day, the bishop, the king, and the entire multitude went to the temple of Zeus and destroyed it. These things were reported to Constantine who glorified God. The encomium ends with exhortations to a godly life.[44]

P. IFAO Copte inv.133-136, 157-158 relate only a small part of *In Michaelem*, namely:

– the second half of the story of Sêlôm's stolen goods (ff.133r *a*.1-157r *b*.6);

– the account of John (Matthew's son) paying the debt for the two men (ff.157v *a*.1-157v *b*.14);

– the narrative of the murder of the man (ff.134r *a*.1-158r *a*.18);

– the writing of the letters by King Gesanthos to Constantine, and from Constantine to John of Ephesus (ff.158r *b*.1-136v b.); and,

– John of Ephesus' trip to *Entia* and whom he took with him in order to establish the church (f.136v *b*.10-28).

In f.157r *b*.17-26, we also find a small portion of text not found in either the Bohairic version or the Sahidic version of BL Or.7597:

|ⲛⲉⲓϩ̅ⲣⲱⲓⲣⲉ ⲁ[ⲉ ⲉ]|ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲉ[ⲩϩⲉϫ]|ϩⲱϫ ⲁⲛ ϩ̅ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲩ|ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲟⲩⲁⲉ |[ⲛⲉⲩ]ⲑⲗⲓⲃⲉ ⲁⲛ |[ⲁⲗⲗⲁ] ⲛⲉⲩϩⲩ|ⲡⲟⲙⲏⲛⲉ ϩ̅ⲛ̅ⲟⲩ|ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ ⲉⲩⲱⲡ|ϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲧⲙⲡ|[ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ.

These holy youths, however, were not troubled in their spirit, nor distressed, but were enduring happily, receiving grace through God.

With reference to content, the Bohairic version of BL Or.8784[45] is a very close parallel to the Ifao fragments (the majority of differences being dialectal), while the Sahidic version of BL Or.7597[46] contains some parallel text but with many longer passages of direct speech, numerous lengthy prayers, and substantial additions to the narrative not found in its shorter Sahidic counterpart of P. IFAO Copte inv. 133-136, 157-158.[47]

In view of the overwhelming similarity of the text in the Bohairic version to that of P. IFAO Copte inv. 133-136, 157-158, and the relatively late dating of the Bohairic copy, we may assume that the Bohairic recension derived from the same Sahidic prototype from which

44 This summary is based on P. IFAO Copte inv. 133-136, 157-158 and the Bohairic version of BL Or.8784 since these two versions are alike.

45 Referred to hereafter as the 'Bohairic version.'

46 Referred to hereafter as the 'longer Sahidic version.'

47 Cf. for example, Budge 1915, paragraph ⲛ̅ⲉ̅ and ⲛ̅ϥ̅ on p. 165 (text), p. 744 (translation); paragraph ⲛ̅ⲍ̅ and ⲛ̅ⲏ̅ on p. 166 (text), p. 745 (translation); paragraph ⲛ̅ⲑ̅, ⲙ̅, and ⲙ̅ⲁ̅ on p. 167-168 (text), p. 746-747 (translation); paragraph ⲙ̅ⲉ̅ and ⲙ̅ϥ̅ on p. 169-170 (text), p. 749 (translation); paragraph ⲙ̅ⲏ̅ on p. 171 (text), p. 750 (translation).

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the Ifao fragments descended. That is, the Bohairic recension was probably translated from a copy of the shorter Sahidic recension. Regarding the longer Sahidic version, it would appear from the considerable additions in the text that it has come from an independent recension rather than the same archetype as that of the Ifao folios and the Bohairic recension. In terms of dating, it remains difficult to ascertain which of the two Sahidic recensions precedes the other.

Codicological Description

P. IFAO Copte inv. 133-136, 157-158 consist of six consecutive parchment folios (or three bifolia) originating from one and the same codex. The binding is absent, but holes providing evidence of the original stitching can still be seen. All of the fragments are damaged in some form (i.e. large holes or missing portions of parchment), but folios inv. 157-158 in particular are poorly preserved, resulting in substantial loss of text.

Collation

As already noted, since there are no other known fragments from the same codex to date, and due to the absence of signatures (i.e. quire numbers) on the folios themselves, it is impossible to determine the composition of codex in which these folios originated or the placement of the fragments within the codex with accuracy. It is likely, however, that P. IFAO Copte inv. 133-136, 157-158 are sheets two to seven of a regular quaternion in which the folios were paginated on the verso only.[48] No ancient pagination is expressed on the recto of any of the fragments.

The fragments comprise three consecutive sheets or bifolia (i.e. 133-136, 157-158, 134-135); these were originally collated and paginated as follows: f.133: [ⲓ̅ⲑ̅-ⲕ̅] [19-20] (hair-flesh); f.157: [ⲕⲁ̅-ⲕⲃ̅] [21-22] (flesh-hair); f.134: [ⲕⲅ̅]-ⲕⲁ̅ [23]-24 (hair-flesh); f.135: [ⲕⲉ̅]-ⲕϛ̅ [25]-26 (flesh-hair); f.158: [ⲕⲍ̅-ⲕⲏ̅] [27-28] (hair-flesh); f.136: [ⲕⲑ̅-ⲗ̅] [29-30] (flesh-hair). The collation of the fragments may be more clearly understood from *Figure 1* below.

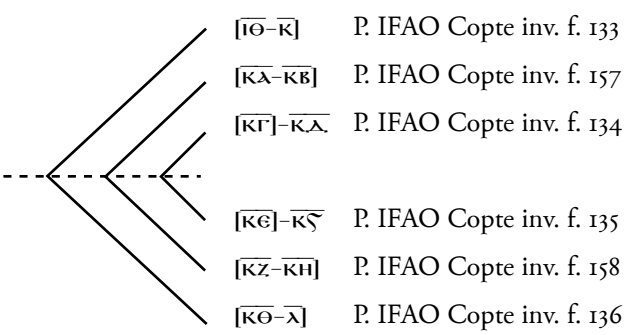

FIG. 1. Collation of the Fragments.

48 This observation is based on the codicological analysis of P. IFAO Copte inv. 133-136, 157-158 by Louis in her *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits littéraires coptes conservés à l'Ifao du Caire,* in press.

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Parchment

The flesh and hair sides of the fragments are easily distinguishable by colour and grain. Gregory's Rule has been observed (i.e. hair-side faced hair-side, and flesh-side faced flesh-side at any opening of the parchment quires of the codex in which the fragments originated),[49] as evidenced by the fact that P. IFAO Copte inv. f.133v and f.157r are flesh-side; f.157v and f.134r are hair-side; f.134v and f.135r are flesh-side; f.135v and f.158r are hair-side; and, f.158v and f.136r are flesh side. All of the fragments are ruled with vertical lines of Leroy U type no. U 00/2.[50]

Layout

At their largest points, the fragments measure 308 mm in height and 227 mm in width, whereas the size of the written area is an average of 252 × 158 mm.[51] The text on each page is written in two columns, with 28-29 lines per column. The width of column A is 65 mm and the width of column B is 60 mm. The intercolumnium measures about 30 mm. Two ancient page numbers are preserved:[52] 24 (ⲕⲇ) and 26 (ⲕϛ), written on the verso of f.134 and f.135 respectively.

Writing and Orthography

Script

The script is an upright bimodular Coptic uncial, with three-stroke ⲙ; narrow ⲉ, ⲟ, and ⲥ; and short ⲩ, ⲣ and ϥ. ⲫ is larger than the other letters. The writing is narrow, and vertical strokes are provided with serifs; the ink colour is black. The height of ten lines of text (together with their interlinear spaces) measures 87 mm.

Diacritics

The system of diacritics in the manuscript is characterised by a both non-standard and irregular use. From a formal point of view, the supralinear strokes are both single-letter and connective, and vary from a line of three or four millimetres (the shape of which can be a curve or a circumflex) to a shorter line. Due to the limitations of the font, in most cases I have employed regular single and connective supralinear strokes, with the variations noted below. With respect to their position on letters, the supralinear strokes in the fragments may be categorised as follows:

- Single-Letter Supralineation

The single-letter supralinear stroke (whether straight or curved; see below) on any given letter is mostly written by the scribe above the top left of the letter, i.e. it is not centred; occasionally extending left into the spatial area between the letter and the preceding letter. In such cases,

49 Cf. Depuydt 1993, p. xcix; Layton 1987, p. lix.

50 Cf. Leroy 1976.

51 Letter strokes exceeding into the margin, initials in ekthesis, and marginal annotations have not been included in measuring the written area.

52 Shown here as they appear in the manuscript.

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the placement of the supralinear stroke is open to more than one description, i.e. it may be either single or connective, and sometimes it is impossible to distinguish a two-letter *bindestrich* from a broad single-letter stroke above its letter.[53] Since no contrast of meaning is expressed by the placement of such markings, it would seem that the ancient copyist has made no effort to distinguish them. Consequently, with reference to the choice of single or connective supralinear strokes, I have chosen the typographic representation closest to the manuscript.[54]

There are exceptions to the above where the stroke is centred over a letter: f.133r *a.*10; f.157v *b.*9; f.134v *a.*14, 15; f.134v *b.*19, 20; f.135r *b.*7; f.135v *a.*18, 19; f.135v *b.*2; and f.136v *a.*14, 25.

Occasionally, the stroke surmounts the top right of a letter: f.133v *a.*16; f.157r *a.*18; f.135v *a.*19; f.135v *b.*13 (which is also a curved stroke); f.136r *a.*27; and f.136v *a.*7, 14.

In two instances, the stroke is slightly diagonal, slanting upward to the right. This is probably due to the stroke being hastily written: f.133r *a.*10; f.158r *a.*2 (which is also slightly curved).

- Connective Supralineation (*Bindestrich*)

The connective supralinear stroke (whether straight or curved) over two consonant letters in the manuscript usually begins above the top right of the first letter and extends to the top left or top centre of the following letter.

There are exceptions to the above where the stroke is centred over the two letters: f.133r *a.*18; f.134v *a.*1 (which is also a curved stroke), 13; and f.158v *b.*12 (the stroke here also leans slightly upward to the left).

- Curved or Circumflex Supralineation

The copyist often uses a curved single or curved connective supralinear stroke over consonant letters.

– Single: f.133r *a.*20; f.133r *b.*25; f.157v *b.*3; f.134v *b.*9, 12, 19, 20; f.135r *a.*16, 27; f.135v *b.*2,13; f.158r *b.*1; f.158v *b.*7; f.136v *a.*7, 14; f.136v *b.*15.

– Connective: f.133r *a.*11, 12, 18, 21; f.157v *a.*6, 9; f.134r *a.*8; 134v *a.*1, 13 (both strokes are centred); f.134v *b.*6, 7, 19, 20; f.135r *a.*23; f.158r *a.*5; f.136r *a.*28; f.136v *b.*1, 21.

The above curved strokes are distinguishable from a circumflex which is usually a tiny mark over a single letter: f.133r *b.*11, 17; f.158r *a.*4, 5; f.136v *b.*18; and f.136v *b.*27 (above the top left of ⲙ).

In three instances, the circumflex is connective: situated between ⲣ and ⲭ at f.135r *b.*7; and between ⲡ and ⲣ at f.158r *b.*1; f.158v *a.*24; and f.136r *a.*20.

- Supralineation on *Nomina Sacra*

ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ always appears for ⲓⲏⲥⲟⲩⲥ, and ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ always appears for ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ with the connective supralinear stroke written above the top right of ⲭ, extending to the top right of ⲥ. ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ always appears for ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ, with the connective supralinear stroke written only above ⲛ and ⲁ. This is perhaps uncommon for the *nomen sacrum* ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ for which the connective stroke is usually written above all three letters.

53 Layton 1989, p. 28.
54 Layton 1989, p. 28.

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The supralineation in the fragments, strictly speaking, does not follow the standard Sahidic system. This is evidenced by irregularity in the use of supralineation other than the strokes employed for *nomina sacra*; and also in particular cases where one may find consistency in the presence or absence of supralineation over ⲙ and ⲛ which shall be discussed below. Overall, examples of standard southern use of supralineation marking tautosyllabic sonorants alternate with instances where supralinear strokes occur on letters encoding non-tautosyllabic sonorants. On the other hand, tautosyllabic consonantal letters are often irregularly surmounted by a supralinear mark.

In all occurrences of the prepronominal form of the direct object preposition ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ⸗ and the postponed subject indicator ⲛ̄ϭⲓ, the supralinear stroke on the first ⲙ or ⲛ is omitted where the standard system requires its inclusion. In all but two instances (f.158r *b*.16; f.158v *a*.17), when a personal suffix is attached to a preposition (e.g. ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲛ̄ f.133r *a*.6; ⲛⲁⲣϩⲉⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ̄ f.133r *a*.12; ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄ f.133r *b*.21, 25) or conjugation base (e.g. ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲧⲛ̄ϯ f.133r *b*.21-22), the relevant suffix has a single supralinear stroke or *bindestrich* as expected in standard Sahidic.

The preposition ϩⲛ̄-/ϩⲙ̄- is always rendered with a supralinear stroke which is usually connective. There are ten examples of the supralinear stroke representing a line-final ⲛ (f.133r *b*.18; f.133v *a*.26; f.134v *a*.16; f.134v *b*.6; f.135r *b*.13, 21; f.135v *a*.1, 5; f.158r *b*.8; f.136r *a*.8).

In most cases, ⲓ is either devoid of any supralinear mark or has a dieresis in the form of double dots. These are used over both consonantal ⲓ and vocalic ⲓ although inconsistently. Diacritics can also be seen on other vowels:

– ⲱ, which can receive a supralinear stroke over it and demonstrates a northern mark of tautosyllabication (ⲟⲩ̄ⲱ̄ⲣϫ̂[55] f.135r *b*. 7; ⲁϥⲱ̄ⲛ̄ϩ f.135v *a*.18; ⲉⲓⲗ̄ⲱ|ⲗⲟⲛ f.158v *b*.12). The reason why the copyist has used a connective supralinear stroke over ⲗⲱ in ⲉⲓⲗ̄ⲱ|ⲗⲟⲛ rather than a single stroke over ⲱ is unclear.

– ⲉ, on which we find a supralinear stroke (ⲉ̄|ⲣⲟⲛ f.133v *a*.27-28; ⲉ̄||[ⲕⲓⲛ]ⲗⲩⲛ[ⲟ]ⲥ f.157v *b*.9-10; ⲡⲉ̄ϫ̄ⲥ̄ f.136v *a*.25) or a circumflex (ê|ⲛⲉⲓⲁⲛⲧⲓⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ f.133r *b*.10-11; ê|ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲁⲧⲁⲅⲓⲟⲛ f.133v *b*.21-22).

Under the guise of redundancy, the examples ⲉⲓⲗ̄ⲱ|ⲗⲟⲛ, ⲉ̄|ⲣⲟⲛ, ⲉ̄||[ⲕⲓⲛ]ⲗⲩⲛ[ⲟ]ⲥ, ê|ⲛⲉⲓⲁⲛⲧⲓⲗⲟⲅⲓⲁ, and ê|ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲁⲧⲁⲅⲓⲟⲛ show the great care exercised by the scribe concerning the separation of words at the end of the line which, in the practice of *scriptoria*, are prosodic and not morphological. The parepigraphic signs employed on vowel letters are abundantly documented by the Toutôn and Phantoou manuscripts, and their function of markers of tautosyllabication is well known.[56]

Punctuation and Ornamentation

Punctuation throughout the fragments is limited to a single raised black dot or a dot positioned slightly lower, mostly preceded and followed by a space. In all cases, the dot is used either to delimit groups of words or signify the end of a sentence or paragraph. A noticeable feature of the manuscript is the use of spaces between words which appear to have been used in place of punctuation, and therefore, have the same function.

55 The circumflex is situated between ⲣ and ϫ.

56 Cf. *inter alia*, Worrell 1938, p. 91-95; Polotsky 1946-1947, p. 25-35; Quecke 1970, p. 359ff; Kasser 1994, p. 110-111; Depuydt 1993, p. lxix, ci, 98.

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The manuscript is extensively decorated with enlarged initials (ranging from 1½-3 times the size of the average letter in the manuscript) and greatly enlarged initials (more than three times the size of the average letter in the manuscript) in ekthesis. Except for two examples on f.157v *a*.19, 16 (on which we find a *budded diple* before each initial), the enlarged and greatly enlarged initials are used instead of *paragraphoi* to set off paragraphs. Some of these initials are reddened or lined with a colour that may have been yellow, but this colour is difficult to discern. The greatly enlarged ϧ at f.134r *a*.4-8 has a black and red decorative s-pattern in the letter's vertical stroke; the ⲡ at f.158v *a*.21-26 has the same s-pattern on its vertical strokes while its horizontal stroke features a red and black interlacing pattern. At f.134v *a*.20 and f.158v *a*.4, both of the ⲡ are accompanied by a red and green decoration: the design at f.134v *a*.20 consists of red circles and semi-circles and two small green leaves; f.158v *a*.4 comprises a similar pattern of red and yellow(?) circles and a green swirl design.

In terms of other paratextual graphemes, f.136r *a*.4-21, f.136r *b*.16-28, and f.136v *a*.3-27, feature black vertical *diple* lines in the left hand margins of the columns, but the purpose of these *diple* lines here is obscure. Dividers such as these are usually horizontal and only exceptionally vertical; moreover, dividers consisting exclusively of diple lines are rare.[57] Another decorative element in the manuscript includes flourishes extending into the left margin of the first stroke of the letter ⲙ, and the third stroke of ⲗ and ϫ.

The ornamentation on the page numbers on pages 24 (f.134v) and 26 (f.135v) is minimal, consisting of a simple black horizontal rule above and below the numerals. The horizontal rule below the numeral on page 24 can no longer be seen due to damage of the parchment.

Linguistic Features and Provenance

P. IFAO Copte inv. 133-136, 157-158 are written in standard Sahidic; and apart from the irregularity of the diacritics, divergences from the standard Sahidic system are nowhere noted.

Although the manuscript does not display any dialectal influences, the system of page numbering on the verso of the folios is typical for manuscripts copied in northern Egypt, particularly in the Fayum. The occurrence of parepigraphic signs on vowel letters in P. IFAO Copte inv. 133-136, 157-158[58] is also indicative of the Fayum as the provenance of the fragments. Interestingly, all of the other surviving parchment Sahidic witnesses of the Encomium on Michael by Severus of Antioch[59] were copied in the Fayum as well.

Composition

We may take advantage of the fragments presented here to briefly discuss the composition of the encomium and the historiographical goal of the author. Very frequently in Coptic literature, the lives of saints were the subjects of sermons, homilies, and encomia in which

57 Depuydt 1993, p. CII.
58 Cf. p. 391.
59 As already discussed in the introduction on p. 383-384.

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the life of the saint was used to make specific points or highlight certain themes of concern to the writer.[60] Similarly, it is not unusual to find the encomiast of *In Michaelem* constructing a narrative in which he uses the miracles of Michael the Archangel and draws on two historical figures from very different periods (Constantine and John of Ephesus) in addition to a third, probably fictional, character (King Gesanthos) to suit his purposes.

P. IFAO Copte inv. ff.158v *a*.21-136v *b*.16 give an account in which King Gesanthos[61] of *Entia/Entikê* writes to the emperor Constantine, who in turn sends a letter to John, archbishop of Ephesus. The mention of the emperor's name and of the bishop's provides the first chronological framework of the scene: either 306-337, the period of Constantine I's reign; or c. 558-c. 585 when John was archbishop. There is an obvious mistake here—the episode is historically impossible since Constantine and John of Ephesus were not contemporaries. According to Budge, it is "clear that John of Ephesus is meant by the writer of the Encomium, for he was famous as a founder of churches and monasteries. For Constantine we should probably read 'Justinian'".[62] The question of the dating of the encomium will be discussed below, nonetheless the inclusion of John of Ephesus in the text indicates a *terminus a quo* no earlier than the second half of the 6th century.

The historiographical agenda of the author does not contain surprises: Christianity is the supreme religion which has triumphed over Paganism throughout the world. It is quite understandable, therefore, that the author would use Constantine instead of Justinian in the narrative. In a patently anti-Pagan text such as *In Michaelem*, Constantine's name is in all probability not arbitrarily chosen and serves to propagate the author's anti-Pagan agenda.

In agreement with Budge, it is also important to note that in 542, John of Ephesus was commissioned by the emperor Justinian I (527-565) to lead a missionary campaign in Asia Minor during which John is reported to have converted 70,000 people, and caused 98 churches and 12 monasteries to be built for them.[63] He was consecrated bishop of Ephesus around 558, and was then recalled to Constantinople to combat the idolatry still prevalent in and around the capital.[64] In his *Ecclesiastical History*, John describes himself as "superintendent of the heathen and breaker of idols" (ii. 4).[65] If we consider the events depicted in the encomium in which John of Ephesus "rejoiced exceedingly at the return of the city,"[66] and travelled to *Entia* to establish a church,[67] it becomes evident that John's inclusion in the story is also deliberate. The miracles performed by Michael the Archangel are presented as an impetus for the conversion of King Gesanthos and the people of *Entikê* from Paganism to Christianity.

With reference to *Entikê* and *Entia*, a few points must be made. Each appears once in the Ifao fragments as ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ (f.135v *a*.21), and ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⟨ⲛ⟩ⲧⲉⲛ|ⲧⲓⲁ (f.136v *a*.10-11). The attestations of these toponyms in other Coptic manuscripts are discussed by Oscar von Lemm in his *Kleine koptische Studien*.[68] According to von Lemm's study, *Entikê* and *Entia*—ⲧⲉⲛⲇⲓⲕⲉ, ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲓⲕⲉ (ἡ Ἰνδιχή) and ⲧⲉⲛⲇⲓⲁ, ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲓⲁ, ⲧⲓⲛⲇⲓⲁ, ⲧⲁⲛⲇⲓⲁ (ἡ Ἰνδία)[69]—are both designations for

60 Wilfong 2001, p. 299.

61 Apart from the extant manuscripts and fragments of the Encomium on Michael attributed to Severus of Antioch, the name Gesanthos (or Kesanthos) to date is unattested elsewhere.

62 Budge 1894, p. xxv-xxvi.

63 Sauget 1992, p. 445; Wace, Piercy 1994, p. 561; Ashbrook Harvey 1998, p. 626; Stewart 1991, p. 1362.

64 Sauget 1992, p. 445.

65 Payne Smith 1860, p. 90.

66 f.136v *b*.10-16.

67 f.136v *b*.16-28.

68 von Lemm 1899, p. 405-407.

69 von Lemm 1899, p. 407.

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the country of "India". *Entikê* also means "India", the country, in the Coptic text of George Sobhy's edition of *Le Martyre de Saint Hélias, et L'Encomium de l'évêque Stéphanos de Hnès sur Saint Hélias*, where it appears three times as ⲑⲉⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ.[70]

The Encomium on Michael, however, makes a distinction between *Entikê* and *Entia*: the longer Sahidic version mentions twice that *Entia* is the capital of *Entikê*.[71] In the Bohairic version, Matthew's family relocates to the "royal city".[72] Although the Bohairic text does not specify that this "royal city" is *Entia*, the "royal city" here is meant as *Entikê's* capital. In the longer Sahidic version also, Gesanthos is once named "King of *Entia*",[73] and in another instance, "King of *Entikê*". [74] The fact that the author refers to Gesanthos as king of both *Entikê* and *Entia*, probably means that since Gesanthos is king of *Entikê* (with *Entia* as its capital), it follows that he may also be referred to as the king of *Entia*.

In the Ifao version, the Bohairic version, and longer Sahidic recension, both *Entikê* and *Entia* are often simply referred to as "the city".[75] It is well known that in Coptic texts, geographical names, especially the names of countries, usually occur with the definite article, and that countries are often called cities.[76] Thus we should assume that when the encomiast mentions the "return of the city",[77] it is the conversion of the whole country of *Entikê* (including *Entia*) that is intended.[78]

Tito Orlandi suggests that "India" in the Encomium on Michael really means Ethiopia.[79] Indeed, "India" in all probability does not refer to the real geographical country of India, for historically, John of Ephesus did not missionise there; but he did not preach in Ethiopia either. It would appear, rather, that "India" is a reference to a generic distant location outside of Egypt with pagan inhabitants in need of catechising, as opposed to a real geographical entity.

The text of P. IFAO Copte inv. 133-136, 157-158 features three terms which might shed some light on the historical circumstances: ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲥ *patrikios* (f.133r *a*.28-*b*.1; f.157r *a*.12);[80] ϩⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟⲧⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ *holokottinos* (f.157v *a*.14; f.157v *b*.4, 8-9, 22);[81] and ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲡⲟⲛⲟⲥ *philoponos* (f.136v *b*.26).[82] The title *patrikios* (Gk. πατρίκιος from Lat. *patricius*) refers to a high-ranking dignity which was etymologically connected with the Roman status of *patricius*. The dignity of *patrikios* was introduced by Constantine I as an honorific title for the most senior ranks

70 Sobhy 1919, p. 3, 29 (text), p. 96, 103 (translation).

71 Cf. Budge 1915, p. 163, 165 (text), p. 743, 745 (translation).

72 Cf. Budge 1894, p. 73 (text), p. 59* (translation). This part of the story is, of course, missing from the Ifao fragments which begin with the account of Sêlôm's stolen property.

73 Cf. Budge 1915, p. 165 (text), p. 745 (translation).

74 Cf. Budge 1915, p. 172 (text), p. 751 (translation). In the Bohairic and Ifao versions his name is found *passim* simply as "King Gesanthos."

75 "The city" ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ (ἡ πόλις) is used in P. IFAO Copte inv. f.134r *a*.10; f.134r *b*.5; f.134v *a*.1-2, 21; f.136v *a*.10; f.136v *b*.16, and is found *passim* in the Bohairic and longer Sahidic version.

76 Cf. von Lemm 1899, p. 407, and the discussion on 407ff.

77 f.136v *b*.10-16.

78 Compare with f.135v *a*.15-21: ⲁϥϣⲛϩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡ̀ⲣⲏⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲡⲙⲏⲛϣⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ "he came to life for the salvation of the king and the whole multitude of *Entikê*."

79 Orlandi 1978, p. 13.

80 Written ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲥ and ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲕⲓⲉ in Budge 1915, p. 165 (text), p. 745 (translation); ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲥ in Budge 1894, p. 75, 76 (text), p. 60* (translation).

81 Rendered ϩⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟⲧⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ (x1) and ϩⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟⲧϯⲛⲟⲥ (x3) in Budge 1915, p. 168 (text), 747 (translation); and ⲗⲟⲩⲕⲟϫⲓ (x6) in Budge 1894, p. 72, 77 (text), p. 58*, 62* (translation). In both Crum 1939, p. 140b, and Förster 2002, p. 483, 569, ⲗⲟⲩⲕⲟϫⲓ is listed as a Coptic equivalent of ϩⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟⲧⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ (ὁλοκόττινος). ⲗⲟⲩⲕⲟϫⲓ (nn. m.) is attested only in Bohairic (cf. Crum 1939, p. 140b).

82 Written ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲡⲱⲛⲟⲥ in Budge 1915, p. 174 (text), 753 (translation); ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲡⲟⲛⲟⲥ in Budge 1894, p. 83 (text), p. 67* (translation).

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of the imperial administration in the Eastern Empire. Between the 8th and 10th centuries, this dignity was granted to the most important governors and generals. *Patrikios* depreciated thereafter and disappeared after the beginning of the 12th century.[83]

The *holokottinos* (Gk. ὁλοκόττινος) is the gold coin *solidus* of the Late Roman Empire.[84] Initially, it was the name of Diocletian's gold coin (struck 60 to the Roman pound) which was first mentioned in his tariff of 301; but the name is more particularly applied to its successor (struck 72 to the pound). It was introduced by Constantine I at the mint of Trier in 309. Under Constantine and his successors, it was the standard gold coin of the Byzantine Empire until the collapse of the Empire in the 15th century.[85] In Egypt, from about 496 until the end of the Byzantine period, taxes and private accounts were calculated in gold, and the *solidus* was apparently in circulation.[86] The terminology for the *solidus* varies. According to L.C. West and A.C. Johnson, it was called "νομισμάτιον, or νόμισμα[87] and, by a word of Coptic origin ὁλοκόττινος, sometimes described as χρυσοῦ".[88] Roger Bagnall identifies the same names for the *solidus*, but states that ὁλοκόττινος is not originally a Coptic word but a Greek-Latin hybrid.[89]

The word *Philoponos* (Gk. φιλόπονος) is a sobriquet meaning "labourer" or "lover of work."[90] In the encomium, it refers to members of the *philoponoi*, or church helpers, of the late 4th to late 10th centuries.[91] The *philoponoi* were a lay confraternity whose members were especially dedicated Christians known primarily for their diligence in attending church services. Most of the *philoponoi* were from aristocratic backgrounds and were celibates, but among them were also married men.[92] The *philoponoi* established a meeting hall known as the *philoponion* and they were organised into divisions and ranks. The local clergy, and especially the bishop, established and controlled their forms of activity and their autonomy was limited.[93]

The *philoponoi* were based mainly in cities and towns throughout Egypt for specific purposes: They functioned as representatives of lay congregations to the patriarch, and their status as a recognised group within the church also meant that they could participate in patriarchal processions; they had close relationships with certain monasteries and often lent financial support to them; and in the schools of Alexandria, the *philoponoi* provided additional religious guidance.[94] Given the role of the *philoponoi* it is not surprising, on the one hand, that the encomiast would choose to mention them in John of Ephesus' mission to establish the church of *Entia*. On the other hand, their role in John's mission is questionable since the *philoponoi* mainly operated in Late Antique Alexandria, and there is no evidence of activity for this confraternity outside of Egypt.

83 Cf. Kazhdan 1991, p. 1600b.
84 Černý 1976, p. 72.
85 Kazhdan 1991, p. 1924.
86 West, Johnson 1944, p. 138.
87 νόμισμα appears as ⲛⲟⲙⲓⲥⲙⲁ and ⲛⲟⲙⲓ̈ⲥⲙⲁ in the longer Sahidic recension; cf. Budge 1915, p. 159, 161, 162 (text), p. 738, 741, 742 (translation).
88 West, Johnson 1944, p. 137.
89 Bagnall 1985, p. 15-16.
90 Kazhdan 1657.
91 Although "the most recent document that mentions the *philoponoi* dates to the end of the tenth century… there is little possibility that confraternities played a significant role after the first fifty years of Arab rule…in Egypt" (Wipszycka 1991, p. 586).
92 Wipszycka 2006, p. 261-262.
93 Haas 1997, p. 228, 238; Watts 2006, p. 213-214; Wipszycka 1996, p. 258.
94 Haas 1997, p. 238; Watts 2006, p. 214-215; Wipszycka 1991, p. 586-587.

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Authorship

The discussion about the composition of the encomium is directly related to the one concerning the authorship of the text. The title of the encomium indicates that Severus of Antioch was its author. Severus (born ca. 456 AD; died 538) was the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, and as such, a strong opponent of the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon (451). He ascended the patriarchal throne of Antioch in 512 during the rule of the anti-Chalcedonian emperor Anastasius. He was patriarch until 518, when Justin I became emperor. After Justin's rise to power, Severus was deposed and exiled to Alexandria. He is venerated as one of the most important saints by the Oriental Orthodox Churches and is known as one of the greatest orators of the early Church.[95]

Severus' person and works were condemned by imperial edict in 536, resulting in the end of the transmission of his works in Greek; only fragments in the original Greek have come down to us.[96] The chief medium through which we know Severus' works is the Syriac tradition. There are 125 surviving homilies in Syriac,[97] but *In Michaelem* is not recognised or listed amongst them as one of Severus' genuine works.[98] In the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* also, the Encomium on Michael is included as a pseudonymous work.[99]

Indeed, the encomium does not offer any evidence which confirms that Severus of Antioch was the author. There are, perhaps not surprisingly in view of the subject matter of the encomium, no references to the Christological disputes in which the patriarch was involved, nor to his episcopate, or to his twenty-year exile in Egypt from 518.[100] There are also no allusions to any historical events which might reveal the author or the specific audience for which the encomium was composed. Moreover, as we have already seen, the encomium contains historical inconsistencies which again point away from Severus as its author; neither the content nor the style of the encomium support the association with the Antiochian patriarch.

With good reason, *In Michaelem* should be attached to the genre of pseudepigrapha which flourished in the 7th and 8th centuries. Like these works, the Encomium on Michael is attributed to a famous author of an earlier century, it describes some historically false episodes that could not have been invented in the earlier period, and was written long after the period in which it was set.[101] In his preface to *Saint Michael the Archangel: Three Encomiums*, Budge states that "there is no reason for doubting that the three encomiums[102] were written about the beginning of the VIIth century of our era."[103] In the absence of unambiguous internal and external criteria, we may consider this period as most likely for the composition of the text.

95 Allen, Hayward 2004, p. 22.

96 Allen, Hayward 2004, p. 1, 30.

97 I.e. the so-called "Cathedral Homilies" that Severus delivered during the six years of his patriarchate. They were translated into Syriac initially by "Paul of Callincum in 528, and subsequently by Jacob of Edessa in the second half of the seventh century" (Allen, Hayward 2004, p. 49-50). The Coptic tradition also preserves some homilies, but the Coptic version of the Cathedral Homilies reflects another tradition from the Syriac. Cf. Allen, Hayward 2004, p. 49-50.

98 For a list of Severus' works, cf. Allen, Hayward 2004, p. 22-23, 49-52.

99 Geerard 1979, 331.

100 Allen, Hayward 2004, p. 22.

101 Smith 1998, p. 726.

102 One of which is, of course, the encomium by Severus.

103 Budge 1894, p. vii.

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Transmission

As regards the original language of the text, it is extremely difficult to determine if the encomium was composed initially in Greek or in Coptic.[104] The incidence of words borrowed from Greek in this work is relatively high, but this does not assist in determining the original language of the work.[105]

If we take into consideration the fact that many manuscripts of the 7th to 8th centuries that are falsely ascribed to one of the church fathers were composed in Coptic,[106] then we may perhaps include *In Michaelem* in the same category.

Another possible criterion for judging whether a work's original language is Coptic or Greek is discussed by K.H. Kuhn in the *Panegyric of Apollo* where he refers to the work of E.A.E. Reymond and J.W.B. Barns.[107] They state that "if a writing is not intended to have any circulation or interest outside Egypt, it may well be composed in Coptic; but if it is intended for a wider public it may be assumed to have been originally in Greek."[108] If we apply this criterion to *In Michaelem*, we may conclude that its original language was Greek, for the encomium deals with the evangelisation of a Christian community outside of Egypt. However, no Greek original of the encomium has been identified or preserved, and since there is no reliable way of deciding the original language of the discourse, this question must finally remain open.

The semi-diplomatic edition and translation of P. IFAO Copte inv. 133-136, 157-158 are given hereafter.

104 Emmel 2007, p. 93.
105 Kuhn 1966, p. xix.
106 Smith 1998, p. 726.
107 Kuhn 1978, p. xi; Reymond, Barns 1973, p. 18.
108 Reymond, Barns 1973, p. 18.

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P. IFAO Copte inv. f.133r

109 ⲉⲣⲟϥ[110] ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲡⲉϥⲛⲟϭ
ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̅
ϫⲱⲱⲣⲉ ⲙ̈ⲭⲁⲏⲗ
ⲛϥⲛⲉϩ̅ⲙ̅ⲧⲏⲩⲧ̅ⲛ̅
5 ⲉⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̈ⲓ̈ⲙ
ϫⲉⲉⲩϩⲓⲗⲗ ⲉⲣⲱⲧ̅ⲛ̅
Ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲁ̈ⲓ̈ ⲉⲓⲥ
ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲛ̅ⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ
10 ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲙⲡ̅ⲣ̅ϩⲟ
ⲧⲉ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ
ⲛⲁⲧⲁϩⲉⲧⲏⲩⲧ̅ⲛ̅
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̈ⲭⲁ
ⲏⲗ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉ
15 ⲗⲟⲥ ϯⲛⲁⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲱ
ⲧⲛ̅ ⲧⲁⲥⲕⲉⲡⲁ
ϫⲉ ⲙⲙⲱⲧ̅ⲛ̅ ·
ⲧⲁⲛⲉϩ̅ⲙ̅ⲧⲏⲩⲧ̅ⲛ̅
ⲉⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̈ⲓ̈ⲙ
20 Ⲉⲧⲓ̈ ⲉⲩⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ[111] ⲙ̅
ⲡ̅ⲙ̅ⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ
ⲡϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ
ⲉϥϫⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ
ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲉⲧⲏ
25 ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ
ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲙ̈ⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲉⲣⲡⲉ
[ⲥⲙ]ⲟⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲁⲧ
ⲣ[ⲓⲕⲓⲟⲥ] ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲥⲁⲛ
ⲑ[ⲟⲥ[112] ⲡ]ⲣⲣⲟ ⲁϥⲉ̈ⲓ̈ ⲙ
ⲡⲟⲩⲉ · ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ
ⲡϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ
5 ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁϥⲧⲱ
[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲁϥⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁ
ⲗⲉ̈ⲓ̈ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲉϥϫⲱ
ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲁⲙⲟⲩ
10 ϩⲱⲱⲕ ⲛⲓϩⲙⲟ
ⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲥⲱⲧ̅ⲙ̅ ⲉ̂
ⲛⲉⲓⲁⲛⲧⲓ̈ⲗⲟⲅⲓ̈ⲁ
ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϩⲙⲟ
ⲟⲥ ·
15 Ⲡϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥ
ⲧⲣⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲁϥ
ⲛⲛ̂ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲱⲏⲙ
ϩⲓⲑⲏ ⲙⲙⲟϥ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ
20 ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉϭⲉⲡⲏ
ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ̅ ⲛⲧⲉ
ⲧ̅ⲛ̅ϯ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲣⲉ
ⲧⲏ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ
ⲛⲁϥ ⲙⲡⲁϯϩⲏⲃ
25 ⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ̅
Ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ
ⲱ̅ⲃ̅ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ
ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉϥⲟⲛϩ
ⲛϭⲓⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ

109 In the margin, perpendicular to the first word in column A, is an annotation: ⲉⲣⲟϥ ("to him") written in a different hand (but the same as that of the marginal note on f.157r), indicating that it was probably added after the copying of the manuscript.

110 The preposition ⲉⲣⲟϥ here functions as a resumptive pronoun in a relative construction. The missing text preceding ⲉⲣⲟϥ can be restored from Budge 1894, p. 74 (text), 60* (translation). See also p. 422.

111 ⲁϩⲉⲣ. for ⲁϩⲉ ⲉⲣ. (Crum 1939, p. 537b).

112 ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲛⲑⲟⲥ for ⲅⲉⲥⲁⲛⲑⲟⲥ. This is the only instance in the text where this proper name appears with a ⲕ. It always appears in the Boharic version as ⲕⲉⲥⲁⲛⲑⲟⲥ (Budge 1894, p. 78, 79, 81, 83), and in the longer Sahidic version as ⲅⲉⲥⲁⲛⲑⲟⲥ (Budge 1915, p. 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 176).

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PL. I. P. IFAO Copte inv. 133r. © Ifao, J.-Fr. Gout.

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P. IFAO Copte inv. f.133v

—

ⲛ[ⲛ]ⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥ[ⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟ]ⲥ
ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ[ⲡ]ⲉϥ
ⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅ[ⲅⲉ]
ⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲙ
5 ⲡⲉⲛⲕⲟⲓⲛⲱⲛⲉⲓ
ⲉϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓ̀ⲛⲉ
ⲉⲛⲉϩ
Ⲡⲗⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁⲁⲃ ⲙ̀ⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲡⲉ
10 ϫⲁϥ ⲙⲡϩⲏⲅⲉ
ⲙⲱⲛ ϫⲉⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϯ
ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ
ⲧⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩ
15 ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ
ⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲓⲣⲱ
ⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲉϫⲓⲧϥ ⲉ
ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲏⲓ̀ ⲙ
ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲥⲩⲙⲁⲭⲟⲥ
20 ⲛϥⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ
ϩ̅ⲙⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲓ̅ⲥ̅
ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱ
ⲛ̅ϩ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϭⲓⲧⲉ
25 ⲡⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲛⲥⲏ
ⲗⲱⲙ[113] ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲧ
ⲧⲁⲓ̀ ⲉⲧⲟⲩϩⲓ̈ⲗⲁ ⲉ̅
ⲣⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲥ
Ⲗⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ

[Ⲗ]ⲡϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ
ⲧⲣⲉⲩϫⲓ̀ ⲙⲡϣⲏ
ⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ
ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲁⲣ
5 ϫⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ϫⲟⲟⲥ
ⲛⲁϥ · ⲁϥⲱϣ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϭⲓⲡϣⲏ
ⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ ϫⲉϩⲙ
ⲡⲣⲁⲛⲙ ⲡϫⲟ
10 ⲉⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅
ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲙ̀ⲭⲁ
ⲏⲗ ⲉⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϭⲓⲧⲉⲡ
15 ⲣⲉⲧⲏ ⲛⲥⲏⲗⲱⲙ
ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ
Ⲗⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ
ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲁⲥϣⲱ
ⲡⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛ̀ⲓ̀ⲙ
20 ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̅ ϫⲉⲁⲙⲏⲓ
ⲧ̅ⲛ̅ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉ̂
ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲁⲧⲁⲅⲓ̀ⲟⲛ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁϭⲓ
ⲛⲉ ⲛϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̀ⲓ̀ⲙ
25 ⲉⲧⲉⲧ̅ⲛ̅ϣⲓⲛⲉ
ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩ . ⲛⲉ[ⲓ]
ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ϣⲏ[ⲙ]
ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉ[ⲛⲟⲃⲉ]

113 Both the Bohairic (Budge 1894, p. 75, 76) and the longer Sahidic version (Budge 1915, p. 166, 167) have ⲥⲩⲗⲱⲙ.

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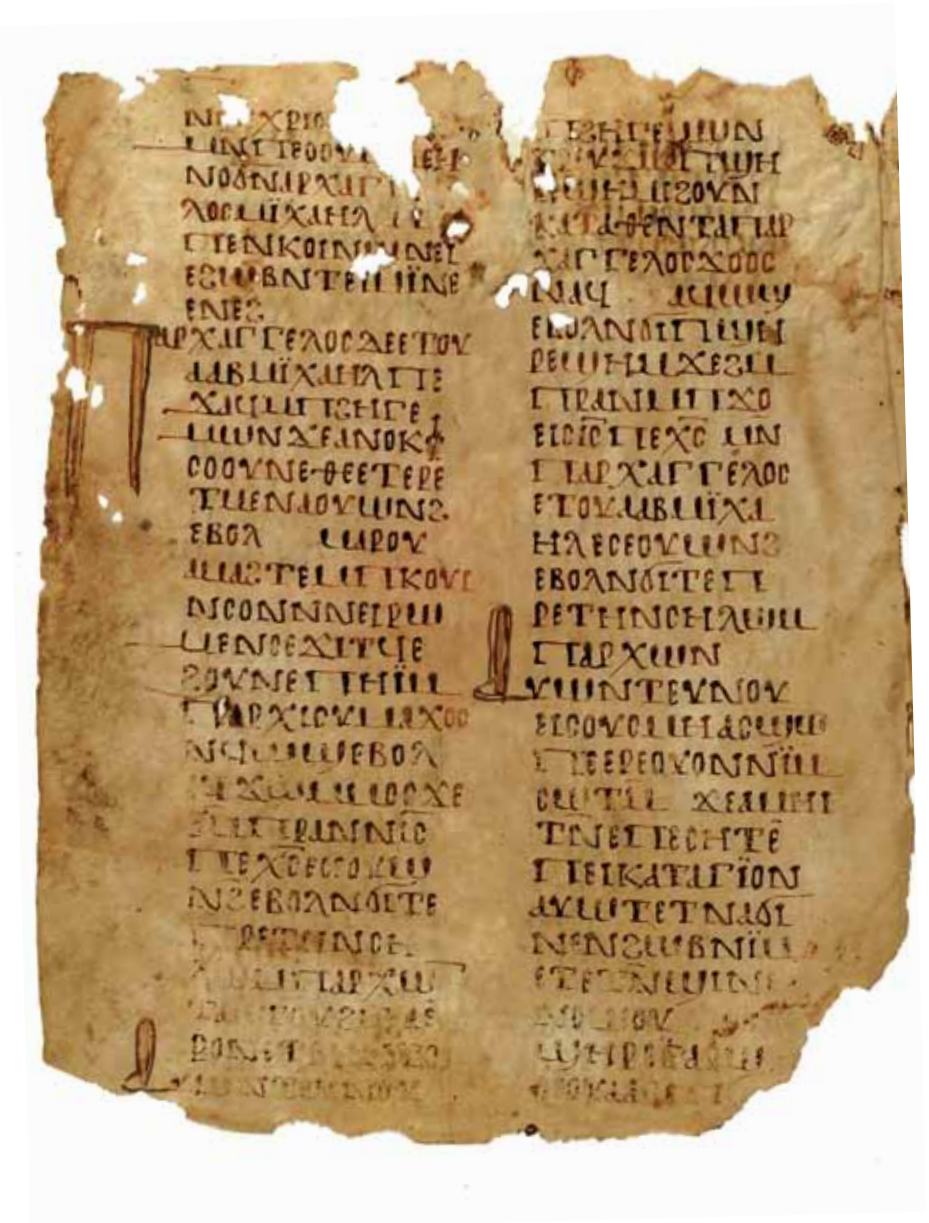

PL. 2. P. IFAO Copte inv. 133v. © Ifao, J.-Fr. Gout.

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P. IFAO Copte inv. f.157r

114

Ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ
ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ
ⲁⲩϭⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲣⲉ
ⲧⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ
ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲉⲡϩⲏⲅⲉ
ⲙⲱ[ⲛ] ⲉ[ⲛ]ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩ
ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲁ[ϥ]ⲣϣ
ⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ·
ⲁϥⲕⲧⲉⲡⲉϥϩ[ⲟ]
ⲉϥⲛ[ⲁ]ϫⲉ ⲡ[ⲉⲛ]
ⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲡ
ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ
ⲙⲏϫⲁⲏⲗ ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄
ⲡⲉϥⲉⲏⲙⲉ ϫⲉⲛ
[ⲧⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉ]ⲧⲱ[ⲛ]
[ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲣ̄ϣ]ⲡⲏ
[ⲣⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ] ⲁϥ
[ⲕⲱ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄
[ϣⲏⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ ⲉ]ⲃⲟⲗ
[ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲉⲩ]ⲏⲓ
[± 8]ⲉⲩ̣
[± 6]ⲛⲟ̣[ϭ]
Six lines are missing here

[ⲛⲉⲧ]

ⲛⲁⲛ[ⲟⲩⲟ]ⲩ [ⲉⲧⲟⲩ]
ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ[ⲛ̄]ⲟⲩ
ⲟⲛ ⲛⲓ[ⲙ] ϩⲱⲥ
ⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ
ⲉⲣϣⲡ[ⲏⲣⲉ] ⲙⲡⲉⲩ
ⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲧ[ⲛⲁ]ⲛⲟⲩϥ
Ⲡⲁⲓⲁⲃ[ⲟⲗⲟ]ⲥ ⲁ̣ⲉ ⲟⲛ
ⲛ[± 6]ⲙⲩϫⲉ
ⲙ[± 8]
ⲉ[± 9]ⲁϥ
ⲟ[± 7]ⲧⲉ
[± 6]ⲟⲩ
[± 7]ⲡⲓ
One line is missing here
[.]ⲙⲡⲉϥ̣[.]ⲩ[.]
ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ · [..]
Ⲛⲉⲓϩ̄ⲣϣⲓⲣⲉ ⲁ̣[ⲉ ⲉ]
ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲉ[ⲩϩⲉϫ]
ϩⲱϫ ⲁⲛ ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ̣
ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲟⲩ.ⲁ̣ⲉ
[ⲛⲉⲩ]ⲑⲗⲓⲃⲉ ⲁⲛ
[ⲁⲗⲗⲁ] ⲛⲉⲩϩⲩ
ⲡⲟⲙⲓⲛⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩ
ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ ⲉⲩϣⲡ
ϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲧⲙⲡ
[ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ . ⲡ
[± 3]ⲙ ⲡⲉϫⲉ
[± 4]ⲉⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ
One line is missing here
[.]

114 There is a marginal annotation from the top left-hand side of column A to the right-hand side of column B written in a different hand: ⲧⲟⲧⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ[...ⲁ] ⲑⲁⲛⲁⲥⲓⲟⲥⲙⲏⲓϩⲁⲛⲏⲥⲛ[..]ⲧⲁⲥⲓⲁ ("Then the archbishop... Athanasius and John..."). It is separated from Columns A and B with a line of dashes.

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PL. 3. P. IFAO Copte inv. 157r. © Ifao, J.-Fr. Gout.

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P. IFAO Copte inv. f.157v

ϩ [ⲙⲏ]ṭ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩ
ⲉ[± 4]ⲱ[..] ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ
ϫ[ⲓⲛⲧ]ⲁⲛⲁ̈ⲓⲧⲁϩⲟⲟⲩ
ⲁⲟⲩⲣⲱ[ⲙⲉ] ⲇⲓⲁⲃⲁⲗⲉ
ⲛⲣⲱ[ⲙⲉ ⲥ]ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉ
ⲡ̄ⲣⲣ[ⲟ ϩ]ⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲉϩ̄ⲛ
ⲇⲩⲙ[ⲟⲥⲓⲟ]ⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ
ϩⲓⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ·
▷ Ⲡ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲇⲉ [ⲁϥϯ ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲣⲱ
ⲙ[ⲉ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟ]ⲩ
ⲉⲧⲉ[± 8]ⲁ̣ⲩ
ⲙⲓ̈[± 10]
ⲧ ⲉ̈ⲓⲙ[± 8]
ⲛϩⲟⲗ[ⲟⲕⲟⲧⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ]
One line is missing here
▷ Ⲛ[± 3]ⲉϫ[ⲉ]ⲛⲉ ϩ̄ⲛϩ[..]
[..]ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲩ
[± 4]ⲉⲩⲧⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲟ
[ⲟⲩ ⲉ]ⲩϩⲏⲃⲣⲓϫⲉ ⲙ
ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲡⲉ
ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲓⲱϩ[ⲁⲛ]
ⲛⲏⲥ ⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲱ[ⲟⲩ
ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲟⲩⲉⲩ[ⲕⲉⲣⲓⲁ]
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲙ
ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲉⲧⲧⲟ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ
ϫⲉⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲟⲓϭⲉ
ⲉⲧⲟⲩϩⲏⲃⲣⲓϫⲉ
ⲛⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ [ⲉⲧ]
ⲃⲏⲏⲧⲥ ·

ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ
ⲉⲛⲛⲁⲁⲡⲉⲧⲉⲓ
ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲱϣⲉ ⲛ̄
ϩⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟⲧⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ
ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲁ ·
Ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛ[ⲁⲩ] ϫⲉⲉⲩ
ⲱⲁ[ⲛ]ϯ ⲙⲡⲱⲏⲧ
ⲛϩⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟⲧⲧⲓ
[ⲛⲟⲥ] ⲥⲉϭⲉⲉⲧ ⲟⲛ ⲉ̄
[ⲕⲓⲛ]ⲇⲩⲛ[ⲟ]ⲥ
Ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉⲙ
ⲙⲟⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲩⲧⲙ
ⲧⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲙⲟⲟⲩ
ⲧⲟⲩ
ⲓ̣[ⲱ]ϩⲁⲛ̣[ⲛⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ]
ⲡⲉ̣[ϫⲁϥ ± 6]
ⲙⲁ[± 8]
ⲛ[± 9]
ⲁ[± 10]
ⲛ[± 8]
ⲁϥ[± 9]
ϩⲟⲗ[ⲟⲕⲟⲧⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ]
[.]ⲧ[± 8]
Five lines are missing here

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PL. 4. P. IFAO Copte inv. 157v. © Ifao, J.-Fr. Gout.

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P. IFAO Copte inv. f.134r

ⲛⲉⲓⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉϥⲕⲱϩ ⲉⲣⲟ
ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲡⲟⲗⲩⲙⲉⲓ
ⲛ̅ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁϥⲧⲟ[ⲩ]
5 ⲛⲉⲥ ⲕⲉⲡⲓ̈ⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉ
ⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲉ .
Ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅
ⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲟⲩⲣⲱ
10 ⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ
ⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲛⲟⲩϣⲃⲏⲣ
ⲉⲡⲱϥ ⲡⲉ ϩⲓⲣⲟⲩ
ϩⲉ · ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲧ̅ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲟⲩ
15 ⲏϩ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲩⲉⲛⲡⲏⲓ
ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ[115] ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩ
ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲥⲱ ⲁⲡ
[ⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ
20 [ⲉ]ⲧⲣⲉϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲡⲉϥ
[ⲏⲓ̈] ⲉ[ϥ]ⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ
[ⲇⲉ ϩⲛ̅ⲧ]ⲡⲗⲁⲧⲓⲁ
[ⲛ̅ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓ]ⲥ ⲁⲟⲩ
[ⲕⲉⲣⲁ]ⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲉϩ
25 ⲣⲱϥ ϩⲛ̅ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩ
ⲉ[ⲣⲏⲧ]ⲉ ⲁϥ[ϩⲉ ⲁ]ϥ
[ⲙⲟⲩ] ⲛⲧ[ⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ]
[ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̅ⲣⲱ]

ⲙⲉ ⲉ̈ⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲛ
ⲧⲁϥ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ
ⲙⲟϥ · ⲛⲧⲉ
ⲣⲉⲡⲉϩⲣⲏⲡⲁⲣⲓ
5 ⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ
ⲉⲓ ⲉϥⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ
ⲧⲉⲩϣⲏ ⲙⲛ
ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ
ⲁⲩϩⲉ ⲉⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
10 ⲉϥⲛⲏϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲉϥⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲁⲩ
ϫⲉⲣⲉⲡϩⲛⲃ̅ⲥ̅ ⲇⲉ
ⲁⲩⲙⲉϣⲧⲡⲉϥ
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣϥ
15 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲉⲓ
ⲙⲉ ⲉⲡⲧⲱϣ
ⲛⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲉ
ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲡⲉⲛ
ⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩ
20 ϯ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲕⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲉ
Ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϩⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ
ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩ
ϫⲓⲧϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡ
ⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ
25 Ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥ
ϫⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲙⲟⲧ
ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲁϥⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ

115 Simplification of repeated vowels. The sequence of ⲟⲩ-ⲟⲩ (within the bound group) is simplified as ⲟⲩ, i.e. ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ instead of ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱ (3rd pers. pl. precursive (or temporal) conjugation + infinitive: "when they had finished").

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PL. 5. P. IFAO Copte inv. 134r. © Ifao, J.-Fr. Gout.

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P. IFAO Copte inv. f.134v

ⲕⲁ.

ϩⲛ̅ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲡⲟ
ⲗⲓⲥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ
ϫⲉⲡⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥ
ⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲁ̈ⲓⲉⲓ
ⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲙⲟⲩ ·
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϯⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ϫⲉ
ⲛⲓ̈ⲙ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ
ⲟⲩⲧ ⲙⲙⲟϥ .
ⲙⲡⲉⲡⲉⲓⲫⲟⲛⲟⲥ
ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓ
ⲧⲛ̄ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲣⲱ
ⲙⲉ · ⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲏⲧⲉⲓ
ϩⲓⲧⲛ̅ⲡⲉⲓϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ
ⲛ̄ϣⲙ̄ⲙⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲏϩ ϩⲙⲡϩⲓⲣ ⲙⲡⲉ⸗
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡϫⲉⲩⲥ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϯ ⲟ ⲙ
ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲓϩⲱⲃ
ⲡϣ ⲁϫⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲣ ⲉ
ⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̅ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ
ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲁⲡϩⲏ
ⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲥⲱⲧ̅ⲙ̅
ⲁϥⲛⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲉⲡⲣ
ⲣⲟ ⲅⲉⲥⲁⲛⲑⲟⲥ .
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ
ⲁⲡ̅ⲣⲣⲟ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ[116]
ⲁϥⲧⲣⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣϩⲓⲥ
ⲧⲁ ⲛⲁϥ ⲙⲡⲉϥ
ⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ
ⲱⲏⲙ ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉⲩ
ϭⲓϫ ⲙⲏⲣ ⲉⲡⲁ
ϩⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ .
ⲉⲣⲉϩ̅ⲛ̅ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟ⸗
ϩ̅ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁⲕϩ
Ⲉⲩϫⲓ̈ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ
ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲙ̄ⲡ̅ⲣ̅ⲣⲟ
ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲁⲥⲱⲱ
ⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲥϫⲱ
ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲙⲡ̅ⲣ̅ⲣ̅
ϩⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲉ{ⲩ}ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ[117]
ⲙⲡϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ
ⲁⲡ̅ⲙ̅ⲧⲟⲛ ⲡⲱ[ϩ]
ⲉⲣⲱⲧ̅ⲛ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ
ⲧ̅ⲙ̅ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ
Ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲁϩⲟ ⲙⲙⲟ
ⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡ̅ⲙ̅
ⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡ̅ⲣ̅[ⲣⲟ]
ⲙⲡⲉⲥ[ⲙ]ⲟⲧ [ⲛϩⲉⲛ]
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ[ⲇⲓⲕⲟⲥ]
Ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ[ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ]
ⲉⲓⲥ[ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ]
ⲙⲓ̈ϫⲁ[ⲏ]ⲗ [ⲁϥϫⲓ]
ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲟⲩ
ⲛ[ⲟ]ϭ ⲛⲥⲧⲣ̣[ⲁⲧⲏ]ⲗⲁ
[ⲧⲏⲥ[118] ⲛ̄]ⲧ[ⲉⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛ]

116 ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ for ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲟⲩ.
117 ⲁⲡⲉ{ⲩ}ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ for ⲁⲡⲉⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ.
118 An alternative reading could be ⲥⲧⲣ̣[ⲁⲧⲩ]ⲗⲁ[ⲧⲏⲥ].

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PL. 6. P. IFAO Copte inv. 134v. © Ifao, J.-Fr. Gout.

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P. IFAO Copte inv. f.135r

ⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡ̅ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲛⲉ
ϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ
ⲡⲟⲩⲉ ⲉϥϫⲱⲣ̅ⲙ
Ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲅⲉⲥⲁⲛⲑⲟⲥ
ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ
ⲁϥⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁϥⲁϩⲉ
ⲣⲁⲧϥ[119] ϩⲓⲑⲏ ⲙⲙⲟϥ
ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲡⲱϩ ⲇⲉ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲩϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲓⲟⲩ
ⲥⲟⲡ .
Ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥ
ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛϣⲏⲣⲉ ϣⲏⲙ
ⲉⲩⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲥⲭⲏ
[ⲙ]ⲁⲧⲓ̈ⲍⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ
[ⲙ̅]ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲉⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ
ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲧⲉⲓ
ϩⲉ ⲉⲩⲥⲭⲏⲙⲁⲧⲓⲍⲉ
ϩⲓⲑⲏ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ
ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲟϥ
[ⲉⲧ]ⲃⲉ ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲧⲁϥ
[ϣ]ⲱⲡⲉ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ
[ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ...]ⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ
[± 8]ϩ̅ⲛ
[± 7]ⲓⲉϥ
[± 7]ϥⲙⲟ
[± 3]ⲛⲧⲉⲩϣⲏ
[± 2 ⲡⲁ]ⲣⲁ̣ⲇⲓⲁⲟⲩ ⲛ̅
Two lines are missing here

Ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲙⲓ̈ϫⲁⲏⲗ
ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉϩⲁⲧⲏⲛ
ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ
ⲛⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲓ̈ⲛⲉ
ⲛⲥⲉⲧ̅ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲉ [ϩ]ⲧ̅ⲛ
ⲟⲩⲱ̅ⲣϫ̂[120] ⲉⲡⲉⲛ
ⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧϥ .
ϣⲁⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧ
ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ
ⲛⲧⲉⲛϫⲛⲟⲩϥ
ⲁⲩⲱ ϣⲁϥϣⲁϫⲉ
ⲛϥⲧⲁⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲧ
ⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧϥ
ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩϭⲉ ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ
ⲕⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲉ
ⲉⲧⲙⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ
ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲩ
ⲉⲡⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲛ
ϫⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲁⲩⲱ
ϥⲛⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲧ
ⲧⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ
ⲙⲟϥ .
Ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲡ̅ⲣⲣⲟ
ⲅⲉⲥⲁⲛⲑⲟⲥ ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ
ⲁⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧ
ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ
Ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲣ
ϫⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲓϫⲁ

119 See p. 398.

120 The circumflex is situated between ⲣ and ϫ.

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PL. 7. P. IFAO Copte inv. 135r. © Ifao, J.-Fr. Gout.

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P. IFAO Copte inv. f.135v

ⲕϛ̅

ⲏⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟ⸗
ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
ϫⲉⲇⲁⲛⲓⲏⲁ ⲃ̀ⲱⲕ
ⲛ̀ⲅϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲉϥ
5 ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ ϫⲉϩ̅ⲙ̀ⲡⲣⲁ⸗
ⲙ̀ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧ
ⲡⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲟⲛ ⲉ̀ⲡⲉⲛ
ⲧⲁϥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ
Ⲡⲛ[121]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲓ̈
10 ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱϣ
ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ϫⲓ
ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲥⲉ
ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϩ̅ⲛ
ⲧⲉϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ
15 ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁϥ
ⲕⲧⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ⸗ⲩⲩⲭⲏ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ
ⲛ̀ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲡ ⲁϥⲱ̅ⲛ̅ϩ̅
ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̅ⲡ̂ⲣ̂
20 ⲣⲟ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲡⲙⲏⲏⲱⲉ
ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ[122]
ⲁⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲱⲱ ⲉ
ⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ
ϫⲉⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲱ ⲡ̅ⲣ̅
25 ⲣⲟ ⲅⲉⲥⲁⲛⲑⲟⲥ ϫⲉⲁⲕ
ⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ ⲁⲕϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ
ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲡⲁⲣϫⲁⲅ
ⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲓ̈ϫⲁⲛⲁ
ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲁⲣϫⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁ

ⲧⲩⲅⲟⲥ ⲛⲧϭⲟⲙ
ⲛ̅ⲙ̅ⲡⲏⲩⲉ .
ⲕⲁⲓⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲉⲧⲟⲩϩⲓⲗⲁ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ
5 ϩ̅ⲛ̅ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ·
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ
ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧⲧ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲟⲩⲕⲉⲣⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ
10 ⲛⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲙⲉⲧ
ⲁⲓ̈ⲙⲟⲩ . ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲥⲱ
ⲧⲡ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲓⲣⲱ
ⲙⲉ ⲁⲡⲉⲓⲛⲟϭ ⲙ
15 ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ
ⲧⲁϩⲟⲕ ⲁⲕⲙⲡⲱⲁ
ⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲁⲣϫⲁⲅ
ⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
ⲡⲁⲏⲛ ⲉⲓⲥⲛⲉⲱ
20 ⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡ[ⲛⲟⲩ]
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲧ[ⲉⲧⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲩ]
ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ[± 7]
ⲉⲣⲟϥ [ϩ̅ⲛⲡⲉⲧⲛ̅]
ϩⲏⲧ [ⲧⲏⲣϥ]
25 ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̅ⲕⲱ[..]
ⲛⲉⲫⲩⲛ̣[..]ⲛ̣
[± 3]ⲧ[± 6]
Two lines are missing here [ⲙ̅ⲛ̅]

121 Half of ⲛ is in ekthesis.

122 ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲓⲕⲏ is always written thus in the Bohairic and longer Sahidic version, but appears once as ⲧⲉⲛⲇⲓⲕⲏ and another time as ⲧⲉⲛⲇⲓ̈ⲕⲏ in the longer Sahidic version (Budge 1915, p. 172, 173).

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PL. 8. P. IFAO Copte inv. 135v. © Ifao, J.-Fr. Gout.

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P. IFAO Copte inv. f.158r

ϩⲏⲩ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ
ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄
ⲧⲡⲉ ⲕⲱ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̂ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ ⲱⲟ
5 ⲣ̄ⲡ [ⲛ̂]ⲛⲟⲃⲉ
ⲕⲁⲓⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲟ[ⲩⲛⲟ]ϭ ⲛ
ϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲧⲁϩ[ⲟⲓ̈] ϩⲱ
ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ ϫⲉⲁⲓ̈ⲛ[ⲁ]ⲩ
ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅ[ⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ]
10 ⲙⲓ̈[ϫⲁ]ⲏⲗ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ
ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̀ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ·
Ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁ
ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅ[ⲉ]ⲗⲟⲥ
[ⲙⲓ̈ϫⲁⲏⲗ ϩ]ⲱⲗ [ⲉ]
15 [ⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ ϩⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛ]ⲟϭ
[ⲛ̄ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉⲡ]ⲣⲣⲟ
[ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲙ̄ⲛⲡ]ⲙ
[ⲏⲏⲱⲉ ⲧⲏⲣϥ] ⲛⲕ
[± 9]ⲩ
20 [± 9]ⲱ
Eight lines are missing here

[ⲡϩⲏⲧ]

ⲙⲡ̂ⲣ[123][ⲣⲟ ⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ]
ⲉⲣⲟϥ [ⲉ]ⲃ[ⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲧϩⲟ]
ⲧⲉ ⲙ[ⲛⲡⲛⲟ]ϭ ⲛ
ϩⲱⲃ [ⲛ̄ⲱ]ⲡⲏⲣⲉ
5 ⲛⲧⲁϥ[ⲛⲁ]ⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ
Ⲁϥⲧⲱⲟ[ⲩⲛ] ⲛϭⲓ
ⲡⲣ[ⲣⲟ ⲁϥ]ϯⲡ[ⲓ]
ⲉⲣ[ⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲓ]ⲱϩⲁ
ⲛ̀[ⲏⲥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ]
10 [ϫⲉ ± 8]ⲫ
ⲙ̀[± 9]ⲁ
[± 10]ⲩ
[± 10]ⲧⲛ̄
One line is missing here
15 [.]ⲙ̀ⲡⲁ[± 6]
ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ[...ⲙ]
ⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲱⲱ[ϥ ± 4]
ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲉ[...]
ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲛⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉ[ⲩ]
20 [ⲉ ⲉ]ⲣⲟϥ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ

[ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛ]ⲛⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥ
[ⲉⲩⲁⲅ]ⲅ̀ⲉⲗⲓϫⲉ ⲙ
ⲡ̂ⲣⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲛⲡⲙⲏ
ⲏⲱⲉ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲙ
25 [ⲡ]ⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡϫⲟ
[ⲉⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅] ⲡⲉϫ̅ⲥ̅
[ⲡ̅ⲣⲣⲟ ⲇⲉ] ⲙⲛⲡⲙⲏ

123 The circumflex is situated between ⲡ and ⲣ.

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PL. 9. P. IFAO Copte inv. 158r. © Ifao, J.-Fr. Gout.

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P. IFAO Copte inv. f.158v

ⲏ[ϣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲁ]ⲩⲱϣ
ⲉ[ⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉⲟⲩ]ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲉϥ[ⲟⲛϩ ⲡⲉ][124] ⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲭⲥ
Ⲡϩⲁ[125]ⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ [ⲓⲱ]ϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ
5 ⲡⲉϫⲁ[ϥ] ⲙⲡ̅ⲣⲣⲟ
ϫⲉⲧ[ⲱⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲛⲅ
ⲥϩⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ[ⲕⲱⲥ]ⲧⲁⲛ
[ⲧ]ⲓⲛⲟⲥ [ⲡ̅ⲣⲣⲟ] ⲛⲛⲉ
ϩⲣⲱ[ⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ ..]ⲡⲁ
10 ⲣⲱ[± 9]ϥ
ⲧⲉ[± 10]
ⲛⲉ[± 10]
ⲛ[± 11]
Two lines
15 *are missing here*
[ⲛ̄ϥⲃ]ⲁⲡⲧⲓⲍⲉ ⲙ
[ⲙⲱ]ⲧⲛ ⲉⲡⲣⲁⲛ
[ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ]ⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ
[ⲡ]ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉ
20 ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
Ⲡ[ⲣ]ⲣⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲅⲉⲥⲁⲛ[ⲑⲟⲥ]
ⲁϥⲥϩⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲟⲩ[ⲉⲡⲓⲥ]
ⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲣⲁ[ⲧϥ̄ ⲙ̄]
ⲡⲣ̂[126]ⲣⲟ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛ
25 ⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ
ⲙⲟⲥ . ϫⲉⲅⲉⲥ[ⲁⲛ]
ⲑⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩϫⲱ [ⲙ]
ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ [ϫⲉⲟⲩⲣ̄ⲣⲟ]
ⲡⲉ · [ⲉϥⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ]

ⲛⲥϩⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲙ
ⲡⲁⲩⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ
> ⲛⲣⲣⲟ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓ
ⲛⲟⲥ ⲡϩ̄ⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲙ
5 > ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ϫⲁ[ⲓⲣ]ⲉⲧⲉ
> ⲟ[127]ⲩ[ⲛⲟ]ϭ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛϩⲙⲟⲧ
ⲁϥ[ⲧⲁϩ]ⲟⲛ ϩⲓⲧⲙ̄
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲅⲁ
[ⲑⲟⲥ] ⲉⲁϥⲣ̄ⲡⲉⲛ
10 > ⲙ[ⲉⲉⲩ]ⲉ ⲁϥⲛⲧⲛ̄
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧ
> ⲣⲉϥϣⲙ̄ϣⲉ ⲉⲓⲁ̄ϣ̄
ⲗⲟⲛ [ⲉ]ⲧϫⲁϩⲙ̄
[ⲁ]ϥⲥⲟ[ⲕ]ⲛ ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ ϩⲓ
15 [ⲧ]ⲛ[ⲧⲉϥⲛⲟϭ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧ]
ⲁⲅⲁ[ⲑⲟⲥ ±4]
[Ⲙ]ⲙⲡ̣[±7]
> ⲭ̄ⲥ̄[± 8]
ⲙ[± 9]
20 > ⲅ[± 9]
ⲉⲁ[± 8]
> *Eight lines are missing here*

124 The text here has been restored based on Budge 1894, p. 81 in which the Bohairic reads: ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩϯ· ⲉϥⲟⲛϧ ⲡⲉ ⲓⲏⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄.

125 Half of ⲁ is in ekthesis.

126 The circumflex is situated between ⲣ and ⲣ.

127 Half of ⲟ is in ekthesis.

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PL. 10. P. IFAO Copte inv. 158v. © Ifao, J.-Fr. Gout.

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P. IFAO Copte inv. f.136r

ⲁⲟ ⲓⲡⲟⲛ ⲧ̅ⲙ̅ⲡ[ⲁ]
ⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲛⲧⲉ[ⲕ]
ⲙⲛⲧϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲧⲁ
ⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟ
ⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ ϩ̅ⲛ
ⲛⲉⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟ
ⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲧⲏⲕ
ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲣⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ
ϩⲱⲱⲛ ϩ̅ⲛⲧⲉⲥ
ⲃⲱ ⲛⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ
ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ [ⲁⲩⲱ]
ⲛϥⲧⲁⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲉϩⲓⲏ
ⲛⲃⲱⲕ ϣⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛϥ
ϯ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲫⲣⲁ
ⲅⲓ̈ⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
ⲕⲁⲓⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲕϣⲁⲛⲉⲣ
ⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲕⲛⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲕⲉ
ⲕⲁⲟⲙ ϩⲁⲧ̅ⲙ̅ⲡⲉ
ϫ̅ⲥ̅ ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲡⲣ̂[128]ⲣⲟ
ⲙⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲛ
ⲧϭⲟⲙ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ .
ⲁⲩⲱ ϩ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛ
ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲁⲏ ⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲛ
ⲛⲉϩⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲩϯ ⲙⲙⲟ
[ⲟ]ⲩ ⲛ̅ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓ
[ⲛⲟⲥ] ⲡ̅ⲣ̅ⲣⲟ · ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲛ[ⲧⲉ]ⲣⲉϥϫⲱ
ⲛ[ⲧ]ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗ[ⲏ]
ⲁ[ϥ]ⲣⲱⲡⲏ[ⲣⲉ] ⲙ
ⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲛ
ⲧⲁϥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲁϥ
ϯ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ · ⲁⲩⲱ ϩ̅ⲛ
ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲙⲙⲛⲧ
ⲃⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲥϩⲁⲓ̈
ⲱⲁⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛ
ⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟ
ⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ ⲙ
ⲡⲉⲓⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ
ϩⲁⲑⲏ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛϩⲱⲃ
ⲛⲓ̈ⲙϯⲁⲥⲡⲁϫⲉ
ⲛⲛⲉⲕϭⲓϫ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛ
ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲙⲡⲱⲏ
ⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ϩ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉ · ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ
ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲣⲁⲱⲉ ⲁϥ
ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲛ
ϩⲓⲧⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲉⲓⲥϩⲏⲏⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲓ̈
ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩϥ ⲛⲁⲕ
ϩⲱⲱⲕ ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ
ϫⲉⲕⲛⲁⲣⲁⲱⲉ ⲛ
ϩⲟⲩⲟ · ⲟⲩⲱⲱ
ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉϥⲓϩⲁ ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈

128 The circumflex is situated between ⲡ and ⲣ.

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P. IFAO Copte inv. f.136v

ⲛϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲕⲑⲁ[ⲣⲓ][129] ϩ̅ⲙ
ⲡⲉⲕϩⲏⲧ ϫⲉⲙ
> ⲡⲉ[ⲕ]ϩⲓⲥⲉ ϣⲟⲩⲉ[ⲓ]ⲧ
ⲁⲛ [ⲁ]ⲣⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲁ
5 > ⲡⲉϫ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲧⲁ⟨ϥ⟩
ϣⲉⲡϩⲓⲥⲉ ϩⲁⲡⲅⲉ
> ⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅
> ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲕⲩⲗⲗⲉⲓ
ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲛⲅⲃⲱⲕ
10 > ϣⲁⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⟨ⲛ⟩ⲧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲓⲁ ⲛⲅⲣⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ
> ⲉⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏϩ ⲛϩⲏ
ⲧⲥ ϩ̅ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲃⲱ ⲙ
> ⲡⲉϫ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲅⲛ̅
15 ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩ̅ⲛⲧ
> ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉϥϣⲙ
> ϣⲉⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ
> ⲛⲅⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓϫⲉ ⲙ
ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ
20 > ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛⲡ
ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲛⲡⲉ
ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ·
> ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲁϣⲱ
> ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ
25 ϣⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲧ̅ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲉ̅ϫ̅ⲥ̅
> ⲙ̅ⲛⲛⲉϥⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟ
ⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ·
ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲛⲛⲁⲟⲩ

ϫ[ⲁ]ⲓ̈ ϩⲓⲟⲩⲥⲟⲡ ϩ̅ⲛ
ⲧ[ϭⲟ]ⲙ ⲛⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉϫ̅ⲥ̅
Ⲛⲉ[ⲥϩ]ⲁⲓ̈ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ
[ⲁ]ϥⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ
5 ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲓ̈ⲱϩⲁⲛ
ⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲁⲣϫⲓⲉⲡ[ⲓ]ⲥ
ⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲫⲉⲥⲟⲥ
ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲕⲉⲉⲡⲓ̈ⲥ
ⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲙⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲅⲉ
10 ⲥⲁⲛⲑⲟⲥ · ⲡⲁⲣ
ϫⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ
ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲱϣ
ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓ̈ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ
ⲁϥⲣⲁϣⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ
15 ⲉϫⲙⲡⲉⲕⲧⲟ ⲛ̅
ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲧⲟ
ⲧⲉ ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲛ̅ⲙ̅ⲙⲁϥ
ⲛϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲙ̂
ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ
20 ⲙⲛⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ
ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̅ⲛⲟⲩ
ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲛⲱⲥⲧⲏⲥ
ⲙ̅ⲛϣⲟⲙⲛⲧ
ⲙⲯⲁⲗⲧⲏⲥ
25 ⲙⲛⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ
ⲙⲫⲓⲗⲟⲡⲟⲛⲟⲥ
ⲁⲩⲱ ϩ̅ⲛ̅ⲕⲉϣⲙ̂
ϣⲓⲧ ⲁⲩ[ⲱ ⲁϥ]

129 With respect to ⲉⲕⲑⲁ[ⲣⲓ], see p. 426.

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PL. 12. P. IFAO Copte inv. 136v. © Ifao, J.-Fr. Gout.

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Translation

["Fear not my children, for God, in Whom we believe,][130] [P. IFAO inv. f.133r *a* begins] and His great, strong Archangel Michael, will save you from all evil—particularly from a slander against you."[131]

As she was saying these (things),[132] behold a voice came out of heaven[133] saying, "Fear not; no evil will befall you. I am Michael the Archangel; I will watch over you, guard you, and save you from all evil."

While they were still standing before the governor who was questioning them about the stolen things of the magistrate, the Archangel Michael took the form of a pat [f.133r *b* begins][rician][134] of King Kesanthos and approached from the distance.[135] When the governor saw him, he arose and stood up, and besought him saying, "You also come, sit down, and listen to this dispute."[136] And in this manner, he sat down.

And the governor ordered that the youths be brought before him, and he said to them, "Hasten and give the stolen things of the magistrate (back) to him before I[137] inflict punishment upon you."

And they answered saying, "As the God [f.133v *a* begins] of the Chris[tian]s lives, and by the glory of His great Archangel Michael, we have never taken part in this matter."[138]

And the holy Archangel Michael said to the governor, "I know how the truth will be manifest. Let the youngest brother of these men be taken, and bring him into the house of the chief watchman, and let him[139] cry out saying, 'In the name of Jesus Christ, let[140] the stolen things of Sêlôm the magistrate, on account of which they have accused us, appear!'"

And immediately, [f.133v *b* begins] the governor made the youth be taken inside, as the Archangel had said to him. And the youth cried out saying, "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and the holy Archangel Michael, let[141] the stolen things of Sêlôm the magistrate appear!"

130 The English translation here has been restored from Budge 1894, p. 60*, since the Coptic text of f.133r *a*.1-6 (ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲉϥⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲱⲣⲉ ⲙⲓ̈ⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲛϥⲛⲉϩ̄ⲙ̄ⲧⲏⲩⲧ̄ⲛ̄ ⲉⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲓ̈ⲙ ϫⲉⲉⲩϩⲓⲗⲁ ⲉⲣⲱⲧ̄ⲛ̄) closely parallels the Bohairic text of Budge 1894, p. 74.

131 The context of the fragments can be determined from the Bohairic version which corresponds to the beginning of P. IFAO Copte inv. f.133r *a*. f.133r *a* is a continuation of a narrative part of the encomium in which the four youths, John, Stephen, Joseph, and Daniel, are accused of stealing the goods of Sêlôm and are brought before the governor, as their mother, Irene, follows them and speaks to them (cf. Budge 1894, p. 74-75 [text], p. 59*-60* [translation]).

132 ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲓ̈: "she" here refers to Irene, the mother of the four youths (cf. Budge 1894, p. 75 [text], p. 60* [translation]).

133 ⲉⲓⲥ|ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ |ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ: the author uses a well-known biblical formula here (and also at f.133v *b*.18-19 and f.134v *b*.10-11) common in the New Testament, e.g. Mat. 3:17, 17:5; Mk. 1:11; Lk. 3:22; and Jn. 12:28.

134 For a discussion about ⲡⲁⲧⲣ[ⲓⲕⲓⲟⲥ] (also found in f.157r *a*.12) see Composition on p. 394-395.

135 ⲁϥⲉⲓ̈ ⲙ|ⲡⲟⲩⲉ: literally, "he came at a distance…" (Crum 1939, p. 471b).

136 ⲛⲉⲓⲁⲛⲧⲓ̈ⲗⲟⲅⲓ̈ⲁ: literally, "these disputes."

137 ⲙⲡⲁϯϩⲏⲃ|ⲣⲓⲍⲉ: circumstantial conversion of the negative completive (or 'not yet') conjugation. As such, this is to be translated: "…*before* I inflict punishment." Note that the circumstantial conversion here is simply written ⲙⲡⲁϯ= for ⲉⲙⲡⲁϯ= (cf. Layton 2004a, p. 260, §336).

138 ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓ̈ⲛⲉ: literally, "matter of this sort."

139 ⲛϥⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ: Layton 2004a, p. 277-278, § 351-352, on the conjunctive as an extension of preceding text.

140 ⲉⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱ|ⲛ̄ϩ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ: main-clause optative (or third future) in which the meaning is greatly affected by the type of discourse (cf. Layton 2004a, p. 264, § 527). In this case, the optative bears the meaning of a strong wish, and should be translated as "let" (cf. Layton 2004a, p. 264, § 338).

141 ⲉⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲛ̄ϩ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ: see previous note.

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And behold, immediately a voice occurred and everyone heard (it) saying, "Go down to the cellar and you will find everything which you seek; for these youths are innocent [of the offence]."[142]

[**f.157r *a* begins**] Immediately, they went down and they found all the stolen things, and they went and told the governor what had happened and he marvelled greatly. And (when) he turned around[143] to tell what had happened to the patrician, that is Michael, he did not know where [he had gone].

[Then he] rejoiced [exceedingly], and he [set the four youths free, and they went to their] house… great…[144] the [**f.157r *b* begins**] good deeds [which they] did unto everyone, so that everyone [marvelled] at their good life.

And again, the Devil… he did not… evil… These holy youths, however, were not troubled in their spirit, nor distressed, but were enduring happily, receiving grace through God… said… these…

[**f.157v *a* begins**] …ten days... passed from the time that these (things) befell them, a man accused two men before the king of not having paid a former (debt of) taxes.[145] And the king [gave the two men over to]… *hol*[*okottinoi*]… and they did not… And as (those) who were in charge of them were beating[146] them, the holy John met them[147] opportunely, and he said to the soldiers who were in charge of them, "For what reason are these men being beaten?"

[**f.157v *b* begins**] They said to him, "We are going to demand one-hundred *holokottinoi*[148] from each (man)." He said to them, "If they give the two-hundred *holokottinoi* are they still in[149] danger?" They said to him, "No, but if they do not give them, they will be killed." [Then John said]… *hol*[*okottinoi*]…

142 ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉ[ⲛⲟⲃⲉ]: literally, "they are innocent of sin." The text here has been restored based on the corresponding Bohairic text which reads: ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉ̀ ⲛⲟⲃⲓ "…they are innocent of the offence" (Budge 1894, p. 76 [text], p. 61* [translation]).

143 ⲁϥⲕⲧⲉⲡⲉϥϩ[ⲟ] Literally, "he turned his face."

144 The lacuna in the Coptic text is too large to attempt reconstruction. The corresponding Bohairic text reads: ⲉⲩϯ ⲱ̀ⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲫϯ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉ̀ⲑ ⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲙⲓϫⲁⲏⲗ ⲫⲏ ⲉ̀ⲑ ⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡ ⲟⲩϫⲁ ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ…"…glorifying God and His holy Archangel Michael; and these pious people did not cease from doing…" (Budge 1894, p. 76 [text], p. 62* [translation]). The corresponding Sahidic text has: ⲁⲩϯ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ ⲡⲉϥⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ ⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲓ̈ϫⲁⲏⲗ "…glorifying God and His great Archangel Michael" (Budge 1915, p. 167 [text], p. 746 [translation]). The lacuna in P. IFAO inv. f.157r *a* most likely corresponds to the Bohairic since the Coptic in 157r *b* which follows, closely parallels it; the only difference being the word ⲛ̣ϭ[ϭ] of which we can see traces at f.157 *a*.22.

145 ϩ]ⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲉⲛ̄ⲛ|ⲁⲩⲙ[ⲟⲥⲓⲟⲛ] ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ |ϩ̣ⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ: literally, "…as having taxes to them before." Concerning ϩⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ, the letter after ϩ in the manuscript is damaged. It may be restored to ϩ̣ⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ("before (in time)," cf. Crum 1939, p. 285a) or ϩⲁⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ("formerly," cf. Crum 1939, p. 285a). Both are possible with regard to meaning; ϩⲁⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ is more satisfactory in terms of context, but palaeographically, ϩ̣ⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ is more probable.

146 ϩⲛⲃⲣⲓϫⲉ (from ὑβρίζω): used here (and also at f.133r *b*.24-25; f.157v *a*.27) in a legal sense, literally meaning to "commit a physical outrage on one" as punishment (cf. Liddell, Scott, Jones 1940, p. 1594a).

147 ⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲱ[ⲟⲩ]: literally, "he came upon them," i.e. happened to meet them.

148 For a discussion about the ὁλοκόττινος, see Composition on p. 394-395. Although the Coptic text uses the singular form of the noun ϩⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟⲧⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ, the word should be translated in the plural since the amounts referred to in the text are plural.

149 ⲥⲉϭⲉⲉⲧ ⲟⲛ ⲉ̄ⲓ[ⲕⲓⲛ]ⲇⲩⲛ[ⲟ]ⲥ: literally, "they still continue (to be) in danger."

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[**f.134r *a* begins**] …these pious (brethren), and he was envious of them and was warring against them. And he stirred up another trial against them, which was this:

It came to pass after these things that a man of the city invited one of his friends in the evening; and that man was living near the house of these pious (brethren). And when they had finished eating and drinking, the man arose to go to his house. And as he was walking in the main street of the city, a serpent bit him on the foot and he fell down and died immediately, [and no] man [**f.134r *b* begins**] knew what had happened to him. And when the night-watchman of the city was doing his nightly round, together with those who were with him, they found the man stretched out dead. And they lit a lamp[150] and examined his entire body and they did not know what had happened to him; but they prepared the (man) who had died for burial and when it was morning, they took him out to the tomb.

And the Devil took the form of a man and proclaimed [**f.134v *a* begins**] in the midst of the city saying, "I have understood the death of this man who died today, (and) I know who it was who killed him. This murder was not committed by any man except these four young strangers who dwell in the street of our god Zeus, and I am (ready) to bear witness to this fact."[151]

And the word spread throughout the whole city, and the governor heard (it) and he brought the matter to King Gesanthos. And immediately, the king sent and had [**f.134v *b* begins**] the four youths brought to him with their hands tied behind them, and chains[152] around their necks. And as they were being brought before the king, behold a voice occurred to them saying, "Fear not, for the time[153] of tribulation has passed and relief has reached you from the Lord."

Then they were set before the king as condemned criminals. And behold [immediately the Archangel] Michael [took] the form of a great general [of Constan]tine, [**f.135r *a* begins**] the Emperor of the Romans, and came beckoning from afar.

And when King Gesanthos saw him, he arose and stood up before him; and when he had come up to him they sat down together.

And the Archangel Michael saw the youths standing there in that manner, and he said to the king, "What is the business of these (youths) who are standing like this before you?" And he told him what had happened saying… by night… hand over…

[**f.135r *b* begins**] Michael said to him, "In our country, when a man dies a death of this sort and one does not know with certainty who killed him, the dead (man) is brought forward[154] and we question him, and he speaks and tells us who killed him. So now, if you wish to know the truth, let the (man) who died be brought here[155] and we will question him and he will tell us what happened to him."

150 ⲡϩⲏⲃ̅ⲥ̅: literally, "*the* lamp".

151 ⲡⲉⲓϩⲱⲃ: literally, "this *matter*".

152 ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟ(ⲛ): from the Latin *collarium (collare)*; defined as "a band or chain for the neck, a collar" (cf. Lewis, Short 1879, p. 365a.)

153 ⲁⲛⲉ{ⲩ}ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ for ⲡⲉⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ. The Bohairic version has ⲡⲥⲏⲟⲩ (Budge 1894, p. 78), while the longer Sahidic version has ⲡⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ (Budge 1915, p. 169) – "*the* time". In line with these, it would seem that the first ⲩ was erroneously included, giving a reading of ⲡⲉⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ "*the* time".

154 ⲡⲉⲛ|ⲧⲁϥⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧϥ. |ⲱⲁⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧ|ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ: literally, "the dead (man) is brought to the midst." ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ here (and also at f.135r *b*.27) is idiomatic for "bring forward" or "bring out."

155 ⲉⲡⲉ̈ⲓⲙⲁ: literally, "to this place."

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Immediately, King Gesanthos commanded, and the dead (man) was brought out.[156] And the Archangel Michael said [**f.135v *a* begins**] to the youngest brother of these pious men, "Daniel, go and say to this dead man: 'In the name of the God of heaven, tell us what has happened to you.'"

Then God—the man-loving (One), wishing to make His name glorious and so that all might believe in Him in that entire region—made the soul of the man to return to him again and he came to life for the salvation of the king and the whole multitude of *Entikê*.

And the man cried out saying, "Woe unto you, O King Gesanthos, for you have dared to sit down with the Archangel Michael, the great general-in-chief [**f.135v *b* begins**] of the powers of heaven! For truly, these men who have been slandered are righteous and innocent. And it is not they who killed me, but it was a serpent which bit me and I died. And by reason of the excellence of these men, this great good has reached you, and you were made worthy to see the holy Archangel. And behold, the wonders of God (which) you have seen… [in all your] heart, and forsake…[157] [**f.158r *a* begins**] in which there is no profit, that the God of heaven may forgive you your previous sins. For truly, a great (act of) grace has been shown to me today, for I have seen the Archan[gel] Michael through these righteous men."

And immediately, the Archangel Michael flew [to the heights in great glory, and the king saw him and all the multitude]…[158]

[**f.158r *b* begins**] …[the heart] of the king [became quiet[159] from the fear(ful), and the] great and marvellous thing which he had seen. The king arose [and kissed] John [saying,] "… that we believe in Him now."

And John preached to the king and the whole multitude the name of the Lord [Jesus] Christ. [And the king] and [**f.158v *a* begins**] [all] the multitude cried out [saying], "Jesus Christ [is the living] God!"[160]

And the holy John said to the king, "Arise and write to Constantine, the emperor of the Romans… [and] baptise you in the name [of the] Father, and [the] Son, and the Holy Spirit."

And King Gesan[thos] wrote a letter to Emperor Constantine saying, "Ges[an]thos, whom men call [king, dares] [**f.158v *b* begins**] to write to the ruler and emperor Constantine, the servant of Christ. Greeting! A great (act of) grace has reached us from the Good God who has remembered us, delivered us from the worship of polluted idols, and turned us to Himself by His great goodness…[161] Christ…

156 See the note about ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ above.

157 The lacuna is too big to attempt reconstruction of the Coptic text. The English translation could perhaps be restored from Budge 1894, p. 65*, since the Coptic text in f.158r *a*, which follows the lacuna at the end of f.135v *b*, closely parallels the Bohairic text of Budge 1894, p. 80.

158 The rest of the lacuna is too big to attempt reconstruction of the Coptic text. The English translation could perhaps be restored from Budge 1894, p. 65*, since the Coptic text in f.158r *b*, which follows the lacuna at the end of f.158r *a*, closely parallels the Bohairic text of Budge 1894, p. 80.

159 [ⲡϩⲏⲧ] ⲙⲡⲣ̂[ⲣⲟ ⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ] ⲉⲣⲟϥ: ⲥⲙⲓⲛⲉ literally means "set right" (vb. intr. cf. Crum 1939, p. 338a, b), but in this context it should probably be translated as "became quiet." Compare: ⲁ̀ ⲡϩⲏⲧ ⲙ̀ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲥⲉⲙⲛⲓ ⲉ̀ⲣⲟϥ "the heart of the governor became quiet" (Budge 1894, p. 80 [text], p. 65* [translation]).

160 ⲟⲩ]ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲓⲉϥ[ⲟⲛϩ̄ ⲡⲉ] ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅: literally, "Jesus Christ is a living God" (see p. 416). This formula is frequent in passion narratives and martyr texts; cf. for example, the Martyrdom of Saint Victor the General: ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲕ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉϥⲟ̄ⲛϩ̄ "Thou art the god who livest" (Budge 1914, p. 3 [text], p. 255 [translation]).

161 The lacuna is too big to attempt reconstruction of the Coptic text. The English translation could perhaps be restored from Budge 1894, p. 66, since the Coptic text in f.136r *a*, which follows the lacuna in f.158 v *b*, closely parallels the Bohairic text of Budge 1894, p. 81.

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[**f.136r *a* begins**] Furthermore, we entreat your honoured lordship to send unto us one of the great bishops who are before you to enlighten us in the doctrine of the upright faith, show us the way (in which we may) go unto God, and give unto us the holy seal (of baptism). For truly, if you will do this for us, you will receive another crown from Christ. May the God-loving emperor be saved by the might of the God of all creation."

And in great haste, the letter was taken and given[162] to Constanti[ne] the emperor. And [**f.136r *b* begins**] when he had read the letter, he marvelled exceedingly about what had happened and glorified God. And with great solicitude, he wrote to *Apa* John the Bishop of Ephesus in this manner:

"Before all things, I kiss your holy hands, which truly hold[163] the flesh of the Son of God. Great joy has come unto us from God, and behold I sent it to you also, knowing that you will rejoice exceedingly. Please then, undertake a little [**f.136v *a* begins**] toil—believing confidently[164] with all your heart that your toil is not in vain—do it then for (the sake of) Christ who accepted suffering for the whole race of man. Trouble yourself and go to the city of Entia, and heal those who dwell therein with the doctrine of Christ, and bring them away from the service of idols, and baptise them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. And this shall be unto you a praiseworthy act before Christ and His holy apostles, that we may be [**f.136v *b* begins**] saved together through the might of Jesus Christ."

And the Emperor sent (this letter) to *Apa* John, the Archbishop of Ephesus, together with the letter of King Gesanthos. When the Archbishop read the letter, he rejoiced exceedingly at the return of the city. Then he took with him three presbyters, two deacons, a reader, three singers of Psalms, twelve labourers,[165] and other servants. And… [**f.136v *b* ends**].

162 ⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲛ|ⲛⲉⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲁⲩ|· ⲙⲙⲟ|[ⲟ]ⲩ: literally, "they took the writings and gave them…"

163 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛ|ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲙⲡⲫ|ⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ |ϩ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉ: literally, "these which truly hold the flesh of the Son of God." Appositive relative construction introduced by ⲛⲁⲓ.

164 ⲉⲕⲑⲁ[ⲣⲓ]: 2nd pers. masc. sg. circumstantial converter of the first present ⲉⲕ- + the Greek verb θαρρεῖν (meaning "to believe confidently that").

165 ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲡⲟⲛⲟⲥ: a technical term which could also be translated here as "church helpers," cf. the discussion under Composition on p. 392-395.

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κατάγειον ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲅⲓ̈ⲟⲛ: f.133v *b*.22
κατάδικος ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲇⲓⲕⲟⲥ: f.134v *b*.22
κελεύειν ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ: f.135r *b*.25
κεράστης ⲕⲉⲣⲁⲥⲧⲏⲥ: f.134r *a*.24; f.135v *b*.9
κίνδυνος ⲕⲓⲛⲇⲩⲛⲟⲥ: f.157v *a*.10
κοινωνεῖν ⲕⲟⲓⲛⲱⲛⲉⲓ: f.133r *a*.5
κολλάριον (from Lat. *collarium* (*collare*) ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ: f.134v *b*.6
λοιπόν ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ: f.136r *a*.1
μέν ⲙⲉⲛ: f.136r *b*.14
ὁλοκόττινος ϩⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟⲧⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ: f.157v *a*.14; f.157v *b*.4, 8-9, 22
οὐδέ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ: f.157r *b*.20
οὐν ⲟⲩⲛ: f.136r *b*.29; f.136v *a*.4
παραδίδωμι [ⲡⲁ]ⲣⲁⲇⲓⲇⲟⲩ: f.135r *a*.27
παρακαλεῖν ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ̈: f.133r *b*.7-8; ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ: f.136r *a*.1-2
παρίστημι ⲡⲁⲣϩⲓⲥⲧⲁ: f.134v *a*.28-f.134v *b*.1
πατρίκιος (from Lat. *patricius*) ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲕⲓⲟⲥ: f.133r *a*.28-*b*.1; f.157r *a*.12
πειρασμός ⲡⲓ̈ⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ: f.134r *a*.5
πιστεύειν ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ: f.135r *a*.13; f.158r *b*.19
πίστις ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ: f.136r *a*.10
πλατεῖα ⲡⲗⲁⲧⲓⲁ: f.134r *a*.22
πλήν ⲡⲗⲏⲛ: f.135v *b*.19
πνεῦμα, ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ: appearing as ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ f.157r *b*.20; f.158v *a*.20; f.136v *a*.22
πόλεμος ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲙⲉⲓ: f.134r *a*.3
πόλις ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ: f.134r *a*.10; f.134r *b*.5; f.134v *a*.1-2, 21; f.136v *a*.10; f.136v *b*.16
πραῖδα, πρέδα (from Lat. *praeda*) ⲡⲣⲉⲧⲏ: f.133r *a*.24; f.133r *b*.22-23; f.157r *a*.3-4
πρεσβύτερος ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲏⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ: f.136v *b*.19
ῥιπάριος ϩⲣⲏⲡⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ: f.134r *b*.4-5
Ῥωμαῖος ϩⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ: f.135r *a*.2; f.158v *a*.9
σάρξ ⲥⲁⲣⲝ: f.136r *b*.18
σκεπάζω ⲥⲕⲉⲡⲁⲍⲉ: f.133r *a*.16-17
σκύλλειν ⲥⲕⲩⲗⲗⲉⲓ: f.136v *a*.8
σπουδή ⲥⲡⲟⲩⲇⲏ: f.136r *a*.25
στολίζειν ⲥⲧⲉⲗⲓⲍⲉ: f.158r *b*.23
στρατηλάτης ⲥⲧⲣ[ⲁⲧⲏ]ⲗⲁ[ⲧⲏⲥ] (or ⲥⲧⲣ[ⲁⲧⲩ]ⲗⲁ[ⲧⲏⲥ]): f.134v *b*.27-28
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τύπος ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ: f.136r *b*.13
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φόνος ⲫⲟⲛⲟⲥ: f.134v *a*.9
χαίρετε ⲭⲁⲓⲣⲉⲧⲉ: f.158v *b*.5
χριστιανός ⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ: f.133v *b*.1
χώρα ⲭⲱⲣⲁ: f.135r *a*.14
ψάλτης ⲯⲁⲗⲧⲏⲥ: f.136v *b*.24
ψυχή ⲯⲩⲭⲏ: f.135r *a*.16
ὡς ϩⲱⲥ: f.157v *a*.6
ὥστε ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ: f.157r *b*.4-5

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