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# COPTIC APOCRYPHA 

IN THE

DIALECT OF UPPER EGYPT

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# COPTIC APOCRYPHA 

IN THE

## DIALECT OF UPPER EGYPT

EDITED, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

## BY

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., Litt.D.<br>KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES<br>IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

## WITH FIFTY-EIGHT PLATES

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## PREFACE

The present volume contains the Coptic texts, with translations, of an important series of Apocrypha, a Life of Pisentius, Bishop of Coptos in the seventh century, an Encomium on John the Baptist, attributed to Saint John Chrysostom, and a series of Instructions by Pachomius the Archimandrite; all of them are written in the dialect of Upper Egypt, and all are published for the first time. The editing of the texts has been carried out by an arrangement with my colleague Dr. L. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum.

The longest and perhaps most interesting Apocryphon is the 'Book of the Resurrection', which is attributed to Bartholomew the Apostle. It describes the descent of our Lord into hell, the conquest of Death and his sons, the defeat of the Devil, the destruction of the gates, bolts, and bars of hell, the extinction of its fires, the overthrow of its blazing cauldrons, the liberation of Adam and Eve and all the children of men, the final condemnation of Judas Iscariot, the ascent from hell of our Lord, His Resurrection, His appearances to the Apostles, His enthronement on the right hand of the Father in His Tabernacle of Light in the

Seventh Heaven, and the reconciliation of God with Adam and his sons in the presence of myriads of Cherubim, Seraphim, Archangels, Angels, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, and all the hosts of heaven. Here and there in the work there are passages that resemble parts of the mediaeval composition known as the 'Harrowing of Hell', but its contents are entirely different from those of the second part of the Gospel of Nicodemus which deals with Christ's Descent into Hell. The whole Apocryphon exhibits strong Egyptian (Gnostic) influence, and professes to give the actual words of the divine unknown language in which our Lord and the Virgin Mary spoke to each other. The MS. from which the text is edited was written probably in the tenth or eleventh century, and it was presented to the church of Illarte by an unnamed benefactor who states in the colophon that he supplied his own parchment. The form of the name Illartê suggests that this church was situated in Nubia, perhaps near the modern town of Wâdî Halfah. In view of the importance of the work, and the very mutilated condition of the text, the Trustees ordered a complete facsimile of the MS. to be made and published with the text (Plates I-XLVIII).

Two of the Apocrypha printed in this volume deal with Saint John the Apostle. The text of the first is edited from the vellum MS. Oriental No.6782, which was written in the seven hundred and sixth year of Diocletian, or the Era of the Martyrs, i. e. A. d. 990. It states that Saint John was in Ephesus,
and that having made a long prayer, the text of which is given in full, and made an address to his followers, he ordered them to dig a grave for him outside the city. In this he laid himself down and died peacefully, but when his disciples came the next day they could not find his body. An Ethiopic version of this Apocryphon is extant in the venerable MS. Oriental No. 673, Fol. 95b ff., and a version in Arabic must also have existed. The second Apocryphon of Saint John is a very curious work. According to it our Lord sent a cloud into all parts of the world wherein were the Apostles in order that it might bring them to Him on the Mount of Olives. When all the Apostles had arrived there John asked the Lord to explain to him the Mysteries of the Heavens, and the laws which regulated the fall of dew and rain, and other natural phenomena. Having summoned a Cherubim (sic) the Lord committed John to his care, and told him to answer fully all his questions. The angel having set John upon his wing of light bore him up through the Seven Heavens and described to him their construction. He shewed him the Twelve Rulers of the worlds of light, and the fountain whence fell the rain upon the earth, and described to him the laws which govern the succession of day and night, and the various classes of stars, \&c. In the eastern part of the earth also he shewed him Paradise, and Adam walking about in it, burying in the ground the heaps of leaves which fell from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. The angel
impressed upon John the sacredness of oaths sworn by water and by wheat, because the former existed before the heavens and the earth were created, and the latter was formed from portions of the 'invisible body of God' and the body of His Son. Having explained to John why Hezekiah turned his face to the wall and wept, and answered his questions about predestination, and whether animals have souls and whether they will live again after death, the angel brought John down from heaven to the disciples who were awaiting him on the Mount of Olives.

The last Apocryphon in the volume concerns John the Baptist, and is found in an Encomium on this saint which is attributed to Saint John Chrysostom. In this interesting work Chrysostom tells us that he discovered the narrative, which is stated to be the work of John, the brother of our Lord, written in a 'little old volume' preserved in the Library of the Holy City Jerusalem, among the manuscripts which had been deposited there by the Holy Apostles. According to this volume the Saviour was on the Mount of Olives surrounded by the Apostles, who were questioning Him about John the Baptist. He commanded a cloud to come, and He and they ascended upon it into the heights of heaven. When He had shewn them all the Heavens except the Third, He brought them into the Third Heaven, which was a most glorious place. They saw there John the Baptist and his father and mother, Zacharias and Elisabeth, who were
arrayed in splendid apparel set with precious stones. Summoning to Him Michael, and the Seven Archangels, and Sedekiel, and surrounded by the Apostles, He called upon them all one by one to bear witness to the fact that He had bestowed the Third Heaven upon John the Baptist. He then enumerated before the Archangels and Apostles the great gifts which He had given to him, the last and greatest of them all being a boat of gold. The boat was intended for the use of the souls of those who had loved John upon earth. These souls would, after the death of their bodies, find their way to the boat of gold, and John would ferry them over the Lake of Fire, and land them in the Third Heaven, which was John's peculiar appanage. No soul, good or bad, could enter this Heaven except after baptism in the river of fire, which consumed the wicked, but to the righteous followers of John seemed only like a hot bath. There was there also another boat, which was provided with oars and lamps. When the souls of the righteous had taken their places in it, the oars worked by themselves, and rowed it over the dark waters, the lamps lighting it on its way.

The remaining texts in this volume are a Life of Pisentius, Bishop of Coptos in the seventh century, and a series of Instructions to a brother, who had lost his temper and reviled a fellow monk, by Pachomius the Archimandrite, of the famous Monastery of Tabenna.

The Coptic texts enumerated above are of great
value linguistically, for they contain many unusual forms, and some words which are not to be found in the lexicons available to me. To the student of Egyptian Christianity they are highly important, for they record traditions and legends hitherto unknown, many of which must be very old. The manuscripts from which they are edited are also of unusual importance from a palaeographic point of view, for three out of the four are dated, and they thus form guides for the approximate dating of undated manuscripts. The quotations from the Old and New Testaments appear to have been made from memory, and some of them are difficult to identify.

I am indebted to the Director, Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, for his help in deciphering the Greek portions of the colophons, and for many friendly suggestions. To the readers of the Oxford University Press my thanks are also due.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

## Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum.

May 7th, 1913.

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## INTRODUCTION

## I. THE BOOK OF THE RESURRECTION, BY BARTHOLOMEW THE APOSTLE.

The text of this most important apocryphal work is found in Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6804, but unfortunately in a much mutilated state. The manuscript consists of twentyfour leaves of thin parchment, measuring from $7 \frac{1}{2}$ in. to $9 \frac{1}{4}$ in. in length, and from $6 \frac{1}{2}$ in. to $7 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{in}$. in width. A good idea of its general size and appearance is afforded by Fol. 1, which, with the exceptions of a few letters on one side and of the lower margin, is complete. The number of the page, as is seen from Fol. $16 a$, Fol. $19 b$, \&c., was written above the middle of the single column of writing, which filled the page; most of the page-numbers having disappeared the order of some of the leaves is doubtful. The text is written in a good clear hand with a brownish-black ink, but the sides of the $\oint$ are in several cases decorated with patches of red ink. The names $\overline{\mathrm{IC}}$ Jesus, İ̄̄ Jah, the words spoken by God reapi $\overline{X^{2} p}$ llapiae and kaeraөapi £ल由 (Fol. 6 b), and the titles of the Hymns of the Angels, are written in red ink. On the last page but one is a tailpiece painted in black and red, and a few of the paragraphs begin with large, elaborately drawn and painted initials. Nowhere in the manuscript is a date given, but there is little doubt that it was written in the tenth or eleventh century. The Colophon, which is much mutilated, states that the manuscript was copied in the Name of the 'Holy Consubstantial Trinity' by a person, name wanting, who made use of 'his own parchment' $2^{\bar{\pi}}$ reqeeceßpanom Eeenn

Eeeof, and who deposited it in the church which is 'built
 in this world and in the next. Of Illarte and its church nothing is known, but the form of the name of the town, or village, suggests that it was situated in Nubia, perhaps near the Island of Faras.

The manuscript was acquired by the Trustees in 1907 from Mr. R. de Rustafjaell, who bought it, with other manuscripts, from a native dealer in Upper Egypt. The dealer purchased it, according to Mr. R. de Rustafjaell, ${ }^{1}$ from an Arab who found the manuscripts whilst he was working on his land near the ruins of an old Coptic monastery outside Edfû. A great many Coptic manuscripts were discovered near Edfû during the winter 1906-7, but it is doubtful if the Book of the Resurrection and the small Nubian manuscript, to which Mr. de Rustafjaell refers, were among them.

The first to publish any part of the Coptic version of the Book of the Resurrection was Dulaurier who, in 1835, edited the Fragment des Révélations apocryphes de Saint Barthélemy ${ }^{2}$ from the four leaves Copte 78, 5-8, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. In 1891 C. Schmidt published the text of one leaf, preserved in the Berlin Museum, of a manuscript containing a Recension of the Book of the Resurrection, under the title of Ein koptisches Fragment einer Moses-Adam-Apocalypse. ${ }^{3}$ This leaf, as M. Lacau shewed subsequently, belongs to the Paris Manuscript, Copte 129 ${ }^{17}$. Three years later M. Lacau published the text of all the leaves belonging to this MS., and republished the text from Copte 78, 5-8 which Dulaurier had edited and translated ; ${ }^{4}$ and gave French translations of all the leaves. Each of the two Paris manuscripts represents

[^0]a distinct Recension of the Book of the Resurrection, but there is nothing to indicate which of the Recensions is the older.

The British Museum MS. seems to represent yet a third Recension, for in the passages in which its contents can be compared with those of the Paris MSS. there are many striking differences. Passages in one manuscript are omitted in the other, and the contrary, and the scribe appears to have followed his own dictates in selecting passages for copying. In 1910 Mr. W. E. Crum published a rendering of the British Museum MS., ${ }^{1}$ which he attributes to the twelfth century, and he gave with it a plate containing a facsimile of two pages. The Book of the Resurrection was written in Greek, but nothing seems to be known about the Greek original. The contents of the Coptic version may be briefly summarized thus:

The first four or five leaves of Oriental 6804 are wanting. These, no doubt, contained, in addition to the title of the work, a description of the crucifixion of our Saviour, which ends with the words 'in the peace of the Father. Amen'. After His crucifixion He was laid in a tomb, and He rose from the dead on the third day, and carried up into heaven with Him the soul of the holy man Apa Anania. This is the only mention of Anania found in the manuscript. Who he was is not clear, but it is possible that he was mixed up in the proceedings connected with the crucifixion, and that in reward for his services and death Christ took his soul up into heaven, and made him to sit 'at the table of His Kingdom '. When Joseph of Arimathea had prepared the Body of the Lord for burial, and had laid it in a new sepulchre, Death went into Amente, or the abode of the souls of the dead, and asked what had become of the Soul of Christ. It had not been brought to him, and though he had sought for it for two days he had not found it. This fact troubled

[^1]him greatly, and he was sorely disturbed in his mind because of the violent commotion which took place when Christ's Soul left His Body. Never had he known anything like it. Then calling to his steward Death told him that they must go and try to find the Body which had just died, and the Soul which had hidden itself. They set out from Amente, and when they came to the tomb of the Lord they found that it was 'lighted up with the light of life', and Death and his steward sat down behind the tomb to take counsel together and to devise a plan whereby they might enter the tomb. Then the six sons of Death, namely, Gaios, Tryphon, Ophiath, Phthinôn, Sotomis, and Komphion, who were waiting there for the Saviour to go down into Amente so that they might enter with Him and see what He would do, came to their father, and took counsel with him. Finally they took the form of serpents, ' and wriggled into the tomb of the Son of God,' where the Saviour shewed Himself to them in the form of a dead body, which was lying in the back part of the tomb, with one napkin round the face and another round the head.

Turning then to the Pestilence-fiend Death asked him if the Soul of the Body of Christ had been brought to him in Amente, or if it had been mentioned to him, or if he had included it in the number of the dead which he registered. Death then went on to describe his unquietness of mind, and the terrible things which had happened when Christ died. Amente rocked and quaked beneath him, the pillars of heaven trembled, the air was violently disturbed, and the hours and the days and the nights were thrown into disorder. As for Hell itself, its fires were extinguished, Gehenna was cold, the gates were battered down and their keepers driven away, the servants and ministers and envoys of Hell had nothing to do, and all the angels of Hell were scattered. And the power of Death himself had passed into the keeping of another.

Then Death approached the Body of Christ, and asked It, 'Who art Thou ?' 'What art Thou?' He admitted that he had been sorely disturbed, and that he had been destroyed by the Body, the form of which he could not understand. Whilst Death was saying these things, Christ removed the napkin from His face, and looking into the face of Death laughed at him. When Death saw the laugh he became terror-stricken, and turning round he fled, and then fell on the earth with his six sons.

After a time Death recovered his senses, and he rose up and went again to the Body of Christ, shaking and trembling with fear as he went, for he was alone: when he came to the Body Christ again laughed at him, but on this occasion Death remained before the Body, and repeated the question, 'Who art Thou?' Sorely perplexed for a time, Death at length asked the Body if it were possible for It to be the Holy Lamb, the First-born of the Father. And little by little he realized that the Body was that of the 'Good God, Merciful and Compassionate', to Whom those who are shut up in Amente cried for mercy and release; but the true Glory and Majesty of Christ, and the greatness of His humility, he did not understand. And again Death said, 'Who art Thou that laughest? I ask, I speak. Tell me, Why dost Thou refuse to answer? Thou humblest me, Thou makest a mock of me. I will never leave Thee, but will cleave unto Thee until Thou shewest me Who Thou art. I am all-powerful, my power is invincible, Thou canst not deceive me.' Whilst Death was saying these words to the Body of Christ, the Saviour, the Living One, sac, went up into heaven in the cbariot of the Cherubim, and a mighty multitude of Angels, Archangels, Cherubim, Seraphim, the Four and Twenty Elders, and the Powers were standing by the tomb.

Then Christ went down into Amente, and broke down the doors which were sbut in His face, and shattered their bolts, and overturned the blazing cauldrons of fire, and put out
the fires, and swept everything out of Amente, and left it like a desert. He then bound the Shameless One, and the ministers of Satan, and Melkhir, a devil, with fetters and chains of iron. He redeemed Adam, and delivered man, and set free all creation, and healed the wounds which the Enemy had inflicted on his son.

In Amente Christ found Judas Iscariot, the man who betrayed Him, and said to him, 'Tell me, Judas, in what way didst thou profit by betraying Me to the Jewish dogs? Assuredly I only endured sufferings of all kinds in order to fulfil [the will] of My Father, and to redeem [and set free] My creatures whom I had fashioned. As for thee, woe be unto thee with twofold woes.' In one of the manuscripts published by M. Lacau the equivalent of the above passage is followed by the words 'rebukings innumerable and cursings most terrible', and it is said that the 'lot of Judas is with his father the Devil'. According to this Christ did not forgive Judas for betraying Him, and a whole page is devoted to the description of the awful things that befell Judas after his death. The angels who were in the train of our Lord hurled him down headlong, and his mouth was filled with thirty serpents, which were the personifications of every vice and every kind of evil, and they destroyed him. He was cast into the outer darkness; none shall enquire concerning him, and utter oblivion shall cover him for ever.

On the third day, the day whereon the Saviour rose from the dead, Death did not see any longer the 'dead Body of Jesus the Son of God', Who had talked with him. And he told the Pestilence-god to go down quickly into Amente and to take good heed in the matter of protecting himself, and to shut tight the doors until he could find the Body which had escaped him, or which had hidden Itself. Death thought that the Body might be that of the Son of God, but, whether it was or not, he confessed that neither he nor any of his six sons could overcome it. The Pestilence-god went down into

Amente, and he was followed by Death and his six sons; they found the place a desert, and there was no one in it. They saw the broken framework of the gates, and the doors with their broken bolts, and the shattered posts, all lying about in confusion ; and the furnaces, which had once been filled with blazing fires, were empty, cold, and overthrown. The sounds of three voices were there, and these cried out in agony and with screams; there was weeping, and gnashing of teeth, and sighing, and trouble, and there too was the awful Worm, ' which never sleeps.' Whilst Death and his sons were examining the ruins of their domain the angels were singing the hymns that the Seraphim were wont to sing at dawn on the Lord's Day, over the Offering of the Eucharist.

On the morning of the Lord's Day following the Crucifixion, before sunrise, there came to the tomb of the Lord Mary the Virgin, Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, Salome, Mary and her sister Martha, Susannah the wife of Khousa, Herod's steward, Berenice, Leah, the widow of Nain, and the woman whose sins the Lord forgave (Luke vii. 47), and they all stood in the garden of Philogenes the gardener, whose son the Lord had healed. In answer to the remark of Mary, 'If thou art really Philogenes I know thee,' Philogenes replied that he knows her to be Mary, 'the mother of Tharkahari [amati],' which is one of the mystical names of our Saviour. Then Mary asked him to tell her what he had done with the Body of the Lord, and Philogenes described to her how he had succeeded in making the Jews bury the Body in a tomb close to his vegetable garden, and how he kept watch over it. In the middle of the night he rose up and went to it, and he found all the angelic host standing there. There were 12,000 Cherubim, and 13,000 Seraphim, and 29,000 Powers, and 30,000 Virgins, and hundreds of thousands of angels, and a blazing fiery chariot, with twelve Virgins standing upon
it, and all were singing hymns. Whilst Philogenes stood there watching he saw God the Father appear from His tabernacle of light, and He came to the tomb, and raised Christ from the dead. Philogenes was completely overcome by these sights and their splendour, and would have fallen down and died had not Peter, the interpreter of Christ, sustained him.

Then Christ appeared in the chariot of God the Father, and He addressed Mary, saying, 'Mari Khar Mariath,' ${ }^{1}$ and Mary replied, 'Hramboune Kathiathari Miôth.' ${ }^{2}$ Having bestowed upon Mary a number of honourable names, e. g. My holy Ark, My holy Garment, My Water-pot, My Mother, My House, My City, \&c., and having described her as the Table of the 'Кно̂mтно̂maкн', the Paradise of the Seventh Heaven, He commanded her to go and tell the brethren that He had risen from the dead. And He told her to say to them also that He would come to them at dawn to-morrow, when He would give unto them His Peace, which He had received from His Father. Then, in the presence of untold thousands of angels of every class, Christ stretched out His right band and blessed the womb of Mary His Mother. At this moment the Seven Heavens opened, and a 'Man of Light' like unto a pearl appeared, and He was God the Father. Stretching out His hand, which was like snow, He laid it upon the breast and body of Mary, and blessed her womb, and called her 'Fountain of Life', 'Pearl of the Father', 'Our Salvation', \&c. At intervals all the angels cried out, 'Hallelujah, Amen.' Then Christ told her that the blessing of the Father, and the might of the Son, and the joy of the Holy Spirit should be with her at all times, and that at her death He would come with His Father, and Michael, and the angels, and would take her to His kingdom. As to her body, a Cherub, with a sword of fire,

[^2]and twelve hundred angels should watch over it until the day of the coming of His Kingdom.

When the angels had departed Mary went and told the Apostles that Christ had risen from the dead. On her arrival she found them making ready to offer up the Offering, and she remained with them and partook of 'the Body and Blood of Christ', and received a blessing from a bishop whose name is not given, but who may have been Peter. And the Apostles rejoiced greatly at the news of the resurrection of our Lord.

Meanwhile the Saviour went up into heaven seated upon the chariot of God the Father, and all the angels accompanied Him until He reached the seventh heaven, wherein was the tabernacle of the Father, which cannot be described. Here was seated the Father, and when His Son arrived He saluted Him, and placed on His head a 'great crown of glory and blessing', the light of which illumined the whole world.

At this point Bartholomew interrupts his narrative to tell the Apostles that he is utterly incapable of describing what took place when the Father put the crown on the head of His Son. And he addresses his son Thaddaeus and adjures him, for the seventh time, not to reveal these mysteries to any impure man. What he saw on the occasion described above took place on the 15th day of the month Parmoute, during Pentecost.

When the Father crowned His Son, He called Him the 'King of Peace'. And He commanded the angels to celebrate that august day by singing 'joyfully glorious hymns" to the Son. That was the day of joy, and gladness, and exultation, and happiness, and immortality, and brightness; and freedom unto salvation, and the remission of $\sin$. The Father then invited His beloved Son to take His seat on His right hand upon 'the throne of light'. The Saviour ascended the throne, and all Angels, Archangels, Cherubim, Seraphim, Powers, Dominions, \&c., and the Twelve Virtues of the

Holy Spirit, and the Four and Twenty Elders, and the Seven Aeons, and the Patriarchs, and the Prophets, and all the Righteous, advanced before it, and worshipped the Son of God, saying, ' He is holy. He is holy. He is holy.'

In obedience to the command of the Father the angels sang hymns to the Redeemer, because God had forgiven the sins of Adam and of all his sons. In the first and second bymns each sentence begins with the words 'Glory be to Thee', and contains an honourable epithet of Christ, e.g. Propitiator, Incorruptible, Deliverer of the Universe, Alpha of the Universe. Whilst the third hymn was being sung the Father commanded the angels to bring Adam and Eve into His presence, and Michael went to Paradise and returned with them. Adam was eighty cubits in height and Eve fifty, and Bartholomew says that be never saw any person like Adam, eitber in heaven or upon the earth. He wore a girdle of pearls about his loins, his eyes sparkled like diamonds, on his forehead were characters and symbols, which were incomprehensible to men, and the Names of the Persons of the Trinity were written upon bis body in seven [characters]. His sandal-thongs were fourteen times brighter than the light of the sun and moon. Eve wore the 'adornments of the Holy Spirit', and the angels hymned her as 'Zôê', the mother of all living. Then the Father spoke words of forgiveness to Adam, and told him that he should be in His sight even as was Christ, and that Eve should be, like Mary, a mother in His kingdom. And Michael, assisted by several archangels, Raphael, Asouel, Aphouel, Harmosiel, Sareiouel, Kadiel, and Uriel, sang the third hymn of rejoicing over the forgiveness of Adam. The fourth and the fifth hymns were sung by the angels, and the sixth hymn by Adam, who ascribed glory to God for the deliverance of bimself and his wife and sons from the thrall of $\sin$. When he had ended the Seven Archangels fell on their faces, and worshipped God, and praised Him. The last hymn is called
the eighth, probably by mistake of the scribe. It was sung by Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job, Moses, Noah, and all the righteous of olden time. Before singing it these Patriarchs ascribed blessing to Adam, and when they had finished it the Father pronounced the blessing of peace upon them, and dismissed them, and every soul went to his appointed place, save Adam and Eve to whom new positions were assigned. They were placed at the entrance to the Gate of Life, so that they might be the first to salute the righteous as they entered Jerusalem, the city of Christ; Adam saluted the men, and Eve the women.

The next section of the Book of the Resurrection begins with a conversation between Bartholomew and the Apostles. Bartholomew proclaims his unworthiness, and belittles his position among men, describing himself as 'the Italian gardener who deals in vegetables'. The Apostles assure him that he is worthy to be among their number, that God has entrusted great and unspeakable mysteries to his keeping, and that he shall be known in heaven and upon earth as ' Bartholomew, the keeper of the mysteries of the Son of God'. After these things Bartholomew says that the Saviour took the Apostles up on to the Mount of Olives, and spoke to them in a language which they did not understand, but which He explained to them later. Then the Seven Heavens were opened, and as the Apostles looked they saw the Saviour standing on the mountain by their side, though His Body towered up into the heavens, and He and they went up into the tabernacle in the seventh heaven wherein dwelt God the Father. The Saviour then asked the Father to bless the Apostles, and He did so, beginning with [Peter], and continuing with Andrew, James, John, Philip, Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew, James, Simon Zelotes, . . . . . . . . Thaddeus, and Matthias. As each blessing was pronounced all the angels cried 'Hallelujah'.

The narrative is again interrupted by Bartholomew's
expressions of self-abasement before the Apostles, who in answer kissed him on the head, and praised his great humility. This done the Apostles offered up the Offering, and Mary the Virgin partook thereof with them. The odour of the Offering produced a sweet-smelling savour before the throne of the Father. And He hearkened to the prayers of the Apostles, and commanded His Son to go down to the earth, and to comfort and strengthen them, so that they might not think He had forsaken them. Then Christ went to Galilee, where He found Mary and the disciples gathered together, and He made Himself visible to them, and gave them the peace which He had received from the Father; and He breathed on their faces and they received the Holy Spirit. And He shewed them the nail marks in His hands and feet, and the wound in His side, and the marks of the thorns on His brow. At the sight of these the Apostles wept, but the Saviour consoled them, and committed them to the care of Peter, whom they were to obey as they would Christ. Then the Apostles rose up and kissed the side of Jesus, Who took of the Blood which flowed from it, and sealed them therewith. And He blessed them and went up into heaven.
Now Thomas, surnamed Didymos, was not with the Apostles when Christ sealed them, for he had gone to his own city becanse news had been brought to him of the death of his son. When he arrived there he found that his son Siôphanes had been dead seven days, but this notwithstanding he went to the grave, and in the Name of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, he commanded Siôphanes to rise up, because he wished to speak with him. And Siôphanes at once rose up, with the glory of Christ in his face, and saluted Thomas. In answer to questions put to him by his father, Siôphanes described what had happened to him after his death. When his soul left his body it was received by Michael, who took it and set out for heaven. When the soul passed throngh the river of fire, thanks to Michael, this river seemed to

Siôphanes to be like unto a river of water. The light emitted by Michael enabled Siôphanes to find a way through the region of darkness, and at length he and Michael entered heaven. When Michael had plunged the soul of Siôphanes thrice into the 'Acherousia Palus' raxeporcia $\bar{n} \lambda$ reeme, a voice came forth from the heights which ordered the angels take the soul into Paradise. Then Michael took the soul into the 'tabernacle of the Father', where it saw the Twelve Thrones of the Apostles, each with the name of an Apostle written upon it. Each throne was overshadowed by a tree laden with fruit, over each throne were a man-headed eagle with extended wings and a canopy set with precious stones. On each throne lay a white robe, and a choir of one thousand angels was appointed to each throne. From the region of the Twelve Thrones Michael took the soul to Paradise, and whilst they were walking together there, the soul of Siôphanes heard his father praying on earth. Thereupon Michael took his soul and placed it in his body, and Siôphanes rose up and spoke to his father.

When the rumour that Siôphanes had risen from the dead spread through the city, a great multitude came to the house where he was, and in answer to their questions he told them how he had been into the Paradise of the heavenly Jerusalem, and how he had sat under the shadow of the trees there for seven days; and how Michael had sealed his body upon earth, and so prevented it from decaying; and how he had been raised to life in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. And the people ran to the place where Thomas was, and blessed his coming to their city, and he baptized twelve thousand of them that day. He also marked out the foundations of a church, and having appointed Siôphanes bishop, he dismissed the multitude in peace. After these things Thomas began to pray to Christ. And whilst he was praying a cloud surrounded him, and when he had mounted upon it it bore him to the Mount of Olives, where he found
the Apostles waiting for him. When they had saluted him, Peter told him that Christ had appeared to them, and had given them His peace, and kissed them and ascended into heaven, promising them as He went that He would be with them always. When Thomas heard these things he wept, and declared that unless he could see Christ, and lay his finger on the nail marks and the wound made by the spear, he would not believe that Christ had risen from the dead. The Apostles endeavoured to convince him, but without success, and even Bartholomew's exhortation failed to remove Thomas's doubt. As Bartholomew finished his words Christ Himself appeared in their midst, and said, 'Hail Thomas, thou little man!' When the Apostles had worshipped Him, He told Thomas to come and touch the marks of the thorns and the spear and the nails on His Body, and to look upon the vinegar and the gall which they gave Him to drink. This Thomas did, and then he said, 'My Lord and God, I believe that Thou art the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and that Thou didst rise from the dead, and that Thou hast saved every man by Thy holy resurrection.' And be put out his finger, and dipping it in the Blood which was flowing from our Lord's side, he signed himself therewith. And the Saviour said, ' My Blood of God hath united itself to your bodies, and ye have become divine, even as I.' When Christ had gone up into heaven, having appeared to the Apostles twice, Peter invited the Apostles to offer up the Offering before they separated. And they brought carefully chosen bread, pure wine, and sweet-smelling incense, and with Peter standing by the Sacrifice, the Apostles formed a crown round about the table. Whilst they were partaking of the Sacrifice, our Lord came down to the Apostles, and sat with them.

The break in the text here renders it impossible to complete this portion of the narrative, but the writer of the Book of the Resurrection seems to intend to say that Christ
laid His Body on the table, and that the Apostles divided It. And 'they saw the Blood of Jesus pouring out as living blood down into the cup'. And Peter said, 'God hath loved us more than all the peoples on the earth, for He hath made us to see these great and marvellous things. And our Lord Jesus Christ hath allowed us to behold, and hath revealed to us the glory of His Body and His Divine Blood.' Then they partook of the Body and the Blood, and glorified the Treasury of Life; after this they separated, and they went about and preached in the Name of the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity.

## II. THE REPOSE OF SAINT JOHN THE EVANGELIST AND APOSTLE. ${ }^{1}$

The text of this work is edited from Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6782. This manuscript consists of thirty-six leaves of fine vellum measuring $13 \frac{3}{4} \mathrm{in}$. in length and $10 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{in}$. in width. According to a note on the lower margin of Fol. 28 b the volume to which the leaves of this manuscript belong was written in the seven hundred and sixth year of Diocletian,
 manuscript contains the following :

1. The Repose of Saint John, the Evangelist and Apostle. Fol. $2 a$.
2. A fragment of a Discourse by Gregory, bishop of Nazianzus, written in answer to a question of the Archimandrite Eusebius, the Hegoumenos of Ararat, concerning the Manichean heretics. oriococ eaytaroc - $\bar{\sigma}$ п пеп




[^3]








 qacrōctinh elataceon e nes quh.




3. A Discourse by Saint Epiphanius, Bishop of Cyprus, on the Holy Virgin who gave birth to God. He recited it on the day of her commemoration, on the twenty-first day of the month of




 дденни:--Fol. 10a.
4. A Discourse by Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, on Mary the Perpetual Virgin, who gave birth to God. Incomplete. ordococ eactarog $\overline{\text { по }}$ пеп пет oraab
 парХнепснонос й ракотє. Еачтаточ є птасіо•



 Fol. $29 a$. This manuscript was copied by a woman, as we
see from Fol. 28b, where she entreats the brethren to pray for her. גpr тасапн' maeiote • ē̄̆ macmнг• orom mee

 elas просфुора The MS. is written in a good clear hand (see Plate L), and the text is ornamented with many fine large initials. On Fol. $1 b$ is a coloured frontispiece, in which the Virgin, holding the Child, is seen standing upon an orb, within a shrine having an apsidal roof. On her right stands Saint John (see Plate XLIX). On Fol. $2 a$ is a rectangular head-piece, with a large leaf at each corner, and above it are two doves. On Fol. $9 b$ is a somewhat similar head-piece with one dove above it. On Fol. $10 a$ is a smaller head-piece, hastily drawn and poorly coloured, and above it is a figure of the Coptic Cross $2 \int_{0}^{2}$ formed of interlaced work. On Fol. $28 a$ is a coloured picture of 'Epiphanius the Bishop', holding a volume decorated with bosses on his left arm, and standing: before a shrine (see Plate LI). On the back of this Folio is the Colophon, which seems to indicate that the leaves that follow did not originally belong to the volume. The pagination runs from $\overline{\mathbf{a}}-\overline{\mathbf{A E}}, \overline{\mathbf{X}}-\overline{\mathbf{\lambda H}}$, and $\overline{\boldsymbol{\ell E}}-\overline{\mathbf{M E}}$. Fol. $36 a$ is wrongly paged 0 instead of $\mathfrak{z}$. The decorated initials in the last section are not so well drawn, and the head-piece on Fol. $29 a$ is a poor piece of ornamentation. The finest initial occurs on Fol. $36 a$ : it is here reproduced.


## III. THE MYSTERIES OF SAINT JOHN THE APOSTLE AND HOLY VIRGIN.

This important apocryphal work is edited from the Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7026. This manuscript contains 83 paper leaves measuring $11 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{in}$. in length by 7 in . in width. The pagination runs from $\overline{\mathbf{\lambda}}-\overline{\boldsymbol{\ell c}}$, then from $\overline{\lambda \varepsilon}-\overline{\text { rex }}$, and then from $\overline{\boldsymbol{\pi e}}-\overline{\rho_{\rho \epsilon}}$; in other words, the pagination is very faulty. The quires contain from one to eight leaves each, and are signed by the letters $\mathbf{a}, \mathbf{h}, \boldsymbol{\pi}, \mathbf{\geq}, \boldsymbol{\epsilon}, \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}, \mathbf{\}}, \mathbf{H}, \boldsymbol{\Theta}, \mathbf{s}$, and ia. The writing is bold and the characters are thickly written in a brownish-black ink; the text is ornamented by two head-pieces and a considerable number of large initial letters, which are more or less decorated. A typical page of text is reproduced on Plate LIII, and Plate LII shews the character of a decorated head-piece and the opening words of the Mysteries of Saint John. The Colophon (see Plate LIV) states that the manuscript was written by Victor the deacon, the son of Mercurius the deacon, the son of Eponuchos the archdeacon of [the church of] Saint Mercurius, the General-in-Chief, in Latopolis, or Asnâ (Esna) and it is dated on the third day of the month of Thoth, in the fourth Indiction, in the seven hundred and twenty-second year of the Era of the Martyrs, which is the three hundred and ninety-fifth (sic). year [of the Hijrah, or Flight of Muhammad the Prophet], i.e. A.d. 1006. The following is Sir Frederic Kenyon's transcript of the first part of the Colophon which gives these facts:-
$\epsilon \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \eta \mu \epsilon \nu \eta \theta \omega \theta \bar{\gamma} \iota \nu^{\delta} \delta$
$\alpha \pi 0$ тov ayıov $\mu \alpha \rho^{\tau} \psi \kappa \bar{\beta}$ єтous $\tau q \epsilon$
$\epsilon \gamma \omega$ В $\iota \kappa \tau \omega \rho \in \lambda \alpha x \delta_{\iota} \alpha \kappa, \overline{v v}^{1} \mu \alpha$
карıоs Mєркоирıоs $\delta \iota \alpha \kappa / \pi \alpha ı s ~_{\tau} \boldsymbol{o}^{v} \mu \alpha$


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\alpha\gamma⿺ov M\overline{\epsilon\rho}}\mu\in\gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\tau\alpha \alpha\pio (\tau\hat{\eta}
\piо\lambda\epsilon\omegas \Lambda\alpha\tau\omega\nu є\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\alphaаs \betaı\beta\lambdaоs
\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omega\nu \alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\nu\omega\mp@subsup{0}{\iota}{}\tau\eta\nu}\mp@subsup{\beta}{l}{}
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\gamma\epsilon\iota \overline{<s }\tau\eta\nu \in\lambda\epsilonol\nuo \muov \beta\iotao\nu
\epsilonv\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\sigma\nu є\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\tauо \alpha\mu\eta\nu
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The second part of the Colophon (see Plates LIV and LV), which is written in Coptic, reads thus:
'[This manuscript was written] through the zeal and the care ${ }^{1}$ of our God-loving and alms-loving brethren [Mi]chael, the archdeacon and monk, and our brother Zacharias, the second deacon and monk of [the Church of] Saint Mercurius, the General, which is in the Mountain of T'bô (Edfâ). ${ }^{2}$ They prepared this book, and they placed it in their Monastery in order that they might read therein, and that those who shall hear it read with diligent attention may benefit themselves in the fullest measure. May the Lord Jesus Christ bestow upon them great....... and patient endurance. May He deliver them from the wiles of the Devil and from wicked men. May He set blessing, and prosperity, and salvation in their Monastery. May He preserve the life of our father and chief Abba Abraham, and the lives of all the brethren who bear the cross who are in their Monastery, each one of them according to his name. May He bring their holy blessings upon [Mi]chael and Zacharias, men who are of no account, when they shall depart out of the body, and receive [their] inheritance with the coenobite fathers, Apa Pachomius, and Apa Theodorus, and Apa Palamôn, and Apa Petronius, and Apa Hôrsiesios, and all the [other] coenobite fathers. May this be unto all of us! Amen.'

[^4]The MS. Oriental 7026 contains two works:

1. The Mysteries of John the Apostle and holy Virgin, which were explained unto him in heaven. In the peace of
 גос алш ппареспос ет оraab итталтсавос єроог

2. The life and conversation of our holy and glorious father Apa Pisentius, the bishop and anchorite in the Mountain of Tsenti, which were described by John the Presbyter, on the day of the commemoration of the saint, which is the thirteenth day of the month Epeph. In the peace of God. Amen. Fol. $20 a$.

The work entitled the Mysteries of John opens with the statement that, after the Saviour had risen from the dead, He came to the Mount of Olives and sat down there. He then caused a cloud to travel through all the countries into which the Apostles had departed, and they mounted upon it and were brought by it to their Saviour Who was seated on the Mount of Olives. Then John, referring to the favour which the Lord had towards him, asked the Saviour to take him up into heaven, and to explain to him the mysteries thereof. In answer the Lord said, 'Let us pray to My Father,' and when He and John had prayed a long prayer, and the Saviour had said 'Amen', the heavens opened on each side of them, and rolled away until the seventh heaven became visible to the Apostles. Out of this heaven there came a mighty Cherub, whose body was 'filled with eyes', and from it there poured forth such dazzling splendours that all the Apostles fell terrified to the earth, and they became as dead men. Then the Saviour took hold of their hands, and removed fear from their hearts, and they became of good cheer. Of all the Apostles John alone was so bold as to address the Lord, and he asked Him to explain the ordinance of this terrible Cherub. The Lord made answer saying
that 'the words of the Father have been hidden within him, from their beginning until their fulfilment'; and then, turning to the Cherub, He commanded him to take His 'beloved John' into heaven, and to explain to him the meaning of everything about which he should ask any question. And at once the Cherub lifted him up on his wing of light, and flew up to heaven with him. In the First Heaven he saw twelve men, each seated on a throne within the great gate; these were the twelve rulers of the years, whose operations were directed by Michael. Each ruled for one year at a time, and in this way the earth yielded its crops of grain and fruit regularly.

John then asked why it was that there was sometimes a famine in one place or another, and also why it happened that in some years when water was not over-abundant the harvest was good, and why it happened that even when water was abundant there was sometimes a famine. In reply the Cherub said that the water that watered the earth was under the feet of the Father. If men commit sin when the Father is about to lift His feet and let the water flow up, He restricts the supply of water, and the harvest on earth is poor in consequence. When men do not commit sin He allows an abundance of water to come upon the earth, and the harvest is good. At times the sins of men are so many that the intercession of Michael and 120,000 angels is necessary to induce the Father to allow a sufficient supply of water to come upon the earth. As concerning water, the Cherub goes on to inform John that it existed before God created the heavens and the earth, and that only God knows who created it. To swear a false oath by water is a sin unforgivable, even as it is to swear a false oath by wheat.

The mention of wheat causes John to ask the Cherub to tell him the history of the wheat-plant, and where it grew originally. In reply the Cherub told him that when Adam and Eve were in Paradise they had permission to eat of every
tree, with the exception of the tree of grood and evil. When the Devil, who was jealous of Adam because the Sun and Moon worshipped him daily, caused Adam and Eve to be expelled from Paradise, they departed to the land of Eueilat (Havilah, חֲبִילָה), where they lived in care and anxiety, and found no food to eat similar to that which they had enjoyed in Paradise daily. In their want they cried out to God, and the Son was sorry for them, and He went to His Father, and entreated Him not to allow the man whom They had created in Their Image and Likeness to die of hunger before His Face. The Father told the Son that, since He had made Himself the Advocate of the man who bad transgressed His commandment, He must feed him upon the flesh of His own body. When the Son left His Father's presence He took a small portion of His own Divine Flesh, and rubbed it down to powder, and brought it to His Father. Thereupon the Father added to it a portion of His own Body, i. e. of His 'Flesh which is invisible', and made of these portions of the Divine Bodies a grain of wheat, which He sealed in the middle with the 'seal of light'. Then taking up the grain of wheat He gave it to His Son, and told Him to give it to Michael, who was to give it to Adam, and to teach him how to sow it and reap it. When Michael had received the grain he went to Adam, who was standing in the river Jordan, and crying to God for food, for he had eaten nothing for eight days, and gave him the grain of wheat; when Adam had received it, and knew what it was, and how it was to be used, 'his body recovered its strength,' and he cast himself down in homage at the feet of Michael.

The Cherub then transported John to the Seventh Heaven, wherein all the angels of heaven were gathered together. Here he saw the Cherubim, who were dressed in wheat and held golden censers, and the angels, who held golden phials out of which they poured the dew which fell upon the fields of the earth. Michael was the Overseer of
all the angels, and he directed the works which they carried out; his name was inscribed on their garments, and the angels cried out his name continually. This name acted as a protection, and prevented the Devil from carrying off the angels when their duties made it necessary for them to descend to the earth.

In the Seventh Heaven John saw also a fountain with waters like milk and as white as snow; round about it were trees laden with fruit of all kinds, and an angel stood by the side of it, his wings dipping in the water. This fountain was the source of all the dew that fell upon the carth. At intervals a trumpet sounded, and then the angel shook his wings, and the dew upon them fell to the earth. An angel of wrath came and wept tears of blood into this fountain, but Michael came with a sponge and wiped away all these tears. The angel of wrath was the Angel of Famine, who endeavoured at all times to bring want and misery on the earth ; but Michael, assisted by four hundred thousand angels, watched over the dew until it reached the earth.

After this the Cherub set John on his angel of light and bore him away to the Land of Edem (קֶֶֶ), i. e. to the land of the sunrise, where was situated the spring that formed the source of the rivers Phisôn, Tigris, Gêôn (the Nile), and the Euphrates. Close by it was Paradise, and John asked the Cherub to shew him the tree, of the fruit of which Adam ate and became naked. The Cherub then led John into Paradise, and shewed him a tree with roots that went very deep into the ground, and there was no fruit upon it, and it was covered with thorns. According to the Cherub the fruit of that tree was 'a kind of apple'. Whilst John was looking at the tree and wondering, he saw Adam, who was some distance away, and was coming towards him. He appeared to be weeping, and he was engaged in collecting in his garment the dead leaves under the tree, of the fruit of which he had eaten, and carrying
them away and burying them. In answer to John's enquiry as to why Adam was doing this, the Cherub told him that when the Devil had tempted Adam and Eve, all the sweetsmelling trees in Paradise lost their smell, and their leaves hegan to fall off, and Adam began to dress himself in them.

John next asked why the Devil had been allowed to enter into Paradise and seduce Adam and Eve, and pointed out to the Cherub that this could only have taken place by God's consent. In answer to this the Cherub told John that Paradise was guarded by two companies, each containing twelve angels, who served alternately a day a time. The moment seized on by the Devil to enter Paradise was when one company of angels had left Paradise and the relieving company had not taken up their duty. At this moment there was no angel in Paradise, and Adam was able to eat the forbidden fruit without let or hindrance, for the two companies of angels had agreed together to let him lave the opportunity of committing sin. The Cherub did not agree with John that Adam was blameless in consequence of this agreement, but condemned his impatience, saying that had Adam waited God would have allowed him to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. When Adam had eaten of the fruit, the mantle of righteousness wherein he was clothed left him, and his body, which had been about twenty feet in height and ten feet in breadth, decreased greatly in size and became naked. Whether any change took place in the body of Eve after her fall is not stated, but the Cherub explains to John that she was created in the hody of Adam at the time when he was created, and that God did not at once separate the two bodies. Eve was not hidden in the rib of Adam, but her body was brought out from Adam's body when God made a deep sleep to fall upon him. Adam first perceived the loss of his mantle of righteousness through the feeling of cold that attacked his fingernails, which were white, like his body. And the Cherub
told John that when Adam saw his finger-nails change colour he cried out and wept, even as did Hezekiah when he was sick and turned his face to the wall.

This allusion to Hezekiah and the wall John did not understand, and he asked the Cherub to explain it. He did so, and told him King Solomon, who had acquired great power over the devils, compelled them to describe to him every kind of disease, and to tell him what remedies were to be employed in healing them. When he had received from the devils both diagnoses and prescriptions, he went into the House of the Lord and wrote them on a wall therein. Every person who was sick went into the temple, and having identified his disease or ailment, read the remedy attached to it, took it, and was healed at once. When Hezekiah became king he plastered the wall with lime, and so obliterated the prescriptions written upon it. And he was one of those who suffered greatly, for during his sickness, in addition to the pains of his sickness, he was sorely troubled by the thought that in plastering the wall in the temple he had destroyed the means for his cure. The Lord, however, had mercy upon him, and sent to him Isaiah, who told him to poultice himself with wild figs.

Then John asked the Cherub to explain to him the operations of the Cherubim in heaven whose voices are so loud that they terrify men on the earth. The Cherub told him that these angels control the winds as they come out of the storehouses of heaven, and the fall of the rain upon earth; but for them the rain would descend with such violence that the earth would be laid waste by a water flood as it was in the days of Noah.

John's next questions concerned the earth and the sky, and he asked the Cherub what supported the sky and the earth. The Cherub replied that the sky was suspended by faith, and that the earth was supported on four pillars sealed with seven seals. When John asked what was under
the pillars, the Cherub replied that the Creator of them knew what appertained to them. In answer to further questions concerning the physical heavens the Cherub told him that the twelve hours of the day were measured by twelve Cherubim, each of whom sang a hymn, the singing of which lasted exactly an hour. The twelve hours of the night were measured by the prayers of the beasts, and birds, and reptiles that pray every hour, and each of their prayers lasts exactly one hour. At the end of the twelve hours of the day the Cherubim blow trumpets to let Michael know that the day is done, and then he speaks to the Angel of the Sun, who brings the course of that luminary to an end for the day.

Passing from natural phenomena John next asked the Cherub, Is the life of a man predestined from the time when he is in his mother's womb, or not? Is he at that time predestined to be a righteous man or a sinner? And the Cherub told him that whatever was decreed by God concerning a man before he began his life in his mother's womb came to pass. Then John asked the Cherub if the matter whereof man was made was superior to that of which the beasts were composed. The Cherub's answer is not quite definite, for he replied that after death each man is taken to the place which he deserves, and that as for the animals, whether they were living or dead, their place was the earth. In answer to further questions, the Cherub told John that animals possessed souls, which were in their blood, and that after their death they neither experienced enjoyment nor suffered pain.

John's next questions concern the stars, which the Cherub in making answer divides into three classes: 1. Those which remain in the sky until noon, but which are invisible because of the light of the sun ; 2. The Seven Stars of the Northern Heaven (Great Bear?), which remain in the sky always; 3. The Seven Stars that are called reєгтнр. And he went
on to say that although there are very many orders of stars that move from the places wherein they were set originally, the ordinances of God concerning them abide for ever. With this answer the Cherub closed the conversation between himself and John, whom he commanded to go down again into the world, and to declare to men what he had seen. Then the Cherub took John down to the Mount of Olives, where he found all the Apostles gathered together. When he had told them of everything which he had seen they kissed each other, and each Apostle departed to the country from which he had been brought by the cloud, and continued to preach the Gospel.

## IV. THE LIFE AND CONVERSATION OF PISENTIUS, BISHOP OF TSENTI, BY JOHN THE PRESBYTER, HIS DISCIPLE.

The Life of Pisentius, which herein is attributed to John the Presbyter, his disciple, and is written in the dialect of Upper Egypt, has much in common with the Life of this Saint which is attributed to John the Presbyter and Moses, Bishop of Keft, in the Memphitic version published by M. Amélineau. ${ }^{1}$ Many events in the life of the saint are described in both versions, but each version contains a number of facts which are not found elsewhere. Of the early years of Pisentius nothing is known. He was probably born about A. D. 550. His parents were no doubt well-to-do farmers, and it is probable that they lived quite near to the town of Keft, the modern Kuft, or Coptos, in Upper Egypt, or to the town of Kus, which is only a few miles from Coptos. When only a few years old, he was sent by his father to assist in tending the flock of sheep belonging to the family, and he probably continued to do this until he reached the years of

[^5]early manhood. It is not stated in our text that Pisentius went to school, but from the fact that when he became a monk he began to learn by heart certain Books of the Bible, it is quite clear that he must have been able to read. It seems reasonable to assume that he had learned to read and to write in some school which was under the direction of Christians, probably in one of the monastic schools of Coptos. When and at what age Pisentius became a monk is not known, but the ascetic labours which be performed could only have been undertaken by a full-grown man.

In the opening paragraphs of his Life of Pisentius, John the Presbyter describes the joy which men, and beasts, and birds feel on the day of the commemoration of the Saint, and points out his inability to do justice to the memory of the holy man, who must be included among the number of those who are the salt of the earth and the light of the world. He then describes an incident which shews that Pisentius was a kind and considerate man. Certain tenants of his brother either could not or would not pay their rent, and when the matter was brought before Pisentius he advised him not to seize the poor man's ox, and not to treat harshly any debtor, and not to attempt to force him to pay by legal means.

John passes on to describe how Pisentius, on one occasion, recited the whole of the Books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel without stopping, whilst his brother and a companion were waiting to visit him in his cell. The Memphitic version gives us an idea of the plan by which Pisentius committed the whole Psalter to memory. In the hottest days of the year, and in the hottest times of the day, he used to go out to the desert and stand upright on the hot rocks, in a place where no one could see him. He there tied a very large stone to his neck, and this stone was so heavy that only with the greatest difficulty could be hold himself upright. He then began to recite the Psalter, and it was only when he had recited the whole Book without making any mistakes that be
removed the stone from his neck. Meanwhile his bare feet became badly burnt by the hot stones on which he stood. Pisentius also learned by heart the Books of the Twelve Minor Prophets, and a certain brother who was once able to see him when he was engaged in reciting them saw that one of the Twelve Prophets came into his cell as he began to recite the Book which bore his name, and remained with him until he had finished it. Pisentius received other heavenly visitants in his cell, for John says that, on one occasion when the Saint was suffering from some disease of the spleen, a certain brother went into his cell to see him, and found there a very hairy man who was no other than Elijah the Tishbite.

The next incident in the life of Pisentius recorded by John concerns a certain sick brother of Tsenti, who longed for a little fish. When Pisentius knew of this, he bade the sick man be of good cheer, and went to fill his water-pot at the appointed time, and as he went he prayed to God to grant his desire. When Pisentius arrived on the river bank and was filling his pot, he saw immediately in front of him a large fish which was stranded in the shallows. He went into the water, seized the fish, and carried it back to the monastery, and the sick man and all who knew of his longing for fish believed that God had answered his prayer without delay. This incident is not recorded in the Memphitic version.

On another occasion Pisentius went to the well to draw water and to fill his water-pot, but when he arrived there he found that he had forgotten to bring with him the leather bucket and the rope with which to pull it up. For some reason he found it to be impossible to return to the monastery to fetch them, and he therefore prayed to God to make the water to rise in the well until its level was high enough to allow him to fill his water-pot. When he had ended his prayer, the water rose at once to the top of the well, and Pisentius, having filled his water-pot, commanded the water
to go down again. The water obeyed, and as it sank a certain shepherd, who looked into the well, saw it sink by degrees until it reached the bottom. The authority for this story is Paham, a fellow monk, who regarded Pisentius as one of the most holy men of his day. Paham used also to tell a story of how, when he and his brethren once saw what they believed to be a fire burning in the cell of Pisentius, they got up on a wall and looked over into the cell. There they saw the holy man standing up praying, and the light which they had seen proceeded not from a fire, but from his ten fingers, each of which was shining brightly.

One of the chief characteristics of Pisentius was his great humility and his desire to escape from the praise of men. After many years passed in a life of contemplation the congregations of Coptos decided that it would be greatly to their benefit if Pisentius was made their bishop. As soon as the holy man heard of their decision he fled from his monastery of Tsenti, and hid himself in the hills that stand behind Western Thebes. In this place there were many large ancient Egyptian tombs, and in the subterranean chambers of any one of these he could hide himself securely; this was the course which he adopted. The clergy of Coptos, however, followed him, and eventually they found his hiding-place. When they had failed to induce him to accept the office of Bishop they appealed to Apa Colluthus, a very holy man, and entreated him to use his influence to make Pisentius do what they wanted. When the clergy left Pisentius a vision fell upon him, and he heard a voice, which called him by name thrice, and ordered him to accept the office of bishop, and not to leave the Church of Coptos as it were a widow. The result of this was that, when Colluthus came to Pisentius, and asked him who he was that he should answer the clergy of Coptos in the manner in which he had done, Pisentius expressed his willingness to do as they wished. Thereupon the clergy took him to Rakoti (Alexandria), where he was consecrated
bishop by Damianus some year between 570 and 603, and on his return to Coptos he was solemnly enthroned by the officers of the Patriarch.

The rule of the new bishop was kindly, and his charities were innumerable. He devoted his own private means and the emoluments of his office to the service of the poor, and he established a system of poor-relief in the winter, which provided for the most pressing needs of the poverty-stricken in all the towns and villages on both banks of the Nile between Coptos and Syene, i.e. a distance of nearly 150 miles. Pisentius then devoted his attention to correcting the loose morals which obtained among many of his flock, and he warned them in an Epistle, which John quotes, that if they did not pay heed to his words, God would bring upon them 'a nation fierce of visage and cruel', which lacked compassion, and would spare neither old nor young. This nation was, of course, the Persians, and Pisentius, who was a shrewd observer of political events, foresaw that the Church in Egypt would suffer greatly if these 'barbarians' once obtained a hold upon Egypt. Between 514 and 520 the Persians actually invaded Egypt, and as soon as Pisentius knew that they were masters of the Delta he fled to Western Thebes, where he hid himself. With him went John the Presbyter, who took with him water-pots and ropes and skins for drawing water from wells. After they had been in hiding for some time their supply of water failed, and John all but died of thirst. Pisentius, however, worked a miracle, and when he sent John, who was dizzy and delirious through thirst, to the water-pots, he found them to be full to the brims with water which was 'white as milk and white as snow', and was like unto the flowing water of the Nile.

The stories told of Pisentius by John the Presbyter shew that the fame of the saint was widespread in Upper Egypt, and that even his name became a word of power as mighty as the name of any of the ancient kings of Egypt. When John
was returning late one evening from Western Thebes, whither he had been sent by Pisentius, he was chased by two hyenas, which tried to drag him off the animal which he was riding. In his terror he cried out to Pisentius, and as soon as the beasts heard the saint's name they fled. A little further along the road he was chased by wolves, and he abandoned his animal and tried to escape, at the same time calling upon Pisentius for help. As soon as the wolves heard that name they uttered awful cries, and turned and fled in an opposite direction. When he returned to the monastery he found that his animal had arrived before him. The blessing of Pisentius was greatly prized by all his flock, and the Sign of the Cross made by him over any person or thing became a potent spell. On one occasion a man brought an ewe to him so that he might make the Sign over it. The saint did so, and when the ewe brought forth the lamb was marked with the Sign of the Cross. Every sick person over whom Pisentius made the Sign of the Cross with his hand recovered, and the Sign being made by him, with his finger dipped in holy water, over a person possessed of a devil drove the devil away immediately.

The very dust of the ground which the foot of the saint had touched possessed power to heal. Thus, according to a story told in the Memphitic version, a certain woman who was dropsical, and another who had a violent headache and fever, lay in wait for the holy man as he was returning to his cell, intending to ask him to heal them. When the saint caught sight of the women, he began to run to his cell, whereupon one of the women ran after him, but failed to overtake him. The woman sank exhausted to the ground, but seeing the footprints of Pisentius she began to collect the sand in them, and afterwards, in great faith, to rub the sand over her forehead. Immediately she did this her headache departed. When the dropsical woman saw this she begged her companion to give her a little of the holy sand to eat. As soon as she had swallowed it the swelling in her
body subsided, and she was healed at once. The woman who had collected the sand took the remainder to her house, where she kept it as an amulet or talisman. Soon after this a son was born to her, but when he began to grow up she found that there was some serious defect in his feet, and that he was tongue-tied. One day she remembered what the sand had done for her and her neighbour, and she took what remained of it and, mixing it with water, gave it to the child to drink. Within a week the child obtained the use of his feet, and his tongue was loosened, and he could talk.

The flock of Pisentius believed that he had the power to smite the wicked with sickness, and John gives an example of his use of it. A certain man in Coptos of a jealous disposition accused his wife of illicit relations with a priest, and turned her out of his house, and went round the town abusing the priest and his bishop. Both the wife and the priest were innocent, and the wife's relations endeavoured to make peace, but failed, and the bishop told the priest to do nothing, as he would find a means of proving that he was innocent. One evening at sunset violent sickness attacked the jealous husband, and his sufferings were so great that he felt certain he was going to die. In his agony he entreated his father to carry him to Pisentius, and his parents, believing that he would recover if the holy man made the Sign of the Cross over him, did so. The sick man and his parents believed implicitly that Pisentius had smitten him with the sickness, and that only he could remove it. When the man was brought into the presence of Pisentius he humbled himself, and agreed to do whatsoever he was commanded by the bishop, and was immediately healed by him. This and many other stories related by John prove that the bishop was a shrewd observer of the affairs of his flock, and a keen judge of their characters.

The knowledge of one important event in the life of Pisentius we owe entirely to the Memphitic version published
by M. Amélineau. From this we learn that during the Persian invasion the holy man fled to a tomb in the recesses of the mountains in Western Thebes, and hid himself there for a long time. Only John knew where he was, and he used to take him a supply of food and drink each Sabbathday. The tomb wherein the saint took refuge possessed a large hall about 80 feet square, and its roof was supported by six pillars. This hall was made probably under one of the kings of the New Empire, and had been turned at a much later period, perhaps in one of the early centuries of the Christian era, into a common burial-place for the mummies of people of all classes. At all events, when John was taken there by his master the hall contained many mummified bodies, and the air was heavy with the odour of funerary spices. Pisentius and his disciple opened some of the coffins, which were very large, with much decorated inner coffins. One mummy was swathed in silk (oגocrpirorr), and must therefore bave belonged to the third or fourth century of our era. As John was about to leave Pisentius he noticed on one of the pillars a small roll of parchment, and when Pisentius had opened it he read therein the names of all the people who had been buried in that tomb. The roll was probably written in demotic, and it is quite possible that the bishop could read this easily.

On the following Saturday when John returned with the provisions for the week he heard Pisentius talking with some one, and as he listened he realized that the some one was one of the mummies. He sat down and the mummy stated that his native town was Erment, ${ }^{1}$ that his parents were called Agricolaos and Eustathia, and that they were worshippers of Poseidon. When he was about to die the angels called косенократнр came to him and enumerated to him lis sins, and drove into his body iron knives and

[^6]daggers, grinding their teeth as they did so. Then Death appeared to him, and the pitiless angels dragged his soul out of his body, and having tied it to a black horse led it away into Ement (Amente). On the road thither it was tormented and tortured by wild beasts and monsters of all sorts, and at length it was cast into the outer darkness. Here was a pit 150 feet deep, filled with seven-headed reptiles, the bodies of which were covered with scorpions, and the soul was given over to the Worm that never ceased to devour. The soul was tortured by being bitten by the teeth of the Worm every day of the week except Saturday and Sunday. The mummy went on to say that the prayers of Pisentius had caused the Lord to procure permission for his soul to return to earth temporarily, and he entreated the saint to pray that he might not be cast back into the torments of Amente. Pisentius assured him that God would shew mercy to him, and told him to go to sleep until the day of the general resurrection, when he should rise up with the rest of the world. Thereupon the mummy lay down in its coffin, and became silent as before. John declares that, as God is his witness, he saw the mummy lie down in its coffin. Pisentius knew that John had heard the mummy talking to him, notwithstanding John's denial, and he threatened him with excommunication if he told any one what he had seen and heard during the saint's lifetime. ${ }^{1}$

When Pisentius felt the time of his death drawing near, on the night of the eighth day of Epêp, he cried out to John and asked him if there was any one with him. John replied that the only men with him were Moses and Elijah the Presbyter. Pisentius addressed Moses, telling him that he would not be able to 'escape from this burden', ${ }^{2}$ and exhorted him to lead a 'correct life', and to take care of

[^7]his books ( $\mathcal{X}$ артнг). He next exhorted Elijah the Presbyter to govern the brethren wisely, and to take heed that they obeyed the rules of their order. Pisentius then said he had been warned that he had only five days to live, and that he must perforce leave them. For three days he lay motionless in his cell, neither eating nor drinking; he spoke to no one, and was to all intents and purposes a dead man. On the night of the twelfth of Epêp he cried out suddenly, and told John that he was going to die at sunset on the thirteenth day, i.e. on the morrow. On the morning of the thirteenth he again spoke to John and told him that he bad no money to pay for his funeral, except one holokottinos (or, solidus) which he had always kept by him for the purpose, from the days when he was a simple monk living in his cell. This he told John to take and to buy with it a shroud, and to bury him in his skull-cap, girdle, tunic, and monk's garb. At sunset on that day he died, and having wrapped him in his grave clothes, they buried him on the following day in the mountain, in the place where, according to his own instructions, a grave had been dug for his body.

## V. AN ENCOMIUM ON SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST BY SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

The text of this work is edited from Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7024. This manuscript contains forty-nine parchment leaves measuring $11 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{in}$. in length by $9 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{in}$. in width. The pagination runs from $\overline{\mathbf{a}}-\overline{\mathrm{y}} \mathbf{H}$. The quires are six in number, and each is signed with a letter. The quires $\boldsymbol{\lambda}, \mathbf{B}$, $\boldsymbol{\Gamma}, \boldsymbol{G}$, and $\boldsymbol{\Gamma}$ contain each eight leaves, and quire $\mathbf{\lambda}$ contains nine leaves. Each page is filled with two columns of writing, the number of lines to the column varying from twenty-two to twenty-six. The text is broken up into a large number of small paragraphs, each of which begins with a coloured initial.

The general character of the writing is well illustrated by Plate LVI; the title of each work in the manuscript is enclosed within an ornamental border, and the most complete border is shewn on Plate LVII. The manuscript is dated on the sixteenth day of the month......, of the fifteenth Indiction, of the Era of the Martyrs year 701 = the Era of the Saracens $\mathbf{3 7 5}=$ a. d. 985 . The colophon (see Plate LVIII) reads:
'This book was made through the zeal and care of our God-loving brother [Mi]chael, the son of the blessed man Stephen, the trainer (?) of lions who is attached to the patrol of the plain round about the city of $S n e \hat{,}{ }^{1}$ who paid for it with the proceeds of his labours. He gave this book to the Monastery of Saint Mercurius in the mountain of the city of Tbô, ${ }^{2}$ for the salvation of his soul and in order that they (i.e. the monks) may read therein in the name of Saint John [Chrysostom] and Saint Apa Pahômô (Pachomius), and tbat Saint Mercurius, the general and valiant martyr, and Saint John, the Baptist and forerunner of the Christ, and Saint Apa Pahômô (Pachomius) the Archimandrite, may make supplication to Christ on his behalf, and may bless him in this world and deliver him from all the snares of the Devil and from evil men, and may assist him in every good work, and that after the affairs of this life are ended he may be worthy of the forgiveness of his sins, and may receive an inheritance with all the saints. May it be even so! Amen.

[^8]${ }^{2}$ The Egyptian Tebr,
'Remember me, even me, Theopistos, the feeble one, the deacon, the son of Severus the archpresbyter of Saint Mercurius of the city of Snê. I wrote this book with my own hand. Pray ye for me so that God may forgive me my manifold sins, for indeed they are very many. May it be so!'

At the foot of the page containing the colophon is the name of Abba Nicodemus, who seems to have been an ecclesiastic in the town of Apollinopolis. ${ }^{1}$
The Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7024, contains two works:

1. An Encomium pronounced by Saint John Chrysostom, the Archbishop of Constantinople, on Saint John the Baptist, the forerunner and the kinsman of Christ. orecreweron



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2. The Instructions of Apa Pachomius the Archimandrite.

 esantрртнс. Fol. 18a.
The Encomium on John the Baptist opens with the ordinary apology of the encomiast, and with an allusion to the 'halting tongue of the writer' and to his lack of ability to carry out the work which he has begun. Chrysostom says that it is especially difficult for him adequately to deal with the merits of John the Baptist, because Athanasius, Theophilas, Cyril, and Innocent, all great and inspired writers, have devoted special works to his life and deeds, and almost every Father of the Church has in one way or another described the glory of the virgin and martyr who was the kinsman of Christ.


The name of John the Baptist is a medicine that heals every disease, and the first three letters thereof, IUX, are ' wonderworthy', for they form the Sacred Name I $\boldsymbol{\lambda}$ UI, which was the Gnostic equivalent of the Hebrew YÂH. The name of John is the lamp of the world.

The author of the Encomium proceeds to narrate briefly the murder of John, and the carrying of his head to Herod, who gave it to Salome, the daughter of Herodias. When Christ heard of this He departed to a desert place, whither He was followed by a large multitude. When the evening fell the disciples wished Christ to send away the multitude, urging as the reason that it was necessary for them to go and buy food. Christ, however, had pity on them and, taking from the disciples five barley cakes and two fishes, He brake them, and gave the pieces to the disciples, who in turn gave them to the groups of people seated on the grass, and every one ate his fill and was satisfied. According to the author of the Encomium, this was an honour paid by Christ to John, and the feeding of the five thousand men, besides women and children, was the gift of a funerary meal, like those which people are in the habit of giving to their neighbours and to the poor whensoever their relatives die. 'All classes of people have always been accustomed to distribute alms and gifts of food in charity, on behalf of their kinsfolk whensoever any one of them died,' are the words of the encomiast. He states that the Patriarch Joseph distributed alms when his father Jacob died, but on what authority is not clear.

The encomiast then explains the words, ' What went ye out into the wilderness to see? A reed shaken with the wind?' (Matt. xi. 7), and his explanation is unusual. According to him the reed which Christ mentioned was not the ordinary reed of the desert, which, in common with every kind of tree, and even grass, is swayed by the wind, but the 'speaking reed', тcrife $\bar{\pi} \mathbf{x} \omega$, which is fixed in places of contest, ${ }^{1}$

[^9]and can be heard a very long way off. When this instrument is sounded the people know that something of importance has happened, and they flock to the place where it is, and then they find out who is the victor in this or that contest. It seems as if the 'speaking reed' must be some kind of trumpet that was sounded at intervals in the gymnasia during athletic contests and feats of strength. John the Baptist was not heralded by a trumpet, and therefore those who went out to see him had no right to expect to find some great personage arrayed in rich apparel, and they did not find such.

The remainder of the Encomium deals with a variety of matters. According to a legend here given, when the Flood came upon the earth, it carried away Adam's body from his grave, and washed it into Jerusalem, where it became buried. When Jesus was in His Agony and saying, 'My Father, deliver Me from this hour,' at the very moment when He uttered these words the toe-nail of His right foot struck the head of Adam.

A second legend concerns John the Baptist and his mother Elisabeth. When Herod began to slay the little children, Joseph took Jesus and His mother and fled to Egypt, and Elisabeth seized John and fled with him into the desert. Seeing that she was pursued by the officers of Herod, and that they were close upon her, she cried out to a rock near her, and besought it to admit herself and her child into it. The rock opened its mouth and received her straightway, and therein she and John lived in great comfort until John shewed himself on the Jordan. Whatever they wished for they found, and whether they wanted locusts or wild honey the supply was always adequate. In summer their abode was cool, and in winter it was warm; when they wished to go out the rock opened of itself, and when they came back to it, it repeated the process and admitted them. And in their journeys about the desert they were never molested by wild animals.

The next section of the Encomium is of singular interest. Chrysostom, or rather the writer of the Encomium, states that what he is now about to relate he found in one of the ancient manuscripts which the Apostles had deposited in the Library at Jerusalem. The narrative which he quotes purports to be the work of John, the brother of our Lord, and describes how the Apostles were gathered together to our Lord on the Mount of Olives, after His resurrection. The Apostles asked Him how they were to obtain right information about John the Baptist, and in answer He took them up upon a cloud into the sky and shewed them the first, second, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh heavens, but He would not allow them to enter into any of them. He next took them to the Third Heaven, into which He led them, and they saw John the Baptist, and Zacharias and Elisabeth arrayed in very splendid garments which were studded with jewels of all colours and precious stones. And the Saviour walked about this heaven and shewed the Apostles all the glorious things therein, and all the imperishable gifts which he had given to His forerunner and kinsman. After this He summoned into His presence Michael, and Sedekiel, and the Seven Archangels, and addressing them and the Apostles, He called upon all of them, one by one by name, and bade them bear witness that He had given the Third Heaven to His kinsman John the Baptist, and that He had given John the right and power to bring therein all those who loved him on earth, and to array them in celestial apparel. And at the same time the Lord gave John a ferry-boat made of gold, wherein he was to transport across the Lake or River of Fire, from earth to the Third Heaven, the souls of all those who had celebrated his commemoration upon earth. When these souls arrived at the other side of the Lake, or River, all were compelled to submit to baptism in the fire; the good found the liquid fire as pleasant as the water of a hot bath, but the wicked were consumed by it.

After this the Lord walked about the Third Heaven with His Apostles, and He took them through meadows of asphodel, wherein were trees laden with fruit which sent forth delicious odours, and aromatic herbs of many kinds. A vine there was laden with ten thousand bunches of grapes, and each bunch produced nine gallons of wine. Each cluster on the datepalms yielded ten thousand dates, and was as long as a man is high. Each fig-tree produced ten thousand figs, and each fig was large enough to furmish a full meal for three men. Each ear of wheat produced ten thousand grains, and each grain yielded six measures of flour.

In one part of the Third Heaven the Apostles saw a number of oars and lamps, and they asked the Saviour to explain to them their purpose. He replied that one lamp, with its seven wicks, belonged to each oar, and that the oars were to be employed in rowing the souls of those who loved John upon earth, over the river of fire in the boat of gold. The lamps were to burn before them, and light them until they had passed over the roads of darkness, and entered the Third Heaven. Whether the oars were to be worked by John the Baptist, or whether they were to work of their own accord, is not stated; it is probable that they worked the boat of gold backwards and forwards across the river of fire by the directions of John. When the Saviour had said these things He and the Apostles went up again upon the cloud which had brought them to the Third Heaven, and the cloud came down and deposited them on the Mount of Olives. Then the Saviour stood up and prayed with the Apostles, and having given them 'Peace' He ascended into heaven with great glory. The Encomium ends with an exhortation to the brethren to repent, and to give alms to the poor and to the Church, and to ascribe glory to John the Baptist.

## VI. THE INSTRUCTIONS OF APA PACHOMIUS THE ARCHIMANDRITE.

These Instructions or Admonitions were addressed by Pachomius to a certain monk who had become wroth with a brother monk of Tabenna and had abused him with great violence. They form an excellent example of the terse style of Pachomius, and many of them resemble his exhortations which the 'Paradise' of Palladius in its Syriac Recension has made known to us. ${ }^{1}$ They seem to have been addressed to the irascible brother in the presence of the whole congregation of monks. Pachomius begins: Hearken, my son, be wise, and receive the admonitions which your conduct has made it necessary for me to give you. There are two courses open to you; you either make yourself independent of myself and this monastery, or you listen to my instructions. Be obedient like Abraham, bumble like Jacob, and wise like Joseph. Wake up, remain not with the dead, be long-suffering, fast, pray always, bow your neck, and humble your mind. Watch, be sober, be not careless, let not the works of evil enter your soul, for if they do they will drive it away from God, and it will lose control of itself, and will finally come to the Tartarus of Ameute. I know well by experience bow the spirits of evil attack a man, and when in my youth I tried to escape from them by fleeing into the desert they followed me, and buffeted me, and compassed me about until I felt that I had no power even to stand up to fight. Terror filled my mind, and I obtained no rest until I threw myself at the feet of God. Then, when I had wept humbly, and fasted, and watched, the Enemy and his fiends were stricken helpless, and joy came to me. Abuse no man. God hates the man who whilst paying Him

[^10]honour hates his brother. The truly humble man judges no man, and abuses no man. Who are you that you should judge a slave who is not yours? Mix not yourself up with men, flee the honour of men, love those who revile you; but make every man profitable to you, and make yourself profitable to every man. Laugh not at any word of scurrility which you may hear any brother utter. Do not abandon your courage. You may forget and sleep, but your enemies neither forget nor sleep; flee from greatness, and embrace lowliness. If you cannot stand alone, cling to some servant of the Gospel of Christ, or submit yourself to one who has learned to submit and abase himself. If you want to live among men you must make yourself like Abraham, Moses, and Samuel; if you wish to live in the desert you must do as the prophets did.

Above all flee the desire of lust, for that renders a man incapable of comprehending the mystery of God and the language of the Spirit, and it deprives him of the blessings of God. Watch, be bold, be strong, but be long-suffering also. Flee comfort, and be not careless, or vices will overcome you before you realize that they are upon you. When honour is paid to you abase yourself and glorify God; if men revile you glorify God likewise. Wander not hither and thither seeking God, for He fills heaven and earth, and He is in you. When will you wake up out of your state of carelessness? Rouse yourself and be sober. Why are you angry because some brother sayeth something about you? Why do you rage like a wild beast? Test everything, lay hold upon what is good, flee to the Lord at every hour, and sit down in His shadow. Attach not yourself too closely to any man, but love your brother. Remember your own failings, and judge not and forgive, so that you may not be judged, and may be forgiven. If you do not forgive your erring brother you yourself shall not be forgiven. If you intend to put your brother in fetters, prepare yourself at once
for punishment for your own offences. O wretched man, remember your own secret sins, and your hidden passions! The contest is set, and we must fight and struggle so that we may not be defeated. If you hate your brother you become a stranger to God; if you bind him you shall be bound, and if you reject him you shall be rejected, and pitiless angels shall flog you with whips of fire for ever. Your brother is an image of God; if you disgrace him, or think scorn of him, you disgrace God and think scorn of Him.
The Fathers abstained from the drinking of wine, which is full of penalties of every kind. Wine causes our members to twitch and to move about helplessly, and our limbs to shake and tremble, and it makes the head to split with pain, and gives rise to much sin. It turns the prudent man into a reckless fool, it makes the conscience shameless, and the tongue to chatter uncontrolled. Wine is, of course, a good thing when taken in moderation, but if you keep your eyes fastened on wine-bottles and drinking-pots you will go naked and bare. The disciples of Christ must keep away from wine. The Fathers only used it as a medicine, and Timothy was only allowed a very little, even though his body was infirm. I am afraid to say what I want to say, and yet I will say it : Let no man drink wine at all, so that he may not destroy his own salvation. These words many will find very hard, nevertheless, it is best to abstain from wine, for sobriety is most beneficial in the ascetic life. The sober man shall sail his ship straight into the harbour of salvation, and he shall drink of the good drinks of heaven. Greater than sobriety, however, is humility; it is the girdlewall of the virtues, the treasury of deeds, the armour of defence, and the medicine for every grief. Humility is chosen of God, and honourable before God. Armed with it we can tread on the Enemy.

Fight, my beloved, for the end draws nigh. Our calamities have come upon us because we have not afflicted ourselves.

Let us fight for our crown, and the throne which is prepared, and the kingdom, of which the door is opened wide. Let us put on sorrow as a garment, and renew ourselves in humility. Virginity means chastity of both mind and body. If you love money you are a slave, and are not free to serve God. Your body is the chariot, let continence be the charioteer. God will give you the skill of the saints in fighting, and the general-in-chief of the hosts of the Lord shall stand at your right hand, and you shall set your foot upon the neck of the Prince of Darkness, and shall drown Pharaoh, and you and your people shall pass over the salt sea of this life. Whether you are alone, or among a crowd, pass judgement on yourself daily. It is better to be one of a thousand and possessing a little humility, than to live in a tiger's cave in pride. Lot lived in Sodom, and was a good man; Cain was one of four people on the earth, and was a sinner.

Watch carefully for the fiends that attack you, for they come on your right hand and on your left; this is the way in which they tried to overcome me, and once the Devil appeared to me in the form of a wild ass. Put on humility, make yourself a companion of weeping, and make your abode a tomb. You ask Christ to forgive the multitude of your own sins, and yet you object to forgive your brother a trifling offence. Make supplication to your brother because you have caused him pain. Then shall your weeping be abundant, but great joy shall run through your tears; and when the Devil shall hear you weep he will be put to shame. Finally, O my brother, make peace with your brother, and you shall pray for me. I am unable to do anything in the matter, but I humble myself because of my wish.

## EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY IN COPTIC WRITINGS.

From first to last the literature of the Egyptian Christians affords proof that they never succeeded in removing from their minds a number of religious beliefs, and eschatological notions, and mythological legends, which were the product of their pagan ancestors. In the mind of the ancient Egyptian, the barrier between the living and the dead was so slight and so shadowy that he believed himself able to describe the doings of the dwellers in Deadland with the same accuracy of detail as he would the doings of his countrymen in a neighbouring town. Deadland itself he divided up into a number of districts and provinces each with its capital town, which his imagination peopled with gods, and with spirits, souls, and shadows of the dead, and with the forms of dread powers of evil. His theologians carefully mapped out the road from Egypt to the Other World, and they paid special attention to the description of the region where the souls of the wicked received punishment, and emphasized their narratives with realistic illustrations. The Pyramid Texts of the VIth dynasty ( 3700 в.c.) supply abundant details concerning the life of the blessed, and the coffins of the XIth and XIIth dynasties contain copies of 'Guides' to the Other World, and describe the difficulties which had to be overcome by souls from this earth before they reached the Field of Offerings, and the City of the God, and were welcomed by the 'God of souls'. In the long course of Egyptian history the beliefs about Amentet, the Emente and Amente of the Copts, cbanged very little, and the general characteristics of this place and its torments were as real to the Egyptians who worshipped God as to those who many centuries before had worshipped Horus the Elder, or Rā or Osiris. The Coptic
texts in this volume supply many proofs of the above statements, as the following examples shew :

1. One of the commonest names in ancient Egyptian for the place of departed spirits is Amenti, or Amentet. This the Egyptian Christians retained in all their theological works, and in the Book of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ Amente is the name given to the hell into which Christ descended.
2. The Egyptian Ámenti possessed Seven Ārits, or Halls, and many doors, or pylons, the number of which is given as ten, twelve, fifteen, or twenty-one. ${ }^{1}$ The Coptic Amente had many door-keepers (p. 181), and must therefore have had many doors.
3. In the Egyptian Amenti there were cauldrons and pits of fire, in which the bodies of the wicked, and their souls, were destroyed. The wicked were dragged to the block of slaughter by Shesmu, the headsman of Osiris, they were slain by the 'Watchers' who carried slaughtering-knives and had ' cruel fingers', and their bodies were burned. ${ }^{2}$ The Ninth and the Twelfth Aats were regions of fire. ${ }^{3}$ In the Eleventh Section of the Book ' $\dot{m}$ T Tuat' there are five pits of fire. In the first two the bodies of the wicked were consumed, in the third their souls, in the fourth their shadows, and in the fifth their heads. The fire in each was supplied by a goddess, from whose mouth a stream of fire descended into the pit. In the Coptic text Death laments that the fires have been extinguished (p. 181), and that Gehenna has gone cold, and that the brazen fiery furnaces have been overthrown (p. 187).
4. The Book of Gates and the Book 'Àm Tuat' describe the occupations of many classes of beings in Amenti, and the Coptic text speaks of the 'servants, and ministers, and the envoys of Hell being unoccupied', and states that the 'angels' were scattered.

[^11]5. One section of the Egyptian Ámenti was under the rule of Set, and in it lived the Sebau fiends, the Smaiu fiends, the Teshriu devils, and many other forms of evil spirits. Set was the personification of all physical and moral evil, and he and his fiends took the forms of foul animals, venomous reptiles, e. g. serpents, scorpions, vipers, \&e., in order to do harm to man. The 'Abaddon' or 'Death' (p. 180) of the Coptic Amente is the equivalent of Set.
6. In the Coptic Amente lived Death with his six sons (p. 180), and in the form of a seven-headed serpent, or of seven serpents, they wriggled into the tomb of our Lord to find out when His Body was going into Amente. The sevenheaded serpent of the Gnostics is only a form of the serpent Nāu, ${ }^{1}$ the seven necks of which were seven uraei, ${ }^{2}$ and the belief in this monster is as old at least as the VIth dynasty. The 'seven uraei of Amentet' are mentioned in the Book of the Dead, ${ }^{3}$ and these are no doubt to be identified with the ' worms in Rastan that live upon the bodies of men, and feed upon their blood ', ${ }^{4}$ and the 'lord of light' is adjured to 'swallow them up'. In the Papyrus of Iuaiu (ed. Naville, Plate XIX), these worms are said to be nine in number, and their names are given. ${ }^{5}$ The kingdom of Seker, the Deathgod, was guarded by several serpents, e.g. Nāu, Nehepu, Ảmen, Heqent, TTepàn, TTer, \&c. ${ }^{6}$
7. When Death returned to Amente after Christ had broken its doors and shattered their bolts and overthrown the fiery furnaces, he found the place swept and bare (p. 187). There were, however, three voices there which cried out in fear and anguish, and it was still a place of sighing, sorrow, and tears. In the third Gate of the Egyptian Amenti, the

[^12]souls that were imprisoned there 'made lamentations' when the God of Light left them in their darkness. ${ }^{1}$ In Amenti the gods weep when the Boat of the Sun has departed, and left them to be consumed in the fiery lake Netu. ${ }^{2}$ In the Circles of the Tuat the noises made by the souls shut up inside them are like the 'hum of bees', 'the lamentations and weeping of men', ' the bellowing of bulls and other male animals', 'the shrieks of men in anguish', the 'wailing of cats', the 'confused cries of men crying out in entreaty to $R \bar{a}{ }^{\prime}$, ' the cries of men on a battle-field', the 'scream of the hawk', and the 'cries of birds that quarrel in their nests ' .3
8. Besides the weeping and gnashing of teeth which were in Amente there was the 'worm which never sleepeth' (p. 187). In the Egyptian Amenti there were several terrible serpents, any one of which might be the prototype of this unsleeping serpent, e.g. Neheb-kau ${ }^{4}$ and Rerek. ${ }^{5}$ All such monsters passed their whole time in devouring the dead, and in carrying out the commands of their overlord. The type of them all is the awful serpent called Āmkhu, which lived in the Sixth Division of the Other World 'and devoured the shades of the dead, and ate up the spirits of the foes of the god, and crushed all those who were hostile to him '. ${ }^{6}$
9. When Christ entered Amente there was, according to the Coptic text (p. 181), terrible quaking, the air was shaken, the foundations of heaven rocked, and the hours of the day and night were thrown into confusion. When King Unas entered the Other World the heavens dissolved, the stars shook, the bones of the earth-gods shook with terror, and all those who were there fled in dismay and dire confusion before his coming. ${ }^{7}$
10. Two of the magical names of Christ are given in the

[^13]Coptic text (pp. 183, 188), ' Iaô' and 'Tharkahariamath'; for the use of magical names in Egyptian texts compare Book of the Dead, chaps. clxii, clxiii, clxiv, and clxv, and the Harris Magical Papyrus (p. 7). ${ }^{1}$
11. Among the celestial powers gathered together about the Saviour as he sat on the right hand of the Father were the 'Twelve Virtues of the Holy Spirit' (p. 194). The ancient Egyptians also believed that divine beings possessed 'qualities' or 'attributes', which in a certain way could have independent existences. These qualities or characteristics were called 'Kau' ${ }^{2}$ and 'Hemsut', ${ }^{3}$ and the earliest use of the words with the meanings just given is found in the Pyramid text of Unás, where it is said of the dead king, ${ }^{\text {s }}$ The KaU of Unàs are round about him, and his Hemsut are under his feet.' ${ }^{4}$ The Sun-god Rā possessed fourteen Kat, that were bestowed upon him by Thoth, and a text at Denderah ${ }^{5}$ states that these were: 1. Intelligence; 2. Victory; 3. Splendour ; 4. Strength; 5. The Power to grow; 6. Abundance; 7. Majesty; 8. The Power to provide funerary offerings; 9. Prevision or Readiness; 10. Stability; 11. Action; 12. Obedience ; 13. The Sense of Touch ; 14. The Sense of Taste. ${ }^{6}$ Each of these Kav assumed a form in which it could appear

[^14]to men and from which it might transmit its animating influence to them.
12. When the Lord stood on the Mount of Olives with His disciples, He uttered the words 'Atharath Thaurath' as words of power, and immediately the Seven Heavens were opened (p. 202). The ancient Egyptians believed that everything could be obtained by the man who was provided with the knowledge of the necessary 'hekau', 1 or words of power, and all their religious literature is full of allusions to the use of such. In the Book of the Dead a whole chapter (xxiv) is devoted to obtaining the words of power which a man needs in Amenti.
13. After the death of Siôphanes, his soul went down into the river of fire, and it seemed to it to be like a river of water (p. 207). The Book of the Dead contains many allusions to this lake, or river of fire, e. g. chapters xvii (l. 41 Nebseni), exxvi, where there is a picture of it, lxiii B, l. 3, lxxi, l. 18, \&c. In the Book Am-Tuat (section v) there is a picture of the river of fire, here called Netu 0 minn, and in it we see the heads of the wicked who are being boiled therein. In the Book of Gates (section iii) there is another picture of the Lake of Fire, ${ }^{2}$ or boiling water, the stench of which is so great that the birds fly away from it whenever they come near enough to smell it. The waters of this lake scald the wicked when they attempt to pass through them, or to drink of them, but the righteous pass through them unharmed, and drink of them at pleasure. Siôphanes saw a region filled with fire (p. 207), and with this compare the region of pits full of burning coals described in the Book of Gates (section iv).

14. In the 'Mysteries of Saint John' it is said that a Cherub took him up on his wing of light and carried him up into heaven (p. 242); when they arrived there the gate was opened before them by the warders. There John saw twelve men seated on thrones, and he was told that they were the rulers of the worlds of light. In Egyptian mythology the deceased was sometimes carried to heaven on the wing of the God Thoth, and the keepers of the gates of the sky threw open their portals without delay. The twelve men of the Coptic text, who govern the production of the crops and the fruits of the year, recall the gods of the seasons and the year: in the second section of the Book Am-Tuat, who provide the gods with grain, herbs, and vegetables.
15. In the Coptic text the Father is seated above the water which flows down and waters the earth, and He regulates the supply with His feet (p. 243). This view is a modification of the old Egyptian belief that the throne of Osiris was set above the fountains of the celestial Nile, ${ }^{1}$ which formed the source of the Nile that flowed through Egypt. Originally Osiris was a water-god, a fact which is proved by a statement of Rameses IV who says, 'Thy nature, O Osiris, is more mysterious than that of any other god.... Indeed thou art the Nile, and thou art mighty upon the river-banks at the beginning of the season [of inundation]. Men and gods live through the emanations which flow from thee.' ${ }^{2}$ Rightly then do we find Osiris near the gods of the seasons in the second section of the Book Ám-Ţuat, for it was through the 'sweat of his hands' that the operations of the Season-gods produced the crops. The Egyptian Christians thought that St. Michael prayed to God for three days and three nights each year to induce Him to allow the Nile to rise and the Inundation to appear.
16. The next object of mystery to John was water itself

[^15](p. 244), and in answer to his question about it the Cherub told him that water existed before the heavens and the earth were created, and that none knew who created it except God. The view of the Cherub represents accurately the opinion of the Egyptians on the great antiquity of water. In the beginning nothing existed except the great mass of water which formed the primaeval ocean, and was called Nun ${ }^{1}$ or Nu . In this water lived the primaeval god Pautti, ${ }^{2}$ and it was out of this water, which was formed by the exudations of his body, that Pautti 'raised up' the heavens and the earth and everything in them. ${ }^{3}$ Under the Ancient Empire it was thought that Temu was the god who dwelt in Nun, and that it was he who created all things out of Nun by the utterance of words of power which voiced the ideas existing in his mind concerning the things he wished to create. The subject was one of difficulty to the Egyptians, and opinions about it differed considerably, for we find the Heliopolitan priests claiming in chapter xvii of the Book of the Dead that it was their god Rā who was ' Nu , the great god who created himself '. ${ }^{4}$
17. When Adam was expelled from Paradise he wandered about the earth seeking for food, and not being able to find any like that which he was accustomed to eat in Paradise, he was in great danger of starving (p. 244). He cried out to the Lord, Who went to the Father and entreated Him not to let die the man who had been created in the-Image of God. The Father told the Son to give His own Flesh



[^16]to Adam to eat, and the Lord took a little piece of flesh from His side, and rubbed it down into small pieces.t. When the Father saw these He took a portion of His own invisible Flesh and added it to them, and out of them He made a grain of wheat, which He sealed. He then told the Son to give the grain to Michael, and that Michael was to give it to Adam and teach him how to sow and reap it. This legend is derived directly from the Egyptians, who believed that wheat was made of the body of the primaeval god Pautti, and of the body of Osiris, Jor Neprà-Osiris. JIn the illustrations to the Sixth Section of the Book of Gates we see the followers of Osiris cultivating wheat in the fields of the god, and large wheat plants growing there. These plants are called the 'body of Osiris' $8 \widehat{Q P Q} O$, and the blessed who eat them eat the body of their god. In a remarkable hymn to Osiris ${ }^{1}$ we find a direct proof that the Egyptians identified Osiris with the primaeval god Pautti, and it follows that if wheat was made of the body of Osiris it was also made of the body of Pautti, a very ancient form of the Earth-god. After enumerating the proofs of the greatness and goodness of Osiris the author of the hymn says, 'Thou art the father and mother of men, they have life through thy breath, they eat of the flesh of thy members. "Pautti" is thy name.' ${ }^{2}$ Thus the Coptic form of the legend about the origin of wheat rightly makes it to be formed of the Bodies of the Father and the Son.
18. The Cherub told John that the sky was suspended by faith, and that the earth was supported on four pillars (p. 254). The old Egyptian belief was that the sky was

1 Published by Erman, Aeg. Zeitschrift, Bd. ${ }^{\text {xxxviii, pp. }} 30$ ff.


supported on four pillars, which were called the 'four pillars of the sky', ${ }^{1}$ or the 'supports of Shu'. ${ }^{2}$ The sky is called 'place of the four pillars '. ${ }^{3}$
19. The seven stars in the north of the world (p. 257) are, undoubtedly, the seven stars of the Great Bear, which were supposed to be the dwelling-places of the soul of Typhon. ${ }^{4}$ The other stars referred to may be either the 'Akbemu-sek' or the 'Akhemu-urty', i. e. the 'Imperishable stars', and the 'Stars that never rest'.
20. In the Encomium on John the Baptist (p. 342 f.) a legend is quoted from a 'little old manuscript' in the Library at Jerusalem, to the effect that our Lord gave John a boat made of gold, in which he would be able to ferry over the river of fire to the Third Heaven the souls of those who had honoured or commemorated him upon earth. Here we have a survival of an ancient Egyptian legend which is found in the Pyramid texts of the VIth dynasty. The Egyptians believed in the existence of a celestial ferryman called 'Her-f-ḥa-f', ${ }^{5}$ i. e. ' His face behind him', or 'Maa-f-ha-f', i. e. 'Looking behind him ', ${ }^{6}$ because in manœuvring bis boat be bad often to turn his head round and look behind him. He had in primaeval times ferried the gods over into heaven, ${ }^{7}$ and was in later times the recognized ferryman for all the dead. But only the righteous dead were transported to heaven by him, and every dead person had to be declared 'just' before heaven, and earth, and the Island [of Osiris], before he was allowed to enter this ferry-boat. Even King Pepi could not obtain the use of the ferry-boat until this

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\begin{aligned}
& \text { 1YYYYロ } \\
& 2 \underset{\square}{2} \\
& \cdots \propto \int||\mid \text { Unás, 1. } 222 . \\
& \text { 4 Plutarch, De Iside, chap. } 21 .
\end{aligned}
$$

7 See Unảs, 1. 490.
assurance was given to Her-f-ḥa-f. ${ }^{1}$ This ferryman appears in the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, and in a Vignette in the Papyrus of Ani (Plate XVII) he is seen seated in a boat, with his face turned behind him. The ninety-eighth and ninety-ninth chapters of the Book of the Dead were written to enable the deceased to obtain a boat wherein to sail over to the Island of Osiris, but we see from the ninety-ninth chapter that he was obliged to recite the magical names of every part of the boat, and those of the wind, and the river, and the river banks, and the ground, before it would move from its moorings. In the Coptic legend the boat of gold takes the place of the Egyptian ferry-boat, and John the Baptist is made to assume the character of Her-f-ha-f.

On p. 345 Peter is made to ask what certain lamps and oars which he sees in the Third Heaven are used for, and the Lord tells him that the righteous shall be ferried over the river of fire in the boat of gold by these oars, and that the lamps are intended to light the boat on its way through the darkness. The number of oars is not stated, but it seems clear that the writer of the legend had in his mind some confused remembrance or knowledge of the Four Oars which form the Vignette of chap. cxlviii of the Book of the Dead. In the Papyrus of Ani (Plate XXXVI) the Four Oars are depicted, and the name of each is given, and we learn that each had power to row the deceased round about one of the four quarters of heaven. By the side of each stand three bearded gods, in mummy form, with a lily and a libation vase on a funerary table before them. Behind each group is an open door. The papyrus supplies no information about the oars or the four groups of gods, and we must seek for it elsewhere. The gods, without doubt, represent the divine beings who are supposed to work the oars, and they must form the crews that row a boat about the four quarters of

[^17]heaven. It is noteworthy that there are only three gods in each group. ${ }^{1}$ In spite of this, however, it is tolerably certain that they are intended to represent the four Horus gods, who in the Pyramid texts ferried the dead from earth to heaven. ${ }^{2}$ Originally the four gods were Horus of the gods, Horus of the Horizon (Harmakhis), Horus of the East, and Horus of Shesemtá, but later the attributes of these beings were usurped by Mest, Hep, TTuamutef and Qebḥsenuf, who are commonly called the 'Sons of Horus'. The mention of the oars in the Coptic text recalls a passage of interest in the Pyramid texts. ${ }^{3}$ In many passages the divine ferryman and the Horus gods are adjured to bring the ferryboat for the king's use, but in one place ' What is in the hand of the ferryman', i.e. the oar, is addressed, and adjured to ferry the king over to the Island [of Osiris]. The Coptic text implies that if John the Baptist were engaged, or were unwilling to ferry souls over to the Third Heaven, the waiting souls might cry out to the oars, and they would do it without him.
${ }^{1}$ The three gods may represent only a 'plural of majesty'.


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THE BOOK OF THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST, BY BARTHOLOMEW THE APOSTLE
(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 8804)
























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 ве пиат єт ерє пскр павок є песнт є дееєпт[є].





 щ̄т р $\hat{\omega} \hat{\omega}$ па щнре $\overline{\mathbf{e}}$ пете щаебшщт $\bar{п}$ пее








 пестершена (sic) щтортрир • anornoore chor [ne]ruoore wrke• a negoor aïaï


## pwï el про

a тсатє w凹every



[a]nacreioc xwwpe $\in$ Goid amuse

 тर̄ хе акщт̄р'тюрт селате
















 - ac: єеш:

4 BOOK OF THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST

Finl. 2 b $\square$ дн пет $\square$
$\omega \mu \overline{\mathrm{T}}$ е $\mathrm{bo} \mathrm{\lambda}$ рнт $\qquad$
rргес сешy e hod $\qquad$
 етнк еарол мє


 \%hwnemata]




















[a]çр elade निpoee
Fol. 3 a
[пе]
 [c]rocy et taeifr • ma
 furme †unase ep $\hat{\omega}$ oí mēxi є pon an• xe [c]oor пщнре • еатаеноі ho eno Fgha • agpon लтeí qe єк, map cmar xim $\overline{\text { пт }}$ orcreenacia


 [a]n є God a a













6 BOOK OF THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST
Fol. 3 b
[e]]oc - arw ac açorwuy ल̄ लिer
लqоentit a ner:






 ачсште $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ аддее еей печщ्रнре тнрог

 ееї пносенос тнр $\overline{\text { • }}$ - ач $\overline{\mathrm{p}}$ падре є печщнре
















[^18]




 [tamac xs qam] méelaе açer e bod сетба





arzena $\overline{\operatorname{le}}$ пого̂еm $\overline{\operatorname{le}}$ песенвс.

 [c]e eí may a moroem bwk açrady.
 acgoncé $\overline{\mathrm{R}}$ ormonec - amacreג




[wer Fiche] ete nas me net[pan]
 $\qquad$

[山олитTYW
${ }^{2}$ Lacau's text on p. 44 ends with $\overline{\text { rereoc. }}$


 пе насгс̄• пеєєя енте пє п乡,
 ейтсноогс пе пягпо[кргскс]•
 пеєє ейтачтє пе
 тасе пе псаgor. пееед ееп̄тсащеңе


 пе тоденррос • пеее хогт споor пе
 пеєя холт ачтє пе борбс • пеєя мол тн пе текттдент • пееся зогт ace
 тнащт енеє . пеєя хотт щени пе






[^19]
























 [eeedтe]
${ }^{1}$ Lacau's text begins again on p. 45 with the word xoor.
${ }^{2}$ Page 45 ends with norwt $\bar{\Pi}[2 н \tau \overline{4}]$.

Fо1. 5 b $\overline{\text { пи }}$

























 [пехас нач] поб [нариа]

[^20]
 [ne or me meï] uaxe epe sw Feroor • $\hat{\omega}$
 mмar एар
 [ca or]egaar ecopx. नाсєкady qiowe.


 [orage gio]we' amok frapoesc e poc eremee










 armaesc eppe $\overline{\text { nxorwt }}$ пüo arw on epe

 [tha] जtha net coorg e poc epe ornog लipap[ela]


## 12 BOOK OF THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST






 тнрог aїnar $\bar{\epsilon}$ poor. $\bar{\omega}$ та come er[apia] xє ainar є петрос Ferear пmog [ $\bar{\pi}$ qєреєепег]


 é poor - $\bar{\omega}$ elapia ta cwme or met frade wanf

 еста Анг












 [те nt acwo]ne e po[c]

焳
[пп]арадл[сос т]нре [ро]


 ntesooc $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ ma cnhr

 моеге ете петл̃zoerc • arw
 frir
 пмат оп















 $\overline{c_{0}}$
${ }^{1}$ nee written twice, but the second erased.

14 BOOK OF THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST

Fol. 7 b
$\omega$
 oreai: пemppo - тe
Пеньонөос • пе[п]




dq є paré grxe mga[peea miexeporbin]




 maxoof e bod gпі тeçtanpo ie eapia• тотe




aimar erpweet $\bar{\Pi}$ orōern $\bar{\Pi} \lambda a e \pi p o n ~ \overline{e x}$ eeap




 $[\pi] \Gamma \bar{\alpha} \in[T$ ord $] \mathbf{A} \cdot$ açceeor $\in$ poor

[^21]


 $\qquad$
















[^22]$\square$

 иноссес тнрч є вод $\boldsymbol{q}^{\overline{\mathrm{n}}}$ метно


 2

 taï $\overline{\mathrm{m}}$
 $\omega$ па спнг लапостодос пестете̂ паї анок Gapeoдоreasoc паностодоc - xє ёщам q тоот










 [нар]терех є рої - щал fпая є пё̈ еетстн [pron] $\qquad$














 хе паї пе пеяоor пта па щнне ете петпи моеле


 [п]а сенот па щнре ее ееєрит пе пта па огшщs












 пеппй ет oraak eeñ zort a¢te $\overline{\boldsymbol{\ell}}$ прес












20 BOOK OF THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST
Fol. 10 b $\square$
 песееоя тнрФ qגeени"
जтof ne nuwc $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ necoo[ x$]$

KTOR OM ME MT ARCWTE


qaeenn - meoor mark
meoor maf npeyd́ [e bod queef]n - [meoor man] maөamatoc queнн • [пеоor maк] пррро п[теірн]
MH quelfrt meoor mak matemirtoc gaelfm. meoor mak madȩeaptoc queefm meoor mak
 птнр̄̄ qaeern • пеоor mak nteגvoc et ord
 [ne]oor mak moroenm Eeee queemm neoor
 लaөoc Eeef qaemi • neoor mar adȩa тнре̄ queeमm • пеоor mak mwng



 ororcoor $\overline{\text { nGs met oradh thpor }}$




| e $\lambda+\lambda$ 仡 | Fol. 11 a |
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|  $\overline{\mathrm{c}} \overline{\mathrm{Y} \boldsymbol{e}}$. |  |
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 рнин; [']ब $]$





 maI ma cmer लamoctodoc amok hapeodoelaioc



${ }^{1}$ Lacau's text, p. 59, col. 1.

22 BOOK OF THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST








 оп• а птооте $\overline{\operatorname{le}}$ пелшт $\overline{2^{\overline{1}}}$ печотернте ере



















[^23]

 пос $\overline{\text { ¢е }}$.
 [ee]
 [тнріл qденнт



 arारe入[oc]

 щ[ Hpe ]

 пасеяо (sic) є рок пйро $\overline{\boldsymbol{\kappa}}$ маїшм qaeкм




$\qquad$
Heeq for $\bar{n}$ greenoc $\bar{\pi} \overline{\text { пиanceitoc ercelore }}$

 celor є pon пеппд єт oradh queeni - elape ппарадicoc zooc nētelan ze qaekn e elap[e]

${ }^{1}$ na is written on the margin in red ink.

## 24 BOOK OF THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST

Fol, $12 . b$ $\square$

 арі пениеєе с














 nobe


















 на[r] ке.




 aracnaje $\overline{\mathrm{K}}$ aдace arorww $\overline{\mathrm{r}}$ нае тнрог

 $2^{\omega \omega}$
пекщнре ачедетөерог қенон даенни. тоте Паікалос тнрог arornoef arceeor $\in$










 areeooue arbwr e gorn e тmo入uc


 meswt f mar in teefesphmf dar e hod • a mord
 gī oremphim gaeenm • mas me mgoeenoc nt ar

 ie007T•


 dadel ae gwwey a meint kady gran ie modaf







mina nobe e got птta menchp еекй нечщнре тнрог• aror



 пица птта пынре
[ $\bar{\Omega}$ пногте $]$,
"M atuaxe e poor a $\lambda н \boldsymbol{\omega}$ [с













$\square$



 тнре • $\bar{\omega}$ пелегшт петро[с]


п епсогтмс прос тетнот

 псащ̄ जстерешег[ג]






 maraed e тeeq cawefe $\overline{\text { Ie }}$ пе $\cdot$ тоте




 met tade arx e xwh arw net $\overline{\mathrm{K}}$ mabod




 2xw

 [匹єлос [е]еггш [еенос хе єкещ]


 еепа
$[\tau] \overline{\mathrm{T}}$ ?









 bon rymwa emeq quemi

[^24]Fol.15b [







"Whe


є тве $\overline{\text { пqaper }} \overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ пепид





 плогос
 boho[c]
 qael[ Hr ]
arw elaterac melakaproc जалостодос• пекcf m[orce]

 the $\boldsymbol{\pi}[\mathbf{a}]$

 crenoc
 сераебг[ $\mathbf{r}]$


## Led



 [тоגос к] $\omega$ maï є bod $\overline{\mathrm{r}}$ fтeeaifr am amok gap






 elor[TE]

 necri[ocr]








 алю [пד]


## ere













 eleor.
arw aчтса6oor ${ }^{1}$ еп²






 пй [өнтнс] [Tапос]тодос тнрог art:

```
#\pi
```

[^25]
## $\overline{\operatorname{ex}\left[{ }^{[ }\right]}$


 ä̈orê

 [am]однеее есогнг - етїтае генаг
 хе"


















[r]aece入oc et oraak. erc
ula тенот





 тетмар мет огот $\overline{\mathbf{h}}$ е mai щам[т [e] gorm $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ maecoor ет xoop e bod. mai m тере е

 oor. लamoctoioc ae arpage ereate• xe a пщ्унре
 ееотte



 epe



 [e]t oné tworm mē aqe patर ex̄̄ meког

乡से м orpaye • acor $\omega \underset{\bar{B}}{\boldsymbol{M}}[\boldsymbol{\sigma}]$
[ $\overline{\boldsymbol{\ell 匕}}$ ]























 Meroc orxebè a
 $\mathrm{r}[\overline{\mathrm{N}} \omega \tau \overline{\mathbf{h}}]$


 $\mathrm{cec}[\mathrm{H}]$ Y\%


 [пос]тодос еем пегн










 толос



 [е] по[бд] пог[ג] $\overline{\boldsymbol{\kappa}}$ кеөронос • גїогшщ[т анок]
 "xe m[re] ne nes eporocy
[eq]

Fol. 19 a


 poor


 se па xоелс reatcafoï є пеөропос $\bar{e}$ па еншт












 егрими сеө

[ma]pazicoc кор"्ञ epor xe aelor \%) [ $\lambda$ ос) [גoc]


38 BOOK OF THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST

## $\overline{\mathrm{EF}}$

 та џrork act Eecoc e gorn e ma cwela $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ [re con].
artworn $\bar{\epsilon}$ epaï êrôn̄̆ aïgaxe merelak t[enor]
 хе маїатк мток $\bar{\omega}$ па щине • хе а пеgeeот





 e poor• aبтогrocor. aqwaxe neelear ac





 енные пистете е пхзоег • а псоеіт ееоо[ще]

 ore єрее про ге пнї ет єре п[ш]нре м [енте]]
 [пко]бi arx[nor]e • xe mue!
[ees ?]




 ta cwela qwwe a eercama mapXamcenoc




 є hod xe qaпе̄ е тра ктої ерое $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ ке соп• e the norzai een mrorger $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ та noגic.




 [arnoxt]or arorwū naب exe пег



 пинt qa [ter]prf acmior Fica mes аураітог [е пее]а ет ере папостодос






 $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ тc[ $[\mathrm{H}]$


 папостодос ачтеえнд qее пепнй агю ае


 аїооле є тегер $\overline{\boldsymbol{n}}$ †рннн ере па мої огох











 пех[aq]

 ре м[а сннг] Капостодос пев

 нос (sic) $\overline{\mathrm{m}}$ отресеноотт антотнос $\overline{\mathrm{I}}$ огенные



 xы денос пак $\bar{\omega}$ пенсоп• xe a пен zoesc







 [п]ееакаргос ї а[пос]тодос петрос өweeac owerac ae aça[rite]s ceeate art acpreet



™


42 BOOK OF THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST



















 $\epsilon$ god. atw oratelor пе लтачегі $\dagger[\pi \epsilon]$




б!









 zrror - тemor $\sigma \in \bar{\omega}$ ewelac - gape
 ет [n]a[2]te е рое * ordicaeoc me пmorte


 wime ज̄cwe Foroeigy mee - maï ae




 aï е тплстіс

 то[ $\lambda] 0 c$.








 m"̄ mar on $\epsilon$ mew̄ made $\overline{\mathrm{N}} \mathrm{T}$ artaar



 нащ ज̈т argore receoor e ta ante a[elor]

 orkoris eeleor जт aiaïtes Feeoor x[ $\epsilon$ ]

 açor $\omega \overline{\mathrm{h}} \overline{\mathrm{K}} \sigma \mathrm{s}$ өweeac. xe frictere

 пи̃a ет ordab • arw [ג]ктшогм є God




$$
\pi[e]
$$










 wt ceeor e poy anoк qш таargane








 थнज̄те Ғщооп петеннтй ща ераї



 reeoone rereoo[r]

## TE









 ноотт. пал пе пгшшене $\overline{\mathrm{m}}$ танастасте





 апостодос пехал нае - хе ітток пе

 ние - Калостодос де алтшотн є epa[r]
arespe $\overline{\text { I }}$ псо立е $\overline{\mathrm{K}}$ тепросеора -





п̈бу $\overline{\boldsymbol{\kappa}}$ а[посто入ос]
 [ог $\omega$ ]шт чعенос

 щоле слое $\overline{\mathrm{K}}$ шлед є песнт є ппотнриоп













 ет oradi]
тетріа [ет oraak ت̈queoorcion

пел поб $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ дшрон $\overline{\mathrm{K}}$ ап!

ногте алш проее





 ппот[те]








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 A 42 epoy eyauinfof phirevo fis linfurso




MS. Oriental No. 6804. Fol. $1 a$.

## 14




 Gije haternor indertic naue Nescone


 MGyyillit ayorongo epoor umecupr
Noy<uce griver urfleqar.fyntx.










 ustoor: aruapgsañoiT: ararp uisf."


स. Ruperyy. - ajtarp cuuǵcis Lfint visteanroennap
 - (x,





 Sy zuors ayceoocor ix ors incdife




 - ClenN NTDKANTV ER



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 AYXENA UTJYOEIN LITECTRE:

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Tu®קगYnEgevo.

## nere usuork.


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DIS. Relez xero Hater Thx

vor ruas napaccua:



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 กШТ














[^26]NANOS TuALM
$\rightarrow 1$

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TiN fuar xleci Nos sepa $\$$


aré EEOA ermáo irs


















SaYTONDSW ANOKT. MSDINIENATEXECNTNTO
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S.VEEPERES

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 counax ga "1 ITSEAS"


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(a)



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#         <br>  











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## 4




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- fruorepon ayscuk epa elintricsoa
 civoetcomed-arock ústiasiwo us,





MS. Oriental No. 6804. Fol. $21 a$.

TNTK yosic UITPスV limaxo CEEJTUNEXTXTHITBE EXSXNEM, -WUT.
 TNATICTEYENN XEAYTUOYSESOACN JETUOOYTE N TITICTEYE JUD AIIXECNA



 CHHTK ZKTAUNTEPO NANTEPEYXOCN HCULAC गATOCTJNO Litrelion sodurici TOr


 TWOYA AYSUK EONA GNTE YEJC.
 liguapiral TE cpadi Torcuas os siolacwliac. xE fort EBDA AYO OYa'Jya



MS. Oriental No. 6804. Fol. 21 b.

#  



 WNEESC入 RUתELUA



 - Tincr tel TOE ETEOTT ŚOTONNIL

 Hos. orxwopenzapiert ie
TMOYTE YNARCUTH ETCOTITNNET



 uxertkeri guf. capp nezphpe
й
Axpmrg iont as peduar furgoist Micucuminator


 Erxculun primereccowne nulaviezanis.

 dy exintarix nis naremewisesty?
 torn zeUnazo unsitar'entax


 seau) s jarevori uuvoretantes
 THCHE MTNV TH MTHTY: ETUA
 avels Taccu Mi Tocccert isatif

 axoes arcutand xemtokit лЕ
 2TINETUOYす: AK 2NTEKANAFTAS No Hignac NNAEN: $^{2}$

## 125


 xfrausir t xciv litno rac wotu




 L̄NTAEL



 THHBE AYY E EONCUSEYCNOYETRATE

 GE B6inETP TEXAY MTANDETONE тTP日V. XEELETAENOYNNOTTEAY
 स Tw
 xaOr eñornor
 -00nenees' MS. Oriental No. 6804. Fol. $23 a$.

195
(2)


 2AHIIH AYOOY WN NDAB NNATOCTON

 COTCNAY NTESCITP OYON CY EHEUUX -HTHE-NTEPEYTUOYN ESOATNXET UGOC T. JNTEETXCWCUENJTANANJASJ RICOXCTENXOEIF EAOYPACYE URIDYTEAIA

 SAMOCTDNF.TWOYNNTE THTANO: NTETPO DOPA Qathéna TİJcup̃x



 NLCDNATOL TOND AE AY TVNOYNE??




 óvienole iffopmiteralavosers处 6 \%

[^27](40)

veyumay
FONNTEYETTITALE


- lineqeicotefenty
 ermevcy civo y. ar sar entenog inices
 ayorwoor noinf Tpor. x
 пурNлае ттро
 Ecupzacto QAUHTEENOY NNOTTE NANE NTEDE cety- unyscour ayxce tentcula wif







MS. Oriental No. 6804. Fol. 24 a.

By: ayeen nie nex:
Tũ: T YNoworer NiL



: TEXS TA ECKTI





 arcueyesuor Ef oNchor vucinvigir






## THE LIFE OF SAINT BARTHOLOMEW THE APOSTLE

(From the Ethiopic Synaxarium, Brit. Mus. ms. Oriental, No. 660, fol. 4a)










































 Ф†?






# THE REPOSE OF SAINT JOHN THE EVANGELIST AND APOSTLE 

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6782)

 CTONOC П̄ Пе $\overline{x C} \cdot 8 \bar{H}$ OTEIPHHH $\cdot \overline{\text { HTE }}$ пнотте 8גМНн.




















 Fol. $2 b$ col. 2 gorm|e putn. a memxoeic xonor e bok.





'Heree at' on' e птбaeno' arw ycoorn' e temi-

 $\bar{\pi}$




















 nobe' sin тemor' Gie' ne mta тetmadr' $q^{\bar{n}}$ or-



St. John and the Virgin Mary
(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental No. 6782. Fol. 1b).



 xe.








 III makt elaraay arw meeaī pweet mee. III пс $\omega$ тнр elarade arw maikaioc net woon qee



 f orfhir $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ orōery mee.





 пхоел $\overline{\mathrm{IC}}$ пе $\overline{\boldsymbol{x}^{c}}$.
 oren̄ песрал' $є$ fò grter пелат•
 coor' птекamactacic' et oradh. e bod gin met






tnf Goor nak тее. пеетом• пеоог' тбоее
 пыт.














 ze si'm"elak $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ con' cmar' erem gembip $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ то0-













|  |  | （） |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | uetrovaie | Sxe dunte |
|  | NCUPI BUSK， | itporpermil |
|  | Nceno ereoci | uodv＊ |
|  | －TEPElitue | Uueors 64 |
|  |  | COB＇PE Luloor |
|  | ITE ENNECNHV | UModrecovis |
|  | delxooc inder | ＂cuntitpoil |
|  | UNVE－Xtusiky | IINOYT： |
|  | 8ut Tilld | vunselusis： |
|  | NXUStip： | ：exuriove |
|  | cuuldvat | ITOYe Luooy． |
|  | YU1KE ETE | repenzpum |
|  | HT，NToct | pext oruey |
|  | WURXNNH | gules intro |
|  | ग－00＇へOCOC． | 110c eroveri |
|  | Nicoyiecde | KinzHTV． |
|  | NENdV＋くxul | divGLINTE |
|  | KEITEHT | Kdrusc．Kdit |
|  | dinue． | －AiNreloga |
|  | YUNEU＊u | US．dVuis |
|  | luac．$x$ | NON UTTEN |
|  | Ous XiETE |  |
|  | HएT ELEzOvo |  |
|  | Vrus Senei | WIKILHVN |
|  | ITECHTN大I | Nizolvi，${ }^{\text {a }}$ |
|  | Ne＇culldy | то 2ıwuel． |
|  | NE！udXENU． | Noverflleory |
|  | usy zurnud | TECH＇T ETT |

The Death of St．John the Etangelist
（Brit．Mus．MS．Oriental No．6782．Fol．5b）．





 долі є теепттеро ве пиотте.

































 enin cque.



 Ia






















 $\mu \bar{\pi}$ ma щoxme' w

Пет $f \overline{\boldsymbol{l}}$ пог $\bar{\alpha}$ пог $\bar{\lambda}=$ ката песренге. Пе












 oraah - $\overline{\text { пte }} \overline{\mathrm{N}}$ adīecomon' $\overline{\mathrm{p}}$ gote $\cdot$

 ктопос' ет gr ormaee age pator. Mape пaiaboioc


 сєк' месщнре є песнт писеперк тегполме тнрс •

Ма' mā̄ $\overline{\text { птezorcia' } є ~ т р а ~ e o o w e ~} \cdot$ ar̄ $\bar{\kappa}$
以а pok ma roeic xe kac' elezi $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ macaeor' $\overline{\mathrm{K}}$ me

 In














久ococ • ar̄ m mapeemoc' ет oraah • mqarsoc'
 пепrолте• алш пепсштнр• Паі ере єоол мие


 елени:-


Epiphanius, Bishof of Cypros (Brit. Mus. Ms. Oriental No. 6782. Fol. 28a).

# THE MYSTERIES OF SAINT JOHN AND THE HOLY VIRGIN 

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7026)

## $\bar{\lambda} \quad \therefore \quad \overline{\mathrm{UI}} \quad \therefore \quad \overline{\text { IC }} \quad \therefore \quad \overline{\mathrm{XC}}$

 CTOAOG arய Imapeehoc et orain $\overline{\text { a }}$ HTATGABOC $\in$ POOT $\overline{\mathcal{H}}$ THE $\overline{\mathbf{H}}$ OTEIPHНН ЕТЕ ПНОТТЕ вגМНН $\because$

 асяенос ачтре откдооде кште е пехСра тн-



















































The Mysteries of Joen the Apostle and Virgin (Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental No. 7026. Fol. 1a).







 pwere qapeq e poor e тіе $\overline{\boldsymbol{p}}$ robe щаре пеішт
 erescaha.







 xe a m








 $x \in$ па $x \bar{c}$ eiorwgy e тpe ктденої є птшg $\bar{\ell}$


 qwh ruee $\because:$












 ererkat aqus.ine $2^{\bar{\pi}} q^{\text {empoorus }} \because$ eentica mas






















 д"й па сшена $\bar{\pi}$ аоратос


















 oreoor.















Ke moб $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ 以пнре amar e poc amok $\overline{\text { iwe }} \overline{\mathrm{m}}$ тере mar є marreidoc erthus є mertazse тнрог






 Eleloor.
Fol. $7 b$ Hintica mas ac amar er mren $\overline{l e}$ eloor | hog
$\overline{\text { İ }}$ ecoroh" $\overline{\text { пee }} \overline{\mathrm{K}}$ ordiwn qwe $\overline{\text { птaxooc xe ore- }}$



 є eadacca arw urm mee et qı xwc ero $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ or-

 птос ет tafe eloor e bod e tirth - Hexai $\bar{\ell}$

 xwe - mexe mexerporbern nas xe tai et tare












 gолм є теєе сащеєе ере 才юте пнт п̈са пєероот

 пшт пте парХси тнрог саqwor e god щamt
 gocon at eip щripe amar e кe acreג oc eqmer


 ортн є gолн є теептраеєє тнре • а пеед тнр $\bar{q}$


Fol. $9 a$
$\overline{7}$
















Hexac mas on xe orn quee $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ 入ecewn ererpe





 $\varepsilon$ ппарадісос $\overline{\text { se пог }}$ пооч єеення $\bar{\pi}$ щни пиее его







 $\bar{\Pi}{ }_{2 \mu \tau \bar{y}}$.


 нарпос єернт ксогрє єрє пшнн щоня є песнт



























 ниотте






 Mexar ray xe eurse mer twy or e bod grae





 пносеес.

Пexas may xe ma xē agy te tamarocrme et




Fol. 12 b
$\overline{\mathbf{R} \boldsymbol{\lambda}}$

Fol. $13 a$









 erga sIII TגPXCH.

ILadin on fewres xe a mmorre eme m orgmib

 आeceld orf orm mamevorptoc deftaleíe cmar II cweld - ero $\bar{\Pi}$ orcweld $\bar{\pi}$ orwt • dyorwū пexay
 gwh mee $\bar{\ell}$ Imat ITa mmorte tauro $\overline{\mathrm{I}}$ dadel

 mepe n Re|eeere $\overline{\text { erga merend. }} \mathbf{G}$ the nai a ICWeld cmar 以wne e Bod gin orcweed II orwT.

 defwhy defene $\bar{\pi}$ erga e bod $\overline{\mathrm{I}}$ gमт $\bar{y}$ dcywne
 ghorp xIM Ieqoor MTA nMorte TAlerof f forFh e menden eygit $\bar{\mu}$
 dadel.
 made maer exe mкaq $\bar{\pi}$ yop $\bar{\pi}$ me $\overline{\text { пererb }} \bar{\ell}$



 є fqapeq ementoin $\overline{\text { e }}$ пиогте. $\overline{\text { ena forwe } є}$




 пехецрогвеm mas xe fraorwig mak e hod $\bar{\pi}$



 tadre Fugwme Ficeio a cōдolewn cqas cor














 $2^{\bar{n}}$ orḡ̄̄nc cemaio - दeeon memage ne $\overline{\text { el }}$

 açusace meeeac єехw Eeeoc xe xs $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ ortak

temor ge $\bar{\omega} \overline{\omega \bar{\omega}}$ пет maeipe $\overline{\text { Le morte mecjRadef }}$ Trewer.


 щтортр qгхе пкдя пexe пexeiporbeim mai xe нмar e mei nog $\bar{\pi}$ тнr erotī e gorn e meragwp
 eеде $\bar{\ell}$ пgorn $\bar{\ell}$ пкатдпетaceed щape $\bar{\Pi}$ тнг






 eoor Eeeor m qwor' een megporbhai mete $\bar{\pi}$




 QHTप̆:-
 זе meeor n gwor e e God xe mepe $\overline{\text { ie e eoor thpor }}$


 нтגelon se or met tworn e gpar qa tme e ecawe пиqe:- Пexay man se ecage $q^{\bar{\pi}}$ ormefc eeñ ortwЩ $\overline{\text { птe mMorte mexal may on xe or met }}$






 megoor.








 $\overline{\mathrm{M}}$ ormor swn $\in$ bod $:$ -

Mexal mac xe ese teentcnoorc $\overline{\mathrm{I}}$ ormor $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$











 greenoc xwn e bod waywaxe ent mametioc $\overline{\text { el }}$


 sin Recon•

Пехач mas xe morte coorm xe wape прweee






 тепене⿱亠䒑era $\overline{\text { se marafodoc．}}$










 exeron．









 нае se па $x \bar{c}$ огетпооее $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ пррене отетпа
 erwameeor ermaxi Il nora nora－$\epsilon$ neea


Kan eryamelor • nam erwamwng̀' mereld me mкaq"


 apa cemarodaje reeopor - н cemaf eetom mar. Fol. 19 a
 еетом mar am - orat gïce:-a














 mкад.

Hexai mac xe пa xe $e$ тbe or orī cror wobe $\in$







 $\bar{n}$ zoest ä̈g emamocto之oc ercoore є merepнr $\overline{\lambda \theta}$

74 MYSTERIES OF JOHN AND THE VIRGIN
arxw e poor $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ ne nt armar e poor arw ana-
 erf єoor $\bar{e}$ пполте. $\lambda r \omega$ artaweoevw $\bar{\ell}$

 emeq queehir -

# THE LIFE OF BISHOP PISENTIUS, BY JOHN THE ELDER 

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7026)


#### Abstract

IIBIOG גTU TIIOATTA II ПеH ПеT Fol. $20 a$   PITHG. II ПTOOT H TCEHT еגч\&ICTOPI3е mió HOI ImС пепाРесВттеPOC II певOO؟ II песР пшеете ет OTAגB ETE COT MHTuOMTE IE II  те 8גIIHH.





 тегugh $\because$ : $\overline{\text { п }}$ т









oraianpicic. кe ora e orñtac eecear $\overline{\mathrm{K}}$ or-
 camo:-

Плет oraah ae raкwhoc палостодос wщ् є Go入

 пє :о—еарй єцеє хє пие пет єрє погерос $\bar{\kappa}$ апостодос щaxe е pocy $x \in$ †coorm $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ orpwere

 $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ fcoorm am пиогте пет coorm xe artwp $\overline{\text { пе }}$




 pwere :-

мие бе пет єре папостодос щахє е рое ел ен






 crmaeroiq $\bar{y}$ g $\bar{\pi}$ or.



 є gorm є orom mel єт wus e ppar є poc giñ orece $^{\bar{x}}$

 бє є emeє xє єещосте $\overline{\boldsymbol{e l}}$ пеоor ет woreit.
2.1

|  |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | WITENEICTTETOYARR: |
|  |  |
|  | EIECYNEIAC TJUE'riser |
|  | nayoeinecleyecucrino |
|  | cte |
|  |  |
|  |  |

- ovilimeseuñizizds TE NTITE CEEYQPANE Jevenoorercicip ori Arco eyगeスridriviteraar exrijeysenvorectrra Hx ITdNTI LS Trd $200 \%$ KAOLOEETEPETICJSXE Notrulaneneydinvoo Q) E E M M-8IUPKG TPAK PUVE ETJETDAXENEK
 EICTHTEBO~NLTEQQX. Ninpevete xintrapxi: NTPKpleona天acerra TEKPEITICKOITM RNU zÑOYeis envy anceopy?

The Life of Pisentius, by John the Elder
(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental No. 7026. Fol. 20b).






 $\epsilon$ пाет oraah п achнтнс arw arxs ceeor $q^{\bar{\pi}}$ nल̄бIx et oraak.




 e"пित







 ormpoc oraesy пе.






















Fol. $24 a$
$\overline{\mathbf{\lambda 7}}$ (sic)


























 сит耳е де







 мттатог ща рштй.





 aikatoc: $\%$-marioc $q \omega \omega$ е $X_{\omega}$ relooc xe eiespe $\overline{\text { in }}$

















Fol. 26 a
ela



 є gorm ме Geeor є por• а пе профнтнс тшогп

 щап fсодс $\bar{\lambda} \bar{\pi}$ ке колі.

 аеge де є ппет огадf снаг егquosc апа пестн-




















 per at a псоп waxe ési ama пecrneroc - xe or e

























 Goll arrooc xe elнiote $\overline{\text { FTe }}$ ordoxi $\bar{x}$ tagos.









 вттнс па птоот $\overline{\text { е }}$ пкареендос пе птатапа-



Fol. 28 b
$\bar{\pi} \bar{\varepsilon}$

Fol. $29 a$ $\bar{\pi}$

 leos of-








 є пепто八н $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ теепिтео




 пнотте - сенатотноеіатй е God ката петещие.
 н егют пи епескопос апа пестнеюос • пе пта пиотте





 с由т $\bar{\Omega}$ епщахе $\overline{\mathrm{K}}$ нсат• песноб $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ щнре ечбопт












 ндооде. естахрнг, егхее пиад ере тесапе пня








 Ficorcior.








Fol. $31 a$








 пеzay Hay xe raat e bod re a moroem es e




Mexac ma¢ xe fire reeorte e pon xe ranwe.


























 $\epsilon$ пнш $\overline{\Omega^{\top}} \boldsymbol{x \epsilon}$ єченоотт $\overline{\text {. }}$










 equoro |










 пат елстдג






 arorwn • $\overline{\text { MI merban armar e pofe atetñar }}$ ge $\bar{\omega}$ па eepate xe $\overline{\text { enmar } \bar{п} т а ~ m m o r t e ~ c \omega т и ̆ ~} \bar{\ell}$


ama Mecrmeroc ae пта nmorte ei wa pog xim







 мта¢тadr mar. Her $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ orcon at on gee ntoor





 miet ordah ama mectmeioc xe mantwc mmorte

 narkaioc e kiel wa eneq*

Пmet oradh ae qwwe ama mecrmeioc dejan te
 एap ie meeorg $\bar{i}$ meeorg $(s i c)$ ie meeoor ne. mب̄esooue aє пбा ппет oraah ana пecrmeioc efwur





 eroc. גy
 пееа є трє пееакаргос апа пестнөлос $6 \omega \kappa \in \operatorname{Go\lambda }$ qее пееоот пйск птвт е пекро• а пееот п qaגте











 oront et eve reroc :-
 enल adpwn mexar may xe or me mas जुтafadey

 erces temor ela man $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ genoem sē̆ \| gemade. Fol. 35 a














дтетйене бе $\bar{\omega}$ наееррате хе псопсй $\overline{\text { м }}$






















 пекапостодос петрос хе еооие є ерал ех⿻е


 пехау $\overline{\text { Ie }}$ пенor хе пхе̄ пет oregcapre nan Xe. кток є пескт е пекця.

етег де Gpe пееоот сек є песнт алйс• ес-








 eloor • me ntaүuaze eñ тпетра• actaro e bod $\overline{\text { n }}$ gemoee दeloor:-






 пет oraab. a mпотте Tangorтк ereenhwe $\overline{\text { se }}$




 панадос ет oraah щaкeree tap є meөнा qaөн






 †щйпе ак• пеккдөксеп пе пи пет пит ща рок•








Fol. $38 a$

Fol. 38 b $\overline{\mathrm{pe}}$




 $\overline{\mathrm{I}}$ щнре щнне $\because:-$






 $\bar{\omega}$ пееанотте. जегют апа пестненос панедар-
 а пиогтє $\mid \dagger$ нак $\overline{\text { in }}$ пенагтнееа тнрог алноб









 $\overline{\mathrm{L}}$ пепка ет oraak $\overline{\mathrm{K}}$ oresage $\overline{\mathrm{K}}$ orщiн $\overline{\mathrm{m}} \boldsymbol{\operatorname { c o g }} \overline{\mathrm{K}}$





 $\overline{\ell \ell}$ пет oraah • areic бe On тemor git̄ тex八apic

 arpwere ate boi que пептощ waxe mérean e

 ir тоот $\bar{y}$ aramanta $є$ ппет ordab ama maquee $\cdot$

 пе пет ordah. açorwgh at mas xe maele or $\overline{\mathrm{P}}$ пет оraak. пе песrmeioc щнее $\because$ ar由 aкхs ornog $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ ceeor ewwne aramanta $\in$ poe. $\overline{\text { пет }}$
 eloor пежa¢ man xe acŋן $\overline{\mathrm{K}}$ orgoor ammar
















 ппет оraab are巨ecooc exer ппет oraaf arēecooc








 алок пе пногте.
 xe mee apa пет oregcagne may eн orpweeє пе.
 $\epsilon$ ппет oradh aпа коג\оeоc ormoб $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ рwee.














нत्र amore обт由к ortwe xe mee пе птаетй－












 जcwor．






 a入入a eveme eecoy e bod gere mmorte Rata өe












 artes Eleof $\overline{\mathrm{F}}$ тоот $\overline{\text { g }}$.


 є coran. мет ormañtor дє maе $\overline{\boldsymbol{\pi}}$ тероене.


























$\bar{\pi}$ oroesy mee nma map uycuorwor eereoy


 nra o:-
| Teeñra rap wacregre прweec e bod que Fol.44a


 $\overline{\bar{n}}$ онту. Mn̄ тре nerbad ¢eones e pon eкespe












 poc. пexe abpagace ae Hay • xe ma щнре• арs
 גazapoc qwwe $\overline{\text { п }}$ qemпeeoor:--Terror aeqwwe



















Fol. 45 b $\overline{\mathbf{P R}}$

Fol. 46 a $\overline{\text { PKג }}$






 аретн. $\bar{\omega}$ паскнтнс ет панотя. паг ол ет





 сह̄тнтч нак $\because:$

Tйcoorm rap xe mī $\bar{\rho}$ xpia am $\overline{e^{e}}$ nemiac.























































Fol. $48 a$ PKe

Fol. 48 b
PKE








































 па $x \bar{c} \overline{\text { r }}$ егшт $\because:$








































 qее пек|ногс• е тве пал а лполте $f$ боее пак $\cdot$ є тре кхро є пехамамалос • ет янп анөешреп










 снопос ала пестнегос mamax $\omega$ ритнс ет сена-


















 пнотте.

















 $\epsilon$ ние $\omega$ пееакарос $\overline{\boldsymbol{\kappa}}$ ешшт ала пестнөос пепн-













































 $\overline{\text { ada }} \because$

 є megroore єт с $\lambda \in \sigma \lambda \omega \sigma \cdot$ anxek $\Pi \omega t \in \operatorname{co\lambda } \cdot$ aк-







 $\Psi \boldsymbol{\Psi}^{\mathrm{H}} \because$



























 जеє $\overline{\text { к oziac. }}$
 ноте есраще • $\bar{\omega}$ пресусодс $\bar{\lambda} \bar{\ell}$ ееє ката пщаге











 рон Exщamorww бе е таго $\overline{\text { п пеннаторөшяеа }}$







 песодогос.













Fol. 58 b
$\overline{\text { pees }}$





 подлс - епег дн Ппет oraah ama дaeeranoc пе

 ниднрнос боние $\epsilon$ пен пет отадю п еншт апа


 $2^{\alpha} 9^{\text {THe }} \%$ -




 ачпадту qа м отрннте. ї апа пестнөлс ере










Ardelagte ae $\overline{\text { rewof }}$ amoxy $\in$ bod amor $\overline{\text { iwc }}$




 $\overline{\ell \ell}$ поог • мерє т тортн нахеро ам є gorm є рон



 nसTE $\in$ bod:









 emage e qpar exre па 20 लिсавнд xє aкдelaqte





















Fol. 60 a ples


 nexac mas xe ams ormïraz has $\in$ ner ela. arw





кал пер Gpe mēbaג ero $\overline{\mathrm{m}}$ orocim. eeн eе̄̄
 ог а пногте. 才 погоем є певвад• акееєре пес-


 тнрог \| ल̈та пшшс тада наї aymopaor $\in$ bod. aqкaar e bol quxet mumaz mexacy mar xe nes $q^{2 a} \lambda \omega \boldsymbol{\sim}$
















 п̈норнос arw on xe mar п 才eees me e ewwne or-





 тесЧгХн $\overline{\boldsymbol{\kappa}}$ тооте $\bar{\ell}$ паıaboritoc • xe orebinm qwwe пе :-






 $\epsilon$ mamathaion ele eefpoc $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ хннеє. a miar


 arw arf meroros e mero• que te xe ermanceq



 amaXWpei mar ēn orfגanter eeeos $\lambda a a r$.







 oraab - ama necrmeioc пе птасмаqеет є ттапро










 дє $\overline{\text { e }}$ пт
 mirproc • nexac nas xe $\bar{\omega}$ s $\overline{\omega c} \cdot \operatorname{asp}$ or $[\omega]$ nac • xe



 мант Iе ппогте•




 псофुос паг:


 eroc. mugase madyar e regoro a a $\lambda a$ m gocon
 mamor orongor e bod $\bar{n}$ orom mee. Gmaze $q^{e n-}$

 лщaxe - acyore at or $\bar{H}$ orgoor arpweet er



 2ג мल огрннте.

Hexe ппет oraah $\overline{\text { le mpweee }}$ xe e the or $\overline{\ell \ell}$

 огщнре щнее пе ла елшт еппат есее е тgスinia.









 xe $\overline{\text { rt }}$ arse mal qapor elaraat - Meeor • anaa







 orghie te• ham orpereado te:--

теНот бе а пагаводос тре пекщнре $\boldsymbol{q}^{\epsilon}$ екіт










 щase mee п̈танzoor наг fraqapeq є poor- пет








 ееноот. еєнанточ дє є gori сөенєєтє ачпа-

















 п̄са пщдase xe arto入led e sooc xe mewbнр $\bar{\ell}$










 eоrm є hod • erwn̄̄ wa ereq:-



 пе пасон arw ta cwre• arw ta eeadr• גcurwne


 orдarew
 mas тagoc. nexay xe esc cageye $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ poeene $\bar{\pi}$




Fol. 676

 ageorte e por amon $\overline{\mathrm{i} \omega \mathrm{C}}$.

 щнре щнен геном прос $\mid$ еє ет етат є рое пел adrewn force may eleate arkwn $\sigma \in \in$ gorm $є$

 салос пепресвттерос - агы пепросістос $\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ пто-



























 паareewrron • $\lambda$ пеुeswt qoeeoえores xe $\ddagger x \omega$ еенос mak ma eiwt xe п̈тermor птtaitcooc e hod











nas ae $H$ тер $\bar{y}$ goor a npwee bwhe bod gr

























 ератен є $60 \lambda$ єєбонт.
















 at $\in$ gorir arbwr ate $\in$ bod wa poor. next

 ере па щнре ктнатнете є пеоо алш †пистете




 Fitat coorn.





 eroc. e magice boheei e por $\overline{\operatorname{lem}} \overline{\mathrm{p}}$ кadt $\in$ leor егрее петп̄ро :о-






 emerthera - mexe ma eint mas $X e$ кade mak





 тадпе. $\overline{\mathrm{f}}$ fratworn ame gpas a па eint aleagte















Fol. $72 b$ pon

Fol. 73 a POE









 nт areecere. e poc e gorn є poc alada Gngan-
















 іне соп щa emeq:-



 щнре ката пщале $\overline{\text { е }}$ папосто入инос апа песлм-










 пет наєщбтебоее е тато пи пещпнре тнрог питаг-

















 дcywne ae ox Arpweeє en wa poe aecncwnē

 orpweef 以ג Gaderace(sic) Figohofotrinoc eramar-



 Paka入es ae $\overline{\text { PTFeenteswr e tp FwngTFR gapos }}$ eyएwाe or̃̄et e tpe kit orkors mas ntabwR

 perexcwpa $\overline{\text { n }}$ hod me eyormhg git exeedoc we
 ze oremremomoc me $\overline{\text { м peft atamp }}$ aftworm ayei









 crmazsc He megoor map me te mapx Hemickomoc
 chomoc II amfoxia Regqeeooce epas uramt eefes
 muaxe mT ampin zooy*
${ }^{1}$ On the margin $\boldsymbol{\lambda}$.



 пxos $\mathfrak{q}$ ї пeed $\overline{\mathrm{M}}$ xroop $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ feed eeen eic qннте.










 пршеее ката екком $\overline{e \ell}$ пнотте•
 celate. equeєre xe nqwh naqum e earcaioc $\bar{\pi}$
 пепрофнтнс • ей мапостодос• пеı полте Гар





 poce waceise xe जтachwn wa pof e the or $\overline{\text { к }} \overline{\text { pie }}$







Fol. 77 b











 eнotте є por mexay mas xe fereere xe a miorte






 orдраншн. se ачнаяте $є$ por fratormoq.
























 не̄ $\overline{\mathrm{p}}$ ткаде入є ката обног - ме кас ере песнит














 arae mar mexay Нas xe qaen etpa waxe ne耳-





 є ратот $\overline{\mathrm{i}}$ паєнооте тнрот.














 пнотте elaradeq mas ет maf oreioor maч тнрог-

 хе тйпактоп ап ещюпе. $\overline{\mathrm{K}}$ ке соп гепе киа






















 on evintea naococ. fxw ewec. xe $\overline{\mathrm{m}}$ fraxs



















 пет ере пота пога паач eeñ pweee naxmoq.



скопос ет oraak • açorwȳn e bok $\overline{\text { п }}$ orampetei



 oraab - amxity e gorm є пеөтсластнрion ет or-



Fol. 826




 т[rршл] Чки етолс тqе
 eยpнorproc aiak[onoc] maic tor ela кaproc encmr-
 גata amo the monewc 入atwn empayac Gikגoc mantwn amammeer thm fibhior emerzetar ee
 ton emeneto - deeमm



 "ос ееєрногргос | пестратндатнс пал ет щоoп





## $+\infty$

1. 31 F .

- ETTpaçapx zrxury An
 - urrray eqalepatyuritn curtr antomcizacam.


## 




in

Life of Pisentius-Colophon
(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental No. 7026. Fol. 82b).

## Plate LV．

$$
10
$$

 2ritgaaysor cos．agernncta－天ucuमEayicadyzilneyper MaGHPION 2 EtくdGegrydebeyN


 HayN ayraónaze rexoyzyIJo



 гЭG EISOC aRRSABPA2ふ 2NNTCTud：
 SOPOCETGOO！zMIEYMCHAG नifpION noydroya＜lja neypan： HYAMEYGRoyG TeXadRezp of $\in$ XIT ALNTEAd Gyeyarelzeon EBH2Nici 2 EYE 214 HPONO LI\＆LथNHEIOO TENOGINOHIS पrdird Yeerico nijartat 6 w以й Niackeri visewpof ejo riHrcio
 जCEucunERE，Hotioñurth





 пога пота ката печрам. пе̄ п̄ нетснет ет

 ооте $\bar{\kappa}$ тнолнона апа пахшееш ееп апа өеш-




AN ENCOMIUM ON SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST, BY SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7024)

ג. ш. $\overline{\mathrm{C} . ~ X \bar{C} . ~ Ч 曰 . ~}$

Fol. 1 a
$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$
 пет отגaB $\overline{\text { н }}$ еї̈uT ет тגїнr кגтג
 ПархеПIСКоПос $\overline{\mathrm{H}}$ кшстגнТнотпо-




 по $\overline{\mathbf{H}}$ недїопе $\overline{\mathrm{H}} \sigma \mathbf{I}$ пет $\overline{\mathrm{O}} \overline{\mathrm{H}}$ ноб е

 THPOT. HET OTOTB EHATLENOC \&
 е TBE ПЄRPHTOH ET CH\& . \&U ПET-

 йTג TETĒEI E BON E TEPHLOG E

## ENCOMIUM ON SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST

##  ePE HCTIOT ET OTAגB HAEI E 8PAÏ 





 аретн - еей печтаїо - ната пебепща - Каї еар а менеїооте ет огаав $\overline{\text { п }}$ өеофорос $\overline{\mathrm{I}}$ епископос






 потнни. Пепрофнтнс агш пщнре दе пепрофитнс пепарөенос агы пееартлрос пஜ̈саесе-













 сен хе їшдаминс пе перраи•

Fol. $2 b$ $\overline{\mathbf{2}}$

Fol. $3 a$ $\bar{E}$












 дскотё ає ща пррро пехас нае хе. еа наї




 астадс $\overline{\mathrm{H}}$ тесенat.
Неченантнс acarf neroroï arqs $\bar{\Omega}$ печсшera.








 $\overline{\text { el пет ornacroee }}$.



crar- Iē ae mexay \| mar ae ami cor e meï Fol. 3 b

































 теgїн Нее пта swсне ппатрїархнс с $\overline{\mathrm{p}}$

 megcrmente swgammec - Dommon arf comeria
 mee' e the ma mercenoc. e tpe rē tactame 2a poor. erugameore forwg orn e xw e






$\bar{i}$ Anok on me nt diei ya pon $\bar{\pi} x \bar{\Pi}$ eerfrte $\bar{\pi}$

 пете щarordqeé xe texגapic areedte $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ or-







Моїпоп axsc me eehнuge xe eectanoï acgwn cap є gorn $\overline{\text { пи }}$ тей̃теро пее пнте. Мет ере






 еооще • Нет еоотт тшогм - понне сеегак-
 дадїदе ам $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ рнт.

 є мar e or: erкaщy epe птнr нïl e poci:-



 еееос пнтй хe orgor є проњ̧нтн пе. Паї шар пет | сня е твннт



 теиттеро ме пнтє.




 еіте нorge e eite wbib - eite wonte • wa gpaï





 щюme a ter chbe Fro wu e bod.















## $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{12}$














 ea pons.













 e bod.










 нат. Ноорли на петнове mar е boa.




 ехе⿱⿱亠䒑日儿




Fol． $9 a$
5

Fol． 96
$\overline{\text { IH }}$









 pwe－acnwe acgonor e poc－acgome mac
 croxaze．










 пе．щарє панр щюпе сченее є тег тре парощ



 qгхеие пеїралинс.

 печееертт їбданнс - ката ке епт апдє е роот







 oraak.







 тенйтеро:-


 е роп пе. є тр пёееє кадас є тие пекесерїт.



 є fode theft. Tenor $\sigma \in$ nenzoeïc reataceon





 xapre eleeq ray.

 e xwn (?) arw aforegcagne man amon manoc-





Fol. 11 a FX

Fol. 116 $\overline{\mathbf{K B}}$



 песса• е̄̄ тесєтпорїа яепи песпоб к єоот•
















 eloeit.










 кїнス - arш açecorte e pon लапостодос ката





 recoí.

 swgammс mbaпfстнс • arw ma urgнp arw ma crxemfe. \omon on tayeocig gà пкосенос

 просфора - елте oraкапи єite oreeñtнa ет






Fol. 13a FE

Fol. 13 b
$\overline{\mathrm{KC}}$




 топос qе пекрам. н пет патееее ога ае$q^{\text {нoeit }}$ qé пекрам - н пет натсе ord ecjobe.
 $\overline{\text { п }}$ 十патса






 Iе пкосеес ${ }^{-}$


 caboor am e aeñte wa eneq. Otae meefro-
 nïe • mazïamepa Eerof e eite aínaloc• este
 fraxaprye 天eeocy mak. Swcte maíoop Ie mei


 may amon mamocto doc xe memsoeic ormep $\bar{\pi}$
 Eerear e eatcabon xe rac emetcabe п̄pwee етесgоте:-
Пехє пепснр мам• хе frataeewtи є тесйї н














 $\mathrm{R} \omega \mathrm{Q}^{\bar{T}} \cdot$








 ени є Gol wa eneq:-
 наі- амраще сенате ехлй $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ ноб $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ таїо птта



 еенал ебfнарпос тнрог - ната педсенос - алш





 пота пота.

























 elaaxe coteeor orat ten oraite e gpai exel





 oraab. arw aчеешреі $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ тетргас ет oraab.














 oн reuoor. erp orocin e poor want or-





















 g̈̈xe пкад.






 meкmobe - ormaft тap пе пногте • arw orwam









 ӥт arore $\in$ bod. arw amok frata

 еетапоїа• дтетйеїе $\bar{\omega}$ паеєрате• хе


 течбоел•
 $\bar{\pi}$ net ordah. Gxit naï де тнрог eeapín feoor








THE INSTRUCTIONS OF APA PACHOMIUS, THE ARCHIMANDRITE
(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7024)
 ПеT OTAגB $\overline{\text { H }}$ eImT eT TAIHT KגTA



 HeI щגхе • aru epe zeH Ke eioote

 еT oradi ū̄ hecior $\overline{\text { H }}$ HeT oradi
 THPй 8גпНн.




Fol. 18 b





 щвнр




Instructions of Pachomitus
(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental No. 7024. Fol. 18a).

## THE INSTRUCTIONS OF APA PACHOMIUS

 писнर. - ал нак

 щант єкр̄ $\bar{\rho} p o \cdot$ па щн




 еок. неяеот тар тнрог тенттар"



 oradi eклictere xe ekmaxi $\overline{\text { Horkioce } \overline{\mathrm{I}} \text { ат }}$




 пареелїа $2^{\bar{\pi}}$ пекееддо тнрог. Oтпареена








 петенак.





















 еооще еӣ̆ петєрнг -


 2а тетедгогсїа есперіспа е пег са еей паї щант ескатанта сі тартарос $\overline{\text { й }}$ деейте.



 $\overline{\text { й }} \boldsymbol{\prime}$













 ент $\overline{\text { 人 }}$ с .
 поте nत्र nar e ord extaio दered nie zooc xe a паî orш єедхі $\overline{\text { п тесеотмес } \quad \text { gapeq є рок є пєя }}$ leeere. xe ygoor celate xe mmor|te wocte Fol. $21 b$

Пет хы ate Feeoc e pof xe aron пe• eriaar









 єккрінє $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ orgeeqa $\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}$ пшк ак пє : -
 рат̄̄ $\because:-$











 огш єєемериє $\overline{\operatorname{ri}}$ ог пеөнाт
גpı пеєєте $\bar{\pi}$ abbanoree $\varepsilon^{\bar{n}}$ formaid. Arw

Fol. 23 a ene


















 qаїес - ілет нащште
Меднта $\bar{\kappa}$ ная ниее $\bar{\pi} \overline{\text { пи }}$







 пнотте тареєпадеєк.













 ерїок -
Тепот бє па щнре. екщаниа пноттє нак йдеג-












Fol. 24 b
$\overline{\mathrm{CEH}}$

Fol. 25 a les



 палотс пак єкшлнд єкріесє ' енащадоее щапт























 q$^{\bar{\pi}} \overline{\text { пи }}$ бpwe ereä̈be ereeoné. Пexay on xe tqaḯce




6од• ачхїтё є ппарадїсос • єїс обннр пє пєк-





 тнрог.



























 е печеа $\overline{\mathrm{r}}$ eגоoде.











Fol. 27 a जत्र

Fol. 27 b M2


 раїос - птте пеерит пшнре दе еопотепнс прро



入лат ле $\overline{\mathrm{K}}$ тере їнсог $\overline{\mathrm{m}}$ матн $\overline{\mathrm{p}}$ гарянт• а











 pooente. Pщari ora comé yr qa poef en-
poori - mī qeतnize e mrorte• xe eqeipe e
 пнобте хе пттое пе пт аегоoc• хе пет па-
 fra $f$ cwg nay $\lambda$ дw eruantaion on $\overline{\operatorname{en}} \overline{\mathrm{p}}$
 тнрог таї тнгтп.
Hexay on xe maïat thrt̄̄ ergamméneg thrtī






 егge入пїzє є птаї $\overline{\text { к }}$ тпе:-
 aïm xe eкeanolare 健 qee meí aïwn et



















 leapia тідреєнос шант єчє





 пекршог ї тонотеенн .
Tепот бе етщантаїок ка пекрнт қенок пй


 Єøxe areeorte e пerxē xe me mגamoc•arш







 щнре рїес є ераї є ппотте $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ нат пїе. хе

 гопріееє пееа иттансееп̄ту.





 он негершог наоески ап:-











 $\overline{\text { пт }} \boldsymbol{\text { тй }}$














 roor - aqtorate gen|коore.

Fol. $31 a$
 $\overline{\overline{2}}$



 ераї:-валс̄ кар є рок еє єтрє ттадок є ратки










Fol. 316 $\overline{36}$

Fol. $32 a$





 пекднт є аадїда єтє паї пє пагаводос• пе пт



 атетйнат є ma cag apr qote. Gic qннте ar-





 xe aqeeor qa pon- e the or $\overline{\text { puganorcon tare }}$




пекхахе maкackē e gorm є por - етє maí пе







 जта пексои rooe є por. Herraxe qwwe ec-












 orat mpaceoc • кшגr п пет oraab e bwк щ्यа mxc. Twr orn $\bar{e}$.eor nत्र $\bar{p}$ xwope appon
 тееп̄тхарент п̄ пет oraah.


 corwel es̄ $\bar{n}$ areeomson - Bapeq є pon $\bar{\omega}$ ma







 fod $2^{\bar{i}}$ cweed.












 $2^{i}$ апаткн





 прос огоещ• Gкщап еере пёсе пи пет отаав.






 $\overline{\mathrm{r}}$ тाе.
























 גrw on xe cage тнгти e bod zeroï. neт



 таноесїa:-






















































 саgог 耳енит $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$. Єр ппет паноге $\overline{\mathrm{N}}$ пет пнт
 епеостє п̈ненернг менщвнр есйос ет дотр
















 падре $\overline{\mathrm{K}}$ тепилен दепат जееог.



Fol. $37 b$ $0 \mathbf{0 7}$

Fol. $38 a$ $\overline{\mathbf{O E}}$














 догос qa отннр $^{\text {. }}$












 Наі тнрог cemaxmork є poor e тве xє akeorp
 ordmamh - $\overline{\mathrm{K}} \mid$ te motte $\cdot$

Fol. 38 b
$\overline{0 \varepsilon}$

















 теокрс өени пхшge.












Fol. 39 b
$\overline{\mathbf{O F}}$
$\overline{\boldsymbol{0 \theta}}$

Fol. 40 b
































[^28]






































 нр $\bar{\pi}$ - таї ет еене $\overline{\boldsymbol{r}}$ осє пїе. Gре пеї штортр.





Fol. $42 a$ $\overline{\mathrm{m}}$

Fol. $42 b$
$\overline{\pi 2}$



 ей пепрофнтнс пшше е тие пнрй. отата-






 непеноотє кар соотм є пеqого $\bar{\mu}$ посе ет











ІІдни паеерате• панотс є даред аты отент


 Пrog at on' е maї тнрог. arf e тоотм $\overline{\text { el }}$ пеөБ̄̆іо лаї ет роеїс епаретн тнрог. Ter ноб







$\overline{\pi E}$










 печогшы $\overline{\text { пент }}$. Пеогосли теног пе паї є тр

 пет согтшн $2^{\bar{\pi}}$ नррене печщооп ан ката

















 огрїеє єчсаще.





















 an xe efchore $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ nïe.


 mкag. xe ene fraxi hadr pī nete mork ne fol. 45 a



 llan е тhннтс xe cworq e gorn e the ormace $\bar{n}$ orxpia. api meetere xe есня $^{\circ}$ xe cema-








 e gorn e пнолте.













Fol. $46 a$



 थни:-
 bod- xe mpaue $\bar{\pi}$ जadileomon пе maï e тре










 еїтє єкалахбреї - єїте єк q$^{\bar{n}}$ теннте $\cdot$



 coadela. xe ormictoc пе emanore ancwtee $\Delta \epsilon$ on $\epsilon$ tbe нacim xe een pweef gixer пиad
 é morrpon $\cdot$



 at forong e pweet niee. Kai map amok q $\omega$



а入入a a nxē fтоот $\overline{\text { reme stangortor．orat }}$

 погнаее－Arw aе才 печогог qа таян аетодееа
 нечпаногрпїа．







 ее пехрр：－




























 поїа• мё пшт є рате е пексом• ере пекднтт
 раще. Gре 才рнмя кштє є рок• ексбие єк-


Fol. 48 b $\overline{\Gamma^{\Sigma}}$

Fol. $49 a$
$\overline{47}$








 ексоолм ле а пеядостй щюпе ката ена анек-






 $2^{h} t$ ayar. Пet mor ace maka puey e bod xe















 qaelні - ceer є pom:-







 апа падшееш хе нас ере поапло[c] еериогрго[с]









[^29]176 THE INSTRUCTIONS OF APA PACHOMIUS


 ко［пос］пщнре посенрос парх［н］пресюбт［єрос］

 кш пепגreoc $\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ marohe mas e bod xe ceow селте єсєщопє
Gтраєв еелте ееарт Ча етог саракітог тос

At the foot of the page，in a later hand，is the following mutilated inscription：

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { + abba miкоднеic en[. . . .]co ē̄ } \\
& \text { moגeoc amoג入wmor [. . . .] wir } \\
& \text { c ¢́r }
\end{aligned}
$$

${ }^{1}$ Probably $=$ пue入axictoc．

## $13 t$


 Hyna pincan yant my mpe jmindiapis





 - $\begin{gathered}\text { © } \\ \text { - }\end{gathered}$











Colophon
(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental No. 7024. Fol. 49 b).

## TRANSLATION OF THE COPTIC TEXTS

# THE BOOK OF THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST, BY BARTHOLOMEW THE APOSTLE 

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6804)

[Five leaves wanting]
in the peace of the Father. Amen.
Fol. 1 a
Now when they had crucified the Saviour, they laid Him in a tomb, [and] He rose from the dead upon the third day, [and] He carried the soul of the holy man Apa Anania with Him into heaven forthwith, and he ate and drank with our Saviour at the table of His kingdom. And Joseph ${ }^{1}$ of Arimathea ${ }^{2}$ made ready for burial the Body of the Son of God, and when large quantities of most precious scents and unguents had been poured out upon It, he laid It in a new sepulchre. Then Death came into Amente ${ }^{3}$ saying, ' Where is this soul which hath come forth from the body newly? It hath not been brought unto me to Amente. For behold,

[^30]I have sought for it for two days, but have not found it. What then is [the meaning of] this mighty and wonderful thing? I know not, neither do I know what is [the meaning of] this terrible disturbance [which taketh place] this day. The whole world, and everything which is therein, is in a state of violent commotion. Never before have I known anything like unto this.' And Death called his minister and said unto him, 'Let us go unto every place, and see if we can find this newly dead body, and this new soul which hath hidden itself, for I know not whither it hath departed.'

Then Death came into the tomb of the Saviour, and he found it lighted up with the light of life, and he went into the back of the tomb, and seated himself there with his ministers. Now Abbatôn, ${ }^{1}$ who is Death, ${ }^{2}$ and Gaios, and Tryphon, | Fol. 16 and Ôphiath, and Phthinôn, and Sotomis, and Komphion, who are the six sons of Death, wriggled into the tomb of the Son of God on their faces in the form of serpents (?), ${ }^{3}$ wriggling in with their great thief in very truth. These robbers and evildoers were lying in wait for the moment wherein the Saviour would go down into Amente, so that they might enter with Him, and know what it was that He would do. And the Saviour made Himself manifest unto them in the form of a dead body, in the hinder part of the tomb; He was lying upon the ground in their midst-now it was the second day that He was in the heart of the earth-and there was a napkin bound round His face, and another one bound round

[^31]His head. Gaze thou thyself, O my son, at what His eye doth gaze at, how that the sun doth stand still, and doth not rise upon the earth, for He hath covered His face with a napkin.

And Death said unto his son, that is to say, the Pestilence (or, Plague), ${ }^{5}$ Hath this soul which hath died recently been brought unto thee to Amente? Hath any one brought it to thy mind, (or, hath any one mentioned it) to thee? Hast thou numbered it in the great number? Shew me, for I am disturbed greatly by this terrible quaking, and I do not know what hath happened this day. The place here hath quaked under me, the atmosphere hath been agitated, the foundations of the heavens are disturbed, the hours have been shortened, the nights are put out of course, the days have lengthened
[The breaks which occur in the text of the next eleven lines make it impossible to give a connected translation of the rest of the speech of Death. It seems, however, that Death goes on to complain that the door-keepers of Hell have ceased to guard the doors, that the fires have become extinguished, that Gehenna has gone cold, that the servants, and ministers, and envoys of Hell are unoccupied, that the angels thereof are scattered abroad, and that his power has passed into the hands of strangers (?).]

Addressing the dead body of Jesus Death saith, 'Who art Thou ?' 'What art Thou?' '[There is none] stronger than Thou.' 'Thou hast disturbed me exceedingly.' 'I who am wont to destroy every one [hast Thou] destroyed. And now behold, I do not know what Thou art in this form.'

Then Jesus removed the napkin which was on His face, and He looked in the face of Death, and laughed at him. Now as Death gazed on the Saviour as He was laughing at him, he became greatly disturbed; and he fled away back, and fell down upon the earth, with his six sons. And again Death rose up, and walked towards the dead body of Jesus, and he

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was greatly afraid and trembled and shook; now his little ones went away back. And again Jesus looked in the face of Death, and laughed. And again Death said unto Him, ' Who art Thou? Shew me. Is it possible that Thou art the first-born of the Father, the Holy Lamb? Surely Thou art not He !. . . . . I know Thee . . . . . . . . . .
Fol. $2 b$ [Breaks in the text again interrupt the sense, and the words which remain suggest that Death believes that he has found out to whom the dead body belongs, for he says]:
' I know Who Thou art ; Thou art He to Whom those who are in Amente cry out, saying: " O thou Good God, Merciful and Compassionate, have mercy upon us who are shut up in prison. Send Thou to us Thy beloved Son, so that He may shew compassion upon us, and be merciful unto us. Do this, O God, and take us into Thy kingdom." Tell me, Who art Tbou? For Thou art not . . . . . . . . . that I should be ashamed before it. Thou art not a mighty man that I should hold Thee in fear. And Thou art not an old man that I should be ashamed before Thee because of Thy honourable grey hairs, and Thou art not a child that I should be ashamed before Thee because of Thy tender years, and Thou art not a person whose life hath been brief that I should be ashamed because of Thy tender age, and Thou art not a bridegroom that I should be in fear of Thy bridal state. Of such as these I am master.'

These things did Death say to the dead body of the Son of God, and be certainly did not know that It was the Great King, our Saviour, Who was more (i.e. greater) than all the kings upon the earth, and Who had come to us out of heaven, and had given us life again. For he had said, 'Thou art not a mighty man,' but be did not know that the dead body was the Power which was stablished firmly . . . . . ., and that It had come in littleness for our salvation. He was not a mere child, [but had arrived] at manhood, for the sake of the [world ?]. |
［Here there is another break in the text，and we have the Fol， $3 a$ following fragments of lines：＇He passed thirty years＇；＇in the world until He received baptism＇；＇He gave us His［holy Body and His］precious Blood＇，\＆c．Death then looked again in the face of Jesus，and said，＇Who art Thou that laughest？ ．．．．．．I ask，I speak ．．．．．．．．．six sons．Tell me， ．．．．that we may cease to quake．＇The text continues ：－］

Wherefore dost Thou refuse to answer me in this manner？ Behold，it is two days since a token came to me，saying， ＇Watch over thyself，permit none to rob thee，＇for I keep this voice in my memory ；but behold，Thou humblest me，and dost make a mock of me．I will not depart from Thee，but I will cleave unto Thee until thou makest Thyself manifest，and declarest Who Thou art．Now I am absolutely all－powerful in my might，and Thou wilt never be able to deceive me．

And these were the things which the angel Abbatôn，who is Death，spake unto the dead body of the Son of God．Then the Saviour，the Living One，IA山以，${ }^{1}$ went up into the

[^32]mighty chariot of the Cherubim, and the whole of it was fire, and it shot forth rays of the [light] of life. And there was a mighty multitude of angels and archangels [standing] by the door of the tomb, and the Cherubim, and the Seraphim, and the Four and Twenty Elders, ${ }^{1}$ and the Powers, and multiFol. $3 b$ tudes [of angels which no man could number] . . . . . . . . .
[The second halves of the next nine lines are wanting, but it is clear from the words which remain that this portion of the text described the destruction which Jesus wrought in Amente. He broke in pieces the doors, and smashed their bolts, and dragged away and destroyed the door-posts and frames. He overthrew the blazing furnaces of brass and extinguished their fires, and, removing everything from Amente, left it like a desert. He put in fetters ${ }^{2}$ the 'shameless one' (лaturne) and bound the ministers of Satan; He also bound a fiend whose name is wanting, and He tied up the devil called Melkhir with an iron chain. The text then continues:-]

So Jesus went down [into Amente, and] scattered [the fiends], and cast chains on the Devil, and redeemed Adam and all his sons; He delivered man, and He shewed compassion upon His own image; He set free all creation, and all the world, and He treated with healing medicine the wound which the Enemy had inflicted on His, Son. He brought back into His fold the sheep which had gone astray-He the holy and faithful Shepherd. And He brought back Adam again to the state wherein he was at first, and forgave them (i.e. his sons) their sins. In peace. Amen.

[^33]Then the Saviour turned to the man who had betrayed Him, that is to say, to Judas Iscariot, and He said unto him, 'Tell Me, Judas, in what way didst thou profit by betraying Me , [thy Lord,] to the Jewish dogs? Assuredly I only endured sufferings of all kinds in order to fulfil [the will] of My Father, and to redeem [and set free] My creatures which I had fashioned. As for thee, woe be unto thee, with twofold woes.'
[Here there is a break of three or four lines in the text. According to M. Lacau's fragments the missing words which follow 'twofold woes' are something like 'and rebukings innumerable, and cursings most terrible. Moreover, the lot of Judas is with his father the Devil'. The text continues:-]
[His name (i. e. Judas's) hath been blotted out] from the Book Fol. 4 a of Life, his name hath been removed from the [roll] of the Saints, his inheritance hath been taken away from among the living, his tablet hath been broken in pieces, the oil of his jar hath been poured away to waste, his garment hath been rent asunder, Satan hath entered into judgement with him, and he hath come forth condemned utterly, his bishopric hath been taken out of his hands, his crown hath been snatched away, strangers have seized upon the [fruits of] his labours speedily, he is arrayed in cursing as with a garment, he is poured out like water, his glorious apparel hath been snatched away from him, the light of his lamp hath been extinguished, his house hath been left a desert, his day was shortened and the period of his life was diminished, and was without permanence. Suffering came upon him, the light departed and left him, and darkness came upon him, the worm inherited his substance, lice covered him over like a garment. The angels who are in the train of the Lord hurled him down headlong, ${ }^{1}$ his tongue hath been cut out, the light in his eye hath been destroyed, the hair of his head hath been plucked out. His mouth was filled (?) with thirty snakes so that they might devour him,

[^34]Fol. $4 b$ and these were their names:-1st, Remoteness from [God]; 2nd, Evil jealousy; 3rd, .........; 4th, ..........; 5th, Envy; 6th, Want of compassion ; 7th, Haughtiness of heart; 8th, Constant strife; 9th, Vain chatter; 10th, ...........; llth, Slander; 12th, Hypocrisy; 13th, .......; 14th, ..........; 15th, Gluttony; 16th, Cursing; 17th, Wrath; 18th, Treachery; 19th, Leading [men] astray; 20th, The lying tongue; 21st, Arrogance; 22nd, Contempt; 23rd, Falsehood; 24th, Insidiousness; 25th, Want of sense; 26th, Carelessness ; 27th, Stubbornness in respect of the truth; 28th, Cunning; 29th, Excessive greed; 30th, Godlessness. These are the thirty snakes [which were sent] to devour Judas Iscariot. These are the thirty terrors

Fol. 5 a [Here there is a break in the text, and two or three complete lines and portions of several others are wanting. The words which are preserved mention the Jews, and state that Judas received something in his face, that he was cast forth into outer darkness, that he shall never more be remembered, that none shall enquire after him, and that he shall never, never more be had in remembrance. The text continues:-]

These are the curses which the Saviour ${ }^{1}$ pronounced upon Judas in Amente. Now the Saviour rose from the dead on the third day. And Abbatôn, who is Death, rose up, and did not see the dead body of Jesus the Son of God, Who spake with him. And he said to his son the Pestilence, ${ }^{\text {' }}$ Make haste, get thee down into Amente, and take care to protect thyself thoroughly well. Shut tight the doors of Amente, until I can discover who it is that hath deceived me when I knew [it] not. For we would have talked with him, but he hid himself from us. Peradventure he is the Son of God Himself, Who destroyeth all men. And as for this

[^35]being, I have not found a way to overcome him, neither have my six sons.'

Then Death went into Amente, and his six sons were with him, and he found the place swept bare, and it was like unto a desert, and there was not one soul therein. All the doors thereof were smashed in pieces, and the door-frames were thrust out of their places, their bolts were shattered, and the brazen fiery furnaces had been overthrown. Nothing whatsoever was found in that place except three voices [which Fol. 5 b cried out in fear, and with fearful screams, and were full of anguish of heart] and trouble, and suffering. In [that] place there was weeping and gnashing of teeth; it was a place of sighing and trouble, and there was there the worm which never sleepeth. ${ }^{1}$ Woe be unto them!

And [meanwhile] the angels were singing the hymn of blessing which the Seraphim are wont to sing at the hour of dawn on the Lord's Day over His Body and His Blood: And early in the morning of the Lord's Day, whilst [it was] still [dark], the holy women came forth to the tomb, [and their names are these]: Mary Magdalene, ${ }^{2}$ and Mary the mother of James, ${ }^{3}$ whom [Jesus] had delivered out of the hand of Satan, and Salome ${ }^{4}$ the temptress, and Mary ${ }^{5}$ who ministered [unto Him], and Martha ${ }^{6}$ [her] sister, and Susannah, ${ }^{7}$ the wife of Khousa, the steward of Herod, who had refused to share his bed, and Berenice, the fountain of

[^36]
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whose blood [Jesus] had stopped for her in Capernaum, ${ }^{1}$ and Leah, the widow, whose son God had raised from the dead [in Nain], ${ }^{2}$ and the woman who was a sinner, unto whom the Saviour said, 'Thy sins, which are many, are remitted unto thee ; go in peace.' ${ }^{3}$ [These women] were standing in the garden of Philogenes, the gardener, whose son the Saviour had healed, and Simon, at the time when He was coming down from the Mount of Olives, ${ }^{4}$ and all His Apostles.

And Mary said unto Philogenes, 'If thou art really he [I know thee].' Philogenes said unto her, 'Thou art Mary, the mother of Tharkahari[amath],' the interpretation of which is 'the joy, the blessing, and [the gladness]'. Mary Fol. $6 a$ said unto him, '[If it be thou who bast taken away the Body of my Lord, tell] me where thou hast laid It, and I myself will carry It away.' ${ }^{5}$ Philogenes said unto her, ' O my sister, what is [the meaning of] these words which thou speakest, O thou holy Virgin, the mother of the Christ? For at the moment when the Jews crucified Jesus, they set out seeking a safe sepulchre wherein they might lay Him, so that His disciples might not come and carry Him away secretly by night. And I said unto them, 'There is a tomb quite close to my vegetable garden, carry Him thither and lay Him in it, and I myself will keep watch over it. Now I thought in my heart saying: When the Jews have gone away [from the tomb] and have entered their houses, I will. go into the tomb of my Lord, and I will carry Him away, and I will give Him spices, and a large quantity of sweetsmelling unguents. And [the Jews] brought Him, and laid Him in the tomb, and they set a seal upon it, and they departed to their houses. Now in the middle of the night I rose up, and I went to the door of the tomb of my Lord,

[^37]and I found all the armies of the angelic host drawn up there. In the first row were the Cherubim, who were twelve thousand in number. In the second row were the Seraphim, who were thirteen thousand in number. In the third row were the Powers, who were twenty thousand in number. In the fourth row were the Virgins, who were thirty thousand in number. And thousands of thousands [of angels] were round about it, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands were [the angels] who were gathered together to it. And there was a great chariot standing there, and it was formed of fire [which sent forth bright flames]. And there were also there twelve [Virgins, who stood upon the fiery chariot], Fol. 6 b and they were singing hymns in the language of the Cherubim, who all made answer unto them, "Amen. Hallelujah!" Moreover, I saw the seven firmaments [open] one beyond the other. And the Father came forth out of the height with His tabernacle of light, and He came to the tomb of the Saviour, and raised Him up from the dead. All these glorious things did I see, O my sister Mary. Moreover, I saw Peter there, the great interpreter of Jesus, [and had he not] laid hold upon me, and helped me, I must have fallen into despair and died by reason of [these great] mysteries, and this great glory which I saw. O Mary, my sister, what shall I do until I enter that place?' These were the things which Philogenes spake unto Mary.

And the Saviour appeared in their presence mounted upon the chariot of the Father of the Universe, and He cried out in the language of His Godhead, saying, 'Mari Khar Mariath,' whereof the interpretation is, ' Mary, the mother of the Son of God.' Then Mary, who knew the interpretation of the words, said, 'Hramboune ${ }^{1}$ Kathiathari Miôth,' whereof the interpretation is, 'The Son of the Almighty, and the Master, and my Son.' And He said unto her, ' Hail, My

[^38]mother. Hail, My holy ark. Hail, thou who hast sustained the life of the whole world. Hail, My holy garment, wherein I arrayed Myself. Hail, My water-pot, which is full of holy water. Hail, My mother, My house, My place of abode. Hail, My mother, My city, My place of refuge. [Hail, thou who hast received in thyself the Seven Aeons in one comFol. 7 a position. Hail, thou who art the table which is set in the Paradise of the seventh heaven, the name of which is "Khômthômakh", [that is to say],] the whole of Paradise is glad because of her. I say unto thee, O My mother, " He who loveth thee loveth life." Hail, thou who didst sustain the Life of the Universe in thy womb. O My mother, [go thou] and say unto My brethren [that I have risen from the dead]. Say thou unto them: [I shall] go [unto My Father], Who is your Father, and unto My God and Lord, Who is your Lord. Keep in remembrance all our words which I have spoken unto you. For I will come to you at the hour of dawn to-morrow morning, which is also the hour wherein I am wont to stretch out My right hand of light, when the sun riseth upon the earth, and when also $I$ am wont to shake out My spiritual garments, and to take My seat on the right hand of My Father, and when the dew of the Paradise of the seventh heaven descendeth upon the whole earth, which becometh drunk therewith, and yieldeth the fruits of life. I will come to you at that hour, and I will give unto you My peace which I have received from My holy Father. And He gave it to Me , and I brought it into the world, and I will give it unto you My disciples [and unto] every one who shall believe in My name, and [in the name of] Mary My mother, the Virgin in very truth, My spiritual womb, My treasure of pearl, the ark [of the salvation] of the sons of Adam, who sustained the Body of the Son of God, and the Blood of Him that indeed took away the sin of the world, the light of [our] . . . . . . . .

> [Here there is a break of two lines at least]

Then the Saviour, the Life, our salvation, our King . . . . . . . . . . our Helper, our [Hope], opened His mouth and cried out, saying : '[Thou shalt take thy seat] in My kingdom in blessing.' [O my brethren] the Apostles, believe me, [I Bartholomew, ] the Apostle of Jesus, saw the Son of God, standing upon the chariot of the Cherubim. And round and about Him there were standing thousands of thousands of Archangels, and thousands of thousands of the Cherubim, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands of the Seraphim, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands of the Powers, and their heads were bowed, and they made answer to the blessing, saying, 'Amen, Hallelujab,' to that which the Son did speak with His mouth to Mary. Then our Saviour stretched out His right hand, which was full of blessing, and He blessed the womb of Mary His mother. I saw the heavens open together, and the Seven Firmaments were opened. I saw a man of light shining brightly, like unto a pearl, upon whom it would be impossible to make any man look. And [ I saw] also a hand of fire which was of the colour of snow, and it rested upon the belly of Mary and [upon her] breast. Now this hand was the hand of the Father, and the right hand of the Son, and the right hand of the Holy Ghost. And He blessed [the womb of Mary and said,]
[Break of six and a half lines]
Fol. 8 a
and all [the angels said 'Amen'. [And He said], 'They shall call thee the 'fountain of life'. . . . . blood of God . . [Amen.] Hallelujah. And He made to drink the . . . . . . . . . . . sinless. Amen. Hallelujah. . . . . . . . the Powers of heaven. . . . . . because of her fruit. Hallelujah. Thou shalt be called [in heaven] the 'Pearl of the Father', and men call thee upon earth, 'She who brought forth God' and ' our salvation'. The blessing of the Father shall be with thee always. Amen. Hallelujah. The might of the Son shall
overshadow thee. Amen. Hallelujah. The joy of the Holy Spirit shall continue to remain with thee at all times. Amen. Hallelujah. And when thou shalt come forth from the' body I Myself will come with My Father, and Michael, and all the angels, and thou shalt be with Us in My kingdom. And over thy body I will make the Cherubim, having a sword of fire, to keep watch, and twelve hundred angels also shall watch over it until the day of My appearance, and of My [kingdom].'
Fol. $8 b$ [These were the things which the Saviour spake unto Mary His mother. And Mary departed and made known to the Apostles that the Lord had risen from the dead, and had said to her, 'Come ye to] Galilee [at dawn to-morrow], and I will give unto you My peace [which My Father] gave unto Me as I came into the world.' [Then] Mary [came and found the Apostles about to offer up the Offering], the Body and the Blood of Christ, and Mary [partook of the sacrifice] with them. [Then] . . . . . . the great bishop [said], . . . . O Mary, thou art the first [among women] . . . . . the angel brought Him out of thy . . . . . . . until thou didst give birth to Him on the earth. He chose us to be His disciples. And thou also wast the first unto whom He shewed Himself, as He was departing to His Father. O blessed be the womb which thou didst hold in thyself until thou didst produce for us the King of Glory.'

And all the Apostles rejoiced with exceedingly great joy when they heard from Mary His mother that the Lord had risen from the dead. Now the Saviour went away to ascend into the heavens, having mounted the chariot of the Father of the Universe, and the whole of the captivity of the sons of Adam followed after Him, after the manner of a king who hath waged war successfully, and hath vanquished his enemy, and hath captured large booty. And thou shalt find it . . . . . . . for the sake of His men whom He had Fol. $9 a$ [redeemed].
[One line wanting]
[And as] the Saviour Jesus our Lord went on His way He . . . . . . and the angels were going with Him, . . . . . the whole world from their sins; and the Seraphim were singing hymns to Him until He reached the seventh heaven. And moreover [there was] the tabernacle of the Father, which cannot be described. And the Father, Who was upon His throne, saluted His beloved Son, and He placed upou His head the great crown of glory and blessing, which illumined the whole world with brilliant light at that moment. $O$ my brethren the Apostles, believe me Bartholomew the Apostle [of Jesus], if $I$ were to undertake to describe in the smallest manner the works which took place at the moment when the Father placed the crown on the head of His Son, I should not be able to write them down in all the time which $I$ shall pass on the earth. Not only this, but do not let this book come into the hand of any man who is an unbeliever and a heretic. Behold, [this] is the seventh time that I have commanded thee, O my son Thaddaeus, concerning these mysteries. Reveal not thou them to any impure man, but keep them safely. For I [give thanks] unto our Saviour Who made Michael to remain continually with me, until I saw these mysteries.

> [Here is a break of one or two lines.]

Fol. 96
For I have not the power to [invent things] of this kind. For what I saw [took place] on the fifteenth day of [the month] Parmoute, at . . . . . . . . during Pentecost, in peace . . . . . [And when] the Father placed the crown upon the head of His beloved Son, He said unto Him-now all [the hosts of the angels] were listening-‘Peace be unto Thee . . . . . . . . . for Thou art the King of [Peace], and [Thou art made perfect] by the Will of Thy Father.' And He said unto the angels, 'Sing ye joyfully glorious hymns of every kind to My Son, for this is the day of joy, this is the day of gladness, this is the day of exultation, the day of happiness, the day of immortality, the day of brightness, the day of C c

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freedom unto salvation, the day of the remission of sin. For this is the day of My Son, Who is the Lord of you all, the Redeemer of the whole world from their sins.' And the Father also said unto Him, 'Come, sit Thou down upon My right hand, My heloved Son, and I will give Thee My blessing, My beloved Son, on Whom hath been My desire. I am Thy Father, and there is no other god besides Thee in heaven and in the earth. I will set Thine enemies beneath Thy feet, and Thou shalt reign from the wood of the Cross
[Break of at least two and a half lines]
shall abide for ever . . . . . . My beloved Son, . .
through My blessing. Thou art the . . . . . . . Thou art the Strength . . . . . . . . . Thou art the Bridegroom. Thou art the . . . . . . . . . . the Father. Thou art the . . . . . . . . Thou art the Holy Paraclete. Amen. ${ }^{1}$ . . . . . to the Father of [mercy]. Sit Thou upon the throne of the pearl of light.'

I saw also the Saviour sitting on the right hand of His Father, and thousands of thousands of Archangels, and of the Cherubim, and of the Seraphim, and of the Powers, and of the Dominions, and the Twelve Virtues of the Holy Spirit, and the Four and Twenty Elders, and the Seven Aeons, aud the Patriarchs, and the Prophets, and all the Righteous, advanced all together, and they worshipped the Son of God, saying, ' He is holy. He is holy. He is holy, the King, the Son of God, the Son of the King, and His Good Father, and the Holy Spirit. The earth is full of the mercy of the Lord and His lovingkindness, and He hath delivered the man whom He hath made. He hath forgiven his sins, and the sins of all his children. In peace. Amen and his children.

[^39]'Glory be unto Thee, O Holy Spirit . . . . . . . . all His blessing. Amen.
' [Glory be unto Thee] . . . . . . . . Thou art the Shepherd of the sheep. . . . . . . . . . of life. Amen. Thou art the . . . . . Again, Thou art He Who did redeem . . . . . . of all His blessing. Amen. [Thou art He] . . . . . . . of life. Amen.
' Glory be to Thee. . . . . . . . Amen.
' Glory be to Thee. . . . . . . . . .
'Glory be to Thee, Propitiator. Amen.
' Glory be to Thee, Undying One. Amen.
' Glory be to Thee, King of Peace. Amen.
' Glory be to Thee, Who wast not born. Amen.
'Glory be to Thee, the Incorruptible. Amen.
' Glory be to Thee, King of Glory. Amen.
' Glory be to Thee, the Head of the Universe. Amen.
'Glory be to Thee, Holy and Perfect One. Amen.
'Glory be to Thee, Thou Treasury of Glory. Amen.
' Glory be to Thee, Thou true Light. Amen.
'Glory be to Thee, Deliverer of the Universe. Amen.
' Glory be to Thee, Thou Who art indeed the Good One. Amen.
' Glory be to Thee, Alpha of the Universe. Amen.
'Glory be to Thee, Life of the Universe. Amen. O Sweet Name. Amen. O Thou Who art at the head of the Universe. Amen. [Thou] Beginning [and] End of everything. Amen.'

The First Hymn of the Angels which all the Saints sang ${ }^{1}$ because of the forgiveness [of the sins] of Adam and all his sons.

The Son of God forgave the sins of the whole world. In peace. Amen.

[^40]Fol. 11a [The Second Hymn of the Angels] . . . . . . . . rejoicing (?)
'. . . . . . . Amen.
' Glory be to Thee, the Shepherd. Amen. . . . . . .
'Glory be to Thee . . . . . . . . Amen.
'Glory be to Thee, Steward of the Father, Jesus. Amen.
'Glory be to Thee, Light-giver, Jesus. Amen.
' Glory be to Thee . . . . . . . of Life (?). Amen.
'Glory be to Thee, Apparel of the [Saints?]. Amen.
'Glory be to Thee, Shelterer of those who are [needy]. Amen.
'Glory be to Thee, the . . . . . . . of those who are . . . . . . Jesus. Amen.
'Glory be to Thee, O true Bridegroom, Jesus. Amen.
'Glory be to Thee . . . . . . salvation, Jesus. Amen.
'Glory be to Thee, Thou Blessing of Sabaôth, Jesus. Amen.
' Glory be to Thee, Thou Joy of the Ages, Jesus. Amen.
' Glory be to Thee, Exultation of Elôì, Jesus. Amen.'
And again with all his sons. 'In peace. Amen. Come ye to the joy of our King. Amen. Let the angels come, one by one with fruit, and let them all rejoice over the forgiveness of Adam and all his sons, for he hath been brought back to his former estate, [and he is] as he was at first. In peace. Amen.'

The Third Hymn of the Angels. In peace. Auen.
Then the Father commanded them to bring Adam into the midst, and Eve, his wife. And straightway Michael went to Paradise, and brought back Adam and Eve, and he set them in the presence of the Father. Now Adam was four score cubits in height, ${ }^{1}$ and Eve was fifty cubits.

[^41]Believe me, my brethren the Apostles, I Bartholomew, an Apostle [of Jesus], never, from the time when I was born into the world, have I seen the image of any man which resembled the image of Adam, either in heaven, or upon the earth.

## [Break of one line.]

There was a girdle of pearls [round about his loins], . . . . . . . . . and a great multitude of angels [were singing to him] songs of heaven. [Rays of light shot] forth out of [his] eyes of diamonds which were like unto [the splendour] that I saw in the tabernacle of the Father. And characters and signs were written upon his forehead, the which flesh and blood were unable [to read]. And the Name[s] of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit were written upon his body in seven [symbolic signs?]. And the thongs of the sandals which were on the feet of the father shone brighter than the sun and the moon twice seven times. Eve herself was adorned with the adornments of the Holy Spirit, and the Powers and the Virgins sang hymns to her in the celestial language, calling her 'Zôê', the mother of all the living.

And the Father answered [and said], ' O Adam, My son, although thou didst thrust My commandment behind thee, because of thy wife, and didst not keep it, behold, Jesus My Son Himself hath suffered all these pains; thy sins shall be forgiven to thee, and thou, even thou, shalt be a son to Me even as He is. And as for Mary, in whom My Son sojourned, with her Eve shall be a mother in My kingdom.' And the Father answered and said unto all the angel-host, 'Let them come with their sweet tidings, and with their sweet odours, and lay them down before Me , because I am See the passages quoted in Eisenmenger, Ent. Jud., sub Adam and Eve. For Syrian legends about the formation of Adam see Book of the Bee (ed. Budge), pp. 15 ff ; The Cave of Treasures in Brit. Mus. Add. 25875, fol. 4 b ff. ; and Bezold, Schatzhöhle, pp. 3 and 4. Many curious legends are colleoted by Malan, The Book of Adam and Eve, pp. 214 ff.
again at peace with My own image.' Then Michael [sang] this hymn for Adam at that time his fruit. Amen. . . . . . . and his lighted lamp. Amen. . . . . . and the holy oil. Amen. Asouel with [his] . . . . . Amen. Aphouel with his psaltery. Amen. . . . . . . . with his robe. Amen. . . . . . . with his virginity. Amen. Harmosiel with the trumpet of the Spirit. Amen. Sareiou[el] with his sweet scent. Amen. Kadiel with his drum. Amen. Uriel with the light of the sun. Amen. These are the angels of light. 'Come ye to the joy of our King Jesus. Amen. We all rejoice over the forgiveness of Adam and all his sons. In peace. Amen. Hallelujah.'

The Fourth Hymn of the Angels.
'We bless Thee, O King of the Ages. Amen. We bless Thee, O Thou Who art incomprehensible. Amen. Êl, Êl, Abba, King. Amen. Abriath the Redeemer Who liveth. Amen. Thou Who art our Life-giver. Amen. Thou Who art the fulfilment of all things. Amen.'

The Fifth Hymn of the Angels who were ascribing blessing to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.
' Bless us, O Father. Amen. Bless us, O Son. Amen. Bless us, O Holy Spirit. Amen. Let Paradise say with us "Amen". Let the Cherubim say with us "Amen". Let Fol. 126 [the Seraphim say with us "Amen".] Let those who dwell in the heavens say [with us] "Amen". Let the Virgins say with us "Amen". Remember us, O [our] . . . . . . . . [and] our . . . . . . . for Thou art the Object of our glori-
fyings, and our Pride, and our Salvation, and our Life, and our Refuge, and our . . . . . ., and our Helper, our Strength, and our [Redeemer]. May His mercy be upon every one. Amen. Hallelujah.'

## The Sixth Hymn of the Angels.

Then when Adam saw the great honour and this gift which was to be to him and to all his sons, namely that the Son of God had forgiven them their sins, he sang this hymn, saying, 'I will ascribe blessing to God Who hath remembered me. O ye Angels of joy, come ye, and rejoice with me, for the Son of God hath set me free. He hath delivered me and my wife, and He hath saved me and all my sons also. O all ye righteous who are on the earth, come ye, and make rejoicing with me, for Christ, the Son of God, hath made me to be without $\sin$. This is the day, and this is the hour of joy, for which (?) my father Michael the Archangel, and all the Angel-host made entreaty on behalf of all my seed until God, the Almighty, had compassion upon me and upon all my sons, and made peace with my clay, the which He had fashioned. For this is His form and image. In peace.'

And Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and [Aso]uel, and Sarouphouel, [and . . . . . . ., and . . . . . . .], his six fellow [Archangels], cast themselves down, and worshipped the Father, and [the Son, and the Holy Ghost, saying] . . .

> [Break of two or three lines]
. . . . . . . . . God. Thou didst have compassion
Adam also . . . . . Thou didst save (?)
the way of salvation. Amen. . . . . . . Adam in the joy of thy King Jesus. Amen. . . . . . for thy sake until He should deliver all . . . . . . . In peace. Amen.

The Eighti Hymn of Adam, the form of God, Who is Most Higi. In peace. Amen. Hallelujah.

And there came also the righteous whom Adam had invited to come and rejoice with him in gladness, and these were they: The first was Abraham, the companion of God, and Isaac, who was without sin, and Jacob the saint of the Almighty, and Job the patient, and Moses the Arch-prophet, and Noah the righteous man, and all the righteous who had performed the will of God. And they all saluted Adam, and they worshipped him, saying, 'Blessed art thou, O Adam, for Jesus Christ hath forgiven thee thy sins, and to us also, thy sons, hath He given freedom. Amen.'

Then all the righteous rejoiced and were glad, and they ascribed blessing to God, saying, 'All the righteous shall shine in the kingdom of their Father seven times brighter than the sun. The light of the righteous . . . . . . . . . shall shine before them
all the . . . . . . who have pleased God . . . . . the living, the Body and the Blood..... . whereof all partake . . . . . . . . . sins. Glory be to Thee, Jesus our King. Glory be to Thee, Jesus, the True Bridegroom. Glory be to Thee, O . . . . . . . . . . Glory be to Thee, Jesus, the Father of all souls.'

And when the righteous had finished [singing] their hymn, they departed and went into the city [the heavenly Jerusalem], wherein they abide always, [and wherein they shall be] for ever. Amen. And to all the angels also, when they had finished [singing] their hymn, and had [said] their Amen, the Father gave His peace, and dismissed them, and each one went to the place over which he had rule. In peace, Amen.

These are the hymns which the angels sang when they were all gathered together, and when all of them were rejoicing because the Son of God had risen from the dead,
and had redeemed the captivity of the sons of Adam, and had taken them into heaven, and had made them gifts to His Father. In great peace, for ever and ever. Amen.

Then the Father set Adam at the Gate of Life, so that he might be the first to salute all the righteous as they were entering into Jerusalem, the city of Christ. And He stationed Eve over all the women who had done the will of God, that she might be the first to salute them as they entered the city of Christ
[Breals of two lines]
Fol. $14 a$
O my brethren the Apostles, I have told you concerning the mysteries which I have seen; rejoice ye because of the forgiveness of sins which our Saviour hath [bestowed upon Adam] and upon all his sons. And [all] the Apostles [answered Bartholomew and said, 'It is seemly so to do], O our beloved brother Bartholomew, [thou treasury] of the mysteries of Christ. Verily, . . . . . . worthy of the things which the Son of God [hath told thee, and to see the great and] unspeakable mysteries which thou hast seen. Verily, O Bartholomew, [thou shalt be called] the bearer of the mysteries of Christ to the end of the world. Thy name shall not cease in heaven or upon earth. They shall call thee "Bartholomew, the keeper (?) of the mysteries of the Son of God".'

And Bartholomew answered, saying, 'Forgive me, O my brethren the Apostles, I am of no use in [your] midst, and I am of no account before all men. I am a poor man in respect of my handicraft, and I justify [my existence] by my manner of life. The multitudes who are in the city are accustomed to see it, and they say, "Is not this Bartholomew, the man of Italy, the gardener and the dealer in vegetables? Is not this the man who liveth in the garden of Hiêrôkês, the governor of our city ? . . . . . . . . . .
. . . . the words of poverty, ${ }^{1}$ he wrote . . . . the mighty works of the Son of God. O my beloved brethren, ye are [the shepherds and] bishops whom the Saviour hath appointed [over] the whole world. O our father Peter.'

When the Saviour took us up on the Mount [of Olives], the Saviour spake unto us [in a language] which we did not understand, but straightway He revealed it unto us. [ He said unto us . . . . . .] Atharath Thaurath. And [straightway] the Seven Firmaments [were opened] . . . . . . . . . . our bodies . . . . . . saw, and we looked and we saw our Saviour. His body was going up into the heavens, and His feet were firmly fixed upon the mountain with us. He stretched out His right hand and sealed us, the twelve. And we ourselves also went up with Him into the height, into the tabernacle of the Good Father, into the seventh heaven. Then the Saviour cast Himself down at the feet of His Father, saying, 'Shew Thou compassion upon My brethren the Apostles, and bless them with the blessing which is without end.' And the Father blessed thee, saying, ' I and My Son Jesus, and the Holy Spirit, are those Who lay hands on thee. Whatsoever thou shalt loose on the earth We will loose; and again, whatsoever thou bindest on earth, We will bind

Fol. 15 a
[Break of five lines]
[He who is ordained by any authority save] that of thy hand and thy throne [shall be repulsed and shall not prosper]. Thy [breath shall be filled] with My breath, and with the breath of [My Son], and with the breath of the Holy Spirit, so that every man whom thou shalt baptize . . . . . . . . shall receive a portion of the Holy Spirit, in [the Name of] the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.' [Then the Cherubim, [and the Seraphim], and the Archangels, and [all] the angels answered [and said, 'Amen. Hallelujah.']

[^42]And He blessed Andrew, saying; 'Thou shalt be a pillar of strength in Jerusalem; My beloved city, in My kingdom. Amen.'

And He blessed James [saying], 'In every town and in every village, thou shalt see [Me] entering into them before thou enterest them, and afterwards they shall believe on thee. Amen.
'And thou, John, the beloved of My Spirit and of My Son Jesus, there being no division whatsoever between them and thee, thou shalt be blessed in My kingdom for ever. Amen.
' And thou, Philip, in every place wherein thou shalt go and shalt preach therein, in the Name of My beloved Son, and His Cross of Light, He (?) shall continue to go with thee until [the people thereof] shall have believed on thee, for ever. Amen.
'And thou My chosen one, Thomas, thy faith shall be like that of an eagle [of light] which [shall fly over] all [countries] until [the people thereof] shall have believed [in Me ] through thee for ever and ever. Amen.
'And thou, Bartholomew, thy soul shall be a sojourner Fol. 15 b among the mysteries of My Son.
'And thou, O Matthew, thy strength shall increase to such a degree that thy shadow shall be able to make to stand up multitudes of those who have been buried. And straightway thy shadow . . shall be in great power .
'And [thou,] James, the son of Alphaeus, no power whatsoever of the Devil shall have dominion over thy body [or over thy preaching] in any place; nay, whatsoever sball be planted by thee, shall never be uprooted. Amen.
'[And thou, Simon] Zelotes, no . . . . . . . . . concerning the joining (?) of the Spirit . . . . . . . . the holy produce. Amen.
'And thou . . . . , the son of James, on whatsoever place the sole of thy foot shall rest, I will forgive all the sins of the people of that place, and they shall believe on My Name through thee [and through] thy patience. In peace. Amen.
'And thou, Thaddeus, My beloved one, to every place wherein thou shalt establish the Word of My Son, no thought of the Devil shall be able to approach because of the purity of thy soul. Amen.
'And [thou,] Matthias, the blessed Apostle, the sweet odour of thee shall go about through all the world, and through all heaven. For thou wast a rich man as this world goeth, and thou didst forsake everything for the sake of My Son Jesus, [the companion of] My side, and the spring . . . . of My heart, and the [string] of My tongue. In peace. Amen.'
' And the Angels, and the Archangels, and the Cherubim, Fol. $16 a$ and the Seraphim, and [the Powers], and the Four and Twenty Elders, heard the blessings which the Father pronounced over [the Apostles]. And we ourselves, all of us, made answer "Hallelujah ". Now therefore, O my brethren the Apostles, forgive me; I, Bartholomew, the Apostle, am not a man to be honoured.'

Then all the Apostles rose up, and they saluted (i.e. kissed) Bartholomew on the head, and said unto him, ' Well done, our beloved brother Bartholomew, and [noble] is the humility wherewith thou hast abased thyself.' When the Apostles had said these things, they offered up the Offering. And Mariham (Mary) was with them, she whom the Saviour Jesus had sent unto them, saying, 'Call them to Me tomorrow morning [at dawn] in Galilee, in order that I may give you My peace.' Now when they had partaken of the Body and the Blood of Christ Jesus, the Son of the Living God, they were full of joy, and they [blessed] God, the lover of mankind. And the smoke of the sacrifice produced a sweetsmelling savour before the throne of the Father. And the Father smelled the sweet odour of the Apostles, and shewed compassion on their supplication, and hearkened to their prayers.

And the Father answered and said to His Son, ${ }^{\text {e }}$ Rise up, My beloved Son, and get Thee down to Thy disciples, and comfort

Thou them, and Thou shalt give them strength, and shalt [encourage] them, that they [despair not] and say, ["Our Saviour hath risen from the dead], and hath departed [into the heavens in the Glory of His Father], and hath left us in the midst of the cities [and villages]."' Then the Son of God Fol. 16 b rose up and departed into Galilee, and He found His disciples and Mary, who were gathered together. And Jesus made Himself visible to them, and said unto them, 'Hail, Peter, My Bishop, the crown of the Apostles. Hail, My noble companions, whom I have chosen one by one. Hail, My brethren and My children. Let there be with you the peace of My Father, which is Mine, which I received from My Father, so that I might make it to remain with you for all time.' And He breathed on their faces and said, 'Receive ye the Holy Spirit. Those whose sins ye forgive, I will forgive; and those whom ye hold fast, I will hold fast.' And He shewed them ${ }^{1}$ the [nail marks] which were in His hands, and the [mark of] the wound [made by] the spear [in His side], and the spittle on His face, and the . . . . . . which were in His eyes, and the marks of the wounds caused by the points of the crown of thorns which were in His head. And He lifted up His hand above their heads, and He blessed them, saying, ' O My holy members, be of good cheer, fear not. My Father shall give you the wages of [your] . . . . . ., that is to say the . . . . . . . which the Saviour . . . . . His disciples . . . . . He rose from the dead . . . . . all the Apostles $\qquad$ up, saying, 'Rise up, weep not for Me , for I have already risen from the dead, and am going to My Father O Peter, knowest thou not that even . . . . . . goeth into a far country, and hath sons (?).' And they wept for Him saying, '. . . . . . . . . . . to whom wilt Thou commit us?'

[^43]And He answered and said, 'Behold your great brother [Peter]. I have set him over you. Obey ye him even as ye would Me . When ye obey him, it is I whom ye are obeying. And thou, O Peter, My beloved one, behold, I have set thee as a father over all thy brethren. And do thou comfort and console thy younger brethren, the Apostles, and thou shalt encourage them until they shall have finished their course in the world. And I and My Father will be with you at all times. Amen. I say unto you, O My blessed disciples, that your names are written upon My right hand; at all times do I keep you in remembrance. And Mariham herself also I have committed unto your care, and ye shall not cast her forth from your companionship.'

And when the Saviour had said these things, the Apostles rose up and saluted (i.e. kissed) the side of Jesus, and [they took] of His living Blood which flowed forth from it, and He sealed them therewith. [And He said unto them, ' O] My holy members, behold . . . . . . . . . . now
[Break of one and a half lines]
. . . . . . the shadow of strength. Ye shall raise the dead, the blind shall see, the lame shall walk, and the dumb shall speak, [and the deaf] shall hear, and the poor [shall be cherished]. Ye shall do all My mighty works which I did when I was with you in the world. For when I shall have departed [to My Father], ye shall do the things which are more excellent than these until ye have gathered together My sheep which have gone astray.'

When the Saviour had said these things, He blessed them, and went up into heaven, and the angels of glory sang to Him as He passed on His way. And the Apostles rejoiced exceedingly because the Son of God had blessed them. Now Thomas, who was called Didymos, was not with them when the Lord came, but had departed to his city, for they had brought him news saying, 'Thy son is dead.' And Thomas
departed, and he found that it was the seventh day since he had died. And he departed straightway to the place wherein they had buried him, and he cried out, 'Siôphanes, my beloved, rise up in the Name of Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God; rise up, stand upon thy feet, that I may speak with thee.' And straightway Siôphanes rose up, and the glory of Jesus [Christ] was in his face, and he made obeisance to his father . . . . . . . joyfully. And . . . . . . made answer
[Break of two lines]
Fol. $18 a$
. . . . . . because the gift of Jesus had reached the whole city on his account. And Siôphines (sic) answered his father and said, ' Blessed art thou, O my father, through the Lord, for thou hast believed on the Lord, the Son of God. At the moment when they came after me to separate my soul from my body, there came a great and mighty angel with a cloth of byssus, and multitudes of angels also, all of whom were girt with belts of gold about their loins, [bearing] incense ; now they called that angel "Michael, the angel of mercy ". All these [angels] stood round about me, and their faces, wreathed in smiles, were towards me. And Michael made a sign over my mouth in the Name of the Father, and the Son, aud the Holy Spirit. Then straightway my soul sprang out from my body, and alighted on the hand of Michael, and he wrapped it up in the cloth of byssus, and they went with it into heaven, [the angels] singing hymns [before it]. Now when we arrived at the river of fire, Michael set me down from off his hand, and I entered the river, and it seemed to be like unto a river of water. After . . . . . . . the river of fire, so to say . . . . . . the place which I saw was blazing with fire . . . . . . coal . . . . . . the river . . . . . . [we] passed over
and it was the light of Michael which lighted me on my way until we had passed over. After we had passed over it we went up into heaven. [And Michael] took me into the Lake Akherousia, and plunged me under its waters three times. Afterwards a voice proceeded forth from the height, [which said], " O ye angels who bear glad tidings, take ye this soul to the place of immortality, and [to] the Paradise of the life which is celestial, and let it see the places of the Apostles, and their crowns, and their thrones."

- And straightway Michael took me to the place which they call the "tabernacle of the Father", and I saw your twelve thrones which are [made of] pearls of light, your twelve thrones which are set with real stones (i.e. stones of price), and topazes and emeralds, which light up brilliantly the whole city of Christ. And I saw also twelve white robes lying upon the thrones of the spirit (?); and there were also twelve trees which were laden with fruit at all times, and each one overshadowed one of the thrones; and there were twelve eagles, each with the face of a man, and their wings were outstretched, one pair of wings over each throne; and a name of the Twelve Apostles was inscribed upon each one of the thrones; and there were twelve veils, drawn over the thrones, to each throne a veil; and there was a canopy set with precious stones spread over the upper part of each throne; and a thousand angels sang hymns (?) [before] each throne. And I Siôphanes worshipped, and I said unto Michael the Archangel, "Unto whom do these thrones [belong?" And Michael the Archangel answered and said Fol. $19 a$ unto me, "These] twelve thrones [belong] to the Twelve Holy Disciples who followed after Jesus, the Son of God, in the world. For this reason God hath appointed these thousands of angels to sing hymns to them until they should finish their course, and should come and sit on the thrones, being kings with the Son of God in His kingdom." I answered and said unto Michael, "My lord, shew thou to me
the throne of my father, for I am not able to read the writing which is written on the thrones." Then Michael took me into the midst of the thrones, and he shewed it to me. And when I drew nigh unto it, straightway, the light of the pearl, and of the thousand of angels, and their glory remaining fixed in their faces, I wished to seat myself upon it. But the angels prevented me, saying, "No one can sit upon this throne except thy father. It is not permitted unto any being of flesh and blood to sit down on these thrones, with the exception of His Apostles." And I went away, and [I left behind me] the thrones. And the thousand angels blessed me with a mighty blessing of heaven. In peace. Amen. [Then] Michael brought me to Paradise. [And the beings of] Paradise made supplication unto me saying, "Come . . . . . . . O, the first of the Apostles . . . . ." and I and Michael the Archangel [went there, and as we walked we heard] that thou Fol. $19 b$ wast praying to God, Jesus Christ. Then Michael took my soul, and he placed it in my body again, and I rose up, being alive, and I have just now talked with thee.'

And Thomas answered and said to his son, 'Blessed art thou, O my son, for the grace of God hath come unto thee, and thou hast seen this great.glory.' And when Thomas had said these things he departed with his son into the city, and straightway he went into his house. And when those who were in the house saw him, they fell down upon their faces, and they became like unto those who were dead. And they went to them and raised them up. And he spake with them, and he shewed them how his father had talked with him, and had raised him from the dead, and how he had seen the glory and the honour of those who are in heaven. For Thomas did not enter into his house, because of the mighty deeds which he had done, but continued outside the city, . . . . . and the multitude believed upon God. Now the rumour spread abroad throughout the whole city that Siôphanes, the son of Thomas, had risen from the dead. And the whole multitude

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were gathered together at the door of the house wherein the young man was. And they looked upon him and marvelled. And they [spake to] the young man, and they [asked] him, ' Who

## [Break of two lines] ${ }^{1}$

Italy . . . . . . When I was dead they carried me out to the tomb and buried me. And they carried my soul up into heaven, and they shewed me the places (i.e. habitations) of immortality. And I passed seven days beneath the trees of Paradise of the heavenly Jerusalem, and I sheltered under the shadow of their branches. As for my body, the Archangel Michael sealed it with his finger, in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. It did not suffer corruption, neither did it stink, nor did it rot away during those seven days, but every part of it was well preserved; and it was red like these roses, for it was wholly necessary that I should return to it once more, for the salvation and the deliverance of my city. Now after seven days my father heard that I was dead, and he came and raised me up from the dead in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. In peace. Amen.'

And when the multitude heard these things, the people cast themselves down, and they worshipped him with their faces on the ground, saying, 'We beseech thee to shew us the place wherein is the servant of Christ, so that we also may believe in Him.' And when the multitude had said these things, the son ran before them on the road, and brought them to the . . . . . and he took them to the place where the Apostle was. And when they had looked upon him, they cast themselves Fol. $20 b$ [down upon the ground at his feet, and cried out, saying], ' Blessed art thou in thy coming [to our city]. There is none except thee. Jesus, the Son of the Living God.'

[^44]And when the whole multitude had cried out these things, the Apostle blessed them, and he baptized twelve thousand men of their number that day. And he marked out for them the foundations of a church, and he appointed Siôphanes the bishop of the church. And he dismissed them, and sent them away in peace. Amen. And Thomas the Apostle rejoiced in the Spirit, and he blessed God, saying, ' My Lord Jesus Christ, I thank Thee at all times that Thou didst bestow upon me Thy peace, and that I departed to the city, and ended my journey, and put into the haven of peace, my ship being safe. I found the haven with the demons working their vexatious plans therein, [but] afterwards I endured patiently, and I overcame them by means of Thy power. I drew them into my fishing nets as . . . . . . of the King Jesus. Very many were found to be polluted with sin, [but] I made them white in the blood of Jesus Christ. Behold, Jesus Christ set me upon the ship of salvation, and brought me into the haven of peace. I rejoiced and was glad in my heart, and I summoned the multitude into His marriage chamber.'

And when the blessed Apostle was saying these things, he mounted upon a cloud, and it brought him to the Mount of Olives, where he found the Apostles looking out for him

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\text { He said ‘ . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Fol. } 21 \text { a }
$$

the inheritance of my Lord Jesus Christ; [Who] gathered them together in the peace of the Father. Hail, my brethren the Apostles, the crown of life!' And the Apostles also answered, 'Hail, thou servant of Jesus the Christ! Thou didst go, and didst raise up a man that was dead, and didst raise up a multitude of cities in the baptism and seal of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.'

Then Peter said unto Thomas, ' O my brother, the invited guest to the marriage of my Lord Jesus the Christ, I say unto you, O our brother, that our Lord Jesus hath shewn Himself to us since thou didst depart from us, having risen from the dead, when as yet He had not departed, until He
departed. He gave unto us His peace, and we saluted (i.e. kissed) Him, and He blessed us, and departed into heaven from us. He said to us, "I am with you at all times, I and My Father, and the Holy Spirit."'
And when the blessed Apostle Peter had said these things [to] Thomas, Thomas grieved exceedingly, and he wept many tears, saying, 'So then, O my Lord, having raised Thyself from the dead, Thou didst shew Thyself to the Disciples. As for me, Thou didst separate me from my brethren, [for] Thou didst not wish to shew Thyself to me . . . . . .
[Break of one line]
so that I might see Thee before Thou didst depart to [Thy Father]. But as the Name of my Lord Jesus, the Christ, liveth, unless I can drop my finger on the nail marks, and can lay my hand upon the mark [made by] the spear, I will never believe that He hath risen from the dead. For I cannot believe that He will rise [from the dead] and not shew Himself unto me. Moreover, He will not grieve me [by such an act], for He said to us, "I will not separate you from one another ${ }^{1}$; but one and the same inheritance shall be unto each one of you in My kingdom."' And having said these things in the presence of the eleven disciples, Thomas the Apostle wept. Then the Apostles answered in the presence of Thomas saying, ' O our lord brother, be not an unbeliever concerning the resurrection of our Saviour, but believe that He hath risen, and hath departed to His Father. And we are the first unto whom He shewed Himself, and Mariham His mother.' And again Thomas answered, saying, 'I believe that He hath risen, and He is the Deathless One, for He tasted death for the salvation of us all. And it was because of [my] great grief that I doubted . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .'
[Then Bartholomew answered and said unto him], ‘ Hear me,

[^45]O my brother Thomas. Remember the word which the Saviour spake in the Gospel, saying, If thou hast faith like a grain of mustard seed, and ye shall say to this mountain, Remove from this place to that, it shall be unto you, and nothing shall be impossible unto you. And everything which ye shall ask in prayer, ye believing, ye shall receive, ${ }^{1}$ Now therefore, 0 Thomas, God hearkeneth to the supplication of every one who believeth on Him. God is the Good One, and He heareth every one who calleth upon Him. Mighty and long-suffering is God, He heareth at all times the supplication of those who seek after Him,'

And when Bartholomew had said these things unto Thomas, the Saviour came into their presence, and He shewed Himself unto them, saying, 'Hail, Thomas, thou little man! Hail, flower of Paradise in the seventh heaven. I have made the faith to be stablished firmly in heaven and upon the earth, [and] none shall be able to remove it. I have made Peter the great crown of the Apostles

> [Break of two lines]

Fol. 22 b
fellow heirs. My peace [be] with you all. [Amen].'
And when the Saviour had said these things to the Apostles, straightway they went and worshipped Him, [falling] upon the ground and saying, ' Let Thy grace and Thy peace be with us, Jesus. Amen.' Then Jesus answered and said unto Thomas, ' Bring hither thy finger to this spot and lay it upon My hand, and look upon the nail marks, and again look upon the marks of the blows wherewith they smote Me in the face, and the spittle which they cast into My face and eyes, and the marks of the thorns of the crown of thorns that were in the crown which they fastened to My head, and the [marks of] the blows of the reeds wherewith they smote My head. And come and look upon the vinegar, and the spear, and the gall which they gave Me to drink, instead of the little water for which I entreated, saying, "Give Me to drink"; thou shalt

[^46]not be an unbeliever, but a believer, and thou shalt believe throughly.'

And Thomas answered and said, 'I believe, my Lord and my God, that Thou art the Father, Thou art the Son, and Thou art the Holy Spirit, and that Thou didst rise from the dead, and that Thou hast saved every man by Thy holy resurrecFol. 23 a tion. But I did say to my brethren the Apostles, "Unless I see Him [after] He bath risen I will not believe."' And the Saviour answered and said unto him, 'Verily I say unto thee, O Thomas, thou little man, in every place wherein thou shalt preach My name, I, and My Good Father, will be with thee. And thou shalt not enter into any city, or any village, but I will follow thee with My Good Father and the Holy Ghost. For that which thou shalt plant My Father shall bless, and I will cause it to increase, and the Holy Spirit shall be the director thereof.' Then Thomas put forth his finger and took out [some] of His blood which flowed down from the side of the Son of God, and he signed himself therewith. And the Saviour answered and said to all the Apostles, ' Behold, My blood of God hath joined to your bodies, and ye yourselves have become divine, even as I. Behold, I am with you until the end of the world.' When the Saviour had said this, He departed into heaven in great glory, saying, ' Be not careless, Peter, thou and thy brethren, . . . . . . . . . . pasture them

Fol. 23 b [Break of one line]
until ye bave gathered the whole world into My glorious Church, and they live a life which is indestructible, and partake of the Body of God and My glorious Blood, and live in peace. Amen.' [Then] He opened the eyes of the Apostles, and they passed many days marvelling at His departure into the heavens. This is the second time that the Saviour shewed Himself to His disciples, after that He had risen from the dead. This is the Book of the Resurrection of

Jesus the Christ, our Lord, in joy and gladness. In peace. Amen.

And Peter answered and said, ' O my brethren the Apostles, arise and offer up the Offering before we separate one from another.' Then the Apostles answered and said unto him, 'Thou art our father and our bishop. The power is thine to do that which thou art pleased in everything.' And the Apostles arose, and made preparation for the Offering. They brought bread carefully chosen, and a cup of pure wine, and a censer of sweet-smelling incense. And Peter stood by the Sacrifice, and all the Apostles formed a crown round the table. And the Apostles awaited
[Break of four and a half lines]
. . . . . . . table their hearts rejoiced
worshipped the Son of God. He took His seat . . . . . . . . His Father. His Body was on the table [about] which they were gathered together; and they divided It. They saw the Blood of Jesus pouring out as living blood down into the cup. And Peter answered [and said], ' Hear me, my fathers and brethren. God hath loved us more than all the peoples on the earth, [for] He hath made us see these great honours. And our Lord Jesus Christ hath allowed us to behold, and hath revealed to us the glory of His Body and His divine Blood.' Having said these things, afterwards they partook of the Body and Blood of Jesus, and glorified the Treasury of Life. Afterwards they separated, and they preached in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Who [form] the Holy Trinity, consubstantial from now and for ever and ever. Amen . . . . . . .

## APPENDIX

## translation of the fragments of the BOOK OF THE RESURRECTION IN THE bibliothèque nationale，Paris．${ }^{1}$

ai［Be］liar，he trampled Melkhir under foot，${ }^{2}$ and he bound him with a chain ${ }^{3}$ of iron and steel．Now whilst ${ }^{4}$ ．Death was talking with the shroud of Jesus in the tomb，Jesus set free ${ }^{5}$ the whole race ${ }^{6}$ of mankind，He healed the sons of Adam whom the Enemy had smitten，${ }^{7}$ He brought back into the fold again the sheep which had strayed，He brought back again Adam to his former state，${ }^{8}$ and He forgave him his sins．In peace．${ }^{9}$ Amen．
Then ${ }^{10}$ Jesus torned Himself towards the man who had betrayed ${ }^{11} \mathrm{Him}$ ；it was Judas Iscariot，and He said unto him，＇In what way didst thou profit， $\mathrm{O}^{12}$ Judas，by betray－ ing Me into the hands of the chief priests，${ }^{13}$ seeing that I only endured every kind of suffering in order that I might save （or，redeem）My image ？${ }^{14}$ As for thee，woe be unto thee，woe twofold，and rebukings innumerable，and cursings most terrible．Now ${ }^{15}$ moreover，the lot ${ }^{16}$ of Judas is with his father the Devil．${ }^{17}$ His name hath been blotted out from the Book of Life，and his portion ${ }^{18}$ hath been removed from

\footnotetext{
1 For the Coptic text and a French translation see Lacau，Memoires＇， tom．ix，pp． 43 ff ．

| 2 Katameter． <br> ${ }^{5}$ є入erөєрог． | ${ }^{3}$ gadresc． ${ }^{6}$ crentoc． | ${ }^{4}$ gocort． <br>  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ${ }^{8}$ арХ ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ ． | ${ }^{9}$ епряли． | ${ }^{10}$ тоте． |
| ${ }^{11}$ mapaziaor． | $12 \omega$. | ${ }^{19}$ ap＜ıрелс． |
| ${ }^{4}$ m入aceed． | ${ }^{15}$ 又 ．$^{\text {．}}$ | ${ }^{16}$ мeprc． |
| ${ }^{17}$ mabohoc． | ${ }^{18}$ к入нpoc． |  |

the number of the living. His tablet ${ }^{1}$ hath been broken in pieces, his memorial tablet ${ }^{2}$ hath been smashed. Satan hath entered into judgement with him, and he hath come forth therefrom condemned utterly. His office ${ }^{3}$ hath been taken away from him, his crown hath been snatched away. Those who were strangers unto him have made a mock ${ }^{4}$ of his sufferings. He hath put on cursing as a garment. He hath been polluted like water. His glorious raiment ${ }^{5}$ hath been suatched away from him. The light of his lamp hath been put out. His house hath been forsaken, and it hath become a desert. His days have become few, his term of life hath drawn towards its close. The rest which refresheth is far from him, [and] affliction hath drawn nigh unto him. The darkness hath taken possession of him, [and] the worm hath gotten him as an inheritance. ${ }^{6}$ Lice cover him as a garment. The angels ${ }^{7}$ who are gathered together about the Lord have driven him forth
[These are the things which the] Saviour ${ }^{8}$ spake concerning A ii Judas when He went down into Amente. And the Saviour rose from the dead on the third day.

Then Abbatôn, who is himself Death, rose up from his fall on the shroud of Jesus, with which he had been speaking in the tomb. He said unto his Power,' the Plague, ${ }^{10}$ 'Get thee down quickly ${ }^{11}$ into Amente, and set a very ${ }^{12}$ strong ${ }^{13}$ guard for thyself therein; shut the doors of Amente until I am able to see who it is that hath deceived me in this manner, whom I know not. We will speak with him; he bath hidden himself from us, and we do not know whither he hath gone. Peradventure this is the Son of God. If it be not He, I am

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1 mematric.
s eemmenrchomoc.
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9 armatoc.
12 maNwc.
```



4 тереп. ${ }^{5}$ cto入h.
${ }^{7}$ ar"reגoc. ${ }^{8}[\mathrm{C} \omega]$ THp.
${ }^{10}$ Moseroc. ${ }^{11}$ таден.
${ }^{13}$ acéa入ıе.
Ff
he who will destroy every one．Him，however，${ }^{1}$ I am not able to gain the mastery over，neither ${ }^{2}$ I nor my Powers．＇${ }^{3}$

Then ${ }^{4}$ Death descended into Amente，and his six Dekans ${ }^{5}$ also were with him，［and］he found Amente desolate，［and］it was like a desert，${ }^{6}$ and there was not one soul ${ }^{7}$ in it，but ${ }^{8}$ it was in a state of dire disorder and confusion．The doors thereof were smashed in pieces，the door－frames were thrust out of position，and the bolts ${ }^{9}$ were snapped asunder，and the blazing brazen furnaces had been choked．${ }^{10}$ He found nothing whatsoever in that place except ${ }^{11}$ three voices，which cried out in fear，and with tearful screams，and were full of anguish of the heart and trepidation．In［that］place there were weep－ ings and gnashings of the teeth，it was a place of sighing and of tribulation，and of quaking，and of the worm which never sleepeth．Woe unto them，the wretched，${ }^{12}$ the miserable， and the poor ．．．．．．${ }^{13}$ in God．These［voices］belonged to the three［men whose names］have been blotted out of the Book of Life，and removed from the Roll ${ }^{14}$ of the Saints，and from the knowledge ${ }^{15}$ of salvation，that is to say，Judas，and Cain，and Herod．These were there，and they were like unto a three－headed ${ }^{16} \mathrm{kelog}$ ；and because of the cruelty which is on them ${ }^{17}$（ $s i c$ ），men shall not keep their memory in remembrance． Judas betrayed ${ }^{18}$ the Lord of that which is in the heavens， and of that which is on the earth．Herod smote Jesus on His face a blow of insult．Cain rose up against his brother，and slew him with his own hand．And Death with his Dekans ${ }^{5}$ cried out，saying，＇This is the Son of God Who hath risen

[^47]from the dead, Who hath redeemed Adam, and delivered all his sons, and hath forgiven unto them their sins, in the peace of His Father. Amen.'

Thus the Saviour ${ }^{1}$ rose from the dead, [and] He brought out into freedom those who were in captivity. ${ }^{2}$ He came to the tomb, ${ }^{3} \mathrm{He}$ found the angels ${ }^{4}$ [there] at the hour of dawn on the day of the Lord, ${ }^{5}$ and they were singing ${ }^{6}$ the hymn ${ }^{7}$ of benediction, which the angels ${ }^{4}$ are wont to sing at the hour of dawn on the day of the Lord, ${ }^{5}$ over the Body ${ }^{8}$ and the Blood of Christ.

Now in the early morning, when it was still ${ }^{9}$ dark, the holy women came forth to the tomb, ${ }^{10}$ and their names are these : Mary Magdalene, and Mary, the mother of James, whom Jesus had delivered out of the hand of Satan, and Salome who had tempted ${ }^{11} \mathrm{Him}$, and Mary who ministered ${ }^{12}$ unto Him, and Martha her sister, and Jôanna, the wife of Khouza, the steward of Herod, and Berneice, whom he healed of a flow ${ }^{13}$ of blood in Capernaum, and Leah the widow, ${ }^{14}$ whose son the Saviour ${ }^{1}$ raised from the dead in Naein, and the sinful woman unto whom the Saviour ${ }^{1}$ said, 'Thy sins which are many are forgiven thee.' These women stood in the garden of Philoges, the gardener, ${ }^{15}$ whose son the Saviour ${ }^{1}$ had healed at the time when He came down from the Mount of Olives with His apostles. ${ }^{16}$ Mary said unto Philoges, 'If thou art really he, I know thee.' Philoges said unto her, 'Thou art Mary, the mother of Thalkamarimath;' which is being interpreted, 'the joy, the blessing, and the gladness.' Mary said unto him, 'If it be thou who hast taken away the Body ${ }^{8}$ of my Lord, tell me where thou hast

| ${ }^{1}$ сбтнр. | ${ }_{5}^{2}$ explah wcia. | ${ }^{3}$ тафос. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4 anve入oc. | ${ }^{5}$ ктріацн. | ${ }^{6}$ erumere. |
| ${ }^{7}$ greenoc. | ${ }^{8}$ curea. | ${ }^{9}$ aster. |
| ${ }^{10}$ тафос. | ${ }^{11}$ mipaza. | ${ }^{12}$ mrarmiter. |
| ${ }^{19}$ плгн. | ${ }^{14}$ хкра. |  |
| ${ }^{16}$ няпорос. | ${ }^{16}$ апосто入ос. |  |

laid It; for whether ${ }^{1}$ thou afraid [to carry It away or not] I myself will bear It away.' Philoges said unto her, ' My sister, Mary, Virgin, ${ }^{2}$ Mother of the Christ, what are these words which thou art saying unto me? From the very moment when the Jews crucified ${ }^{3}$ Him, they have persisted in seeking out an exceedingly ${ }^{4}$ safe sepulchre wherein they might lay Him, so that the disciples ${ }_{1}^{6}$ might not come by dark and carry Him away secretly. Now ${ }^{6}$ I said unto them, "There is a tomb ${ }^{7}$ quite close to my vegetable garden; bring Him, lay Him in it, and I myself will keep watch over Him." I thought in my heart saying : "When the Jews shall have departed and entered into their houses, I will go into the tomb ${ }^{7}$ of my Lord, I will carry Him away, I will give Him spices, and sweetsmelling unguents and scents." Now ${ }^{6}$ they brought Him, they laid Him in the tomb, they set a seal ${ }^{8}$ on the stone, and, after [setting] a watch, ${ }^{9}$ they went into their houses. And in the middle of the night I rose up, I went into the tomb ${ }^{7}$ of my Lord, and I found the whole of the host ${ }^{10}$ of the angels ${ }^{11}$ marshalled in order therein. The first row ${ }^{12}$ consisted of Cherubim, who were in number twelve thousand. The second row ${ }^{12}$ consisted of Seraphim, who were in number twenty thousand. The third row ${ }^{12}$ consisted of Powers, ${ }^{13}$ who were in number thirteen thousand. The fourth row ${ }^{12}$ consisted of Virgins, ${ }^{14}$ who were in number thirty thousand. Thousands of thousands [of angels] sang hymns to Him, tens of thousands of tens of thousands [of angels] ascribed glory unto Him. And a great chariot ${ }^{15}$ stood there, which was like unto a blazing fire which sent forth from it flashes of bright flame. ${ }^{16}$ And twelve virgins ${ }^{14}$ stood upon the chariot, ${ }^{15}$ and

[^48]
they sang a hymn ${ }^{1}$ in the language of the Cherubim, who made answer unto them, Amen. Hallelujah. I saw the seven heavens ${ }^{2}$ open, one after the other, and the Father came forth from the high place, together with His tabernacle ${ }^{3}$ of light, [and] He raised Him (Jesus) from the dead. O my sister Mary, I have seen all these glories, and had it not been that I found there the Rock, ${ }^{4}$ the great interpreter, ${ }^{5}$ who laid hold upon my hand, and supported me, I should certainly have fallen into despair, and have died by reason of the great glory which I had seen. And now, O my sister Mary, what ought I to do until I enter that place?' These were the things which Philoges said unto Mary.

Then the Saviour ${ }^{8}$ came before them, mounted upon the great chariot ${ }^{7}$ of the Father of the Universe, and he cried out in His divine language, 'Marikha. Marima Thiath,' which is, being interpreted, ' 'Thou Mary, the mother of the Son of God.' And ${ }^{9}$ Mary, who understood the meaning ${ }^{10}$ [of these words], turned herself and said, 'Rabonnei, Kathiath. Thamioth,' which is, being interpreted, 'Thou Son of God, the Almighty, ${ }^{11}$ and my Lord and my Son.' And the Saviour ${ }^{6}$ said unto her, ' Hail ${ }^{12}$ to thee, who hast sustained the life of the whole world. ${ }^{13}$ Hail, ${ }^{12}$ My mother, My holy ark. ${ }^{14}$ Hail, ${ }^{12}$ My mother, My city, ${ }^{15}$ My dwelling-place. Hail, ${ }^{12}$ My garment ${ }^{16}$ of glory wherein I did array Myself when Icame into the world. ${ }^{13}$ Hail, ${ }^{12} \mathrm{My}$ water-pot, ${ }^{17}$ which is full of holy water. Hail, ${ }^{12}$ thou who hast sustained the life of the universe in thy womb. Hail, ${ }^{12}$ thou who hast received in thyself the Seven Aeons ${ }^{18}$ in one composition. Hail, ${ }^{12}$ thou who art the

| ${ }^{1}$ ereertere. <br> 4 петрос. | ${ }^{2}$ стерешsяа. <br> ${ }^{5}$ еериепеттнс. | ${ }^{3}$ скнли. <br> ${ }^{6}$ с $\omega т н р$. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ${ }^{7}$ eapera. | ${ }^{\text {\% }}$ éppersra. | ${ }^{9} \mathbf{\lambda e}$. |
| ${ }^{10}$ epremia. | ${ }^{11}$ папттбкратшр. | ¢агре. |
| ${ }^{19}$ кoceroc. | ${ }^{14}$ mrfuxoc. | ${ }^{15}$ mo入is. |
| ${ }^{16}$ crodi. | ${ }^{17}$ grapra. | ${ }^{18}$ astur. |

table ${ }^{1}$ which is set in the Paradise ${ }^{2}$ of the seventh heaven, the interpretation (or, the name) of which is "Кнôмтнôмакн" [that is to say,] " the whole of Paradise ${ }^{2}$ is glad because of her." I say unto thee, O Mary, My mother, that he who loveth thee loveth life.'

And the Saviour ${ }^{3}$ said unto her, 'Go thou unto My brethren, and tell them that I have risen from the dead. Say thou unto them, "I shall ascend unto My Father, Who is your Father, and unto My God, Who is your God. And keep ye in remembrance the words which I spake unto you saying, I will come unto you at the hour of dawn to-morrow, at the time when I am wont to stretch out My right hand of God, when the sun riseth upon the whole earth, when I am wont to shake out My garment ${ }^{4}$ of the Spirit, ${ }^{5}$ and to take My seat on the right hand of My Father, when the dew of the seventh heaven and the dew of Paradise ${ }^{6}$ descend upon the earth to make the fruits ${ }^{7}$ of life to flourish. I will come unto you at that hour, and I will give unto you My peace, ${ }^{8}$ which I have received from My Father. It was this peace ${ }^{8}$ which My Father gave unto Me when I came into the world. ${ }^{9}$ I gave it unto you, My disciples, ${ }^{10}$ unto you and unto every one who believeth ${ }^{11}$ in My Name, and in [that of] Mary, My mother, My Virgin ${ }^{12}$ in very truth, My womb of the Spirit, ${ }^{5}$ My treasure of pearl, ${ }^{13}$ the ark ${ }^{14}$ of salvation for all the sons of Adam. She it was who sustained the Body ${ }^{15}$ of the Son of God, and the Blood which was His in very truth." '16

And Mary said unto her Son, ' My Lord, bless Thou my womb wherein Thou didst dwell before Thou goest to Thy Father.' Then ${ }^{17}$ the Saviour, ${ }^{3}$ our life, our salvation, our

| ${ }^{1}$ midaz. <br> ${ }^{4}$ cto入h. | 2 mapazicoc. ${ }^{5}$ mrà (miterela). | 3 cwtrp. ${ }^{6}$ mapazicoc. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ' карпос. | ${ }^{8}$ егрнти. | ${ }^{9}$ кocrec. |
| 10 uג日HTHC. | 11 mictere. | ${ }^{12}$ mapeenoc. |
| ${ }^{13}$ наркарıтнс. | ${ }^{14}$ кihora oc. | ${ }^{16}$ cwera. |
| 16 àmesmos. | 17 тоте. |  |

hope, ${ }^{1}$ answered her and said, 'Thou shalt take thy seat on My right band in My kingdom.'

Believe ${ }^{2}$ me, O ye Apostles ${ }^{3}$ my brethren, I Bartholomew, the Apostle of the Son of God, I, I say, saw the Son of God seated upon the chariot ${ }^{4}$ of the Cherubim. And round about Him stood thousands upon thousands of angels, ${ }^{5}$ and tens of thousands of tens of thousands of Archangels, ${ }^{6}$ and tens of thousands of the Cherubim, and Seraphim, and Powers. ${ }^{7}$ Their heads were bowed, and they were ready to respond 'Amen' to the blessing which the Saviour ${ }^{8}$ pronounced over His mother [and] over her virgin ${ }^{9}$ womb . . . . . . . the head of Peter. The Father blessed him, A iii saying, 'Thou shalt have thy place in the corners of My kingdom, thou shalt be exalted at the right hand of My Son. Him upon whom thou shalt lay thine hand upon the earth, I, and My Son, and the Holy Spirit ${ }^{10}$ will lay Our hands upon him. Him whom thou shalt loose upon earth will We loose; and him whom thou shalt bind will We bind. None shall be more exalted than thou and thy throne. ${ }^{11}$ And he who shall not be ordained according to thy throne, his hand shall be rejected, and shall not be accepted. And thy breath shall be filled with the breath of My Son, and with the breath of the Holy Spirit, ${ }^{10}$ so that every man whom thou shalt baptize ${ }^{12}$ and in whose face thou shalt breathe, shall receive the Holy Spirit, ${ }^{10}$ in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.' ${ }^{10}$ And the Cherubim, and the Seraphim, and all the angels ${ }^{5}$ made answer, 'Amen.' And He blessed Andrew, saying, 'Thou shalt be a pillar ${ }^{13}$ in My kingdom, in Jerusalem, My beloved city. ${ }^{14}$ Amen. $\mathrm{O}^{15}$ James, in every city ${ }^{14}$ and in every village wherein thou shalt enter, thou shalt see


Me and My Son before thou beginnest to preach the Gospel unto them. Amen. And thou thyself, $\mathrm{O}^{1}$ John, My beloved one, who art the bond which is bound wholly about the heart of My Son, thy spirit, ${ }^{2}$ and the Spirit of My Son, and My own Spirit, are intermingled inseparably, but ${ }^{3}$ thou shalt be blessed in My kingdom. Amen. And thou, $\mathrm{O}^{1}$ Philip, in every city ${ }^{4}$ wherein thou shalt enter, and wherein thou shalt preach the Word ${ }^{5}$ of My Beloved [Son], His cross ${ }^{6}$ shall go before thee ceaselessly until all the people thereof shall believe ${ }^{7}$ in thee. Amen. And thou, $\mathrm{O}^{1} \mathrm{My}$ chosen one, Thomas, thy faith ${ }^{8}$ shall be like unto an eagle ${ }^{9}$ of light, which shall spread out its wings over all countries, ${ }^{10}$ until they believe ${ }^{7}$ in Me , and believe ${ }^{7}$ on the Name of My Son through thee. Amen. $\mathrm{O}^{1}$ Bartholomew, thy soul ${ }^{11}$ shall be a habitation and a place of sojourning of the mysteries ${ }^{12}$ of My Son. Amen. And thou thyself, Matthew, thy . . . . . . . .'
Bi'....... [the peace] which I have received from My Father. This is the peace ${ }^{13}$ which My Father gave unto Me when I came into the world, ${ }^{14}$ and I will give it unto you, O ye who are My disciples.' ${ }^{15}$

Mary said unto her Son, 'Jesus, my Lord, and my only Son, ${ }^{16}$ bless Thou me, for I am Thy mother who gave birth unto Thee, before Thou departest into the heavens to Thy Father, if indeed Thou wilt not allow me to touch Thee.' Then ${ }^{17}$ Jesus, the Life of all of us, answered and said unto her, 'Thou shalt take thy seat with Me in My kingdom.'

Believe ${ }^{7}$ me, $\mathrm{O}^{1}$ my brethren the holy Apostles, ${ }^{18}$ I Bartholomew saw the Son of God mounted upon the chariot ${ }^{19}$ of

|  |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| ${ }^{4}$ moNic. |  |
| ${ }^{7}$ пистелє. |  |
| ${ }^{10}$ XCwpa. |  |
| ${ }^{13}+\mathrm{P}[\mathrm{K}]$ пк. |  |
| 16 | eorsorestic. |
| 18 | amoctonoc. |


${ }^{s}$ an入a.
${ }^{6}$ cf $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\mathrm{Oc}}$.
${ }^{9}$ aєtос.
12 месткріок.
15 elaorithC.
the Cherubim, and thousands of thousands [of angels] stood round about ready to cry out 'Hallelujah'.

Then ${ }^{1}$ our Saviour ${ }^{2}$ stretched out His right hand, and blessed the Virgin. ${ }^{3}$ I saw the heavens open, and the seven firmaments, ${ }^{4}$ and $I$ saw a finger of a shining hand like unto that of a man, which laid itself on the head of the Holy Virgin. ${ }^{3}$ Now this was the hand of the Almighty. ${ }^{5}$ And He blessed her, saying, 'Thou shalt be blessed in heaven and upon earth, and thou shalt be called by the Seraphim " the city ${ }^{7}$ of the Great King'"'; and all the hosts ${ }^{8}$ of heaven made answer 'Amen'. And He said unto her, 'When thou shalt come forth from the body ${ }^{9}$ I, even I, will come unto thee with Michael and Gabriel. We will not permit thee to feel fear before Death, whom the whole world ${ }^{10}$ is wont to hold in dread. I will take thee into the place ${ }^{11}$ of immortality, and thou shalt be with Me in My kingdom. I will set thy body ${ }^{9}$ under the Tree of Life, and Cherubim having a sword of fire shall watch over it, and shall bear ${ }^{12}$ (?) it [there] until the day of My kingdom.' These were the things which the Saviour spake unto His mother.

Then [Mary] departed and made known to the Apostles ${ }^{13}$ that the Lord had risen from the dead, and had said, 'Come ye to Galilee at dawn to-morrow, and I will give unto you My peace ${ }^{14}$ which My Father gave unto Me.' Then ${ }^{15}$ Mary came and found the Apostles, ${ }^{13}$ who were on the Mount of Olives, and were about to offer up a sacrifice ${ }^{16}$ to the Lord, and she took part in the sacrifice with them. ${ }^{17}$ And the great archbishop ${ }^{18}$ made answer . . . . . . .

| ${ }^{1}$ тоте. | ${ }^{2}$ cwtep. | ${ }^{\text {s }}$ napeenoc. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ${ }^{4}$ ctepewera. | ${ }^{5}$ martoкратбр. | ${ }^{6}$ cepacerr. |
| ${ }^{7}$ mo入ic. | ${ }^{8}$ adzic. | ${ }^{9}$ cueea. |
| ${ }^{10}$ кocerec. | ${ }^{11}$ толос. | ${ }^{12}$ ¢[ $¢$ Pe $\left.\epsilon\right]$. |
| ${ }^{1 s}$ amocto入oc. | ${ }^{14}$ esprite. | ${ }^{15}$ دe. |
| ${ }^{16}$ ercia. | ${ }^{17}$ crnare. | ${ }^{18}$ архСне[пскопос]. |
|  | G g |  |

Bii Seraphim ${ }^{1}$ of the Father，come ye and rejoice over the forgiveness which Adam hath obtained，for he shall be brought back to his former state．Then ${ }^{2}$ the Father commanded ${ }^{3}$ Michael to bring Adam，and his wife，and his children，and to set them in the presence of God．

Believe ${ }^{4}$ ye me， O my brethren the Apostles，${ }^{6}$ I Bartholo－ mew have never seen the figure ${ }^{6}$ of a man，from the time when I was born into this world，${ }^{7}$ which was like unto the figure ${ }^{6}$ of Adam，if it were not ${ }^{8}$ that of the Saviour．${ }^{9} \mathrm{He}$ was girded about with a tunic of pearls，${ }^{10}$ and rays ${ }^{11}$ of light shot out from his face as they do from the sun when he is about to rise．Characters ${ }^{12}$ in writing［and］symbols ${ }^{13}$ were inscribed upon his forehead，which no man was able to read ； among them was the Name of the Father，and the Name of the Son，and the Name of the Holy Spirit．${ }^{14}$ And ${ }^{16}$ Eve herself was adorned ${ }^{16}$ with adornments ${ }^{17}$ of every kind of the Holy Spirit，${ }^{14}$ and the spirits who were virgins ${ }^{18}$ sang ${ }^{19}$ hymns to her，and they called her＇Life＇，${ }^{20}$ the mother of all living． Then the Good ${ }^{21}$ Father answered and said unto Adam，＇Since thou didst transgress ${ }^{22}$ the commandment ${ }^{23}$ which I gave unto thee，and didst not keep it，behold，My Son Himself hath come forth on thy behalf to bring thee back．Mary is she who gave birth to My Son，and Eve too shall become even as she is，a mother in My kingdom．＇

Then the Saviour ${ }^{9}$ answered and said unto Michael，‘ Gather thou together all the angelic ${ }^{24}$［hosts］so that they may wor－ ship Me this day，for I have made peace between Myself and

| ${ }^{1}$ сєрафп． | ${ }^{2}$ тоте． | ${ }^{8}$ нe入ere． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ${ }^{4}$ пистебе． | ${ }^{5}$ anocto入oc． | ${ }^{6}$ 2rmbr． |
| косrec． | ${ }^{8}$ ei elf ter． | ${ }^{9}$ сбтнр． |
| ${ }^{10}$ erapкарıтнс． | ${ }^{11}$ antim． | ${ }^{12}$ ¢арантнр． |
| ${ }^{13}$ cïeror． | ${ }^{14}$ mita． | ${ }^{6} \mathbf{2 e}$ |
| ${ }^{15}$ косенег． | ${ }^{17}$ nocerferc． | ${ }^{18}$ mapeeroc． |
| ${ }^{19}$ quentere． | ${ }^{20} 7 \mathrm{mH}$. | ${ }^{21}$ ardeoc． |
| ${ }^{22}$ mapaßa． | ${ }^{23}$ entronf． | ${ }^{24}$ атएе入ки． |

My image．${ }^{1}$ And Adam，seeing the great gift ${ }^{2}$ which had come to him，rejoiced and was glad，and he blessed God，say－ ing，＇Come， O all ye angelic ${ }^{3}$［hosts］，and rejoice with me， for He Who created me bath pardoned my sins．＇And straightway all the angelic ${ }^{3}$［hosts］cried out to Jesus，the Son of the Living God，＇Thou hast shewn mercy unto Adam Thy creature．＇

Then all the righteous ${ }^{4}$ came，from the time of Abraham， the friend（or，companion）of God，and Isaac the sinless one， and Jacob the righteous，${ }^{4}$ and Job the man of patience，${ }^{5}$ and Moses the chief prophet，${ }^{6}$ and all the righteous who have per－ formed the will of God．

Now I Bartholomew passed many days without eating or drinking，and the glory of the things which I had seen served me for food．${ }^{7}$ Behold， $\mathrm{O}^{8}$ my brethren the Apostles，${ }^{9} \mathrm{I}$ have told you concerning the things which I saw with my eyes， rejoice ye with me concerning the gift ${ }^{2}$ which God hath graciously bestowed ${ }^{10}$ upon Adam and his children．And they all answered，＇［It is］seemly ${ }^{11}$［so to do］， O our beloved brother；people call thee Bartholomew，the Apostle ${ }^{9}$ of the Mysteries ${ }^{12}$ of God．＇Bartholomew answered，＇Forgive me， I am the least ${ }^{13}$ among you，and I am poor in respect of my house．When the people of my city ${ }^{14}$ see me they are wont to say，＂Is not this Bartholomew the gardener ？${ }^{15}$ Is not this the man who liveth in the garden ${ }^{16}$ of Hierokrates，the governor ${ }^{17}$ of our city，${ }^{14}$ and who selleth the garden produce which we buy？Whence hath he acquired this magnificence？ for［the knowledge of］his poverty is spread wide among us．＂ Nevertheless I perform the mighty works of God．＇

| ${ }^{1}$ qrumi， | ${ }^{2}$ мшрєа． | 3 arce入imh． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4 دrmä́oc． | ${ }^{5} 2^{\text {\％movent．}}$ | ${ }^{6}$ архкпрофнтне． |
| ${ }^{7}$ трофн， | ${ }^{8} \omega$ ． | ${ }^{9}$ апосто入ос． |
| ${ }^{10}$ xaprze． | ${ }^{11}$ rad wc． | 12 еесстнргот． |
| ${ }^{13}$ e入axictoc． | ${ }^{14}$ no入ic． | ${ }^{15}$ кшенарітнс． |
| ${ }^{16}$ ruseapion． | ${ }^{17}$ apxcwn． |  |

## 228 BOOK OF THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST

At the time when the Saviour ${ }^{1}$ brought us on the Mount of Olives He spake unto us in a language which we knew not， and ${ }^{2}$ at that very time He revealed it unto us，saying， ＇Anetharath．＇And straightway the heavens opened，one after the other，and the interior ${ }^{3}$ shone brightly like unto snow，${ }^{4}$ and the Saviour ${ }^{1}$ passed onwards ${ }^{5}$ into the heavens whilst we followed Him with our gaze．Then ${ }^{6}$ the Saviour ${ }^{1}$ cast Himself down before His Good＇Father，saying，＇My Father，shew Thy mercy to My brethren the Apostles，${ }^{8}$ and bless Thou them with an everlasting blessing．＇Then ${ }^{6}$ the Father（with the Son，and with the Holy Spirit）stretched out His hand over the head of Peter，and consecrated ${ }^{9}$ him Arch－ bishop ${ }^{10}$ of the whole world．${ }^{11}$ And He blessed him，saying， ＇Thou shalt be the chief and head in My kingdom，and thou shalt be the chief and head over the whole world ${ }^{11}$ likewise，for I and My beloved Son，and the Holy Spirit ${ }^{12}$ have laid Our hands on thy head．Whomsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven；whomsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven；nothing shall be exalted above thee and thy throne；${ }^{13}$ and the band of him that is ordained by any authority save thine shall be repulsed．Thy breath shall be filled with the breath of the Holy Spirit，${ }^{12}$ so that every man whom thou shalt baptize ${ }^{14}$ shall receive a portion of the Holy Spirit．${ }^{12}$ And all the hosts ${ }^{15}$ of the heavens answered， ＇Amen．Hallelujah．＇

And He blessed Andrew，saying，＇Thou shalt be a pillar ${ }^{16}$ of light in the Jerusalem of heaven．And thou，James，in every town ${ }^{17}$ and village wherein thou shalt come，thou shalt

| ${ }^{1}$ сбтнр． | ${ }^{2}$ mpoc． | ${ }^{8}$ ect． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ${ }^{1}$ ceswrs． | ${ }^{5}$ arax ${ }^{\text {coper }}$ | ${ }^{\circ}$ тотє． |
| ${ }^{7}$ araeoc． | ${ }^{3}$ anocto八oc． | ${ }^{9}$ xipozonel． |
| ${ }^{10}$ архнепископос． | ${ }^{11}$ косеос． | ${ }^{12}$ пиये． |
| ${ }^{13}$ eporioc． | ${ }^{14}$ famtrge． | ${ }^{15}$ tacela． |
| ${ }^{16}$ cte入入oc． | по入ic． |  |

see Me and My Son before thou shalt enter into them. And John, My beloved, and the beloved of My Son, thou shalt be blessed in My kingdom. And thou, Philip, in every city ${ }^{1}$ and in every village into which thou shalt come, the Cross ${ }^{2}$ of My Son shall go before thee continually, until all the people thereof shall have believed ${ }^{3}$ on thee. And thou, Bartholomew, My son, thy soul ${ }^{4}$ shall be a sojourner in the Mysteries ${ }^{5}$ of My Son. And ${ }^{6}$ thou, $\mathrm{O}^{7}$ Matthew, thy might shall increase to such a degree that thy shadow shall raise the dead. And ${ }^{6}$ thou, O James, the son of Alphaeus, no power whatsoever of the Devil ${ }^{8}$ shall have dominion over thy body, ${ }^{9}$ or over thy preaching in any place, nay, ${ }^{10}$ on the contrary, that which is planted by thee, whatever it may be, shall never be rooted up. And thou, Simon Zelotes, ${ }^{11}$ no power ${ }^{12}$ of the Adversary ${ }^{13}$ shall be able to force a way into any place wherein thou hast stablished firmly the word ${ }^{14}$ of My Son. And ${ }^{6}$ thou, $\mathrm{O}^{7}$ My blessed ${ }^{15}$ Mathias, the sweet odour of thee shall go through the world, ${ }^{16}$ for thou wast a rich man according ${ }^{17}$ to the things of this world, ${ }^{16}$ and yet thou didst forsake everything and follow $\mathrm{Me}^{\prime}$. And ${ }^{6}$ when all the hosts ${ }^{18}$ of heaven saw these blessings which the Father pronounced on the Apostles, ${ }^{19}$ they answered, 'Amen.' And now, $\mathrm{O}^{7}$ my brethren the Apostles, ${ }^{19}$ forgive me-Bartholomew.

Then ${ }^{20}$ all the Apostles rose up and embraced (or, saluted) ${ }^{21}$ Bartholomew. Now ${ }^{6}$ when the Apostles had said these things, they rose up and offered the Offering, ${ }^{22}$ and the Holy Virgin ${ }^{23}$


was present with them at that time. When Jesus had spoken with them, saying, ' Come ye into Galilee, I will give you My peace at that time,' and ${ }^{1}$ when they had received the Body ${ }^{2}$ and the Blood of the Son of God, the sweet perfume of their sacrifice ascended unto the seventh heaven. And the Father answered and said unto His beloved Son, 'My Only-begotten ${ }^{3}$ Son, arise, get Thee down into the world ${ }^{4}$ to Thy companions the Apostles, ${ }^{5}$ and comfort Thou them, and give them strength lest their heart become afflicted, ${ }^{6}$ and they fall into despair, and they cease to preach [the Gospel] in the whole world ${ }^{4}$ in Thy Name, and in My Name, and in the Name of the Holy Spirit. ${ }^{7}$ Arise, $\mathrm{O}^{8}$ My beloved Son, and get Thee to Thy brethren and Thy Apostles, ${ }^{5}$ and bestow upon them joy, lest ${ }^{9}$ they say, "Our Saviour ${ }^{10}$ hath risen from the dead, and hath departed into the heavens in the glory of His Father. He hath left us in the cities, ${ }^{11}$ and in the villages, and hath not given us joy in the place of the sufferings which we have endured in the world."'4 Then ${ }^{12}$ the Son of God rose up and came down into the world, ${ }^{4}$ and found His disciples, ${ }^{13}$ and Mary the Virgin, ${ }^{14}$ for they were gathered together. And He appeared unto them, and said unto them, ${ }^{\text {c }}$ Hail, ${ }^{15}$ My Apostles, ${ }^{5}$ who have been chosen above ${ }^{16}$ all the world. ${ }^{4}$ Hail, ${ }^{15}$ My brethren and My companions, the peace ${ }^{17}$ of My Father be unto you, the peace ${ }^{17}$ which is Mine I give unto you.' And He breathed in their faces, and said unto them, 'Receive unto you the Holy Spirit.' Those whose sins ye remit to them, their sins shall be remitted to them; and those whose sins ye retain, their sins shall be retained to them.' And He shewed us His feet

| ${ }^{1}$ ne. | 2 curea. |
| :---: | :---: |
| * Hoceloc. | ${ }^{6}$ armoctonoc. |
| ${ }^{7} \mathrm{MrIa}$. | ${ }^{8} \omega$. |
| ${ }^{10}$ сळTHP. | ${ }^{11}$ modic. |
| ${ }^{13}$ maөнthe. | 14 mapeersoc. |
| ${ }^{18}$ mapa. | 17 fpritr. |

3 eonotrentr.
${ }^{6} \boldsymbol{\lambda}$ тпег.
${ }^{8}$ знітт.
${ }^{12}$ тоте.
${ }^{15}$ xarpe.

# THE LIFE OF SAINT BARTHOLOMEW THE APOSTLE 

(From the Ethiopic Synaxarium, Brit. Mus. Ms. Oriental, No. 660, Fol. 4 a)

## FIRST DAY OF MASKARRAM.

And on this day died the holy Apostle Bartholomew, who was [one] of the Twelve Apostles. Now the lot fell upon this Apostle to go to the city of Al-Wah, and he and Peter went together to them (i.e. to the people of Al-Wâh), and they preached to them, and they called them to the knowledge of God, and afterwards they worked signs and great wonders before them, which terrified their hearts. And after this Peter made a pretence that he was going into the country, and straightway he sold Bartholomew as a slave, and Bartholomew laboured in a vineyard with his master, and as soon as they had trained up the vine branches in the vineyard [on the poles], they bore fruit immediately. When the son of the governor of that city died, the Apostle Bartholomew raised him up from the dead, and all [the people] believed, and he confirmed them in the knowledge of God. And after this our Lord Jesus Christ commanded him to go to the country of the Barbarians, and He sent to him Andrew the Apostle, with his disciple, that he might help him. And the men of that city were of an exceedingly evil disposition, and they would not receive the Apostles, [although] they worked signs and wonders before them. And God commanded one of the man-eating Dog-Faces to put himself into submission to the Apostles, and to obey them in everything which they commanded him; and they took him with
them to that country. And the men of that country brought out savage beasts against the Apostles that they might devour them. And straightway that Dog-Face rose up against those beasts, and tore them to pieces, moreover, he slew many of the people of that country. Becanse of this deed all [the people] were afraid, and they prostrated themselves at the feet of the Apostles, and they were subject unto them, and they entered into the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom be praise! And [the Apostles] appointed priests for them, and they built churches for them, and they departed from them praising God.

And Bartholomew the Apostle departed to the countries which were along the sea-shore, whereof the people knew not God. And he preached to them, and turned them to the knowledge of God, and they believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, and did the works which are well pleasing to Christ. And Bartholomew the Apostle used to command the people to be pure, and to keep themselves remote from adultery.

Now when Agrippa the king heard about him he was exceedingly angry, and he commanded [his people] to put the Apostle Bartholomew in a hair sack, and to fill it with sand, and to cast him into the sea. And they did even as he commanded. And Bartholomew finished his testimony (i.e. martyrdom) and his striving on this day.

Peace (be) to Bartholomew, whom they rolled up in a sack ; then they cast him into the deep sea,
in the presence of the assembled peoples. The doctrine of this righteous man,
which appeared in his hand, was like unto the rich, full fruit
of an old vine, from which a cluster has been cut off.

# THE REPOSE OF SAINT JOHN THE EVANGELIST AND APOSTLE 

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6782)

## THE REPOSE OF SAINT JOHN THE EVANGELIST AND APOSTLE OF THE CHRIST. IN THE PEACE OF GOD. AMEN.

The blessed John was in Ephesus with the brethren, rejoicing in the Lord. Now on the first day of the week all the brethren were gathered together, and | John began to Fol. $2 a \operatorname{col} .2$ speak to them, saying, ${ }^{\text {' My brethren, my fellow heirs, and }}$ my partners in the Christ Jesus, our Lord, know ye that unto you hath the Lord given from His hand power, [and] that He hath wrought for you very many mighty works, and miracles, and acts of grace. And ye know of what kind are the teachings, and the guiding directions, and the refreshing, and the service, and the gracious acts, and the gifts, and all the other things which ye see with | your eyes, which are Fol. $2 b$ col. 1 given unto you from the hand of our Master. He hath never made Himself manifest unto you through the eyes of the body, neither have ye hearkened unto Him through the ears of the body, but He hath made Himself visible unto you through the integrity of your heart, and by visions, and by works which are holy. Strengthen ye yourselves, then, in Him, and ye shall remember Him at all times; moreover, ye shall also remember the mystery and the association (or, partnership) which hath come | unto you, and which our Lord Fol. $2 b$ col. 2 hath fulfilled.
' And now, O brethren, He maketh supplication to you through Himself, and He appealeth unto you, wishing to Hh
make you to cease to grieve Him overmuch, or to despise Him , or to conspire against Him, for He knoweth the despising which taketh place through you. He knoweth also the reviling, and He hath knowledge of the treachery, and the punishment wherewith ye punish Him. When ye |
Fol. $3 a$ col. 1 shall hearken unto His holy commandment to obey it, He will shew compassion upon you. Do not make to grieve through you the Good God, the Merciful, the Long-suffering, Him Who is without spot, Him Who is without blemish, the Ineffable, the God Who is One alone, the Unchanging One, Him Who is without guile, Him Who is without wrath, the Name which is above every name ${ }^{1}$ which men can comprehend. Let Him but rejoice with you, and ye enjoy free and happy citizenship with Him. Let Him but have gladness with you, and ye
Fol. 3 a col. 2 live in happiness and innocency. | Let Him but repose in your hearts, and ye are turned into beings who rejoice in holiness of life. Let Him but shew Himself unmindful of you, and ye must live in painful restraint. Let Him but have pleasure [in you], and ye become participators in good things and in the things which are offered [to Him]. Let Him but live delicately, and ye love Him. Let Him but laugh, and ye become ready [to follow Him].
' I say these things, then, unto you, O my brethren, because I hasten to embark on a certain matter which hath been laid upon me, and of which the completion shall be unto me
Fol. 3 bcol .1 by the help of God. For of what kind is the other matter which I shall say unto you, there being for you the pledge of your God? There is for you the pledge of His kingdom, there is for you His presence, which cannot be entreated. If ye cease from the habit of sinning from this time [onwards], then the deeds which ye have committed through want of understanding He will remit to you; [but] if even after ye have had knowledge of Him ye continue and persist in the Fol. 3 bcol .2 doing | of these same works, they shall first of all try you in

[^49]the judgement, and [then] they shall deliver you over to the fire.'

And having said these things, [Saint John] prayed, saying : 'Jesus, Who didst weave the crown which was in Thine own garland (?). O Thou Who didst make the crown of all the saints, and these plants which are of many kinds, and hast changed men into Thy flowers which do not wither and fade! O Thou Who hast spoken Thy words in our hearts! O Thou Who alone dost have a care |for Thy servants! O Fol. 4 a col. 1 Thou Physician of our bodies, Who dost heal them all for nothing! O Thou Who alone dost do good unto us! O Thou in Whom there is no pride (or, upliftedness of heart) whatsoever! O Thou Who alone art the Compassionate, and art the Lover of all mankind! O Thou Who alone art the Saviour, and the Righteous One, Who existest in every place, Who hast existed from everlasting, God, the Christ Jesus ! Thou art He Who sheltereth every one who putteth his hope in Thee, with Thy gift, \| and with Thy compassion. Thou Fol 4 a col. 2 knowest every wile and every crafty deed of the Enemy who doth wage war against us at all times.'

And when Saint John the Evangelist had made an end of saying these words, he took bread, and he gave thanks unto God in this manner, saying, ' What other blessing is there? Or what other word can be spoken? Or what other giving of thanks is there which we can pronounce over this bread [which] we break, except Thou alone, the Lord Jesus, the Christ? |
${ }^{\text {c }}$ We ascribe glory unto Thee, O Lord Jesus the Christ, Fol. 46 col. 1 Whose Name hath been made manifest by the Father.
' We ascribe glory unto Thee because of Thy coming in through the door.

، We ascribe glory unto Thee for Thy holy resurrection from the dead, which hath been made known unto us through Thee.,
' We ascribe glory unto Thee, the Way.

- We ascribe glory unto Thee, the Seed, the Word, the

Salt, the True Gem, the Holy Storehouse, the Plough, the Net, the Majesty, Who was sent for the sake of us, the Fol. $4 b$ col. 2 children of men, that He might deliver | the race of man.
'We ascribe glory unto Thee, the Truth, the Rest, the Glory, the Mighty Power, the Commandment, the Boldness of speech, the Freedom, [and] our place of refuge.
'For Thou art the Lord, the Root of immortality. Thou art the Fountain which cannot be destroyed. Thou art the Strength which endureth throughout the Ages. Thy Name hath been set upon all these things here, so that we also may make our cry unto Thee through them. For we know Thy
Fol. 5 a col. 1 Majesty which is invisible, and which / doth not make itself manifest unto us at this time. When Thou shalt have purified us, then we shall see Thee alone in the body which Thou hast changed from oldness into newness.'

And as John was breaking the bread, he prayed over each one of his brethren, so that they might be worthy of the Grace of the Lord. Similarly Saint John himself, when he had tasted the bread, [prayed for himself]. John the Theologian spake after this manner saying,' Let me, even me, have Fol. $5 a \mathrm{col} .2$ a portion | with you, O my beloved.'

Then he said to Birros ( $s i c$ ), 'Take with thee two brethren, and let them have baskets in their hands, and digging tools, and follow ye me.' Now Bibros (sic) was not by any means neglectful, and he did according to what he had been commanded by Saint John the Theologian, and the servant of God. And when the blessed John had come forth from his house, he went outside the gate of the city, and he gave orders that the
Fol. 5 b col. 1 exceedingly great multitude, | which were following him and pressing upon him, should be made to withdraw, and to depart from him. And when he had arrived at a place in the region wherein were the tombs, he said to one of the brethren, [Speak] unto the young men, saying, 'My sons, dig' a grave in this place,' and those who were there dug down into the ground. Then John the Theologian was commanding
them, saying, ' Dig the grave very deep.' And he was saying, 'Dig ye down much deeper'; and those who were there dug down deeper still. And he spake with them, and addressed | words to them, and encouraged them, and counselled them Fol. $5 b \mathrm{col} .2$ unto edification, and he instructed them, and he persuaded them [to enter] into the Kingdom of God. And he prayed over each one of them.

Now when the young men had finished making the grave in the place wherein they had dug it, they arranged everything connected therewith in a seemly manner, according to what [Saint John] wished. Now we had no knowledge whatsoever [of what he was about to do]. Then he took off the clothes which were upon him, and having stripped them off himself, he threw them down into the $\mid$ place which they had Fol. 6 a col. 1 dug deep in the ground, and which was in the form of a chamber which spread out. ${ }^{1}$ Then John stood on his feetnow the only garment which he had on him was a tunic which came down on both sides-and having spread out his hands he prayed thus saying, '[O Thou] God, Who hast chosen me for Thyself to be an Apostle to the heathen, and hast sent me forth into the world, Who hast made manifest the Prophets and His Apostles, Who | hast never ceased from Fol. $6 a$ col. 2 doing that which is good since the foundation of the world, Who deliverest every one who hath no strength, Who hast made Thyself to be apprehended by every man of reason, unto Whom every living thing ministereth through His foreknowledge, Who didst make our soul to have longings, and dost make it to be tranquil, or solitary and savage, Who dost Thyself make it to laugh to scorn its enemy, Who didst fashion it like unto Thyself when it was dead, Who didst make for it a law which it could distinguish in the abyss of lawlessness, Fol. 6 b eol. 1 Who didst make it to vanquish its enemy by causing it to flee from him ; Who didst give it Thy hand and didst deliver it from Amente ; Who didst not leave it to become a citizen of

[^50]this world, Who didst teach it to escape from its enemy ; Who didst make Thy knowledge to illumine every place; Thou Son of God, Thou Saviour, Thou Lord, Thou Orderer of the things which are in the celestial heights, Thou Guardian of the Fol. $6 b \mathrm{col} .2$ things which are on the earth, | Thou Grace and Gladness of those who belong to Thee: receive Thou the soul of John, which belongeth to Thee, which Thou hast made to be worthy of the knowledge of Thee, for it is Thou Who hast kept me up to this hour, and I have never at any time polluted myself with women.
' Thou didst appear unto me at the time when I was wishing to marry a wife in the period of my youth, and Thou didst say unto me, "John, I have need of thee." Thou didst in the beginning act as the steward of my body, when the Fol. $7 a$ col. 1 desires caused by the sicknesses | of the body arose, and it was Thou Who didst prevent me from gratifying them on many occasions when I was wishing to marry a wife. Afterwards Thou didst speak to me at the third hour of the day on the sea, saying, "John, if it be that thou dost not in truth belong to Me , I will withdraw Myself from thee. Take thou a wife, and thou shalt make thyself to become blind in both thine eyes; thou shalt suffer grief, [then] thou wilt pray unto Me." Thou it was Who didst open my heart three times in the same year, and Thou didst graciously bestow upon me other eyes, which did not make themselves visible. Thou it Fol. $7 a \mathrm{col} .2$ was Who didst make the joyful $\mid$ expectation of the contemplation of women to become to me an abomination. Thou it was Who didst deliver me from a fleeting phantasy, and didst keep me for the life which endureth for ever. Thou it was Who didst make me to become a stranger to the madness of evil which ariseth in the flesh, and didst make me to be remote from the death which is bitter. Thou it was Who didst deliver me from the second death, that is to say, the Gehenna of fire, and didst make me to stand up, being a pure man. Thou it was Who didst stop the mouth of the disease
which appertained to my soul, and didst | prevent the com- Fol. $7 b$ col. 1 mittal of the act which appertained thereto, or rather the outward and manifest works which are wont to be performed by the body. Thou it was Who didst deliver me, and didst cast out from my heart that which disturbed me sorely. Thou it was Who didst prepare me to come unto Thee in a state of innocency (or, holiness). Thou it was Who didst make my thoughts concerning Thee to be unpolluted. Thou it was who didst graciously grant unto me the faith in Thee which was undivided. Thou it was Who didst make my thoughts and my counsels to incline ever more and more \| towards Fol. 7 bcol .2 Thee. Thon dost give unto each man according to his works. It was Thou Who didst deposit in my soul the intention not to permit anything whatsoever except Thyself to enter into me. For what can I find which is more choice or more pure than Thee? And now I have found Thee. And I have fulfilled the stewardship which Thou didst commit to me; make me therefore worthy to enjoy rest in Thy holy repose. Do thou bestow upon me graciously the perfection which is in Thee, that is to say, | the sinlessness and the salvation, which cannot Fol. $8 a$ col. 1 be described, and which cannot be pried into, and which are beyond the comprehension [of man]. I come unto Thee, my Lord Jesus, the Christ. Let the fire die down, and let the darkness withdraw itself, and let Chaos become helpless, and let the furnace of blazing fire be without power, and let Gehenna be extinguished, and let the holy angels accompany me, and let the demons shake with fear. Let them (i.e. the holy angels) wound the Principalities, and let the Powers of darkness withdraw themselves $\$ and fall down headlong. Let Fol. 8 a col. 2 the Places which are on the right hand stand on their feet. May Diabolos be put to shame, and Satan made an object of ridicule. May his wrath be quenched, and may his raving madness be suppressed. May his honour be disgraced, and his pride wounded; may his sons be dragged downwards, and may all their roots be pulled out. Grant Thou unto me
the power to walk, and strengthen me so that I may complete my course without suffering and without trouble. I come unto Thee, my Lord, that I may receive the good things of those Fol. 8 b col. 1 who | live in holiness.'

And when John the Theologian had said these things, he looked towards the east, and he ascribed glory to God, and stretching out his hands again he prayed, saying, ${ }^{〔}$ Be Thou with me, O my Lord Jesus, the Christ.' Then straightway he cast himself down into the pit which they had dug, the place wherein his apparel was spread out, and when he had said to them, 'Peace and grace,' he dismissed the brethren, Fol. $8 b$ col. 2 and they departed. | And they came out [of the city] on the morrow, and they could not find him, but they found his sandal, and the newly-dug ground in the place where he had gone down into the earth. Finally they remembered the word which the Lord had spoken to Peter, saying, 'If I will to make him remain until I come, what [is that] to thee ? Follow thou Me.' And they ascribed glory to the Lord Jesus, the Christ, because of His miracle which took place in the Fol. $9 a$ col. 1 blessed Apostle, and Evangelist, and | Theologian, and holy virgin, Saint John, the beloved of the Christ, Jesus our Lord, and our God, and our Saviour, to Whom, with the Father and the Holy, and universally vivifying and consubstantial Spirit, all glory is seemly, now, and always, and for ever and for ever. Amen.

[^51]
# THE MYSTERIES OF SAINT JOHN THE APOSTLE AND HOLY VIRGIN ${ }^{1}$ 

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7026)

## ALPHA OMEGA JESUS CHRIST.

THESE ARE THE MYSTERTES OF JOHN THE Fol. $1 a$ APOSTLE, THE HOLY VIRGIN, WHICH HE $\overline{\mathbf{a}}$ LEARNED IN HEAVEN. IN THE PEACE OF GOD. AMEN.

And it came to pass that when the Saviour had risen from the dead, He came on to the Mount of Olives, and sat down. And He made a cloud to envelop all the countries wherein were the Apostles, and it gathered them together into the presence of the Saviour upon the Mount of Olives. And John answered and said unto the Saviour, ' My Lord, behold Thou didst say unto me: Thou art My | beloved one, and thou Fol. 1 ib hast found grace before Me. Now therefore, my Lord, I wish $\overline{\mathbf{G}}$ Thee to take me into heaven, and shew me all [the mysteries] so that I may know them.' And the Saviour made answer and said unto him, 'John, enquire thou of Me fully, and I on My part will hide nothing from thee. Rise up, and let us pray to My Father, Who is blessed, and He shall hear us.'

Then the Saviour and the Apostle [John] rose up, and He prayed a long, blessed prayer. And when He had said (literally, given) the Amen, the heavens moved away upon this side and on that, and they opened out one beyond the other even to the seventh heaven. And behold, a great Cherubim ${ }^{2}$ came out from heaven, and the whole place shone

[^52]with bright light, and the whole of his body was full of eyes, ${ }^{1}$ | Fol. $2 a$ and flashes of lightning shot out from him.
© Then the Apostles became like unto dead men, and they fell down upon the earth through fear; but the Saviour took hold of their hands, and raised them up, and removed the fear from them, and stablished their hearts for them. And John answered [and said], 'My Lord, explain to me the order of the Cherubim, which is exceedingly terrible.' The Saviour made answer and said unto John, ${ }^{\text {' Hearken unto } \mathrm{Me} \text {, }}$ and I will shew you everything. Thou seest the Cherubim. The words of the Father are hidden within him, from their beginning until their fulfilment. Behold, I will make him to come to thee so that he may explain everything, O My beloved John.'

And the Saviour turned Himself towards the Cherubim, and He said unto him, 'I tell thee to take My beloved John into Fol. $2 b$ heaven. And thou shalt explain unto him every \| question
$\overline{\mathbf{2}}$ which he shall ask thee.' Then straightway the Cherubim lifted up John upon his wing of light, and he bore him up unto heaven. And when he arrived at the first gate the gatekeepers opened the door to him with readiness and fear. Now I, John, saw great mysteries in the First Heaven. I saw twelve men seated upon twelve thrones, within the great gate, in great glory and dignity. And I said unto the Cherubim, ${ }^{\text {' Master, who are these who are seated in such majestic }}$ dignity?' The Cherubim said unto me, 'Seest thou these twelve men? These are the twelve Rulers of the worlds of light, and each one of them ruleth for one year at a time; but Fol. 3 a Michael \| is he who ordereth their operations, so that the earth
$\overline{\mathbf{\epsilon}}$ bringeth forth its fruit all the same.' [And I said], 'There doth come a year sometimes when there is a famine in one place or another.' The Cherubim answered and said unto me, 'Behold, I have shewn thee that which thou didst [ask] me.'

And I answered and said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord,

[^53]there cometh a year when water is scarce, and yet there is plenty, ${ }^{1}$ and there cometh a year when water is exceedingly plentiful, and yet there is a famine; [how is this?]' [The Cherubim] answered and said unto me, 'Seest thou that the water is under the feet of the Father? If the Father lifteth up His feet, the water riseth upwards; but if at the time when God is about to bring the water up, man sinneth against Him, He is wont to make the fruit of the earth to be little because of the sins of men. Now if at the time | when He is about to Fol. $3 b$ bestow a little fullness, and men keep guard over themselves so as not to commit sin, the Father is wont to bless the earth so that it may bring forth fruit, and abundance cometh through the supplication of Michael. If only men were to know of the supplications of Michael at the time when the water should come upon the earth, they would never commit sin at all. However, Michael taketh with him twelve times ten thousand angels, and they go into the presence of the Father, and they cast themselves down before Him, and they do not rise up again until God sendeth the waters down upon the world.' ${ }^{2}$

Then I answered and said unto the Cherubim, 'I have heard one say that " God created the heavens and the earth", ${ }^{3}$

[^54]and again, that "God created the waters from the beginFol. $4 a$ ning '.' And the Cherubim | said unto me, 'Hearken, and
$\overline{3}$ I will inform thee concerning everything. Before ever God created the heavens and the earth, water was in existence, and there is no one whatsoever who knoweth anything about the creation of water except God Himself. For this reason whosoever shall take an oath which is false, in the name of water, shall never receive forgiveness. And whosoever shall take an oath [which is false] by the wheat-plant, [shall also never receive forgiveness, for], the same ordinance applieth to both the water and the wheat-plant.'

And I said to the Cherubim, ' My Lord, I wish that thou wouldst inform me concerning the matter of the wheat-plant, and tell me where, in the beginning, before the earth had been cultivated, it was found that man might live upon it.'

The Cherubim said unto me, 'Hearken, and I will inform thee concerning everything. Now it came to pass that God having created Adam placed him in the Paradise of joy, and Fol. $4 b \mathrm{He}$ gave him a command | saying thus: "Of every tree which is in Paradise thou shalt eat, with the exception of the tree of the knowledge of that which is good and of that which is evil; of that thou shalt not eat. And on the day wherein thou shalt eat thereof thou shalt certainly die." "1 Now the Devil was jealous of Adam when he saw with what great glory he was surrounded. The Sun and the Moon, the two great luminaries, used to come daily and worship Adam before they rose above the earth. And the Devil went and led astray Adam and his wife, until at length they were cast forth out from Paradise; and they were banished to the land of Eueilat, ${ }^{2}$ where Adam lived a life of care and anxiety. Now after all these things, Adam was an hungered, and he could not find food to eat similar to that which they were wont Fol. $5 a$ to eat daily in Paradise. | And he cried out to the Lord in grief and in tribulation of heart. And the Son of graciousness

[^55](or, goodness), Who acted as sponsor for him, had compassion upon him, and He spake unto His Good Father, the Lord of the Angels and of the Spirits, saying, 'Behold, the man whom We have created in Our image and likeness is an hungered, and I am sorrowful on his account, O My Father. Now, if it be Thy will, do not let him die before Thy face.'

And in this wise did His Father of Compassion answer and say unto His beloved Son, ' If it be that Thou art moved with compassion for the man whom We have created, and who hath cast [My] commandment behind him, go Thou and give him Thy flesh and let him eat thereof, for it is Thou who hast undertaken to act as his advocate.'

And the Son of Goodness made answer and said unto His Father, |'Blessed be Thy word. That which Thou hast Fol. 5b said I will do.' Then the beloved Son came forth from the $\overline{\mathbf{I}}$ presence of His Good Father, and He took a little piece of His right side, of His divine flesh, and He rubbed it down into small pieces, and brought it to His Holy Father. His Father said unto Him, 'What is this?' And He said, 'This is My flesh, according to what Thou didst say unto Me.' His Father answered and said unto Him, 'Yea, certainly, My Son. Wait, and I will give unto Thee some of My own flesh, which is invisible.'

Then His Father took out a portion of His own body, and He made it into a grain of wheat, and He brought forth the seal of light wherewith He set a seal upon the worlds of light, and He sealed the grain of wheat in the middle thereof. And He said unto His beloved Son, 'Take this, | and give Fol. 6 a Thou it unto Michael, the Archangel, and let him give it unto $\overline{\mathbf{s}}$ Adam, and let him tell Adam that he and his sons shall live thereon. And Michael shall teach him to sow it, and to gather it in at harvest.' Then Jesus called Michael, and said unto him, 'Take this [grain], and give it unto Adam so that he and all his sons may live thereon.' And Michael came to Adam, and he was on the Jordan, and it was the eighth day
since he had eaten anything, and he was crying out to the Lord [for food]. And Michael said unto him, 'Peace be to thee! The Lord hath heard thy prayer, and He hath sent unto thee a seed of grain.' And when Adam heard these words from Michael, his body recovered its strength, and he came from the water, and cast himself down at the feet of Michael. And Michael gave unto him the grain which had been sealed with the seal of light, and he taught him how Fol. $6 b$ to sow it and to $\mid$ reap it, and he went up into heaven with
$\overline{\mathbf{s}}$ [great] glory. Therefore the water, and the wheat-plant, and grain, and the throne of the Father stand in one category, and they are the equals of the Son of God. Now I John saw these things, and I rejoiced when I had heard them.

And it came to pass after these things that the Cherubim raised me up upon his wing of light, and carried me into the Seventh Heaven, and I saw mighty miracles take place therein. I saw [there] all the ranks of the angels. The first rank [contained] the Seraphim, who were dressed in the grain-plant, and they had golden censers in their hands, and they said, 'Hallelujah!' The angels in the second rank had Fol. $7 a$ golden |phials in their hands, and they were filled with dew, and they were emptying them out on to the fields. Now Michael was the governor who was over them, and be appointed unto each one of them his work.

And I saw another great and wonderful thing. Whilst I John was looking at the angels as they were all divided into ranks, I found that the name of Michael was written upon all their garments, and that the angels were crying out his name always. And I answered and said unto the Cherubim, 'How doth it come to pass that the name of Michael is written upon their garments? And wherefore do they cry it out?' And the Cherubim answered and said unto me, 'No angel is allowed to come upon the earth unless the name of Michael is written upon his garments, for otherwise the Devil would lead them astray.'

After this I saw a great fountain of water, $\mid$ whereof the Fol. $7 b$ waters were as white as snow, or as I might say, its waters were like unto milk, and there was an angel standing above it, and his wings were dipped in the water. And the place round about the fountain was planted with trees which were laden with fruit, and the fruits thereof were of a very great many different kinds. And this fountain was like unto a sea, and every tree which grew by the side of it consisted entirely of one branch.

And I, John, saw another great and wonderful thing there. I saw the root of a tree which emitted water into the fountain. And I said unto the Cherubim, ' My Lord, explain to me the matter of this fountain, the water whereof is white, and the matter of this angel, which standeth above it.' The Cherubim said unto me, 'This is the fountain which poureth out the dew upon | the earth.' I said unto him, ' How is it Fol. 8 a that this angel is standing above it, with his wings always $\overline{\mathbf{I E}}$ dipped in the waters of the fountain?' The Cherubim said unto me, 'Seest thou this angel? His work is this. Every time the trumpet soundeth he riseth up, and he shaketh his wings which are full of dew, and he smiteth the beavens therewith, and the heavens open, one beyond the other, so that the dew may distil through them upon the earth.' And I said unto the Cherubim, 'In what way do these Seven Heavens open, one beyond the other, so that the daylight may penetrate them and fall upon the world?' And the Cherubim answered and said unto me, 'Hearken, and I will explain everything to you. There are seven trumpets appointed over the dew, and all these are wont to sound before the dew cometh upon the earth. $\mid$ When the first trumpet Fol. $8 b$ soundeth, and the second, and so on until the seventh, the dew followeth the sound of the trumpets from one heaven to the other. The seventh trumpet belongeth to Michael, and when Michael bloweth his trumpet, the dew runneth swiftly, and all the governors withdraw, until it cometh upon
the earth in order to make all the fruits to swell (or, increase).'

Now, whilst I was marvelling [at these things], I saw another angel coming from a distance in wrath, and he stood up by the fountain which was filled with dew; he wept, and his eyes dropped blood into the fountain which was full of dew. For he was filled with wrath against all mankind, and Fol. $9 a$ the whole of the place trembled | and shook when he stood
$\overline{\mathbf{7}}$ up there. Then the heavens opened on this side and on that and everywhere, and I saw a great and mighty angel come forth from the heavens, and they called his name Michael, and he was girt about the loins with a girdle of gold. There was a sponge in his hand, wherewith he wiped away all the tears of the angel of wrath, and he drove the Angel of Wrath afar off, saying, 'Get thee gone from this fountain, thou Angel of Wrath, for thou wishest to bring a famine upon the earth.'

And I said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord, shew me the matter of the Angel of Wrath whose eyes drop blood into the fountain.' He said unto me, 'Seest thou the Angel of Fol. 9 b Wrath? He is the Angel of Famine. If Michael \| were
$\overline{\mathbf{I H}}$ to cease from the wiping away of his tears [of blood] which he letteth drop, and were to allow them to enter the fountain, the [water thereof] would come to an end and the dew which falleth down upon the earth, and diseases and dissensions would break out, and the land would be smitten with famine.' And moreover, he said unto me, 'There are forty legions of angels, each legion containing ten thousand angels, who sing hymns over the dew until it cometh upon the earth, without any blemish at all in it.'

After these things he brought me to the Land of Edem (Heb. brought me to the place where the sun riseth, by the side of the fountain which supplieth water to the four rivers, Phisôn, Tigris, Gêôn (the Nile), and the Euphrates. I saw the Paradise
of joy, | which was filled with all kinds of trees which bore Fol. 10a fruits of all kinds. And I said to the Cherubim, ' My Lord, $\overline{\mathbf{T}}$ I would that thou wouldst shew me the tree [of the fruit] whereof Adam ate, and became naked, and God was afterwards wroth with him.' The Cherubim answered and said unto me, 'Thou askest a question which concerneth great mysteries, but I will hide nothing whatsoever from thee. Now therefore, rise up, set thyself behind me, and I will explain to thee everything, and I will shew thee the tree [of the fruit] of which Adam ate.'

Then I rose up and I followed him. I walked through the Paradise, and I looked round about, and I saw the tree in the middle of Paradise; now it had no fruit upon it, and thorns grew all over it, and the trunk went down | into the Fol. 10 b ground a very long way. And I answered and said to the $\overline{\mathbf{K}}$ Cherubim, 'Make me to understand the matter of this tree which hath no fruit on it, and which is grown over with thorns.' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'This is the tree [of the fruit] of which Adam ate and became naked.' And I said unto him, 'There is no fruit on it; where did he find the fruit which he ate?' And the Cherubim said unto me, ' A kind of fruit did grow on it, and it was not without fruit [at that time].' And I said unto him, 'Of what kind was its fruit?' He said unto me, 'It was a kind of apple.' And I said unto the Cherubim, 'Shall it remain wholly without fruit, or not?' And he said unto me, 'This is the order which God laid upon it from the beginning.'

Now whilst I was marvelling at these things I saw Adam. He was coming along at a distance, and he was like unto a man who was | weeping. He was spreading out his Fol. 11a garment, and he was carrying away in his garment [the $\overline{\mathrm{K}}$ leaves] which were under the tree, and pouring them out on the ground, and burying them. And I said unto the Cherubim, 'Why is Adam spreading out his garment, and putting in it the dried leaves which have been blown off the K k
tree, and digging a hole in the ground and burying them therein?' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'From the moment when the Devil entered into Paradise, and seduced Adam, and Eve his wife, the trees, which up to that time had possessed a sweet smell, ceased to have any smell at all, and their leaves [began to] fall off. And Adam used to dress himself in the leaves, and to make them be witnesses for him in the judgement because of what he had done.' Then I said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord, by what means did the Devil enter into Paradise, and seduce Adam and Eve? Unless this matter had been permitted by God he could not have Fol. $11 b$ entered in, | for nothing can take place without [the consent $\overline{\mathbf{H K}}$ of] God.'

Then the Cherubim said unto me, 'Four and twenty angels are appointed to Paradise daily, and twelve go in there daily to worship God. Now at the moment when the Devil went into Paradise, and seduced Adam, there was no angel at all in Paradise, but an agreement took place [that they should remain outside it] until Adam had eaten of the tree.' And I said to the Cherubim, 'If they agreed to this, with the consent of God, then no sin rests upon Adam.' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'By no means. If Adam had been patient for a short time, God would have said to him, "Eat thou of the tree." God removed the righteousness wherewith Fol. $12 a$ he was arrayed, and He cast him forth from $\mid$ Paradise, in order that the things which He spake might be fulfilled [when] He should send His Son into the world.'

And I said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord, of what kind was this righteousness wherein Adam was arrayed, and which he received from His hand?' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'On the day wherein God created Adam, Adam was twelve cubits in height, and six cubits in width, and his neck was three cubits long. And he was like unto an alabaster stone wherein there is no blemish whatsoever. But when he had eaten [of the fruit] of the tree, his body diminished in
size, and he became small, and the righteousness wherein he was arrayed departed and left him naked, even to the tips of his fingers, that is to say, to his very nails. If he was not cold in the winter, he was not hot in the summer.'

And I answered and said unto the Cherubim, | ' My Lord, Fol. 126 at the time when God created Adam, He also created Eve $\overline{K 2}$ with him from the heavens (?). But, on the other hand, I have heard that God created Adam and Eve from the beginning, and, again, I have heard that God brought a deep sleep upon Adam, and that when he was unconscious, He took one of the ribs from his side, and made it into a woman, and that He filled up the place where the rib was in his side with flesh. The Almighty did not then create two bodies, there being [only] one body.' And the Cherubim answered and said unto me, 'Hearken, and I will explain unto you everything. At the time when God created Adam, He created Eve also with him, in one body, for at the time when the Master was working at Adam, the | thought concerning Eve Fol. $13 a$ was with Him. For this reason two bodies came from one body, but He did not separate them from each other immediately. At the time when He brought slumber upon Adam, and Adam fell asleep, and slept heavily, He brought Eve forth from him, and she became his wife. She was, of a surety, hidden in the rib of the left side [of Adam] from the day wherein God created him. Consider, then, with great attention the sign which is in the sons of Adam.'

And I said unto the Cherubim, ' $O$ my Lord, what is the sign which is in the sons of Adam?' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'At the moment when the ice (or, cold) was about to come upon the earth, the first things which went cold in the body of the man were his finger nails. Because at the time when God deprived Adam | of the righteousness Fol. $13 b$ wherein he was arrayed, the first things which grew cold $\overline{\mathbf{K E}}$ were his finger nails. And he wept, and cried out to the Lord, saying, Woe is me, O my Lord. At the time when

I kept the commandments of God, and before I did eat of the [fruit of] the tree, my whole body was white like my nails. For this reason every time Adam looked upon his nails, he used to cry out and weep, even as Hezekiah, when he was sick, used to turn towards the wall, and weep.' ${ }^{1}$
[And I answered and said unto the Cherubim, 'When Hezekiah] was weeping, why did he not look at a man [instead of a wall]?' And the Cherubim said unto me, '[Hearken], and I will make everything manifest to you, 0 faithful virgin. Now it came to pass in the time of Fol. $14 a$ Solomon that the king compelled $\mid$ all the demons to describe
$\overline{\mathbf{K}}$ to him all the various kinds [of sicknesses], and the remedies which were to be employed in healing them all, and the various kinds of herbs which must be used in relieving the pains of sicknesses, and Solomon wrote them all down upon the wall in the House of God. And any man who was attacked by a sickness [or, disease], no matter of what kind, used to go into the temple, and look upon the wall, until he found there written the remedy which was suitable for his sickness; then he would take that remedy, and would go into his house, ascribing glory to God. And it came to pass that, after Solomon the king was dead, Hezekiah plastered over the walls of the temple with lime, and the prescriptions for the relief of sickness could no longer be found. Now when Hezekiah the king had fallen sick, and was sick unto death, he could not find the prescription whereby to heal his sickness, because it was he himself who had plastered over
Fol. $14 b$ the walls of the temple with lime. | And when the prescriptions
$\overline{\mathbf{R H}}$ which had heen written upon them could not be found again, he went into the house of the Lord, and lay down there, and he looked upon the wall, and he wept, saying, "My Lord, let not that which I have done in the matter of plastering over with lime the walls, whereon were inscribed the prescriptions

[^56]for healing, be held to be a $\sin$ [by Thee], for I said, Let men make supplication to God with hope, and they shall find healing. Never shall I find a prescription for healing whereby I may be made whole." And the Lord heard [him], and had compassion upon him, and sent unto him Isaiah the Prophet, and he spake unto him, saying, "Take the fruit (?) of the wild fig-tree, and plaster it over thy body, and thou shalt find relief." ${ }^{1}$ Now therefore, O John, God will never forsake the man who performeth [His commandments].'

And again I said unto the | Cherubim, 'My Lord, I would Fol. 15a that thou didst make me to understand the matter of the Cherubim, whose voices cry so loudly in heaven that mankind tremble upon earth [at the sounds thereof].'

And the Cherubim said unto me, 'Dost thou see these great winds which are shut up inside their storehouses, over which the angels are set? When the trumpet soundeth inside the covering (or, veil), the gentle winds come forth, and they breathe upon the wings of the angel who is over the fountain of the dew; then the angel moveth his wings, and the dew cometh upon the earth, and the seed (or, grain) groweth in the earth, and the trees, and the crops, and the fruit. If the trumpet doth not sound, a harsh, strong noise cometh forth from heaven, and thereupon the waters | of rain come upon Fol. 15 b the earth in great quantities, which make the fruits grow, $\overline{\boldsymbol{\lambda}}$ and rain-storms, and thunders of which men are afraid. For it is the sound of the rustling of the wings of the Seraphim which governs the waters of rain, until they come down into the firmament; and they fall on the earth gently, for if they were to descend upon the earth in their [full] violence they would lay waste the earth just as did the waters of Noah and the lightnings which came with them. [This would happen] if the Seraphim did not come down to govern the waters of the rain, for all the waters are in the sky and the heavens. Behold, I have made clear to you all mysteries.'

[^57]Fol. $16 a$ And I answered and said unto the | Cherubim, ${ }^{\text {c }}$ My Lord,
$\overline{\boldsymbol{\lambda} \boldsymbol{\lambda}}$ I would that thou didst make me to know what it is which supporteth the sky and maketh it to be suspended thus.' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'It is suspended by faith, and by the ordinance of God.' And I said unto the Cherubim, 'What is it that supporteth the eartb?' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'It is four pillars which support the earth, and they are sealed with seven seals.'

And I said unto him, ' My Lord, be not wroth with me when I ask thee this matter also; shew me, what is it that beareth up the four pillars?' And the Cherubim said unto me, ' He Who created them knoweth what appertaineth to them.' And I said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord, what is the ordinance concerning the hours of the night and day?' Fol. $16 b$ He said unto me, 'Hearken, I will shew thee. God / ap-
$\overline{\lambda B}$ pointed twelve Cherubim to stand outside the curtain (or, inner veil), and they were not to toil in any way, but were to sing twelve hymns dailg. When the first Cherubim had finished [singing] his hymn, the first hour came to an end. When the second Cherubim had finished [singing] his hymn, the second hour came to an end, and so on until the twelfth Cherubim. When the twelfth [Cherubim had finished singing his hymn], the twelve hours were ended.'

Then I said to the Cherubim, 'As concerning the twelve hours of the night: are there Seraphim appointed over them, or not?' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'Assuredly not, Fol. $17 a$ but when the beasts, and the birds, | and the reptiles pray, the
$\overline{\overline{\lambda r}}$ first hour is ended. When the second hour is ended, the beasts pray [again], and so on until the twelfth hour of the night; it is the animals of God which set limits to them.' And I said unto the Cherubim, 'Doth the sun know when the twelve hours have come to an end, so that he may depart to the place where he setteth or riseth?' And the Cherubim said unto me, ' When the angels who blow the trumpets have finished, Michael knoweth that the twelfth hymn is finished,
and he speaketh to the Angel of the Sun, who goeth and bringeth to an end his course.'

And I answered and said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord, is it | God Who ordaineth the life of a man from the time Fol. $17 b$ when he was in his mother's womb, or not?' And the $\overline{\boldsymbol{\lambda} \mathbf{x}}$ Cherubim said unto me, ' Know thou that [one] man is wont to perform very many superfluous works, [and another] very many acts of goodness, from the time when he is born to the end of his life. God, however, setteth a sign on the righteous man before He fashioneth him, for it is impossible to cause anything to happen without God. But sin is an alien thing (or, stranger) to God, for He Who created man was without $\sin$. It is man who himself committeth sin, according to his wish, and according to the desire of the Devil.'

And I said unto the Cherubim, 'Man hath been born to suffering, according to what Job said, "My mother brought me forth for suffering."' 1 And the Cherubim said unto me, ${ }^{\prime}$ God is a compassionate \| Being, and He doth not forsake Fol. 18 a man utterly, but He sheweth mercy upon him, for he is His $\overline{\boldsymbol{\lambda e}}$ own form, and His own image, and is the work of His own hands. And now, O John, He will not forsake him that doeth the will of God, and he who doeth good things shall receive them doubled many times over in the House of God.'

And I said unto the Cherubim, 'My Lord, at the moment when God is about to create man, doth He give him the name "righteous" or "sinner", or not?" And the Cherubim said unto me, 'Hearken, and I will shew thee. At the moment when God is about to create a man, before He placeth him in the womb of his mother, He calleth all the angels, and they come and stand round about. If the Father blesseth the soul, the angels make answer "Amen". | If there Fol. 18 b come from His mouth the words, "This soul shall give Me $\overline{\boldsymbol{\lambda E}}$ rest," the angels make answer "Amen". If the Father saith, "This soul shall commit iniquity," the angels make

[^58]answer "Amen". Whatsoever cometh forth from the mouth of the Father, that cometh to pass.' And I said unto the Cherubim, 'Ts the matter of which man is fashioned more excellent than that of the beasts?'1 The Cherubim said unto me, 'Yes. Now when men die, each one of them is taken to the place of which he is worthy, but so far as beasts are concerned, whether they die, or whether they live, their place is the earth.'

And I said unto the Cherubim, 'Are there souls in them?' He said unto me, 'Every created thing hath a soul in it. Now therefore, the soul of every created thing is its blood.' And I said unto the Cherubim, ' Will they then be punished, Fol. $19 a$ or will rest be given unto them?' He said unto me, 'Let
$\overline{\lambda 3}$ it not be that rest be not given unto them, and let them suffer not; but man is a being who can suffer, and can enjoy rest.'

And it came to pass that when I had heard all these things, I marvelled at the works which God performeth in connexion with man. And I said unto the Cherubim, '[My Lord], be not wroth with me if I ask this matter also. I would that thou didst inform me concerning the stars which we see in the firmament, and tell me why it is that we cease to see them when the sun hath risen. I would that thou didst inform me where it is they go until it is time for them to perform their service again.' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'The stars are of different orders. There are some stars which remain in the heavens until noon, but they cannot be Fol. $19 b$ seen because of the light of the sun. | There are seven stars
$\overline{\lambda / H}$ which come in the north of the world, and they remain there in the heavens always. And there are seven stars in the heavens which are called nєептнp; those which are there are not permitted to emerge from their place of storehouse, except when death cometh upon the earth.'

And I said unto the Cherubim, 'Why is it that one star

[^59]differeth from another? And why is it that a star is wont to transfer itself from the place which it had originally [to another]?' And the Cherubim said unto me, 'Hearken, and I will make known unto you everything. There are very many orders of stars which move from the place wherein they were placed originally, but the decree of God which directeth them abideth for ever. Behold now, I have made manifest unto thee all things, O beloved one of God. Arise, get thee down into the world, and tell therein everything which thou hast seen.'

Then straightway the Cherubim brought me down on the Fol. 20 a Mount of Olives, where I found the Apostles gathered $\overline{\lambda \boldsymbol{\theta}}$ together. And I told them of the things which I had seen, and when we had saluted (or, kissed) each other, each departed to his country, ascribing glory to God. And they preached in the Name of the Christ, through Whom be glory to Him, and His Good Father, and the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

# THE LIFE OF BISHOP PISENTIUS, BY JOHN THE ELDER 

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7026)

## THE LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION OF OUR HOLY AND GLORIOUS FATHER, APA PISENTIUS, ${ }^{1}$ BISHOP AND ANCHORITE IN THE MOUNTAIN OF TSENTI, ${ }^{2}$ WHICH JOHN THE PRESBYTER ${ }^{3}$ NARRATED ON THE DAY OF HIS COMMEMORATION, THAT IS TO SAY, ON THE THIRTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH EPEP. ${ }^{4}$ IN THE PEACE OF GOD. AMEN.

The subject ${ }^{5}$ of this festival to-day is full of joy, for it is our holy father, who had put on Christ, Apa Pisentius, ${ }^{6}$
${ }^{1}$ He flourished during the second half of the sixth century and the first half of the seventh.
${ }^{2}$ tcenf, a small town or village, which was situated on the right or east bank of the Nile in Upper Egypt, near the ancient town of Coptos, the modern Kuft. See Quatremère, Mémoires Géog., tom. i, pp. 271, 272. The 'Mountain of Tsenti' was a part of the range of hills which lies round about Coptos, and which, according to Amélineau, was called by the Arabs Gebel Al-Asâs, جبل الاساس (see Géog. de l'ÉEgypte, Paris, 1893, p. 62), which is clearly a translation of some old Egyptian name of the town, which may have been (ed. Eretts and Butler, p. 233) the Monastery of Pisentius lay to the west of Kus ; the church was dedicsted to the Virgin Mary, and Pisentius, the subject of this Eucomium, was buried in it.

3 In the title of the Memphitic version of this Encomium published by Amélineau, Un Énéque de Keft au VIIE siecle, Paris, 1887, John, the disciple of Pisentius, is mentioned together with Moses, Bishop of Keft, as joint author of the work. This title reads qan norxi ehodsten menkw-

who was full of light, and who spread abroad a sweet odour at all times, not only during the day, but during the night also. All the beasts which are upon the earth, and [all] the birds which are in the heavens rejoice, and move about gladly, and are happy this day because of the good and glorious news of him which hath reached them, according to what the words shall inform us, if we are able to proceed to the end. I took an oath to keep silence and not to speak concerning thy righteous acts and judgements, because thou thyself didst flee from the adulations of men from the very beginning, when thou didst become a monk, and before thou didst become a bishop. And indeed if we were all \| to be Fol. 21 a gathered together, each one having the opportunity of speaking, one would declare [the greatness of] his knowledge, and another his power of disputation, and another would proclaim his power of revealing hidden things; and thus it would happen that all the descriptions [of him] would be laudatory.

Saint James the Apostle cried out in his Catholic Epistle, saying, ' He who knoweth how to do what is good, and doeth it not, it is a sin unto him.' 7 Let us learn, moreover, who it was to whom the Apostle [Paul] referred in his words, 'I knew a man in Christ fourteen years ago, but whether he be in the body I know not, or whether he be out of the body I know not, it is only God Who knoweth, [this man I say] was caught up into the $\mid$ third heaven. Fol. $21 b$ And I knew such a man, but whether be be in the body $\overline{e \ell h}$ [now], or whether he be out of the body [now] I know not, it is only God Who knoweth, [this man I say] was caught up


 corwor umenब् $\overline{\text { IFC }} \overline{\chi^{\mathbf{X}}}$.

[^60]into Paradise, and heard things which were hidden, the which it is not lawful for man to utter.' ${ }^{1}$

Of whom then was the Apostle speaking if it was not Pisentius? For all the saints have fled from the glory (or, adulation) of this world, and this did also our glorious father, Apa Pisentius, whom God hath made manifest to us in our own days. He was a giver of light to the whole world. He was salt which was purified for every one, according to that

Fol. $22 a$
env

Fol. 22 b
en which is written in the Gospel, ' Ye are the salt of the $\mid$ earth. Now if the salt hath become tasteless, wherewith shall they make it salt [again]?' ${ }^{2}$ And again, 'Ye are the light of the world.' ${ }^{3}$ He hid his life and the works thereof, but God hath made manifest those who perform His will and commandments, generation after generation, according to that which is written, 'God draweth nigh to every one who crieth out to Him in truth, and He doeth the will of every one who holdeth Him in fear, and He will hear their supplication, and will deliver them.' ${ }^{4}$ Now if ye wish to know whether he hated the glory (or, adulation) which was vain, and whether he wished not for any to applaud him in any way or not, go into . . . . . . ${ }^{5}$ and learn concerning him from the acts of his life and the manner in which he used to live. And hearken ye unto me with diligent attention.

It came to pass on a certain day, when he was still a monk, and before God had set him apart for the episcopacy, that he was meditating quietly | by himself in the Mountain of Tsentê, when his brother came to visit him; now his brother was walking with a certain believing brother, and they met the holy ascetic face to face, and received a blessing from his holy hand. Then he asked them, saying, ' Have ye any decided reason for coming into this region?' And they answered, saying, ' In the first place, we set out in order to come to thee, and to pay thee a visit, and to receive thy

[^61]blessing. For had it not been for the cares of the world which have occupied us for several days past we should have passed thy way before this. ${ }^{1}$ In the second place, we have a little business in this neighbourhood which we wish to arrange ; but do thou pray on our behalf, $O$ father, that God may journey with us. If God be pleased to permit us to do this we shall return to thee again, and we will salute (or, kiss) thee, and receive \| thy blessing before we return Fol. 23a to our houses, if it be God's will.'
ere
And the holy man answered and said, 'Depart ye in gladness. But, O my sons, take good heed to yourselves, [and] do not commit sin. For neither the world, nor that which is in it, is of any account, because it existeth for a season only. My sons, take ye good heed to yourselves in these villages. Hold no intercourse with a woman who is bad. Do not seize the ox of the poor. ${ }^{2}$ If there be any man in this region who is indebted to you, do not treat him harshly, and do not attempt to force him to pay by legal means; but watch what is in [his] mind, in order that God may shew compassion unto you.' And they answered, saying, 'Pray for us, O our father.' And they came away from his presence, and they acted [according to] his plan (or, way), and they gave glory to God because of the words of advice wherewith he had advised them.
| And the holy man, the anchorite, Apa Pisentius, stood Fol. 23 b up , and recited the beginning of the Book of Jeremiah the $\overline{\boldsymbol{\lambda \varepsilon}}$ Prophet. ${ }^{3}$ Now [meanwhile] his brother, and the believing

[^62]man who was travelling with him, departed, and they arranged their business according to the word of the holy man who had made entreaty to God on their behalf. And God made straight their way, and they returned to him in his cell in haste at the dawn of day.

And when they had come to him, they heard him reciting the words of Saint Jeremiah with great calmness and clearness, and they sat down outside his place of abode for a little time, saying, ' It is not right, and the matter is not of such urgency as to make it seemly for us to cry out to the holy man Fol. $24 a$ inside until he hath finished reciting the Scriptures and praying.' And when Pisentius had concluded the reciting of the Prophet Jeremiah, and had finished [his prayer], the two men rose up and knocked at the door, at the very moment when he began to [recite] the [Book of the] Prophet Ezekiel. And they sat down, and did not cry out to Pisentius inside. And finally he finished reciting the whole of the [Book of] the Prophet [Ezekiel], and he shut his mouth, for the evening had come. And when the two men knocked at the door,

Holy Gospel according to St. John by heart. acywni ae ort erenenca


 redion ceotab кata mannif manocerthc. On one occasion a brother was passing the cell of Pisentius just as the holy man began to recite the first book of the Minor Prophets. The brother sat down and listened to him, and by some means was able to see what went on in the cell of the holy man. Whilst Pisentius was reciting the Book of Hosea, the Prophet Hosea himself stood by his side (epe mирофнтнс wсне ogs ерату ерое), and when he finished the Prophet embraced him, and then went up into heaven. As Pisentius recited the other Books, the Prophets Amos (alewc), Micah (ev>cac), Joel (JwhX), Obadiah (ahaior), Jonah (iwriac), Habakkuk (afbakorer), Nahum (raore), Zephaniah (coфолrac), Haggai (arveac), Zechariah (zaXaprac), and Malachi (era入axiac), came in one after the otber, and stood by his side, and, as he finished reading each Book, the author thereof embraced him, and then ascended into heaven (Amelineau, op.cit., pp. 75, 83, 90).

Pisentius answered them, saying, 'Bless me.' And he looked out upon them from a large window, and he spake unto them, saying, 'Did ye come to this place many hours ago ?' And they said unto him, 'We came here at dawn, but we did not dare to cry out to thee inside until thou hadst finished thy recital [of the Scriptures].' Then straightway Apa Pisentius wept, and smote upon his breast, and said unto them, 'This day I deserve a very great punishment, and all the labours which I have performed | are things of vanity.'

Now these things which the holy man spake [shew] that $\overline{\lambda / r}$ he fled from the vain adulations of men. He was very sad at heart, but the two men knew that he was reciting [the Books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel].

Know ye therefore, O my beloved, that the saints crave for the glory of God only. If ye will not [believe me], hearken unto the honey-sweet writer David who saith, 'I have desired Thy commandments; look Thou upon me and have compassion upon me.' ${ }^{1}$ And the truly wise man Paul cried out, saying, ' For we groan in this earnestly desiring to array ourselves in our place of abode which is from heaven. And there is to us there a building from God, a house which hath not been fashioned by hands, which is for ever in the heavens.' ${ }^{2}$

Hearken also to this great miracle which took place by his | hands when he was a monk living in quiet contemplation Fol. $25 a$ in his cell and before he became a bishop. He was suffering $\overline{\lambda \boldsymbol{\lambda}}$ from his spleen on one occasion on the third day of the festival at the end of Easter, but he did not make known to any one of the brethren that he was sick, but he sent them a message and said, 'Pray for me. I am going to the monastery of Apa Abraham to visit the brethren who are in that place. If the Lord be pleased to permit it I shall return to you.' Now he spake in this wise because he did not wish to let any one know that he was seriously ill. Now if any man shall ask in a spirit of contentiousness why the

[^63]holy man said this, let him read in the Book of Job the Blessed, and he will find that the Lord said unto him, 'I have not done these things unto thee for any other purpose except to make thee shew thyself to be righteous. ${ }^{1}$ And Paul himself said, 'I have done all these things for the sake of the Gospel, that I might be to him a companion.' ${ }^{8}$
Fol. 25 b Now when the holy man | Apa Pisentius had been sick for a whole week, and the brethren had made no enquiries after him, for they ${ }^{3}$ thought he was in a cave, they held converse with each other, saying, 'Pisentius tarrieth somewhat over long, let us enquire about him. Perhaps he hath fallen sick on the road, or perhaps some suffering hath afflicted him, and he is unable to walk.' And they sent a brother who was a priest ${ }^{4}$ to make enquiries about him. Now when Pisentius had departed, according to the dispensation of God-now observe ye the wonderful acts of God-all the days which he had passed lying on his bed sick, during which
${ }^{1}$ Job xl. 8 (?). The Memphitic version of the passage is instructive, which follows on after the account of Pisentius being stung by a scorpion,





 apeyan orai ae sen mianpoathe orwy edotget xe nuc

 пае хе етamm пmar eqpis exwn an mиecuot an a入入a xe grra ntekorwriq ehod ma orreoc. In this version the contentious man is supposed to ask, Why do the servants of Christ fall sick? See Amelineau, op. cit., p. 92. In the quotation from Job, as it appears in the Brit. Mus. Ms., the ari seems to have dropped out, but ekecere must be in the wrong place.
$\mathbf{2}^{2} \mathbf{?} \mathbf{1}$ Cor. ix. 22, 23. The Memphitic equivalent of the quotation in Amélineau's text is acep cuor mben neu oron mben xe gina mtanogere ngain oron.
${ }^{3}$ Read erucere.

- The text is corrupt here.
the holy men did not minister unto him, until the very day wherein the brother went to him . . . . . . . . ${ }^{1}$ Now when the brother went to him, he found the door of the little cell wherein he lived open. And through the opportunity [afforded] by God, as soon as he had pulled the thong (or, latch-cord) of the door, he cried out [to the dweller] inside, according to the canon of the brethren, 'Bless me.' Now on that day | it happened that Apa Elijah the Tishbite, he Fol. 26 a who belonged to Mount Carmel, was with Apa Pisentius, and

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"
``` he was paying him a visit, having been sent unto him by God in order to comfort him with his conversation. And when the brother had waited for some time, he rose up and called out to [the dweller] inside, 'Bless me.' Then the Prophet rose up and was about to depart from him, but Apa Pisentius laid hold upon him, saying, 'I will not let thee depart until I am comforted a little more.'

And when the brother found that he was not able to obtain any answer to his greeting he went straight into [the cell], without any hesitation whatsoever, and he found there the two holy men sitting together; now Apa Pisentius was lying on his pallet, and Saint Elijah was sitting by his side making enquiries concerning his health. And when the brother had gone in he received a blessing from both of them. And he stood still, but was wholly unable to look into the face of the Prophet Elijah, | because of the rays of light Fol. 26 b which shot forth from his face like flashes of lightning, \(\overline{\text { eeb }}\) according to what is written, 'Then shall the righteous shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father.' \({ }^{2}\)

Then the holy man Apa Pisentius feigned to be angry with the brother, and he said unto him, 'Is not this the commandment of the brethren-[not] to enter into [the cell

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Some words have been omitted equivalent to 'the Lord sent His saints to visit him'.

2 Matt. xiii. 43.
}
of a brother] without permission? Had [this] been a governor wouldst thou have burst in upon him without permission from him to thee [to do so]?' And the brother answered and said, ' Forgive me, O my father, I have sinned. Having waited at the door for a very long time knocking, I thought that, peradventure, thou couldst not rise, and therefore I came in to make enquiries concerning thee.' Then the Prophet answered, saying, 'This is an ordinance of God. In any case he is worthy of our salutation of blessing, and because of his righteous actions God will not Fol. 27 a deprive him | of it.' And when the Prophet had said these things he went forth from the cell.

And when he had gone out the brother spake unto Apa Pisentius, saying, ' Whence cometh this brother who is covered with hair, but who is surrounded with such a great measure of grace? Verily I have never seen any one like him, or any one who was so gracious (or, gentle), or who was so wholly filled with light. And I say unto thee, my brother, that as soon as ever I had grasped his hands and kissed them, mighty strength came into my body, and I ceased to he without power, and I hecame very strong indeed, and I felt as happy as a man who had been tarrying in a wine tavern. I should say that he must belong to this mountain, and yet I have never seen any one like unto him in our province, and I have never seen any other man so hairy as this man.' And Apa Pisentius said unto the brother, 'I say the same. Thou shalt keep this matter secret, and thou shalt not make known one word about it.'

And the brother answered and said unto Apa Pisentius, Fol. \(27 b\) ' After a long time hath passed, supposing that some | necessity
EIX should come upon me, may I not reveal it? 'Why dost thou speak unto me in this wise? Wilt thou not listen unto Raphael, the angel who spake with the holy man Tobit, saying, "The secret thing (or, mystery) of the king it is good to conceal ; but the works of God it is good to publish
abroad." \({ }^{1}\). Now I know that thou hatest the vainglory of men. Finally, but tell me in truth, who is this man, and I will trouble thee no more.'

And the thirteenth apostle Apa Pisentius answered and said unto the brother, 'When I had departed from you, and was about to go to the brethren who are in the monastery of Apa Abraham, and to pay them a visit, I looked at my body and saw that it was powerless. And I said, Will not a fainting sickness come upon me on the road? And my spleen threw me into a sickness from the moment when I went away from you, and I never saw a man until thou Fol. 28 a didst come to me [this day]. And my spleen having continued to torture me most severely, I cried out to the Lord yesterday, asking Him to be graciously pleased to heal me. Now when He had seen my very weak condition, and my want of manhood, He sent one of the Saints unto me, and was graciously pleased to grant me the healing of my body. And I say unto thee that this very man, from whom thou didst receive a blessing, is Elijah the Tishbite, who belongeth to Mount Carmel. It was he who was taken up into heaven in a chariot of fire and earthquake. I beseech thee, O my God-loving brother, not to reveal the mystery | to any man Fol. \(28 b\) until the day of my visitation. Grieve thou not for me.' \(\overline{\mathrm{IE}}\)

Now when the brother had heard these things, great joy came to him and consolation, and he did not reveal the mystery to any man until the day when the God-loving clergy of the Christ-loving city of Kebt \({ }^{2}\) (Coptos) laid hands

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Tobit xii. 7.
\({ }^{2}\) The ancient capital of the fifth nome of Upper Egypt, the Egyptian
}
 кесет, к户िT of the Copts, and the of the Arabic writers. See Brugsch, Dict. Geiog., p. 830. The town lay on the right or east bank of the Nile, quite close to the entrance to the Wadi Hammâmât which led to the famous quarries in the Valley itself and to the emerald and porphyry mines on the Red Sea. Qebt, or Coptos, was from the earliest dynastic times a very important town, for it was one of the great halting-places
upon him that was truly worthy of the episcopacy, that they might take him to the Holy Patriarch Apa Damianus, \({ }^{1}\) tre Archbishop, so that he might consecrate him bishop.

Know ye then, O my beloved, that him that keepeth the commandments of monasticising, and fulfilleth them without sluggishness, doth the Christ love. His holy ones do not speak to Him only, but they see God, each one in the vision Fol. \(29 a\) which appeareth unto him, \(\mid\) according to the form wherein
\(\overline{\pi 7}\) He wisheth to make Himself manifest to them. If it be not so [in your opinion] hearken ye to the writings of the Spirit of God, and they shall instruct thee with divine knowledge according to what is seemly, and according to the things which we have said. For our Lord and Father and Bishop, Apa Pisentius, whom God hath made manifest in our time, is not the protector of our district only, but of the whole country of orthodox Christians. But first of all come ye to the Book of Genesis, so that we may see what it saith concerning the seeing of God, and of what kind the vision is. Now as concerneth Jacob the Patriarch. When Rebecca had heard the words of Esau, her eldest son, who was wroth with Jacob because of the blessing wherewith Isaac had blessed him, she cried out to him, and said unto Fol. \(29 \mathrm{bhim}, \mid\) 'Behold thy brother [Esau] is older than thou, and the
\(\overline{\text { IH }}\) blessing wherewith Isaac, who is thy father, hath blessed thee [belongeth to him]. Now therefore, arise, and get thee gone into Mesopotamia of Syria, to Laban my brother, and do thou abide with him until the fury of the wrath of thy brother hath turned away from thee, lest peradventure I become childless in respect of both of you at once, and on

\footnotetext{
for caravan traffic from west to east and east to west, and it was the chief centre whence the products of the Eastern Desert and Sinai and Arabia were distributed north and south by means of the Nile. Commerce made the town wealthy; and Diocletian found it worth sacking in A.D. 292. It recovered its prosperity during the fourth and following centuries, and became an important centre of Christianity.
\({ }^{1}\) He sat from A. D. 570 to 603.
}
the same day.' \({ }^{1}\) And Isaac also commanded him [thus], and be came out [to] Jacoh and set him on his way, saying, 'Depart into Mesopotamia.' And it came to pass that he arrived at a certain place, and he lay down [there]; now the sun bad set. And when he had placed a stone under his head, he lay down and fell asleep, and that night he dreamed a dream. And he saw a cloud fixed upon the earth, and the top thereof reached into the heavens; and the angels of God were ascending and | descending upon it. Now God was Fol. 30 a standing upon it, \({ }^{2}\) and He made Himself manifest to Jacob \(\overline{\boldsymbol{\pi}}\) on that night, and He spake with him.
Now when Jacob had gone into Mesopotamia of Syria, God spake again with him in the night season, saying, ' Lift up thine eyes and look with them, and thou shalt see that I will come to the white sheep, and the [white] sheep shall be with the goats, and they shall bring forth young of variegated colours, and they shall be in colour like ashes, and [some] sheep shall be marked with stars (i.e. spots).' \({ }^{3}\) And again God spake unto him in a vision of the night, saying, ' I am the God of Isaac; fear thou not. Thou shalt certainly increase and multiply, and thou shalt fill the earth, and thou shalt become the lord thereof.' And when God had blessed him with gold, and silver, and sheep, and goats, and cattle of every kind, He spake again unto him, saying, 'Get thee back into thy house ; I will be \| with thee.' Then Jacob returned with Fol. 306 his two wives, Leah and Rachel, and their children, and their cattle. And when he had arrived at the river in order that he might pass over to the other side, according to the holy words of [the Book of] Genesis, which the holy historian Moses wrote, 'A certain man met him, and wrestled with him until the dawn.' \({ }^{4}\) Now when the morning had come Jacob said unto him, 'Shew me thy name.' And the man

\footnotetext{
1 Gen. xxvii. 43.
\({ }^{2}\) See Gen. Xxviii. 11 ff .
3 See Gen. xxy. 35 ff. The abstract given by John the Presbyter is very difficult to render.
}
- Gen. Xxxii. 24 ff.
said unto him, 'Why dost thou enquire concerning my name?' Now this is a most wonderful thing. And the man said unto Jacob, 'Let me go, for the daylight is growing stronger.' And Jacob said unto him, 'I will not let thee go whilst as yet thou hast not blessed me.' And the man said unto Jacob, ' What is the name which thou hast?' And he said unto Fol. 31 a him, 'My name is Jacob.' | And the man said unto Jacob,
\(\overline{\varphi^{\lambda}}\) 'They shall no more call thee Jacob, but Israel, which is the name which thou shalt have; for thou hast prevailed with God, and thou [shalt be] mighty with men.' And the man touched the side of a member of Jacob, and that member became without feeling. Then Jacob said, 'I have seen God face to face. My soul is delivered.' \({ }^{1}\) Now the sun was rising upon him when he passed . . . . . . the Image of God. \({ }^{2}\)

And, O my beloved, it is right that for us this should suffice. If God deemed him worthy thereof, and came down into the world, and spake unto the creature which He had fashioned concerning his restoration with salvation of soul, how very much more will He not send His saints to comfort [His servants] in their sufferings? Therefore let no man Fol. \(31 b\) allow himself to be unbelieving concerning this matter | which
\(\overline{\text { ch }}\) I have related unto him concerning the boly man Apa Pisentius the bishop, for he was worthy to see Elijah the Tishbite. And let not be fulfilled in him the words which are written, ' God will make blind the heart of those who believe not in this age, so that they may not see the light of the Gospel of the Christ.' \({ }^{3}\) And again, 'Walk ye not with unbelievers '; \({ }^{4}\) and again, 'The unbeliever is not [worth] one obolus.' \({ }^{5}\)

Now our Lord Himself, and our God, and our Lord and our Saviour cried out in the Holy Gospel with His Divine

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Gen. Xxxii, 30.
 خ̀viкa \(\pi a \rho \eta ิ \lambda \theta \epsilon \nu \tau \delta\) Eỉos rov̂ \(\theta \in o \hat{u}\).

32 Cor.iv. \(4 . \quad 42\) Cor. vi. 14.
\({ }^{5}\) The obolus \(=\) one-aixth of a \(\delta \rho a \chi \mu \eta^{\prime}\), rather more than three halfpence. 'The unbeliever is not [worth] twopence.'
}
mouth concerning the man who brought to Him his son. Now this son was possessed of an evil spirit, from the moment when his father begot him. And Jesus said, 'Hath this spirit attacked him for a long time ?' | [And his father] said, Fol. 32 a 'From his childhood. Many, many times he is wont to cast प" him into the water, and into the fire, that it may consume him. But do Thou help us, for Thou art able to help us by what Thou canst do; have compassion upon us.' Jesus said unto him, 'Everything is possible for him that believeth.' And the father of the young man cried out, 'I believe. Help thou mine unbelief.' \({ }^{1}\) Then straightway [Jesus] rebuked the evil spirit, and cast him out from the young man because his father believed.

And again it was by the might of faith that a certain woman went to Him, whose blood had been flowing from her for twelve years, and whom no man had been able to heal. She touched only the outer edge of \(H\) is garment, and immediately her blood ceased to flow, and dried up. |Then Fol. \(32 b\) He spake unto her, saying, 'It is thy faith which hath \(\overline{\boldsymbol{y}^{2}}\) delivered thee; go in peace.' \({ }^{2}\) And again He spake unto the disciples, saying, ' If ye have faith as large as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove thyself from this place to that, and it shall remove itself, and there is nothing which shall be impossible for you. \({ }^{3}\) And again, if ye shall say to a sycamore tree, Separate thyself [from] the earth, and plant thyself in the sea, it shall hearken unto you.' \({ }^{4}\)

And moreover, it is said concerning the holy man Apa Pisentius, that it came to pass on a time when he was young, while he was pasturing his father's sheep, that God opened his eyes, and he saw a pillar of fire in front of him. Now there were certain other young men who were pasturing sheep with him. And he said unto the other young men who were

\footnotetext{
1 Mark ix. 14-29.
s Matt. xvii. 20.
\({ }^{2}\) Matt. ix. 20 ; Mark v. 25 ; Luke viii. 43.
\({ }^{4}\) Luke xvii. 6.
}
pasturing sheep with him, 'Do ye see the pillar of fire on the Fol. 33 a road in front \(\mid\) of us?' And they said unto him, 'We do not see it.' Then he cried out up to heaven, saying, ' O God, open Thou the eyes of these young men, so that they may see the pillar of fire even as I see it.' And God hearkened unto his voice, and the eyes of the young men were opened, and they saw the pillar of fire. \({ }^{1}\) And observe ye now, 0 my beloved, that the moment when God chose Moses was when He spake unto him in his early manhood, out of a pillar of fire [which went up] out of a bush. \({ }^{2}\)

Now since God came unto Apa Pisentius when he was a young man, He chose him even as He did Samuel, whose mother had given him to the temple of God according to her vow, even as the holy Psalmist saith, 'Moses, the holy man, and Aaron among His priests, and Samuel among those who called upon His Name. They cried out to God, and He heard | F'ol. 33 b them, and He spake unto them out of the pillar of cloud, and \(\overline{\mathrm{C}}\) they kept His testimonies, and the ordinances which He had given unto them.' \({ }^{3}\)

Now there was in the Mountain of Tsentê a certain brother who was grievously sick, and his body was in a very weak and helpless condition because his sickness had lasted a very long time. And it came to pass on a certain day that this brother longed greatly for a little fish, and he told the holy

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) The Memphitic version of this incident is as follows: arxoc








 ероч отоя ачєр щфнрı єщащы (Amblineau, op. cit., p. 75).
\({ }^{2}\) Exod. iii. 2.
\({ }^{3}\) Ps. xcix. 6.
}
man Apa Pisentius about his longing (now at that time he was a monk, and had not yet become a bishop), saying, ' I long greatly for a little fish.' And the holy man Apa Pisentius answered [and said unto him], 'Assuredly God will give unto thee this day. Cast thy care upon the Lord, and He shall feed thee, as the Prophet said; He will never suffer the righteous to be removed.' \({ }^{1}\) Then the holy man Apa Pisentius \({ }^{2}\) himself took his water-pot \({ }^{3}\) to fill it with water, for it was the time for filling [the water-pots with] Fol. 34 a water. And as the holy man Apa Pisentius was walking along, he cried out to the Lord, saying, ' \(O\) God, permit Thou not the heart of this brother to suffer grief, but, if it be Thy Will, give Thou to him his petition. Let him not suffer grief, 0 Lord.' And when he had gone forth on the bank near the river to fill his water-pot-now the Nile flood was very

\section*{\({ }^{1}\) Ps. lv. 22.}
\({ }^{2}\) The Memphitic version of the incident is shorter and varies in details: ne oront orcon \(2 \in\) on equrwn Sen ntwor ntcenf
 пте






 aq̧ar meghah engwi nxe छн eeorah abfa nicenf agrar
 mat orn eniteht aqpaur aqcworten nteqxix efod a̧aenoni




 apictori maarifд (Amélineau, op. cit., p. 98).
\({ }^{3}\) re入 \(\omega \boldsymbol{\lambda}\) seems to equal the Egyptian qerr \(\Delta<\pi\), and to survive
high, for God had visited the country that year-Apa Pisentius looked, and he saw a large fish leaping about out of the water, and throwing itself about. \({ }^{1} \mathrm{O}\) what a great miracle of God was this! At the very place where the blessed Apa Pisentius went to the river [to fill his water-pot], the fish came to the bank; now it was the current of the water flood and the force thereof which thrust it along and stranded it at that place. And whilst Apa Pisentius was filling his water-pot, according to what he confessed to us with his own mouth, and testified Fol. \(34 b\) to us, he |captured the fish, and [when] he gave it to the
\(\overline{\mathrm{CH}}\) brother he said unto him, 'God hath fulfilled thy petition; it was He Who sent the meal to Daniel, for which his heart waited.' \({ }^{2}\) He said, ' It is He moreover Who hath prepared the fish for thee this day by His wish, inasmuch as He would not allow thee to suffer grief in respect of that for which thou didst ask at His hand. Well and truly doth the Prophet say, God is nigh unto every one, and He directeth him in truth. And He will hearken unto their supplications, and will deliver them. God shall guard every one who loveth Him.'s

When the children of Israel had risen up against Moses and Aaron, they said unto him, ' What is this that thou hast done with us? Thou hast brought us forth from the land of Egypt. We used to sit down by the brazen pots of flesh, and we ate bread, and now the people have to be satisfied Fol. 35 a with manna instead of with loaves of bread and | pieces of
\(\overline{\mathrm{C}} \overline{\boldsymbol{\theta}}\) flesh. If not (i.e. if thou dost not give us bread and flesh) we will stone you.' And the whole congregation spake the word to stone them. And Moses cried out to God, saying, ' \(O\) God, where shall I find the wherewithal to give unto this people so that they may eat? Only a very little more and

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) The Nile, as the text says, was very high that year, and the large fish had made its way up some kind of creek or canal near the monastery. Whilst it was there the river fell rapidly, and the fish found itself stranded, or at all events in very shallow water, and began to leap and splash about trying to get back to the river.
2 Dan. i. 16. \(\quad{ }^{3}\) Ps. cxlv. 18.
}
they will stone me.' And God spake unto Moses, saying, \({ }^{\text {' }}\) I have heard the murmurings which the children of Israel have made against you. But command thou the children of Israel, saying, Prepare ye yourselves ; to-morrow ye shall eat flesh, not for two days, nor for three days, nor for ten days, but for a whole month of days shall ye eat it, even until the flesh shall come forth from your nostrils.' And he brought over [quails] by a wind of the sea, two cubits upon the ground. \({ }^{1}\)

Ye must know, therefore, O my beloved, that the supplication of the righteous man is exceedingly powerful, and it effecteth much, even as it is written. \({ }^{2}\) Now as concerneth Moses, | the Lawgiver of the Old Covenant, immediately that Fol. 35 b he cried out to God concerning the multitude [of the Israel- \(\overline{\mathbf{P}}\) ites], God did according to his wish. So also was it in the case of the Lawgiver of the New Covenant, Apa Pisentius. Immediately he made supplication to God on behalf of the brother who was a monk, God did not cause him grief, but fulfilled his petition, even according to that which is written in the Psalm, 'The Lord shall fulfil all thy petitions.' \({ }^{3}\)

Hearken moreover to the account of another great and wonderful thing which took place through the holy man Apa Pisentius, when he was a monk, and before he became a bishop. It came to pass on a certain day that he went to the well at which the brethren were in the habit of drinking, in order that he might fill his water-pot. Now when he had come to the mouth of the well, he [found that he] had forgotten the rope and the leather bucket, and had not brought them with him. And when he had stood up at the mouth of the well he prayed to God according to the |custom of the brethren, Fol. 36 a and he said, 'God, Thou knowest well that it is impossible for \(\overline{\mathbf{p \lambda}}\) me to turn back again into the monastery to fetch the rope.

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) See Num. xi. 4-31. Several words must have dropped out of the




2 Jas. v. 16.
\({ }^{5}\) Ps. XX. 5.
}

But do Thou command this water to rise up to where I am so that I may be able to fill my water-pot therewith, so that I may serve Thee for the remainder of my days. For Thou didst command Thy Apostle Peter, saying, Walk on the water. \({ }^{1}\) Now when he had finished his prayer, the water rose in the well until it reached the mouth of the well, and he filled his water-pot with water. Then he said unto the water, ' It is the Lord Who doth command thee: Go down again to thy place.' \({ }^{2}\)

Now whilst the water was sinking downwards, a certain Fol. 36 b shepherd, who was pasturing his | flock of sheep among the \(\overline{\mathbf{p} \mathbf{h}}\) thorn bushes, directed his steps to the mouth of the well, and he looked in, and he saw the water going down by degrees until it reached its place at the bottom.

Unto whom shall I liken thee, O blessed Apa Pisentius? Verily thou art like unto Moses, the Lawgiver, who made the sea to be divided, one half being on this side, and the other on that, and the childrem of Israel walked in the midst thereof as upon dry ground; and the water was to them a wall of water on this side and on that, on the right hand and on the left. \({ }^{3}\) It was Moses who spake to the rock, and it sent forth fountains of water. \({ }^{4}\) And as for thee, \(O\) holy man Apa Pisentins, thy prayer entered into the vault of heaven,
\({ }^{1}\) Matt. xiv. 29.
\({ }^{2}\) The Memphitic version differs in details: acuswitl ae on eqnaqw









 usuartcchor (Amélineau, op. cit., p. 100).
\({ }^{3}\) Exod. xiv. 21, \(22 . \quad\) Num. xx. 11 ; Ps. lxxviii. 20.
and it fulfilled the Scripture, which saith, 'It was He Who | spake, and they came into being; it was He Who commanded, Fol. 37 a and they were created.' \({ }^{1}\) Thou wast a man of foresight \(\overline{\mathbf{p e}^{-1}}\) like unto the Prophets, and a man of intellect like unto the Apostles, and thou wast a wise steward. Therefore wast thou worthy of the Church of the Saints. God made thee to keep alive a multitude of souls. Thou didst preach the Gospel like Paul, and thou didst preach in wisdom the orthodox Faith. And thou didst cry out in thy discourse like a herald, thou didst shout aloud in thy wisdom like a trumpet. Who is able to pay unto thee the honour of which thou art worthy, \(O\) just and holy man? For thou didst know the things which were hidden before they took place. Thy discourse which appertained to the things of this world had therein songs and parables; thy discourse which appertained to the monkish estate [was full of] spiritual explanations. Thy | words were those of a ruler, parables and mysteries. Thou Fol. 376 didst never feel ashamed because of them before any man, according to that which is written, ' My words shall be testimonies concerning Thee before kings, I shall not be ashamed.' \({ }^{2}\)

Thou didst guide those who came unto Thee, all those who acted faithfully. And thou didst gather together unto thee every one in the bond of love. Thou didst hearken unto the commandment of the Christ, thou didst build thy house upon the rock which is holy. Thou didst bring forth fruit in patient endurance, and with a heart which is holy and grod. Thou didst see beforehand the Banquet of the Spirit, and because of this thou dost rest (or, recline) at the holy feast. Thou didst seek out for the wretched the place where the pasture was good, and for \(\mid\) this reason also thou didst take Fol. 38 a care for the poor always. Thou didst lay hold upon the ways \(\overline{\mathbf{p e}}\) of the ministry of God, and thou wast therefore a steersman in the sea of holy mysteries, and a saint like unto the Three Children. Thou wast a father to multitudes of the poor

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Ps. cxlviii. 5. \(\quad{ }^{2}\) Compare Ps. exix. 46.
}
in our time, and the father of those who were orphans in our days. Thou didst proclaim like a herald peace unto those who were afar off, O thou God-loving father, Apa Pisentius. And thou didst exercise (or, train) those who drew nigh unto thee in the doctrine which was sound. Thou wast a well-skilled spiritual merchant, and therefore thou didst bestow graciously thy good gifts upon every one with great gladness and readiness. Thou didst seek and thou didst find, O God-loving father, Apa Pisentius, thou leader of the truth. Thou didst knock and it was opened unto Fol. 38 thee; thou didst petition God, | and He granted thee all
\(\overline{\mathrm{pr}}\) thy petitions. There was great abundance in thy days, and the Christians occupied great and honourable positions. The Church enjoyed abundance in thy days and in thy generation. Thy people rejoiced in thy wisdom, and thy children rejoiced greatly in thy holy mysteries.

The Governors desired eagerly [to hear] thy discourse, and all the proselytes sought eagerly after thy mysteries. Thou didst look upon (?) the man whose name was Anatolês. \({ }^{1}\) Therefore he filled thee with the splendour of the Holy Spirit. Thou didst complete the Ark of the Holy Spirit in its length and breadth, even as Noah [completed his ark]. Thou Fol. \(39 a\) wast a light which sent out its light into all our | province.
\(\overline{\mathbf{P} 7}\) Righteousness and peace made light thy way before thee all thy days. Moreover, in thy days lived the two forerunners who sent forth light through thy prayers, and through the prayers of the saints who lived in this province, that is to say, Apa Colluthus \({ }^{2}\) and Apa Paham, \({ }^{3}\) these [two] great saints!

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{2}\) I cannot explain the allusion here.
\({ }^{2}\) Presumably the Colluthus mentioned in the Memphitic version (Amelinean, op. cit., p. 78), who was famous for the severity and frequency of his fasts. It was said of him that he fasted a whole week at a time during the summer, and at ordinary times he only ate bread every third day. He had another method of torturing himself. When the sun rose he set his face opposite to it; as it moved he changed his position, but
}

Now therefore, by the grace of God, we will tell you about another marvellous thing which I heard from certain men whose whole hope is the truth. Now a certain man from our district spoke to us concerning the holy man Apa Pisentius saying, 'I went in and I received a blessing at his hands this day.' Now when I had come forth from him, I met the holy man Apa Paham, who said unto me, 'Hast thou received a blessing from the hand of Pisentius?' I said unto him, 'Yes, my father, | but thou thyself art a holy Fol. 39 b man.' And he made answer to me, 'He who is truly \(\overline{\mathbf{P H}}\) a holy man is, most assuredly, Pisentius, and if thou didst happen to meet him thou wouldst receive a truly great blessing, for some time ago, when he prayed, the well became filled with water.' Now this man said unto us, 'It came to pass on a certain day that we saw a fire burning in his house, and we said unto each other, Is it possible that Pisentius has lighted a fire? Wherefore hath he done this at this time of the year? And [some brethren] got up on the wall and looked over it, and they saw him standing up, and he was praying, and his hands were spread out towards heaven, and his ten fingers were like unto ten lamps (or, torches) of fire which were shining exceedingly brightly. \({ }^{4}\)
always kept his face towards it until it set, and all the time he worked with his hands, presumably weaving palm-leaves into sandals, baskets, \&c.


 Abû Sâliḷ (ed. Evetts and Butler, p. 234) there was a church dedicated to Saint Colluthus at Kûs, which is not far from Coptos, which proves that Colluthus was greatly venerated in the neighbourhood of Coptos. The most famous saint of this name was he who suffered martyrdom in the fourth century under Maximian in 320.
\({ }^{3} \mathrm{He}\) was called after the great ascetic who in 320 founded the famous monastery at Tabenna, an island in the Nile, not far from the modern town of Denderah in Upper Egypt, and who was born in the last quarter of the third century.

4 The Memphitic version says 'in the form of a cross', untrmoc umf. Whilst he stood he saw a great vision-three angels came to him

And again, when God set him apart for consecration into Fol. \(40 a\) the priesthood, | of which he was worthy, because he loved \(\overline{\mathbf{p e}}\) the life of peaceful contemplation he went and hid himself. And when the God-loving clergy were seeking for him in order to make him take his seat upon the throne of the high priest, of which in very truth he was worthy, they sought for him a long time, and they found him at length in a secret place in the region of Djême. \({ }^{1}\) And when they had caught him, he cried out and uttered the words of the great John, the Archbishop of Constantinople, saying, ' \(O\) the life of peaceful contemplation! I love it. Will ye not leave me in it?' Finally they brought back the holy man, and they set him upon the holy episcopal throne. Now it was not he who ran in pursuit of the honour, but it was the honour which ran in pursuit of him, even as those who discovered him confessed unto us, saying, ' He confessed thus to us Fol. \(40 b\) with his own mouth: If it were not that I would not be
\(\overline{\text { PI }}\) disobedient to those whom ye have sent after me to this place, ye might cut my head off me, or throw me into the sea, before I would obey you, and forsake this life of peaceful
in the form of monks of fine appearance, and wearing white stoles, and they had keys in their hands, and they said unto him three times,



 псоп xe micentioc micentioc meentioc (Amélineau, op. cit., p. 101).
\({ }^{1}\) The mountainous district of Western Thehes which the ancient Egyptians called Thamut An , hence the Coptic ssrese; the modern town is known by the name of Madinnat Habû. A large community of Copts was settled in this neighbourhood in early Christian times, and the numerous documents which have been found at Madinat Habu in recent years prove that the Copts who lived there in the fifth and sixth centuries were wealthy, and that they possessed much land. The modern name of one of the districts of Western Thebes, 'Dêr alBahri,' is derived from the name of one of the Coptic monasteries meaning 'North Minster'.
contemplation which God loveth. Have ye never read what is written in the Psalms, 'Be still. Know that I am God'? \({ }^{1}\) And they debated the matter together, saying, 'Who then is there that can command him [to accept]? It is not a man.'

Then they took counsel together, saying, 'Let us relate the matter to the holy man Apa Colluthus, who is a great one among men; he shall reveal the matter to him [in its true light], and he will not hide the business from him.' And at length they went to the holy \(\mid\) man Apa Colluthus, Fol. \(41 a\) and they said unto him, 'Father, when we had laid hold Fra upon Apa Pisentius in order that we might have him consecrated bishop, he did not wish to bind himself, or to take any part in the service of consecration. And behold, we went about very many days seeking for him before we found him in a part of Djême. And when we had laid hold upon him he was most anxious to excuse himself from his order. And afterwards he said, "If it were not that I would not be disobedient unto him that hath sent you to me, ye might remove my head from me before I would render obedience unto you." We now therefore make appeal unto thine holiness to abide with him for a number of days, and do thou question him when thou art alone with him, saying, Who is he that hath sent thee? This matter is no miracle.'

Then the holy \(\mid\) man Apa Colluthus questioned him, saying, Fol. 41 b 'The God-loving clergy [of the town of Coptos] state that \(\overline{\mathbf{p i n}}\) thy holiness saith: "If it were not that I would not be disobedient unto him that hath sent you unto me, I would not occupy this position [of bishop] at all." Now who art thou [to speak thus]?' And the holy man Apa Pisentius answered and said, 'Before the clergy came unto my most unworthy self I fell asleep for a space, and a voice came unto me three times, saying, "Pisentius, Pisentius, \({ }^{1}\) Ps. xlvi. 10:

Pisentius. Behold the ordinance of the Church hath come unto thee. Do not thou excuse thyself from the rank to which they would appoint thee, which is that of Chief of the Apostles, but arise, and follow thou them. Do not forsake the Church, which is, as it were, a widow." Now Fol. \(42 a\) when I had | heard these words, and when the clergy cried \(\overline{\text { Pe }}\) out to me in [my abode], I came forth, and I followed them, and I cast all my care upon Jesus, because nothing whatsoever can happen without [the consent of] God.' \({ }^{1}\)
I In the Memphitie version the account is quite different. The three angele who came to Pisentius carrying keys in their hands said to him : 'The Lord hath sent us to thee to give thee the keys of the Church. Take thou them into thy hands. The Lord bath entrusted these to thee so that thou mayest pasture His Church, which He hath purchased by His blood. Do not dieobey the command that is thus laid upon thee, for the Lord hath most certainly sent thee to pasture His people. Take heed that thou dost not refuse, for bebold the officers of the Church shall come to thee to-morrow.' In reply Pisentius says : ' Who am I, a most miserable man, to be worthy to bear such a great and heavy burden? For since it is only with the very greatest difficulty that I am able to speak for myself, how can I speak for any one else? Ye well know that the work to which ye call me is very great. I beseech you, however, 0 holy fathers, to make mention of me before the Lord so that He may grant me strength to perform satisfactorily my duties as a monk. As for this office of bishop, I am quite unfit for it.'

Pisentius then refers to the case of one Theodore which is mentioned in the Paradise of the Fathers. The brethren entreated him to accept the office of deacon, but he refused, until a vision sent by the Lord gave him permission to accept, which he did, and he ministered at the altar all the days of his life. And Pisentius continued, 'If such a man as Theodore, who was dowered with all virtues, refueed auch an office hecause he felt his unworthiness, how can I, who am not worthy to tie his sandal latchet, accept this office of bishop? . . . . The work of the priesthood is for holy men, but my life is full of iniquities.' Pisentius, quoting from the Book of Leviticus, then goes on to enumerate the qualificstions which a priest ought to possess, physical, mental, and moral, and then, after describing the vices and failings of men, he asks the angels to tell him what man living is free from them all. mmopma mrakaeapcra

 nuosds nuxepxep miaxs nughof neel mrecwan etomi mias
 mai тнрол. In reply to these words, "those who were with Pisentius"

Now, therefore, ye must know, O my beloved, that that which I say unto you is true, and that also which the wise man Paul said, 'Let not each one take for himself honour, but let it be brought upon him through God.' \({ }^{1}\) When Aaron became high priest, it was not he who glorified himself, but He Who spake with him, saying, 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek.' \({ }^{2}\) And thus also was it in the case of the Christ, [for God said unto Him], 'This day have I begotten thee.' \(s\) In this wise did Apa Pisentius take his seat upon the episcopal throne with a perfect [heart]. And God gave grace unto his face, even as to Joseph. | And Fol. 42 b no man dared to look into his face without being afraid of \(\overline{\mathbf{p r a}^{2}}\) the fear of God which rested with him. Who could take into account the number of the acts of kindness and charity which he did to the poor, and not only to the needy folk of his own province, but also to those who came to him from a distance? He used to receive them himself, and give unto them whatsoever they asked at his hands.

And ye must know, moreover, that the praises which have been bestowed upon him are far too few, even for the early days of his episcopate, when he began to do acts of charity in every town and village [from Coptos] to Souan \({ }^{4}\) (Syene). The things (i.e. the offerings), which were brought unto himyear by year according to the Canons of the Apostles, he was wont to send secretly to certain men who were fearers. of God in the various cities, and in the various villages, and they used to distribute it among the poor in the \(\mid\) season Fol. \(43 a\) told him that what the Lord had decreed would take place speedily, and then they left him. Soon after this Pisentius was taken to Rakoti (panof), and he was consecrated bishop of Coptos by Damianus, the Patriarch, who handed him over to his officers, who took him to Coptos, and solemnly enthroned him (Amélineau, op. cit., pp. 101-108).
\({ }^{1}\) Heb. v.4. \(\quad 2\) Ps. cx. 4 ; Heb. v. 6, 10 ; vi. 20 ; vii. 17, 21.
\({ }^{1}\) Ps.ii. 7.
'The Egyptian Sunu or sunt \(\cap \frac{\square}{\text { Pum }}\) (Ezek. xxix. 10), Arab Aswân, or Uswân, اُّهوَأنا.
of winter, when the poor are wont to lack bread. He forgot the poor in nothing, even as ye well know.

Now after a long time during which our holy Father Apa Pisentius had governed his flock with exceedingly great care, he dispatched [copies] of a letter to all the people who were in the province of Kebt (Coptos), and rebuked them, saying, ' Cease ye to do these great and grievous sins, concerning which we have been informed, lest peradventure God shall become wroth with you, and shall deliver you over into the hands of the Barbarians who shall afllict you.' And moreover, he wrote also in that letter, saying, 'Unless ye repent quickly, God shall bring that nation upon you without delay.' And again, after [this he wrote], ' Except ye be instructed, that Fol. \(43 b\) nation shall not cease to raise up wrath against you. | [It \(\overline{\text { Pre }}\) is] a nation fierce of visage and cruel, and shameless in respect of its face; it shall neither spare, nor have compassion on old man or youth; it shall afflict you with sufferings which shall be as grievous as the plagues of Pharaoh of old, until at length he drove them into the abysses of the sea, thinking to destroy [them] openly. Therefore let repentance remain with you in your habitations at all times, so that it may be in your hearts, and let fasting increase in your mouth at all times. For charity shall boast itself over judgement, according to the word of James, the wise man of the Apostles. \({ }^{1}\)

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\({ }^{1}\) The Memphitic version of this Epistle differs considerably: acurwn










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 є£orn єnwrid (Amelineau, op. cit., pp. 118-120). And it came to pass at that time that he wrote an Epistle to the people who were under his jurisdiction, [and] he rebuked them because of their sins and their filthy behaviour, and he admonished them to remove themselves from the deeds which they were doing, eaying, 'People inform me that ye are committing grievous sins. Henceforth do ye remove yourselves from them, lest God hecome wroth, and take vengeance upon me, and lest He make both you and myself to suffer together. He is not ashamed before the old man (i.e. himself), and He will bring upon you great tribulations, and great sufferings, and severe famine, even as He did upon Pharaoh in days of old. And after these things I tell you what the Lord said in His merey, I will never again bring a flood upon the earth. If He had not sworn by Himself not to bring a flood upon us, He would destroy us even as [He destroyed] the children of the giante, at the time when the angels transgressed through lust for women. They forsook the sweet smell of virginity, and came down from exalted thoughts of God, they mixed themselves with the pollutions of women, and they followed after that which was of foul odour rather than that of sweet odour. And as for you, your iniquities are far more numerous than theirs. Ye lust, ye commit fornication and adultery; the parents know that their children sin, yet they admonish them not. Because of our sins God hath forgotten us, He hath given us into the hands of the nations which have no pity. But now, let charity and repentance be among you, and love towards one another at all times, and above all purity and peace. Let fasting be among you, giving joy to your heart and tongue, for mercy boasteth itself over judgement, even as James the Apostle aid. For mercy delivereth a man, and transporteth him out of death into life.' Jas. ii. 13.

For \({ }^{1}\) the third angel in the salvation of God is the Fol. 44 a Angel of Charity. | For charity shall deliver a man from \(\overline{\mathrm{Pr}} \overline{\mathrm{T}}\) death, and it will not permit him to go into the darkness. And moreover, it is very much better to perform acts of charity than to gather in gold. And thou shalt shew compassion unto him that is in debt to thee. Let not thine eye be envious of thee whilst thou doest deeds of charity and righteousness. And moreover, it is better to give a very little with lovingkindness and righteousness than to give a great deal with violence. And do not thou turn thy face away from any poor man, and God shall not turn away His face from thee. And again, in respect of the little which one may owe thee, be not afraid to give it in alms, even as the holy man Tobit said. \({ }^{\text {a }}\)

And consider the case of that rich man who despised Fol. 44 b Lazarus the poor man, and what was done unto him \(\mid\) in
\(\overline{\text { PIF }}\) the matter of punishment, and how he answered and said in anguish of heart, ' My father Abraham, let them send Lazarus, and let him dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue therewith, for I am tortured in this fire.' And what he heard was it not words of rebuke? For Abraham said unto him, ' My son, remember that during thy lifetime thou didst receive thy good things, and Lazarus the things which were bad. \({ }^{3}\) And now to him do they shew consolation in this place, whilst as for thee, they inflict tortures on thee for thy charity, for they will be as merciful to thee as thou hast been to the poor. Thou didst feed thyself on young and tender flesh (?), and on small birds, and on other creatures, thou didst eat by thyself the tender plants of the earth, thou didst drink undiluted wine in glasses insatiably Fol. \(45 a\) and without consideration \({ }^{4} \mid\) for any other man. And as

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1 What follows here may or may not be the continuation of the Epistle of Pisentius.
\({ }^{2}\) Tobit iv. 7, 8, \(11 . \quad{ }^{3}\) Luke xvi. 20-25.
4 Or, the text may mean, 'thou didst swill wine as beasts swill water, and couldst never be satisfied.'
}
concerning the man whom thou didst forget, and to whom thou didst shew no charity with that which was thine, if there by chance remained to him the smallest amount of any possession, thou wast in the habit of demanding it from him unjustly. If thou wouldst not give unto him of the things which were thine own, at least thou mightest have been kind to him, and watched and seen that justice was done to him; thou shouldst not have weighed him down with thine injustice. For thon knowest that thou and the poor man were made of one and the same kind of clay. Do not give him cause to grieve, and God will not give thee cause to grieve. There is a place of judgement wherein each man sball be judged according to what he hath done, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.'

Behold, these are the things whieh the God-loving Father Apa | Pisentius wrote on many occasions to all the people. Fol. 45 b Now how is it possible for us to beautify our encomium \(\overline{\mathbf{p K}}\) of the holy man, except by means of his own mouth? But let us invoke him, so that he may minister unto us in respect of the remainder of the things which it is seemly for us to narrate in this encomium, according to the measure of our inability. We are wholly unable to attain to the heights of thy virtne, O thou good ascetic, who art adorned with the virtues of the Holy Spirit, [thon doer of] all the righteous precepts and commandments which are full of life. Verily if every part of me was to become a tongue I should not be able to do honour to thee in a manner suitable to the ten thousands of virtues which thou dost possess; and moreover, as for the mite which we are able to cast into the treasury, it is thy grace alone | which hath prepared it for us. Fol. 46 a

For we know well that thou hast no need of our feeble pra tongue to utter these few words of encomium, because thy citizenship is in the heavens, according to the words of the tongue of sweet odour, that is to say, Paul, [who said], 'As for us, our citizenship is in heaven, the place for which
we wait'. \({ }^{1}\) Nevertheless, let us declare a few things concerning the holy man, to the glory of God.

Now it came to pass that at the time when God brought the heathen, that is to say, the Persians, \({ }^{2}\) upon us, for our sins, Apa Pisentius departed to the mountain of Djême, \({ }^{3}\) and hid himself in that place \({ }^{4}\) because of the Persians. Now this took place at the time when the Persians were masters [of Egypt], though they bad not as yet taken the city of Kebt (Coptos). And at that time I John went with him, and I was with him in the capacity of a servant. Now Fol. 46 b I carried with me \(\mid\) water-machines, \({ }^{5}\) and I put them in the \(\overline{\mathbf{p r g}}\) place wherein we hid ourselves, so that we might be able to find them when we had need of them all the days which we should have to pass in hiding. Now, pay ye strict attention to the words [which I am about to say], for then ye will marvel, and will give glory to God Who performed these great and wonderful things by His holy man, even as God worked a miracle for Israel in times of old by Moses, to whom He said, ' Raise thy rod, smite the rock, \({ }^{6}\) and the

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Phil. iii. 20.
\({ }^{2}\) According to the Memphitic version Pisentius set the affairs of his bishopric in order before he departed, and he gave everything which he had to the poor. \(\ddagger\) umew山 uncmicnomeion nХal niben ete пбнте аєтнitor ппıянк. The Persians under Heraclius captured Pelusium, then spread themselves all over the Delta, and finally ascended the Nile Valley as far as the borders of Ethiopia. Theophanes says that this took place in 615, but modern authorities place the date of the Persian conquest of Egypt three or four years later. See Gibbon, Decline (ed. Bury), tom. v, p. 71.
\({ }^{3}\) See above, p. 280 note. The distance of Coptos from Djême is from 30 to 35 miles.
\({ }^{4}\) Pisentius appears to have hidden in an Egyptian tomb wherein there were mummies. See the Memphitic version, p. 142.
\({ }^{6}\) Either ropes and leather skins for carrying water, or large water-pots, like the modern zir, with stands. The Memphitic version says that they collected many vases, and filled them with water, and carried them into the mountain. anom \(\mathbf{x e}\) aneworf esorn noreung niamon

- Num. Xx. 11.
}
water shall gush forth so that the people may drink.' Now this was what happened in this case also. And when he had departed to his biding-place I myself went with him, and we remained in that place wherein we had hidden ourselves, and when we had passed several days in that place the very little water | which remained to us came to an end, Fol. \(47 a\) and I said unto my father, 'We have no water left.'

And my father answered and said unto me, 'God will not forsake us, O my son, but He will minister unto all our wants. For He said, Take no care for the morrow, for the morrow will take care for itself. \({ }^{1}\) And again, at the time when Elijah the Tishbite was in the desert, the ravens brought bread unto him every day in the early morning, and again at the time of evening. And when he had laid himself down and slept under the tree which is called "rathmen", and had risen up, he found there upon it a loaf of bread and a vessel of water. And an angel said unto him, "Arise, eat bread, drink water." And Elijah ate the bread, and drank the water, and he journeyed on that road for forty | days and forty nights, without eating any other bread Fol. \(47 b\) or drinking any other water. \({ }^{2}\) Now God ministered unto \(\overline{\text { Pri }}\) Elijah with spiritual food because he followed God with his whole heart; and we ourselves also shall be ministered unto, if we observe His dispensations, and if our hearts be straight in respect of Him, He will take care for us. For He spake by the holy Psalmist David, saying, "Cast thy care upon God, and He shall feed thee." \({ }^{3}\) For God knoweth that of which ye have need before ye ask Him therefor, even as He spake in the Holy Gospel., \({ }^{4}\)
Now when my father had said these things, he went away straightway. As for me I cast myself down on the ground, I heaped up the cool sand over my breast, I stretched myself out and lay at full length, and I was burning consumedly

\footnotetext{
1 Matt. vi. 34 ff.
\({ }^{3}\) Ps. 1v. 22.
\({ }^{2} 1\) Kings xvii. 6 ; xix. 5-8.
- Matt, vi, 8.
}

Fol. \(48 a\) with heat, | and the want of water. And when my father \(\overline{\text { phe }}\) had remained away from me for a very long time, he came back to me, and his eyes were full of light, like unto that of the luminaries in the heavens. And his whole person was cheerful, and he was like one who had been in a wine-shop. And he said unto me, 'John, I see that thou art exhausted by thirst, get thee to the waters, and drink.' And \(I\) answered and said unto him, ' My father, the water-pots have been empty and dried up for the last three days, and there is no water at all in our place of abode.' Now my father used to fast three days at a time, and sometimes, when his body was free from sickness, he was wont to fast even for a whole week at a time. And again he said unto me, 'John, why dost thou not obey? Get thee to the waters, and drink, for I perceive that thirst is driving thee wholly mad.' And Fol. \(48 b\) again he said unto me, 'John, \(\mid\) begone, for I see that thou
\(\overline{\text { PRE }}\) art greatly dried up through thy thirst, and that thou art mad through the darkness caused by want of water.' Then I answered him, saying, ' I did fall down, and I did go mad, and this is the truth, when thou didst depart into the desert; but now thou hast returned to me once more, and I perceive that thy face is full of joy, and that bright light goeth forth from it, even as from the face of Moses, the Lawgiver, the natural condition of my mind hath returned to me, and I cease to thirst.' \({ }^{1}\) And he answered and said unto me, 'If thou losest thy reason in this manner after two days [of thirst], how very much more severe is the tribulation which hath come upon those who are in the darkness of Amente, with the worm which never sleepeth, and the outer darkness, and the river of fire which floweth before the Righteous Judge, by Whom we shall be tried! Verily, O my son, it is a

\footnotetext{
I In the Memphitic version the speech is shorter: madin on mexe ms,


}
fearful and a terrible thing to fall into the hands of the Living God.' \({ }^{1}\)

And when he had spoken | these words he said unto me, Fol. 49 a 'I think there is water in the water-vessels, in one of them \(\overline{\mathrm{PK}}\) which we have forgotten.' Now I, the wretched and miserable John, am not worthy to relate the wonderful thing which took place there, and which I myself saw with my own eyes; I the wretched man alone can narrate it. For when I had gone to the place wherein the water-vessels were-I confess to you, O my beloved, to [feeling] the doubt which would have come upon all of us-I found them filled with water up to their brims, and the water which was in them was as white as milk, and as white as snow, and was as sweet as the water of Gêôn (the Nile) which is in motion. \({ }^{2}\) Then I went and enquired of my father, saying, 'I found the water-pots full of water, whence cometh the water then, O my Lord and father?' And he answered and said unto me, 'He Who supplieth with food the hawks (?) which neither sow | nor Fol. 49 b reap, nor gather grain into garners, He , I say, it is Who hath \(\overline{\text { PKH }}\) supplied us with these waters whereof we were in need. For for him who casteth his care upon Jesus will Jesus care in every place, and He will serve him.'

Therefore, O my beloved, ye must know that wheresoever a man goeth, all his hope must be [set upon] Jesus. And he must remember that which is written in [the Book of] Jeremiah the Prophet, 'Cursed is he whose hope is placed upon man, but blessed is the man who hath set his heart upon God, and God shall become unto him a hope. He shall become like a tree which is planted by the waters, and his roots shall not perish for lack of moisture.' \({ }^{3}\) What shall I say, or with what words shall I describe all the glorious virtues of this glorious, and just, and | blessed man? Now Fol. 50a

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Heb. x. 31.
\({ }^{2}\) John means the water in the middle of the main stream of the Nile, and not that which flows close by the banks, where the Egyptians made their ablutions.
\({ }^{3}\) Jer. xvii. 5, 7, 8.
}
first of all I will declare concerning the manner in which he served God, and next concerning the grace which God bestowed upon him, and the gift wherewith God most graciously endowed him, from the beginning of his life even to the end thereof. Unto whom shall I compare thee, O blessed man, Apa Pisentius? I will compare thee unto Abel who was the head of the worshipping of God and of the high-priesthood of God, and who became the first to offer up sacrifices and offerings. For this reason I ascribe blessing to thy holy fatherhood, because thou didst become a father to the orphans, and the mouth of the widow blesseth thee, O thou holy man and bishop, Apa Pisentius. Thou Fol. 506 wast a father to the weak and helpless, and | a place of \(\overline{\mathbf{P \lambda}}\) sojourning for the proselyte. Thou wast food to those who suffered hunger, and water to those who were athirst. Thou wast apparel unto those who were naked, and a garment for those whose nakedness was uncovered. Thou didst enter into Paradise in thy understanding, and didst eat of the tree of deathlessness. Thou wast a wise man when thou didst keep closed thy mouth, and thou wast a man of understanding (or, discretion) when thou didst speak. For thy name reached unto the boundaries of the inhabited world.

Thou wast a man of gracious speech concerning the wisdom of God, and thou wast a possessor of the true knowledge of the Holy Mysteries. Thou didst seek first of all the Kingdom and its righteousness, \({ }^{1}\) and all these [other] things did God graciously bestow upon thee. Thou didst Fol. 51 a enter into the land of promise in thy mind, \(\mid\) and therefore
\(\overline{\mathbf{p} \boldsymbol{\lambda a}}\) God gave thee strength to vanquish the Canaanites \({ }^{2}\) who were hidden. Thou didst meditate upon all the spiritual paradigms, thou didst understand all the parables of the Gospels, and thou didst devote thyself earnestly to the spiritual interpretations thereof. All the wise folk that were in the land marvelled at thy wisdom, and they had

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Compare Matt. vi. 33 ; Luke xii. \(31 . \quad{ }^{2}\) Num. xxi. 3.
}
need of thy advocacy in this world. And again the men who were learned in the knowledge of books marvelled at thy wisdom, and all the men who were of senatorial rank were struck with wonder at thy hidden sayings. For all those who were vexed in their minds came unto thee, and thou, in the goodness of thy disposition, didst give them help. Thou wast a righteous man in our days and a watcher in our generation, O thou holy man and bishop, Apa Pisentius, the blessed anchorite. In thy days the Governors \(\mid\) performed Fol. 51 b acts of lovingkindness to the poor, and they gave glory to \(\overline{\mathbf{p \lambda B}}\) thy worship of God. Thou didst behave like a nobleman towards those who drew nigh unto thee, and the Greeks ascribed glory unto thee. Thou didst make to be of no effect the office of the absolute ruler. Thou didst shut the mouths of the beasts, and the cages for prisoners in the prisons fell into disuse, and possessions returned to their rightful owners. Thou didst conquer Amalek like Joshua, the son of Nun, \({ }^{1}\) and thou didst conquer the Amorite like Israel. \({ }^{2}\) Thou didst put on the whole armour of God, \({ }^{3}\) and therefore thou wast able to quench all the arrows of the Evil One which blazed with fire, and thou didst do battle against all the crafts of the Devil. Thou didst lay hold on the breastplate of faith, and thou didst put on thy feet the preparation of the Gospel of peace. Thy fame hath | reached to the Fol, \(52 a\) boundaries of the inhabited world. Thou wast a wise man in the opinion of Governors, even as was Saint Athanasius, and God gave thee strength in the Scriptures. And thou didst seek to know in thy mind concerning the world which is to come, and thou didst set out to examine into the depth of the wisdom of God, which is hidden.

Thou wast a man inured to the contemplative life, even as was the holy man Apa Pahômô (Pachomius), the father of the coenobite life. God raised men to very high positions in thy days, and in thy generation He graciously bestowed

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Num. xxi. 23 ff .
\({ }^{2}\) Exod. xvii. 13.
\({ }^{9}\) Eph. vi. 11.
}
upon us His peace. God brought forth thy righteousness like the light, and He made thy judgement to be like the hour of noon. \({ }^{1}\) Thou didst keep the commandments of God, and for this reason thy peace was like unto an overflowing Fol. \(52 b\) river, and thy righteousness | like unto the great and mighty
\(\overline{\text { pin }}\) deep. Thy spirit, which was mighty, was like unto the Morning Star, and thy seed is like unto the sand which is on the sea-shore, which is without number. And thy prayers, which were for the whole world, are in benevolent operation. And thou didst call unto every one to bring themselves unto God in repentance. Thou didst teach the lawless man the ways of God, and thou didst turn the impious men from their impiety. Thou didst raise up those who are sick by means of thy holy prayers, and thou didst cry out to God on behalf of those who were possessed of devils.

Unto whom shall I liken thee, O thou blessed father Apa Pisentius, the holy bishop? Thou wast a man who was a believer in our generation, and a man who was Fol. 53 a righteous in our days. Thou wast a learned scribe \(\mid\) in
\(\overline{\text { pite }}\) respect of thy faculties, and a skilled reader of spiritual omens and portents. Thou wast a master-physician who did heal every one, with a benevolent heart. In the righteousness of God thou didst rise on high like a palmtree, and thou didst spread abroad in the wisdom of God like a plane-tree. Thou didst diffuse abroad the sweet odour of virtue which was like unto [that of] cinnamon, and the sweet odour of thine unguent reached even unto the boundaries of the inhabited world. Thou wast like unto the five cities \({ }^{2}\) in the gift of Christ, and the reports of all thy marvellous works were in the city of the whole world. Thou wast a teacher of rites and sacrifices like unto Moses, and a master of the art of making hymns like unto David. For we heard of thy mysteries very frequently in thy epistle[s], and we saw the depth of thy understanding of the Holy Scriptures |

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Ps. xxxvii. 6.
\({ }^{2}\) Luke xix. 19.
}
in the letters which thou didst indite, and of thy wisdom which Pol. 53 b was great. Thou didst spread out thy wings like the eagle, \(\overline{\text { pic }}\) and thou wast transformed in the strength of the service of God like a young, strong eagle. God opened the eyes of thy soul, and He taught thee the gate of immortality like the Samaritan woman. \({ }^{1}\) And thy understanding moved deftly in the perfect knowledge of the Scriptures, even as doth the little stick in the hands of the player on the harp, and thou didst sing hymns thereby on a psaltery of ten strings.

Unto whom shall I liken thee, O holy hermit, Apa Pisentius, thou faithful priest? I will liken thee unto Noah, of whose holy sacrifice God smelled [the sweet savour]. For thou didst taste that the working was good, and thy lamp was not extinguished during the whole night. Thou didst make for thyself celestial garments of byssus and purple, | and thou didst plant a vineyard of the fruit of thy hand. Fol. 54 a Thou wast a righteous man in the worshipping of God with all thy heart and with all thy soul. God gave unto thee rain from heaven as He did to Elijah. The things which were bitter He made sweet by means of thy ministrations, even as did Elijah. \({ }^{2}\) The desert places became fertile in thy days, and the hills poured out milk during thy generation. Thou didst build thy children on the Rock which cannot be moved, that is the Christ, and thou didst build in them the faith (or, belief) which is everlasting. Thou wast the [place of] repose of the men of Egypt, and a kindly inn for those who were strangers. Thou becamest a sufferer in the service of the poor, and a help unto those who were tortured with grief. Thou didst shew thyself perfect in spiritual knowledge. Thou didst take thy rest (or, die) in the midst of \(\mid\) thy Fol. \(54 b\) children, like Jacob, and afterwards they followed thee to thy \(\overline{\mathbf{p} \lambda_{H}}\) fathers, like David. Thou wast a wise man like Solomon, and thou didst inherit the blessing from God. Because of this thou didst light upon the paths which were delicate,

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) John iv. 9.
\({ }^{2}\) Cf. 2 Kings ii. 21 ; iv. 41.
}
thou didst make good thy escape, thou didst keep the faith, and thou didst set the crown of righteousness upon thy head.

Thou didst deposit seed for thyself in Sion, O Apa Pisentius, and thou didst beget for thyself a household in the Jerusalem of heaven. Thou didst receive the sword of the Holy Spirit, through prayers of every kind and through supplications of every kind; and for this reason thou wast able to gain the mastery over the spirits of evil in the darkness. Thou didst make thyself to resemble the Sun of righteousness in Whose wings there is healing, \({ }^{1}\) and because Fol. 55 a \(a\) of this the eyes of thy \(\mid\) soul sent forth rays of splendour.
\(\overline{p \boldsymbol{\lambda} \theta}\) Thou didst build a house for God, even as did Solomon, \({ }^{2}\) and thou didst complete the courtyard thereof as did Zerubbabel. \({ }^{3}\) Thou didst walk about in the meadow of the Spirit, and therefore thou didst find in the treasury (or, field) holy mysteries. Thou wast eager to receive in thy heart, and therefore God gave thee the star of the light of the knowledge of Him. Thou didst eat of heavenly bread, and thou didst rejoice thyself in the tree of immortality.

Unto whom then shall I liken thee, O thou blessed man, thou great priest, Apa Pisentius? I will liken thee unto Jacob, \({ }^{4}\) whom God remembered in his sufferings, because of his innocency, and gave him the inheritance. I will liken Fol. 55 b thee also unto Joseph, \({ }^{5}\) unto whom God gave a \(\mid\) crown of the per kingdom (i.e. a royal crown). I will liken thee unto Samuel, \({ }^{6}\) who [became master] of the gifts of grace of the high-priesthood. I will liken thee unto Samuel who became a priest, unto whom God gave the promise of the priesthood and of the office of prophet when he was a little child. I will liken thee unto the sons of Jonadab, \({ }^{7}\) who kept the commandments of their father. I will liken thee unto the Great Apostle, Saint Peter, who stood in archi-
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline Mal. iv. 2. & \({ }^{2} 1\) Kings vi. 14. & \({ }^{5}\) Zech. iv. 9. \\
\hline \({ }^{4}\) See Gen. xxvii, xxviii. & \({ }^{5} \mathrm{G}\) & \\
\hline \({ }^{6}\) Seee 1 Sam. i. & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
episcopal rank. I will liken thee also unto Paul, who had the care of all the Churches. I will liken thee also unto Zacharias, the high-priest, whom God filled full of the Holy Spirit. For God gave thee wisdom | out of His mouth, even Fol. \(56 a\) as He did to Solomon. Thou didst shew thyself to be like pera unto Moses, for God made the worship of idols to come to an end in thy days, even as [in the days of] Ozias (Uzzah). \({ }^{1}\)

The man who went to thee, no matter who he was, with a sorrowful heart, did he not come back rejoicing? O thou true consoler, according to the words of the Psalmist David, 'Thy words give me life, thy words comfort me.' \({ }^{2}\) Truly thou art like unto Moses, whose face shone with glory, \({ }^{3}\) and who was exalted whilst God spake with him. And thou thyself, O Lawgiver, the similitude of thy face was glorious through the strength of God which was with thee. And thou wast a companion of all the saints, because of the simplicity which was thine, and the purity which was thine, in the time when thou wast a monk, and before thou didst receive the honour of the episcopacy. Never at any time did any man who looked into thy |face feel fear of thee, \(\mathbf{O}\) thou Fol. 56 b whose eye was full like the star of the morning and shot \(\overline{\text { peek }}\) forth lightnings at all times. O blessed are the things which I have brought unto thee! If I desired to narrate the account of all thy successes I should be obliged to take to myself those who write down words (i. e. scribes), even as did Moses, the composer and stablisher of the Law, until I had made manifest thy valiant deeds, \(O\) thou holy and perfect man, Apa Pisentius. For thon art like unto the holy anchorites Apa Palamôn, \({ }^{4}\) and Apa Pahômô, \({ }^{5}\) and Apa Patrônios, \({ }^{6}\) and

\footnotetext{
12 Sam. vi. 3-8.
\({ }^{2}\) Ps. cxix. 50.
\({ }^{5}\) Exod. xxxiv. 30.
\({ }^{\text {a }}\) Palamon, or Palaemon, probably the great ascetic who was the instructor and guide of Pachomius in the monastic life; he flourished about the middle of the third century. For his life see Acta SS., May 3.
\({ }^{5}\) Pachomius, the founder of the famous Monastery of Tabenna, which at one time, according to Palladius, contained 1,300 monks. For his life and acts see Amélineau, Hist. de Saint Pakhôme, Paris, 1889.
\({ }^{6}\) A great ascetic, a friend of Pachomius, and an inmate of the Monas-
}

Apa Hôrsiesios, \({ }^{1}\) and Apa Theodore. \({ }^{2}\) Thou art like unto the holy man Basil, \({ }^{3}\) thou art like unto Gregory \({ }^{4}\) the Theologian, each of whom was associated with the throne of priesthood like unto thyself.

Now as concerning the marvellous acts of thy great power which were performed with quietness, no man whatsoever can Fol. 57 a know | the full tale thereof; but those which we have seen with our eyes, and those which we have heard with our ears that love discourses concerning his power, these, I say, are the things which we will now declare.

O ye who are God-loving sons, know that [on one occasion] when the days of the festival of Easter drew nigh, now it was during the forty days [of Lent], the holy Archbishop of the Alexandrians sent messages to the South, throughout all Egypt, pointing out to the Bishops, and the clergy, and all the orthodox people, saying, 'Prepare ye yourselves, for the days of Easter are drawing nigh, and make ye arrangements concerning the forty holy days in respect of the months in which they are to fall, and the time when they are to come to an end.' And the Patriarch Apa Damianus, Fol. 876 Archbishop of Alexandria, | despatched certain God-loving members of the clergy to the South with the holy message,
tery of Tabenna. On the death of Pachomius, about 350, he was elected Archimandrite, but he died a very short time afterwards. One of his kind actions in respect of Sylvanus the actor is recorded in the 'Rule of Pachomius' (Palladius, Paradise, ed. Budge, vol. i, pp. 285, 286).
\({ }^{1}\) Arsisius, a friend and contemporary of Anthony the Great, who at one time lived in the Nitrian Valley, where his contemporaries were Busiris, Petâ-Bast, Hagî̂s, Khronis, and Serapion. Palladius saw him and conversed with him. The name Hôrsiesis, or Arsisius, \(=\) the Egyptian Heru-sa-Àst

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{2}\) The famous friend and confidant of Pachomius, who lived in the Monastery of Tabenna. There is frequent mention of him in the Life of Pachomius published by Amélineau.
\({ }^{3}\) Basil, Bishop of Caesarea, born about 329, died about 379.
4 Gregory Nazianzenus, born at Arianzus, in the first quarter of the fourth century. He was bishop of Sasima and Constantinople from \(370-390\), and he died about 390 .
}
so that they might deliver it in every city. Now it was the holy man Apa Damianus who had consecrated the holy man Apa Pisentius bishop of the city of Coptos. And when the God-loving clergy had arrived in order to sojourn with our holy father Apa Pisentius, they received a blessing from his holy hand, and they seated themselves in his presence. Now it happened according to the dispensation of God that on that day there were certain great men sitting with him.

And a certain man who lived in a neighbouring country, who was a shepherd and was then pasturing his flock, came into the presence of Apa Pisentius that day, in order that he might receive a blessing at his hand. Now according to the favourable opportunity afforded by God, the shepherd came into the chamber as soon as he found that the door was opened, |and he cast himself down at the feet of Apa Pi- Fol. 58 a sentius whilst the clergy who had been sent by the Patriarch pere Damianus were with him. And when he was standing upright, having kissed his holy feet, he brought himself near his holy hands so that he might receive a blessing, and he gazed in his face, and he wished to draw his hands to him. But the bishop would not give him the blessing, and he cried out, saying, ' Who is it that hath permitted this worthless and sinful fellow to enter this place, who hath allowed this man, whose head ought to be removed, [to come hither ?] Get thee gone out of this place, \(O\) thou unclean one who art an abomination unto God. Come hither, John, and do thon cast him forth.'

Then I John, the disciple of Apa Pisentius, laid hold of the man, and I cast him forth. And when we had gone a little way outside the door, I enquired of him, saying, 'What hast thou been doing to-day to cause the great man to be so angry with thee? Verily \(\mid\) he passed the day very happily Fol. 58 b indeed, and was in a joyful mood until thou didst enter his pere presence; his wrath would not have blazed up against thee unless thou hadst committed this day some very disgraceful
deed. And besides this, the men of the Patriarch Damianus were sitting with him. Now, make thy confession to me, for it is written, Make manifest your sins to each other, and pray ye each on the other's behalf, so that your sins may be forgiven you.' \({ }^{1}\)

And the shepherd answered and said, 'How did it happen that I did not die this day when I rose up from my sleep? \({ }^{2}\) Now it came to pass that, whilst I was pasturing my sheep to-day among the thorn bushes, a woman passed me on the road whom I knew. And I laid hold upon her in the foolishness of my heart, and I lay with her, thinking that Fol. \(59 a\) the great man would never know anything about it. But,
\(\overline{\text { pee\% }}\) by God, Who is the witness of my soul, immediately he looked at me, the consciousness sprang up in me that he knew what I had done. And a mighty pain smote me at once in all my body, and I came nigh falling on my face, and I should have done so if it had not been that thou didst seize me, and bring me out by the door. It (i.e. his look) made me powerless, and I was ahout to fall upon my face.'

Then that shepherd brought several cheeses in wicker baskets, and he said unto me, 'I entreat thee to take these few cheeses from my hands, and to send them to these men who are with thee in thy house; since I have brought them, be not grieved at me.' \({ }^{3}\) Then I answered and said unto him, 'I will not take Fol. \(59 b\) them without the knowledge of the great man, | lest if he find \(\overline{\text { Perf }}\) it out he scold me.' And that shepherd answered and said unto me, ' \(I\) conjure thee by God Almighty to take them from my hands, and to give them to the poor on my behalf.' Now when I heard [him mention] the awful Name of God, I felt afraid, and I took them from his hands on account of the oath [which he had sworn] by God. And I carried them and put them down along with the other cheeses which

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Jas. v. 16. \(\quad{ }^{2}\) i.e. 0 why did I not die when I woke up? \({ }^{3}\) i.c. This is my offering for my sin, forgive me.
}
had been brought unto me that day. And I said in my heart, ' I will not let the great man know about my act at all.'

And it came to pass at the hour of evening that day, that when the time for repose and meditation had come, he (i.e. Apa Pisentius) rose up in order that he might give some cheese to the clergy. And he said unto me, 'If cheeses have been brought unto thee this day, bring some of them hither to me so that I may send | them to the clergy of the Archbishop.' Then I took all the cheeses, and I threw those

Fol. 60 a ples which the shepherd had brought with them. And when the bishop had looked at them he said unto me, 'Bring hither to me a platter,' and he uttered the following riddle, saying thus: 'This day, a man whose eyes were open, a man whose eyes had no darkness [in them], and who saw clearly, covered up his eyes by day and by night, and walked about like a blind man, although his eyes possessed the faculty of sight. Would not every man who saw him rebuke him, saying, Why is it since God hath given light to thine eyes that thou lovest to adopt the guise of the blind men who walk in darkness at all times?' And I confess unto you that when my father had spoken these words to me, he picked out all the cheeses | which the shepherd had given unto me, and he Fol. 60 b divided them from the others, and placed them on the platter \(\overline{\mathrm{Pr}}\) and said unto me, 'I say unto thee that these cheeses belonged to the shepherd which I caused to be driven forth from me this day; now when thou hadst thrown him out, why didst thou accept them from his hands? Look now, and consider; whom dost thou resemble? Thou resemblest Gehazi, \({ }^{1}\) who ministered unto Elisha, who made the man to turn back, and who took from him two talents and two changes of raiment. Look now also and consider in what manner Elisha cursed him—he made the leprosy of Naaman to grow in his body. Now therefore, rise up, and take thou

\footnotetext{
12 Kings \(\mathbf{v} .21\) ff.
}
the cheeses to him wheresoever thou canst find him. Verily [even if thou hast to sit up] until midnight thou Fol. \(61 a\) shalt not | sleep in this place until thou hast given them जिव to him.'

Then I said unto Apa Pisentius, 'Forgive me, 0 my father. When I had thrown him out of the door, he swore mighty oaths to me, and I was afraid of the oath which he swore in [the Name of] God, and I took the cheeses from him.' And Apa Pisentius answered and said, 'Do not attempt to anoint my head with the oil of the sinner. It was Paul himself, the sweet-smelling tongue who spake in the Epistle which he wrote unto the Corinthians saying, I have written to you in the Epistle: Hold no converse with whoremongers, and not even with thy familiar friend, if he be a whoremonger; have no friendship with him. \({ }^{1}\) And again [he saith]: The whoremongers and the adulterers shall God judge. \({ }^{2}\) And again [he saith]: Lest there be a Fol. 616 filthy whoremonger like Esau. \({ }^{3}\) | And again it saith: No \(\overline{\text { prif }}\) whoremonger shall inherit the kingdom of the heavens. \({ }^{4}\) Get thee gone therefore, at once, and give the cheeses back to him, and peradventure we may be able to deliver his soul from the hand of the Devil; indeed he is a miserable man.' I departed therefore and I gave the cheeses to him on the evening of that same day, and I returned to my place according to the advice of my holy father.

Now ye must know that our righteous father Apa Pisentius was inspired by the Holy Spirit, and he was a righteous man, and if [ye imagine] that he was not, hearken ye unto the following narrative, and ye will assuredly be struck with wonder. Now it came to pass again on a certain day that my lord and father sent me on a message, which was urgent, to a certain district of Djême. Now it was very late in the day when I started to come back, and before I could get

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1} 1\) Cor. v. 9, 11.
\({ }^{2}\) Heb. xiii. 4.
\({ }^{s}\) Heb. xii, 16.
\({ }^{4} 1\) Cor. vi. 10.
}
back it was dark night. And when I had entered on the road which | leads into [the mountain], behold, two hyenas Fol. \(62 a\) came running after me, as I was riding my ass, and they prex sprang towards the ass wishing to seize her and to pull it down. In very truth their teeth were within a very little of touching my feet. And I cried out, saying, ' May the prayers of my father help me and keep me from the mouths of these beasts.' And before the words left my mouth, the animals took themselves off in another direction, and they did not do me the very least harm. Now by reason of the loudness of their panting it appeared to me as if they were fleeing in great haste from some one who was pursuing them; and they fled as soon as ever they heard the name of the great man, Apa Pisentius.

And when I had journeyed on a little further, a number of wolves attacked me; now they ejected a lot of dung on my back, and | threw up very much dust about me, \({ }^{1}\) and I was Fol. 62 b obliged to abandon the beast whereon I was riding. And Fira again I cried out uttering prayers to God and to my holy father, Apa Pisentius, who had delivered me from the mouths of the hyenas, saying, ' Deliver thou me at this time also from these wolves.' And before the words had escaped from my mouth one of the wolves let out a mighty cry, and they all turned away and fled in another direction, through the prayers of my holy father, Apa Pisentius. [Now] they all turned away through the prayers of my father Apa Pisentius. Now as for me, I entered into the plain of the mountain of Tsentê, and I ascribed glory to God because of what had happened to me, namely that He had delivered me from the mouths of [these] evil beasts. And when I had entered into the \(\mid\) heart [of the mountain], I found her Fol. 63 a (i.e. the beast he had abandoned); and the holy man was pre engaged in studying [the book of a] certain prophet. Then I took the beast into the shed for the animals, and my father

\footnotetext{
1 This rendering is uncertain.
}
was looking down on me [as I did so] from the wall of the tower. And he said unto me, ' \(O\) John'; and I made answer to him, saying, 'Bless me, my father!' And he said unto me, ' Have I not told thee that thou art not to travel by the inner road late in the day, and that thou art only to do so in the early morning? A very little more and the wild beasts would have eaten thee up; they would have done so now had it not been for the mercy of God.'

Thus ye may see, O my beloved, that he always knew what was happening, and no matter where the place was wherein any event happened, he was always certain to know about that event. But he kept it secret, according to the habit of his life, for he did not desire to give any man cause to give to him the approbation which appertaineth to men, | Fol. 63 beven as the wise man Paul spake, saying, ' I seek not the \(\overline{\text { pre }}\) glory of men, nor of yourselves, nor of others.' \({ }^{1}\)

Now, if I wished to tell you concerning all the works which we have seen done by the blessed old man Apa Pisentius, this discourse would become inordinately long, but inasmuch as the Scriptures inform us, saying, 'The works of God are good, make thou them manifest unto every one,' \({ }^{2}\) I will relate unto you a few more deeds, out of a very large number, concerning the splendid acts of this perfect man, and afterwards we will bring our discourse to a close. Now it came to pass on a day that a certain man came unto him from the district of Kebt (Coptos), and there was travelling with him his son, who had reached a time of life when he might, very properly, have been permitted to undergo the yoke of Fol. 64 a matrimony. And the two men went together |into the Pr7 presence of [the holy man Apa Pisentius], and they bowed low [before him], and cast themselves down at his feet. And the holy man said unto the man, 'Why hast thou not taken a wife for thy son?'-now that man was an inhabitant of the town of Coptos. And the man answered and said,

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1} 1\) Thess. ii. 6.
\({ }^{2}\) Tobit xii. 7.
}
' My father, he is a mere boy, and hath not yet arrived at the proper age for marriage; and he is prudent.' And the holy man answered and said, 'Verily thy son is a habitual fornicator, and if thou permittest him, he will tell [thee] the truth.'

The man said, ' If he be a fornicator, behold, I will put him into thy hands, so that thou mayest do unto him whatsoever it pleaseth thee.' And the holy prophet answered and said, 'When thou goest to enter into thy village thou shalt meet a certain woman in the first street of thy village, she is the daughter of such and such a man, and that which is inside her shall bear witness to thee that it is thy son who hath | been Fol. \(64 b\) sleeping with her. But do not think that I say this wholly PNF and solely of myself, most assuredly not, for I have been informed concerning this matter by certain men who are worthy to be believed. Nevertheless, if thou wilt hearken unto me thou wilt take her for him to wife, inasmuch as he hath humiliated her; and, in truth, I shall be unable to permit him to partake of the Mysteries until he hath taken her to wife. For the Law commandeth: "If a man lie with a maiden unto whom he hath not been betrothed, and he take her by force, and he be [found] with her, he shall give fifty 'crowns' to her [father], now fifty shekels is the proper price of a virgin, and he shall live with her, because he hath humbled her, whether she be a poor maiden or whether she be a rich maiden." \({ }^{1}\)
' Now therefore, since the Devil made thy son to fall in with the woman, do thou depart, and take her for him to wife. Do not give him the opportunity to commit sin, because God will enquire of thee concerning the salvation of his soul. For if thou wilt make him to enter into the estate of holy matri- Fol. 65 a mony, and he fall afterwards into this sin, his blood by these рне means shall be on his own head, and on his only. Do not give him the chance of making thee alone the excuse for his

\(\sin\) before the throne of the Christ, and of saying, "My father would not take a wife for me," for then the whole danger of his \(\sin\) would be upon thee, because thou hast taught him the Law of God carelessly, even as it is pointed out in the Holy Scriptures concerning Eli, the priest, saying, "He taught his sons the Law of God carelessly."'1 Then the man answered and said, 'Every word which thou hast spoken I will truly keep, for he who sheweth himself disobedient to thee sheweth himself disohedient towards the Christ, because the words which come forth from thy mouth are the words of life.' Then the blessed Apa Pisentius said unto him, 'The Lord be with you; depart in peace,' and they came away from his Fol. \(65 b\) presence, and they did \| as be had commanded them, and
\(\overline{\mathbf{p}}\), their hearts enjoyed great rest.
And again it came to pass on a day that our holy father Apa Pisentius, the bishop, passed through the village to inspect his churches. Now when he had finished he looked on them (i.e. the people), and when he was returning to the monastery, and was passing along the way by the canal, a certain husbandman brought to him an ewe which belonged to him in order that he might make the Sign of the Cross over her. Observe ye now the power of God. The Sign of the Cross which the holy man made on her with his finger sank down into her womb, and when she brought forth her lamb they found on it the Sign of the Cross with which the holy man had marked her. Now the holy man made the Sign of the Cross on the outside of the ewe, and it appeared on the body of the lamb in the form of a piece of white wool, which Fol. \(66 a\) was like unto \(\mid\) snow. And in every man who was sick, no \(\overline{\mathbf{P}^{\mathbf{d}}}\) matter of what kind his sickness might be, immediately the holy man Apa Pisentius stretched out his hand over him, and made the Sign of the Cross over him, the sickness ceased.

Come ye then, O all ye whose hearts are straight in respect of God and the holy man, and let us make supplication unto

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) See 1 Sam. ii. 22 ; iii. 13.
}
him with tears and with repentance, in order that Apa Pisentius may entreat the Christ to shew mercy upon us when it shall come to us to meet Him face to face; for it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God.

Now if there be among you any one who shall be so bold as to waste his time in trying to refute the statement which I have dared to make to the effect that the holy man, Apa Pisentius, the bishop, is a companion of the Christ, let him come now and consider the words which are in the holy Gospel according to John, and let him hear God crying out by the mouth of His holy and beloved one John, | the Fol. 66 b Evangelist, saying, ' Ye are My companions when ye do the things which I have commanded you.' \({ }^{1}\) And again, 'To you whom I have called "My friends", all the things which I have heard from My Father I have shewn unto you. \({ }^{2}\) And again, \({ }^{\prime}\) It is not ye who have chosen Me , but it is I who have chosen you, and I have left you in order that your fruit may be abiding, and may live for ever.' \({ }^{3}\) Know ye therefore, O my beloved, that he who doeth the will of God, the same is His companion and His friend, even according to what is said in the holy Gospel, ' He who shall do the will of My Father which is in the heavens, this same is My brother, and My sister, and My mother. \({ }^{14}\)
And again it came to pass on a day that they brought unto him a certain youth / who was possessed of a demon, and they Fol. 67 a besought the holy man, saying, ' Do an act of gracious good- \(\overline{\boldsymbol{p}}{ }^{\mathbf{c}}\) ness, and be pleased to make the Sign of the Cross over him, for the demon which possesseth him is exceediugly evil.' And the holy man asked his father, saying, ' Did this calamity come upon him a very long time ago?' And the father of the youth said unto him, 'Behold, it is seven years, [since we have asked] thy prayers, O my father. And the demon is in the habit of casting him on the ground, and of making him

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) John xv. 14.
\({ }^{2}\) John xv. 15.
\({ }^{3}\) John xv. 16.
- Matt. xii. 50.
}
to stagger about like a camel, his eyes being filled with blood, and often and often this has continued until we were in despair about him, thinking that the demon would kill him. And [sometimes] he doth not speak at all. Do an act of gracious goodness, and be pleased to help him, O my father.'

Then my father cried out unto me, 'John.' And he said unto me, 'Go thou to the laver of the congregation, and bring hither to me a little water, so that I may sprinkle Fol. 67 b it upon this youth, for I cannot | endure seeing this demon \(\overline{\mathbf{P Z 2}}\) inflicting such severe suffering upon him.' I went therefore into the room of the assembly, according to the command of my lord and father, the blessed Apa Pisentius, and I made Apa Elisha, the presbyter and overseer of the place (or, shrine), go into the place of the altar of sacrifice, and he poured a little of the water which was there into a vessel, and I brought it to the holy man; and the holy man dipped his finger in this water, and made the Sign of the Cross on the youth in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And he gave some of the water to his father, saying unto him, 'Take thou thy son, and depart thou to thy house, and thou shalt give him to drink of this water which I have given thee from the laver of the congregation, and thou shalt believe in the Lord, and He shall heal him.' Now, my father acted in this way and did not himself give the youth Fol. \(68 a\) the water to drink with his own hands, | and so make the demon come out from him immediately, lest men should ascribe praise to him, and say, Apa Pisentius hath cast the demon out of the son of such and such a man, because he did not wish to receive glorifying from the children of men.

And it came to pass that when the man had taken his son, that he might depart to his house, now, according to what the man himself confessed to me with his own mouth, [this happened] a few days after, whilst he was taking him back home, [and the man said], 'Whilst I was walking along with my son, and when I was a long way from you, the demon
suddenly hurled him to the ground, and made him writhe in agony, and then cried out inside him, "Pisentins, by the Sign of the Cross which thou didst make with thy finger, thou hast driven me forth from my dwelling-place." And immediately that the youth was purified I took him into my house with | joy, and the demon never returned to him to Fol. 68 b the day of his death.'

And it came to pass that after a few days, the [father of the youth] went to the great man, and he made obeisance to him, and he laid hold of his hand, saying, 'I tell thee that the young man is free from the demon.' And the father of the youth confessed to him, saying, 'I tell thee, O my father, that immediately I had given him to drink of that water which thy fatherhood gave to me, the merciful Lord graciously bestowed healing upon my son through thy holy prayers.' And Apa Pisentius answered, saying, 'Everything is possible to him that believeth; and assuredly the water which is in the chamber of the altar of sacrifice healeth every one who believeth. And do not think that this gracious healing is to be attributed to me, for assuredly it is in no way whatsoever due to me, but to the power of God which abideth | in His holy shrine, and is given unto those who Fol. \(69 a\) enter therein in sincere faith and with a heart wherein is \(\overline{\mathbf{P Z}}\) no unbelief. As for me, O my son, I am the least of anything in a matter of this kind.' And when Apa Pisentius had said these words, the man departed from his presence, and ascribed glory to God, and rendered abundant thanks to my blessed father.

And again it came to pass on a day that the spirit of jealousy invaded the heart of a certain man, and he became jealous about his wife. And the Devil, the hater of that which is good, and who longeth to do evil to the race of mankind, cast a stumbling-block into the heart of her husband in respect of a man whom he believed to have had carnal intercourse with his wife. Now the woman was innocent
of that offence, and the man who was accused was himself Fol. \(69 b\) innocent of the |charge of impurity which was brought \(\overline{\mathbf{P} \mathbf{Z}_{\mathbf{H}}}\) against him in respect of the woman, even as the story itself will teach us if we proceed with it to the end. So the husband cast out his wife from his house because of the evil which existed in his own heart in respect of her. And his father and his mother both took the greatest pains, but were wholly unable to convince the mind of the husband [of his wife's innocence], and to make him to live with her ; even according to that which Solomon spake, 'The heart of her husband is full of jealonsy' \({ }^{1}\). . . Finally the matter came to the ears of the clergy of his village, who had made him an assistant in the administration of the Holy Mysteries, and the clergy informed my holy father concerning the matter. Then my father sent a message to him, saying, 'Trouble [not] thyself : I will find for thee the defence which is necessary.' Fol. \(70 a\) And the husband \| spread abroad rumours throughout the village, and he went about from place to place threatening, and saying, 'I will never again go to Pisentius; what hath Pisentius to do with my affair?' Now the man was a native of the town of Kebt (Coptos). And during the time in which he was uttering [these] words he became more and more angry.

And when the sun was about to depart to his place of sunset on that same day-now it was God Who said in [the Book of] the Prophet, 'Cast [thy] dispute upon Me, I will avenge thee,' saith the Lord \({ }^{2}\)-a certain terrible sickness came upon that man with the darkness, and he began to suffer great tortures in his inward parts, which caused him intense pain, and he cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'Take me to my father Apa Pisentius, for I tell thee that [these] pains have come upon me through him. O my father, do a loving act, and help me, for indeed I am come into the Fol. 706 straits of \(\mid\) death (i.e. to the last gasp). And if thou dost not

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Perhaps Prov. vi. 34 is alluded to.
\({ }^{2}\) Compare Rom. yii. 19 ; Mic. vii. 9.
}
take me to him, I shall never find relief.' And his father and his mother despaired [of his life], and thought that he would die. And they said, 'Since he saith "Take me to Apa Pisentius, the bishop", if he is to live, let us persuade ourselves to do as he saith. In any case, if we take him to him, and he make the Sign of the Cross over him, at least the tortures which he is suffering will be lessened.' Now this took place very soon after my father Apa Pisentius had been made a bishop.

Then they took the sick man up to the mountain to my father, and they called out inside [the court], and I [John] went out to them. And the father of the man said unto me, \({ }^{5}\) John, if thou wouldst ever look upon me again, do an act of love, and inform the great man, for if thou dost not my son is in danger of dying, and I believe by God, that if he were to make the Sign of the Cross | over my son he would find Fol. \(71 a\) relief immediately. He hath entreated me, saying, "Take me to Apa Pisentius, the bishop, in order that I may have relief from these pains by which, through his agency, I am suffering torture." Now if I were to discuss the matter with the bishop in my present distracted state, I should talk like a man without understanding.' And his son also cried out to me, saying, ' \(O\) John, do an act of love, take in the news of my arrival to the great man, for the straits of death have come upon me. Behold thou seest me thyself in my necessity. O why did I not keep my mouth shut, and why did I not die before I repeated the report that day? Get thee in quickly, and inform my lord and father Apa Pisentius about my sufferings. Help thou me, and do not abandon me to death on thy threshold.'

And when I had heard these things from the man and from his son, I went in and | informed my father concerning Fol. \(71 b\) [the arrival of] the man and his son. And he said unto me, \(\overline{\mathrm{poh}}\) 'Keep away from him until he maketh the petition in a proper manner, for he is not a man without education.' And

I answered and said unto him, ' If I leave him outside a very little longer, he will die. The breath which is left in him at this moment is very little, and according to what I see of him he hath contracted a fatal disease.' Then my father said unto me, 'Let him [enter] in with thee.' And when he had come in with his father, he threw himself down at the feet of my father, and remained there for a long time. And my father said unto him, 'Rise up, O thou boorish man.' And the man answered and said, 'As the Lord liveth, if I have to pass three whole days kneeling at thy feet I will do so; unless thou liftest up thy feet on my head, I will not rise up.' Fol. 72 a And my father laid hold upon the hair of his head, \(\mid\) and \(\overline{\text { Pover lifted him up, and he said unto him, ' Rise up, for behold }}\) God will bestow healing upon thee graciously, if only thou wilt hearken unto me.' And the man answered and said, 'I swear by my necessity wherefrom thy prayers have delivered me, that whether I live one year [more] or two, I will never, never again dare to be disobedient unto thee.'

And my father answered and said unto him, 'What I have to lay upon thee is this-Thou hast driven thy wife out of thy house for no reason whatsoever. And as concerneth the offence wherewith thou hast charged her in thy mind, she and the man also are both innocent. But I say unto thee, supposing that thou wishest to be wholly satisfied in respect of her, and in respect of the man about whom thou hast thought evil in thy mind-now, my son, man looketh at the Fol. \(72 b\) face only, but God looketh at the heart-when thou | goest \(\overline{\text { POD }}\) into thy house, take thy wife back into the house, and God shall make thee to be acceptable unto her, and if she shall incline unto thee, and shall conceive and bring forth a man child unto thee, [thou wilt know that] the report which bath been spread abroad about her is not true. And believe me, for she is a free woman. If, however, she shall bear thee a daughter, live not with her, but cast her forth from thy house, for she is not innocent of the offence wherewith they
have charged her, and she hath defiled her marriage [bed]. But if it be a man child which she shall bring forth, the report which hath been spread abroad about her is not true, and she is innocent of the charge of which she was thought to be guilty. And if thou wishest to make her swear an oath I shall not attempt to prevent thee, for the law of God giveth the following command: | "If the wife of any man step out Fol. \(73 a\) of the path, and he shall have no knowledge whatsoever of it, and another man shall lie with her and shall know her carnally, and the matter be hidden from her husband, and he knoweth nothing at all about it, and the woman herself doth not conceive, and there be no witness to stand up and testify against her, the woman shall be taken to the priest, and he shall make her take the oath, and he shall give her the water of the curse, and she shall drink it. If the offence wherewith she is charged hath been actually committed, that water shall make her body to become covered with burning pustules [and] leprosy. But if it be that she hath been accused falsely, she shall conceive a son." \({ }^{1}\) And now, O my son, if thou art quite satisfied about the matter, [good and well]; but if not, make her take the oath. I shall not attempt to prevent thee.'

And the man answered and said, ' From that very moment when thy \| fatherhood [hegan] to speak to me my heart Fol. 73 b hath been satisfied about the matter. And I shall never \(\overline{\text { por }}\) again hesitate to obey thee.' And he received a blessing from the holy man, and he came forth from his presence and departed to his house with his father, glorifying God and the holy man Apa Pisentius. Now when he had gone into his house, he made peace with his wife, and begot a son according to the word of Apa Pisentius, who was like unto an Apostle. And the man called the name of his son 'Pisentius', and he lived with his wife from that very day until the day of his death. And the holy man performed three miracles, each of which was more wonderful than the other, and thesc are

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\({ }^{1}\) Num. v. 12 ff.
}
they; [the miracle] of the woman whom he delivered from the false accusation wherewith she had been charged; and [the miracle] of the man who was made a free man; and the Fol. 74 a setting free of the body of the | husband of a woman, on whose \(\overline{\mathbf{0 0 3}}\) navel a spell had been cast by the power of Satan, and the making of those who had been married to live together in peace again.

Verily, exceedingly great is thy wonderful life, \(O\) thou angel of the Lord of Might! For who is able to recount all the wonderful things which have taken place through thee, both those which belong to the period of thy youth (or, childhood), and those which have taken place during the time in which thou didst lead the life of a monk? And as for those which took place through thy hands after thou didst become bishop, and which thou didst order, and didst wish that no man should ever gain any knowledge of them whatsoever, no man could possibly describe them completely. Now ye must not make the soul of the blessed man to condemn me because I have related these few matters in [my] Fol. 74 b Encomium upon him, for I think | that we have not exceeded the measure in declaring merely these few unimportant matters. But let us hearken to the following commandment with which the Apostle commanded us, saying, ' Give ye unto every one such things as ye have, tribute to whom tribute is due, tax to whom tax is due, fear to whom fear is due, honour to whom honour is due.' \({ }^{1}\) Verily, [O Apa Pisentius,] thou art worthy of all honour and all glory, according to that which the Psalmist David saith, 'Bring honour and reverence unto the Lord, bring glory unto His holy Name.' \({ }^{2}\)

Now hearken ye unto another great and wonderful thing, and ascribe ye glory unto the Lord! And it came to pass on another occasion that a certain man came unto him, and made supplication unto him, saying, ' I beseech thee to perform an act of love, and to help me, O my lord and father.

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Rom. xiii. 7.
* Ps. xxix. 1, 2.
}

There is an obligation on me in respect of a certain man of thirty-six "holokottinoi", \({ }^{1}\) and they are pressing me |urgently Fol. \(75 \alpha\) concerning them, and \(I\) am not able to find them to pay them to him. And I possess nothing whatsoever except a son, my only son, and him they have seized, and they have put him securely in the guard-house (i.e. prison), and they are wishing to make him a slave. I beseech thy fatherhood to shew compassion upon me. If there was any one whom thou couldst cause to give me this small sum I could go and give it to the man, and then they would let my only son go free.' Now that man was a soldier, and he was a native of the district, and he dwelt in a part (?) of the mountain of Teiladj. \({ }^{2}\) And having heard of the fame of \(m y\) father, and that he was a most charitable and generous bishop, he rose up and came to him with his wife, and he wished to find out whether he was one who gave alms freely or not. Now he put the woman again into the boat in which he brought her, \({ }^{3}\) and he hid thirty-six "holokottinoi" | in the boat . . . with her ; now Fol. 75 b these he had carried off from a man whose blood he had shed. \(\overline{\mathbf{p}}\)

And he came to my father wishing to try him and to see whether that which he had heard about him was true or not. Now the day whereon he came to the holy bishop Apa Pisentius was that in which the bishop had gone into the holy congregation of Tsentei, and had taken part in the Catholic Synaxis, for it was the day of the festival of the Archbishop and Patriarch, Apa Severus, Archbishop of Antioch. \({ }^{4}\) And he sat down until Apa Pisentius came out from the congregation, when he cast himself down at his feet, and informed him of the matter whereof \(I\) have already spoken.

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\({ }^{1}\) The go入оноттнос \(=\) 入ornoxs \(=\operatorname{dinâr}=\) solidus, about ten shillings' worth of gold.

2 The Nilopolis of the Greeks and the Dallâs sy of the Arab writers. See Quatremère, Mémoires, tom. i, p. 506 ; Boinet Bey, Dict. Geog., p. 160 ; Amélineau, Dict. Géog., p. 136.
s According to the Memphitic version he sent his wife in the boat to the south, and she had the money in her hands.
* He sat from A. D. 512-519.
}

And when the great man had heard it, he said unto the soldier through an interpreter, ' The place of Pisentius is not Fol. 76 a a place for jesting. Get thee gone, \(\mid\) and take the thirty\(\overline{p \pi h}(s i c)\) six "holokottinoi" from the hand of thy wife who is on board the boat by the place of the ferry. As for the money (?), behold, it is tied up in a bundle in her hand, and it is this which thou hast brought to tempt me therewith. Behold now what it was that thou didst wish to do. Because thou hadst shed the blood of a man, and hadst taken [these moneys] out of his hand, thou didst say, "I will take them and give them as an offering for the salvation of my soul." Verily I say unto thee, that if the whole world were given in alms on thy behalf then the smallest act of mercy shall never be shewn unto thee, until thine own blood hath been poured out even as thou hast poured out the blood of thy neighbour, according to that which is written, Whosoever sheddeth the Fol. 76 b blood of a man, the blood of him that sheddeth it shall be Fira shed in its stead, because man was made according to the image of God.' \({ }^{1}\) Now when the man had heard these words he marvelled exceedingly, for he thought that the matter would be hidden from the new Elisha, and he did not know that the Spirit which spake to the Apostles was the same as that which spake in the Prophets, and he did not know that the same God was the God of all of them. And he came forth from the presence of Apa Pisentius weeping, and he went into his house exceedingly sorrowful at heart.

Now ye know, [ O my beloved,] that in the beginning of this Encomium I did not fail to say that the blessed man Fol. 77 a Apa Pisentius was endowed with the gift of the Spirit, | for \(\overline{\text { pre }}\) whenever any man went into his presence, as soon as he had looked into his face he knew for what purpose he had come to him. But he hated the vain approbation of men, and he hid his manuer of life so that no man whatsoever might attain to the full knowledge of the same.

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Gen. ix. 6.
}

Now it came to pass also on another occasion when he was fleeing from before the face of the Persians [that] he might lead a life of peaceful meditation in the mountain of Djême, that he departed into the mountain not a little way in order that he might pray. And when he had passed three or four hours in travelling, he prayed in place after place, and there is no man who is able to estimate the number of the prayers which he made by day and by night. Now, he was in the habit of praying four hundred times during the night. | And Fol. \(77 b\) he turned to me, and he said unto me, 'Take good heed to \(\overline{\mathbf{p H e}}\) thyself, for I found a huge serpent in the mountain to-day; and he is not very far from us at this moment. But \(I\) have confidence in God that He will not permit him to remain in our neighbourhood.' Now when the morning had come, I looked out, and at the distance of about the flight of an arrow, I saw a very large number of birds and vultures gathered together upon a crag of the rock. And [my father] cried out to me, and said unto me, ' I think that God hath destroyed the dragon.' And he spake yet again unto me and said, 'Why hast thou not given thine attention to the words of the Scriptures, and understood them, according to that which the wise man David saith: Thou hast set him that was higher than thou for a place of refuge ; The evil shall not draw nigh unto thee, neither shall the \(\mid\) evil draw nigh Fol. 78 a to thy habitation; Thou shalt go up upon the adder and the \(\overline{\mathbf{\rho N F}}\) scorpion, thou shalt tread upon the lion and the serpent; Because he hath believed in Me I will deliver him, and I will protect him because he hath known My Name; He shall cry out unto Me , and I will hearken unto him.' \({ }^{1}\)

And it came to pass that God wished to remove him [from this world] to the habitation of those who rejoice, the place wherefrom sorrow, and grief, and sighing have fled away, the place where are the Prophets and the Patriarchs and the Apostles, for he was a Patriarch like Abraham, and an

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Ps. xci. 9.
}

Apostle like unto the Apostles, and a Prophet like unto the Prophets, even like unto Samuel, and those who came after Fol. 78 b him, | and he was a high priest [worthy of] reverence, even \(\overline{\text { PIIF }}\) as were Moses and Aaron and those who came after them. And when he had come to the end of the sickness through which he went to his rest, now it was in the month of Epêp of the fifth year (?), he cried out to me on the night of the eighth day of Epêp, and he said, 'John, is there any one with thee?' And I said, 'There is no one with me save Moses, and Elisha the Elder, who have come to visit thee.' And my father cried out, ‘Moses, Moses, Moses. Be careful to make thy life exceedingly correct. Thou knowest in what manner thou hast been brought up by me. Take thou great care of my parchment books, for thou wilt have great need for them. And thou shalt not escape from this burden.' And again he turned to Elisha the Preshyter, and said unto him, Elisha, 'Govern thou most carefully the brethren. Lay fast hold | Fol. \(79 a\) upon the things which I have commanded thee, and do thou
\(\overline{\boldsymbol{\beta} \pi \Theta}\) summon the brethren regularly each hour in order that they may recite their offices according to the rules of the brethren, and do good to their souls through thee.'

Then Elisha answered and said unto him, ' My father, I have approached [the time] for going to all my fathers. If thou art going to die it is better that I should die first, for if the pillar whereon we are all firmly established shall fall, the destruction of the mountain of Tsentei will draw nigh. And where shall we find another who will shepherd us as thou hast done, O my lord and holy father, if thou dost depart? Thou hast directed and made straight the course of thy ship to the haven which is fair. Thou hast prepared thyself, and thou shalt never be disturbed (or, troubled), according to the words of the gentle David, [who said,] I have prepared myself, I shall never be disturbed \({ }^{1}\) (or, troubled). For we shall feel the lack of thee sorely, and

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Ps. xvi. 8.
}
we shall be \(\mid\) orphans from this day forward.' And my Fol. 79 b father answered and said unto me, 'Verily, five days were \(\overline{\boldsymbol{\beta} Y}\) given unto me from the third day.' And I answered and said unto him, ' What was it that happened unto thee that thou sayest these things to me?' And he said unto me, ' Before I spake unto thee an ecstasy came upon me, and a man of light came and stood before me. And he said unto me, "Pisentius, Pisentius, Pisentius!"-three times_-"prepare thyself, for there remain unto thee in this world five days, and then thou shalt come to me." And when he had said these things unto me, he departed. And now, behold, I must depart the way of all my fathers.'

And when my father had said these things unto me, a great outcry broke forth with tears and sobs in [our] midst; 'Thus are we bereaved of our good \| father, the consoler of Fol. 80 a those who were in trouble, who gave penitence to the sinner, \(\overline{\text { ped }}\) who provided the poor with food, and who made it his care to find clothing for their bodies.' And I confess unto you, [ O my beloved], here in the presence of God, that from the time when my father heard concerning the Persians, he never applied to his own use any of the things which could be of use to the poor, even to the cap upon his head, but he distributed everything, and gave it in alms to the poor. The things which he gave with his own hands, and the things which he commanded me to give, and the things which he sent to the faithful, village by village, and which were distributed to each man according to his need, no man can possibly know the sum thereof. Only God, unto Whom all praise be given, knoweth it.

And I said unto my holy father, who arrayed himself in Christ, Apa Pisentius, | 'Peradventure, O my father, dost Fol. 80 b thou think that we shall not again devote ourselves [to the \(\overline{\mathbf{p e q}}\) poor], if thou dost not bequeath any possessions which may remain to us?' My father answered and said unto me, 'We must devote ourselves to the will of God, O my son, and
whatsoever thou givest-everything-to the poor, the Lord will give unto us twofold.'

What can I say [more], or what can I relate of the valiant deeds of this just man? But now let us devote ourselves to the consideration of his laying down the body. Now he passed three days wherein he neither ate nor drank, neither did he speak unto us, nor turn from one side to the other, but he lay stretched out like a dead man in the hall of the large cell. Then he cried out, ' John,' and I answered, ‘ Bless | Fol. 81 a me.' He said unto me, 'I have come nigh unto my depar\(\overline{\mathrm{p}} \mathrm{T}^{\mathrm{E}}\) ture, and I shall finish my course at the time when the sun shall set to-morrow, which shall be the thirteenth day. But take good heed and do not permit any man to carry my body away from the place which shall be dug for it. During these three days which I have just passed wherein I held no converse with you, I have been standing in the presence of God, and my speech hath been taken away since the ninth hour yesterday. I tell you that God will shew His mercy unto me.'

And I said unto him, ' Do one act of grace, O my father, and partake of a very small quantity of nourishment, for behold, it is now four days since thou hast tasted anything at all.' And my father answered and said unto me, 'My son, shall I eat anything else after [this] word? I say that I will not taste any food whatsoever belonging to this world, and I shall eat nothing at all until I depart to the Christ, and Fol. 816 break my fast with Him.' And it came to pass that when \(\overline{\text { Pera }}\) the light had risen on the thirteenth day of the month Epepp, he said unto me-now there were also certain great men sitting by him-'John, thou knowest all my affairs, and that I have nothing left belonging to the bishopric [or] to the town of Kebt (Coptos) wherewith to bury my body. Nevertheless, I had one good "holokottinos" by me, which I had kept since the day when I lived a life of contemplation in my cell and when I was a monk. This I made to yield an increase
through the work of my hands, and I have guarded it carefully until the day wherein I should have to clothe my body with the work of my hands, so that I might not leave behind me a matter of unpleasantness for those who should succeed me, and who would say, Thou hast broken a custom which was seemly. Do thou then, O John, buy a covering for my body, and do not put on me anything except the shroud wherein I am wrapped, and my monk's dress, and my skull-cap, and my girdle, and my tunic | - Fol. \(82 a\) only these-and ye shall prepare me for burial and ye shall \(\overline{\text { PCe }}\) bury me. And I think, Behold a garden wherein they will bury me. And behold, a place full of wolves, but they will throw a wall about [me], each one working at it according to his good pleasure. But whatever each man doeth, let no man rebuke him, saying, The wall must be thrown round [the grave].' \({ }^{1}\)

And when the holy father Apa Pisentius, the holy hishop, had said these things, he cried out to us, and spake words unto [each] one of us, and then he opened his mouth, and yielded up his spirit into the hands of God, at the moment when the sun was about to set on the thirteenth day of the month of Epêp of this fifth year [of the Indiction]. And we lifted up his holy coffin, and we took it into the holy chamber of the altar of the congregation of Tsentei, and we made it ready for burial according to the instructions which he had given us, and we passed the whole night in lamentation for him. And afterwards we | partook of the Holy Offering over Fol. \(82 b\) him, and we carried him away into the mountain to the place \(\overline{\text { per }}\) which he had made us dig for him that he might remain in our neighbourhood. And we buried him on the fourteenth day of this same month Epêp. In the Peace of God. Amen. Amen.

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Rendering doubtful.
}

\section*{APPENDIX}

In the Memphitic version (ed. Amelineau, Paris, 1887) of the Life of Pisentius three incidents are recorded which find no mention in our manuscript. These are:
I. And it came to pass on a certain day, according to the Will of God, that he went forth, and came to the well in order to fill his water-pot with water. And be walked back, and as he was about to enter his cell he met two women who were seated by the path and were in sorrow. As soon as they saw him, they rose up, and ran after him to receive his blessing, and to kiss bis holy hands. Now one woman had a violent pain in her head (feerkpamion), and she was suffering so much down one side of her face that her eye projected from its socket, and seemed about to fall out; the other woman was dropsical (craponikн) and her whole body was swollen. And when the holy man saw that they were gazing intently upon him, he covered his head with his cowl ( \(\mathcal{X}^{\lambda \lambda \mu \mathrm{T}}\) ), and casting his pitcher of water on the ground he fled. And the dropsical woman sank down on the path, for she was unable to run after him. And the holy man cried out, saying, 'Why dost thou run after me? O wrath (ор(н), whither shall I go this day? Get thee gone from me, depart!' The woman said unto him, 'My father, I am ill, I suffer pain through my scourge (elacticz). I beseech thee to stand still and to lay thy holy bands upon my head; I believe bealing would come to me.' And he said unto her, 'And what power can there be in my littleness (eeeteגaXictoc)? Get thee to the brethren, and they shall pray over thee, and thou shalt be healed. For as for me, I am a miserable (тa גarriopoc) sinner.' And meanwhile he did not stop running until he had entered his cell and shut the door. And the woman who had the pain in
her head said, 'Although I am not worthy to kiss thy holy hands, O my father-now he knoweth that I am unworthy to touch him because of the multitude of my sins which I have committed-I may at least'-she said-'carry away a little of the sand from the place whereon he hath set his holy feet, for it may be that in some way or other the Lord will graciously bestow upon me healing through his holy prayers.' And the woman, by reason of the great faith which she had in him, carefully marked the places whereon the right foot of the holy man Abba Pisentius had fallen, and she took the sand therefrom, and placed it in her cloak, and she lifted it up to her forehead, and said, 'In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, graciously grant healing unto me through the prayers of my holy father Abba Pisentius.' And straightway the pain in her head ceased, and she walked along ascribing glory to God through the prayers of our father Abba Pisentius. And when she had come [back] to the place where the dropsical woman was lying upon the ground, she said unto her, 'Didst thou reach the holy man? Didst thou receive a blessing at his hands? If thy hands have touched his holy hands, lay them upon me; I believe that I shall have relief from the whip of this disease which is upon me.' And the [other] woman said unto her, 'He did not lay his hand upon me. He ran away until he came to his cell, and he went into it and shut the door. And when I saw that I could not overtake him, I took the sand which had been under his right foot, and I lifted it up on my head, and by the grace of God, I had relief from my sickness.' And the dropsical woman through her great faith said, 'Give me also a little of that sand.' And she took it, and swallowed some of it, and it entered into her body, and her belly, which was swollen, subsided, and her whole body was healed. And they carried the [rest of the] sand to their houses, and laid it up therein as a blessing for them. And after these things the woman
who had had the pain in the head, who had a little son who was slow to grow, and he could neither walk nor speak, and who had laid up the sand of the holy man in her houseO the miracles of God, Who exalteth His chosen ones, and maketh them manifest-this woman [I say,] took some of the sand, and threw it into water, and washed the child therein, and made him drink some of it. And the parents of this child have testified to me that not a week had passed before his feet were made straight, and he walked well, and the string of his tongue was loosed, and he spake like all other people.
II. One day he looked and he saw an elder shoot spittle from his mouth in the sanctuary (erciactepion), whilst the Mysteries were being administered to the people. And straightway he caused them to call him to him in the place wherein he took his rest. And the holy man Abba Pisentius said unto the elder, ' My son, what is this audacious act which thou hast committed? Thou hast spit in the holy place. Shew me what thou hast said in thy prayer. Dost thou not know that there are tens of thousands and tens of thousands of Angels, and Archangels, and Cherubim, and Seraphim standing close to thee by the altar, and saying with one voice these beautiful words, "Thou art holy, Thou art holy, Thou art holy, O Lord of Hosts! Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory"? Dost thou not know who these are who are standing here? Believe me, my son, another priest spat, as thou didst, in the sanctuary, and he came away and died.' And it happened that a brother who was a monk came to us to visit us from the Eve of the Sabbath to the dawn of Sunday, and he was an elder. And as we had charge of the altar we ordered that elder to perform the Offering. And he said the prayers until he came to the place where he should invoke the Holy Spirit to descend upon the Bread and the Chalice [without difficulty], but at that place he was seized with coughing, and he spat. And straightway he became
dumb, and he was unable to speak at all, and immediately he died. And I gave the order to another elder, whose name was Eliseos, to finish the Offering, and we received the Holy Mysteries. And when we had dismissed the assembly the brethren entreated me to pray for him that his heart might be quieted. And I prayed for him, saying, ' O Lord God Almighty, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Thou knowest, O Lord, that the nature of mankind is perishable, do Thou make the heart of this brother to return to him so that he may inform us as to what hath happened to him, in order that we may take good heed to ourselves for the rest of our days.' And whilst I was making my supplication to the Lord, a voice came unto me, saying, 'Through thy prayers, behold, I open his mouth so that he may tell thee what happened to him. Ask thy questions of him quickly, for behold his sentence (anoఝ̧acic) hath gone forth from the Lord, and behold, the angels have drawn nigh to carry away his soul.' In truth when I heard these words fear seized me, and great affliction of heart came upon me, and I became like a man in the sea, with the waves casting me from side to side. At length I began to speak to him, and I said, ' My son, thou elder, what is it that thou didst do this day [which caused] this great matter to come upon thee? make known thy sin, for the Lord is compassionate.' And the elder answered-now his body trembled through fear-and said, ' O my lord and father, entreat the Lord for my sake in order that I may find mercy. I swear by the fear which hath come upon me this day that I know of nothing which I have done except that a fit of coughing seized me, like [an ordinary] man, that phlegm (еृतеcrela) came to me, and that I spat it out. What it fell upon I know not. [Then] a little feather touched my ear, and I turned my face behind me. When thou didst pray for me, it was given to me to speak unto thee.' And I said unto him, 'In truth, my son, there are many men who are men by nature, but
who are like the beasts, and do not know what manner of beings they are. Instead of thinking about that which cometh forth from thy mouth, it is for thee to order thy life well, and to remember the word of the prophet which saith, "Man being in honour knoweth it not, and he hath made himself like unto the senseless beasts, and hath imitated them." \({ }^{1}\) And as for thee, thou didst stand by the table, thou didst spit, and thy spittle reached the wing of a Cherubim, who overthrew thee with his wing, and I think that thy sentence of doom hath gone forth.' When (eOre) he had explained these things to me, I spake unto him the words [given] above. Then straightway he sent for his men, and they set him upon an ass, and they carried him to his house; and on the third day he died.
III. And it came to pass on a day whilst my father was still with me in the mountain of Tjêmi ( \(\sigma\) fees) that my father said unto me, 'John, my son, rise up, follow me, and I will shew thee the place wherein I repose and pray
 Sabbath (cabbator) and bring me a little food (троен), and a little water to drink wherewith to support my body.' And my father rose up, and walked before me, and he was meditating on the Holy Scriptures of the Spirit (meys) of God. And when we had walked about three miles, at least so the distance appeared to me, we came to (anepanantan) a path which was in the form of a door which was wide open. And when we had gone inside that place, we found that it had the appearance of being hewn out of the rock, and there were six pilasters (ctrinoc) rising up against the rock. It was fifty-two cubits in length, it was four-cornered (тетра(тwron), and its height was in proportion [to its length and breadth]. There was a large number of bodies which had been mummified in it, and if thou wast merely
to walk outside that place thou wouldst be able to smell the 'sweet smell' (i.e. spices), which emanated from these bodies. And we took the coffins (crincere), we piled them up one on top of the other-now the place was very spacious-. . . . . . . . \({ }^{1}\) The swathings wherein the first mummy, which was near the door, was wrapped, were of the silk (o八ocrpнкor) of kings. And his stature was large, and the fingers of his hands and his toes were bandaged separately (rif motar orar). And my father said, ‘How many years ago is it since these [people] died? And from what nomes do they come?' And I said unto him, 'It is God [only] Who knoweth.' And my father said unto me, 'Get thee gone, my son. Sit in thy monastery, take heed to thyself, this world is a thing of vanity, and we may be removed from it at any moment. Take care for thy wretched
 Pray thy prayers regularly hour by hour, even as I have taught thee, and do not come here except on the Sabbath.' And when he had said these things unto me, I was about to come forth from his presence, when looking carefully on one of the pilasters, I found a small parchment roll
 father had unrolled it, he read it, and he found written therein the names of all the people who were buried in that place ; he gave it to me and \(I\) put it down in its place.

And I saluted my father, and I came away from him, and I walked on, and as he shewed me the way he said unto me, 'Be thou diligent in the work of God so that He may shew mercy unto thy wretched soul. Thou seest these mummies; needs must that every one shall become like unto them. Some are now in Amenti,-those whose sins are many, others are in the Outer Darkness, and others are in pits and basins which are filled with fire, and others are in the Amenti

\footnotetext{
1 The exact meaning of the words epe mise epe micwera wely

}
which is below, and others are in the river of fire, where up to this present they have found no rest. Similarly others are in a place of rest, according to their good works. When a man goeth forth from this world, what is past is past.' And when he had said these things unto me, he said, 'Pray for me also, my son, until I see thee [again].' So I came to my abode, and I stayed there, and I did according to the command of my holy father, Abba Pisentius.

And on the first Sabbath I filled my water-pot (גaknor) with water, and [I took] a little soft wheat, according to the amount which he was likely to eat, according to his command (he gave [me] the order [to bring] two ephahs which he distributed over the forty days), and he took the measure and measured it, saying, 'When thou comest on the Saturday bring me this measure [full] with the water.' So I took the pitcher of water and the little soft wheat, and I went to the place wherein he reposed and prayed. And when I had come in to the abode I heard some one weeping and beseeching my father in great tribulation, saying, 'I beseech thee, O my lord and father, to pray unto the Lord for me so that I may be delivered from these punishments, and that they may never take hold of me again, for I bave suffered exceedingly.' And I thought that it was a man who was speaking with my father, for the place was in darkness. And I sat down, and I perceived the voice of my father, with whom a mummy was speaking. And my father said unto the mummy, 'What nome dost thou belong to?' And the mummy said, 'I am from the city of Ermant.' My father said unto him,'Who is thy father?' He said, ' My father was Agrikolaos (a<piro גaoc) and my mother was Eustathia (елстдera).' My father said unto him, 'Whom did they worship?' And he said, 'They worshipped him who is in the waters, that is to say Poseidôn (посегаюr).' My father said unto him, 'Didst thou not hear before thou didst die that Christ had come into the world?' He said, 'No, my father. My parents were

Hellenes (ee入入rroc), and I followed their life. Woe, woe is me that I was born into the world! Why did not the womb of my mother become my grave? And it came to pass that when I came into the straits of death, the first who came round about me were the beings "Kosmokrator", and they declared all the evil things which I had done, and they said unto me, "Let them come now and deliver thee from the punishments wherein they will cast thee." There were iron knives in their hands, and iron daggers with pointed ends as sharp as spear points, and they drove these into my sides, and they gnashed their teeth furiously against me. After a little time my eyes were opened, and I saw death suspended in the air (arp) in many forms. And straightway the Angels of cruelty snatched my wretched soul from my body, and they bound it under the form of a black horse, and dragged me to Ement (Amenti). O woe be unto every sinner like myself who is born into the world! O my lord and father, they delivered me over into the hands of a large number of tormentors (діеewpictic) who were merciless, each one of whom had a different form. O how many were the wild beasts which I saw on the road! O how many were the Powers which tortured me (ezorcia nтлewpretнс)! When they had cast me into the outer darkness I saw a great gulf, which was more than a hundred cubits deep, and it was filled with reptiles, and each one of these had seven heads, and all their bodies were covered as it were with scorpions. And there was another mighty serpent in that place, and it was exceedingly large, and it was a terrible sight to behold; and it had in its mouth teeth which were like unto pegs of iron. And one laid hold of me and cast me into the mouth of that Worm, which never stopped devouring; all the wild beasts were gathered together about him at all times, and when he filled his mouth all the wild beasts which were round about him filled their mouths with him.'

My father said unto him, 'From the time when thou didst \(\mathbf{U ~ u}\)
die until this day, hath no rest been given unto thee, or hast thou not been permitted to enjoy any respite from thy suffering?' And the mummy said, 'Yes, my father, mercy is shewn unto those who are suffering torments each Sabbath and each Lord's Day. When the Lord's Day cometh to an end, they cast us again into our tortures in order to make us to forget the years which we lived in the world. Afterwards, when we have forgotten the misery of this kind of torture, they cast us into another which is far more severe. When thou didst pray for me, straightway the Lord commanded those who were flogging (epeeactictoin) me, and they removed from my mouth the iron gag ( \((\) creloc) which they had placed there, and they released me, and I came to thee. Behold, I have told you the conditions under which I subsist. O my lord and father, pray for me, so that they may give me a little rest, and that they may not take me back into that place again.' And my father said unto him, 'The Lord is compassionate, and He will shew mercy unto thee. Go back and lie down until the Day of the General Resurrection, wherein every man shall rise up, and thou thyself shalt rise with them.' God is my witness, O my brethren, I saw the mummy with my own eyes lie down again in its place, as it was before. And having seen these things I marvelled greatly, and I gave glory unto God. And I cried out in front of me, according to rule, 'Bless me,' and then I went in and kissed his hands and his feet. He said unto me, ‘John, hadst thou been here a long time? Didst thou not see somebody or hear somebody talking to me?' And I said, ‘No, my father.' He said unto me, 'Thou speakest falsehood, just as did Gehazi when he uttered falsehood to the prophet, saying, "Thy servant went no whither." But since thou hast seen or heard, if thou tellest any man during my lifetime thou shalt be cast forth (i.e. excommunicated). And I have observed the order, and I have never dared to repeat it to this very day.'

\title{
THE LIFE OF PISENTIUS ACCORDING TO \\ THE ETHIOPIC SYNAXARIUM
}
(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 861, fol. \(114 a\), cols. 2 and 3)




















 U \(u 2\)





























\section*{TRANSLATION}

On the thirteenth day of month Hamle died the holy man Bebâ Besendyôs, Bishop of the City of Keftu. This holy man was a monk from his youth up, and he adopted the ascetic life, and he contended strenuously and fought with great zeal the fight of the monk. And he learned thoroughly and understood many Books [of Scripture], and among their number were the Psalms of David, and the Twelve Minor Prophets. And it came to pass that when he was reciting one of the Prophets, the Prophet whose Book be was reciting would come to him [and stand by his side] until he had finished reciting the Prophecy. And it is related concerning him, that when he was praying and lifted up his hands, his [ten] fingers became filled with light, even like unto ten bright lamps. And God wrought through him great and mighty miracles and wonders. He never at any time looked upon the face of a woman, but always kept his head bowed to the ground.

And there was a certain woman who was a@licted with sore disease in her belly. And she lay in wait for him one day near his cell, and she came upon him when he was unprepared, and he ran away, and the woman ran after him. And when she was unable to overtake him, she took a handful of the dust whereon his foot had trodden, and in faith swallowed it; and she was healed of her sickness immediately.

And one day he saw three shining men, and they gave unto him keys, saying, 'It is for thee to administer the Church of God.' Then God chose him, and appointed him Bishop of the City of Keft.

And it came to pass that [on a certain day] he was consecrating the Holy Offering, and he looked and saw our Lord on the altar, and with Him were His angels. And on a certain day a priest was reciting the words of the consecration of the Holy Offering before him, and when this
priest was half-way through the Office, he spat out some spittle from his mouth as he was standing before the altar. And when the priest had finished the Office of Consecration, this Father Besendyôs rebuked him, saying, 'Hast thou no fear of God when thou art standing at this altar? Dost thou not know that the spittle which thou didst spit out of thy mouth fell upon the wing of the Cherub who was standing before the altar?' And great fear and trembling fell upon that priest, and they carried him away to his house, and he fell sick of a fever and died.

And this holy man possessed a fine voice, and he read beautifully, and no man was ever offended through his rebuke and admonition. And when the time had drawn nigh wherein he was to die, he had knowledge of this a few days before. And he summoned the congregation of monks, and he taught them, and rebuked them, and confirmed them in the Right Faith, and he gave unto them many commandments, and he committed his soul to the hand of God. And God made manifest many miracles through his body. And his servant carried off a little piece of the cloth wherein he was buried, and with it he used to heal every person who was sick, and who came to him in faith. May his prayer and blessing be with our king John!

Salutation of Besendyôs, who saw the Prophets [standing by him]
Until he finished reading the Prophecies written [by them];
And there was a report about him that he worked miracles.
A woman was healed of her sickness, and recovered thoroughly
By swallowing the dust from the print of his holy foot.

\section*{AN ENCOMIUM ON SAINT JOHN THE}

\section*{BAPTIST, BY SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM}
(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7024)
THE ENCOMIUM WHICH OUR HOLY FATHER Fol. 1a SAINT APA JOHN, ARCHBISHOP OF CON- \(\overline{\mathbf{a}}\) STANTINOPLE, WHO WAS GLORIOUS IN EVERY RESPECT, THE HOLY GOLDEN-MOUTH, PRONOUNCED TO THE GLORY AND HONOUR OF SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST, THE HOLY FORERUNNER AND KINSMAN OF THE CHRIST, THAN WHOM AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN BORN OF WOMEN NO GREATER hath ever risen up, whom god exalted IN HONOUR AND GLORY, ABOVE ALL THE SAINTS, WHO EXCELLED THE ANGELS IN PURITY (OR, HOLINESS). [APA JOHN CHRYSOSTOM] PRONOUNCED THIS ENCOMIUM IN CONNEXION WITH THE PASSAGE WHICH IS WRITTEN IN THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO [SAINT] MATTHEW WHEN HE EXPLAINED TO US THE MEANING OF THE WORDS WHICH are written therein, 'what went ye OUT INTO THE DESERT TO SEE?'I IN THE peace of god! may his holy blessing COME UPON US, AND MAY wE ALL GAIN SALVATION TOGETHER. AMEN.

My beloved, I wish to declare [unto you] some few of the exalted words and right judgements | of the holy Baptist Fol. 16

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\({ }^{1}\) Matt. xi. 7; Luke vii. 24.
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and glorious forerunner, Saint John, the kinsman of the Christ. But I find myself in serious trouble, because my halting tongue is incapable of declaring his might and his honour in the manner which they deserve. And moreover, our holy fathers, the God-bearing (i.e. inspired) Bishops who have lived before our time, that is to say Athanasius, and Theophilus, and Cyril, and Innocent, have declared many of thine exalted words, \(O\) John the Baptist, \(O\) thou than whom among those born of women, none hath arisen who is greater. \({ }^{1}\)

Who is there among our Fathers of olden time who hath not uttered encomiastic words concerning thee, \(O\) thou priest, and the son of a priest, thou prophet, and the son of a prophet, thou virgin and martyr, who art the equal of an angel, thou companion of the True Bridegroom, the Christ, O Saint John Fol. \(2 a\) the Baptist! Verily thy name and the remembrance of thee
- \(\quad\) have become a medicine and remedy which healeth sicknesses of every kind. I speak now concerning that John who fettered the tongue of his father through the act of his conception, and who again made the mouth of his father to be opened through his birth. For when Zacharias was asked, 'What dost thou wish him to be called?' he made a sign with his hand whereby he asked for a writing tablet, \({ }^{2}\) and he wrote these three letters which are wonder-worthy, namely IÔTA, and \(\omega\), and ALPHA. \({ }^{3}\) And whilst he was writing his mouth opened suddenly, and his tongue was set free, and he spake, and he gained strength, and he cried out with a loud voice, 'John is his name.' For in very truth the name of Fol. \(2 b\) John is one which is worthy to be marvelled at, | for it is the
\(\overline{\mathbf{z}}\) lamp of the whole world. But my tongue halteth exceedingly, and it will fail in recounting the myriads of his mighty deeds; nevertheless I desire to set out on my journey upon the sea of understanding.

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\({ }^{1}\) Matt. xi. 11; Luke vii. \(28 . \quad{ }^{2}\) Luke i. 63.

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Now therefore when the birthday of Herod, \({ }^{1}\) who is accursed, had come, the daughter of Herodias came into [the presence of Herod], and she danced and pleased him and those who were reclining with him, and he promised to give unto her whatsoever she asked; and the maiden went to her mother to inform her about what had happened. And she said unto the maiden, 'Ask for the head of John the Baptist, and let them give it to thee upon a dish.' Then the maiden returned to the Governor, and said unto him, 'Give me now the head of John the Baptist upon a dish'; and the Governor commanded that it should be given unto her. And he sent a scout to the prison \| [with an order] Fol. 3 a to remove the head of John, and he brought it back upon \(\overline{\boldsymbol{e}}\) a dish; and [Herod] gave it to the maiden, and she took it and brought it to her mother. And his disciples went and took away his body and buried it, and they carried the report [of this matter] to Jesus.
Now when Jesus had heard [it] \({ }^{2}\) He departed to a desert place, and went into it by Himself, and when the multitude heard [this] they followed after Jesus. And when Jesus had seen the multitude He took pity upon them. And when the evening was come the disciples went unto Him, saying, 'This place is a desert. Dismiss the multitudes so that they may depart into the villages which are round about them, that they may buy for themselves that which they shall eat.' Then Jesus said unto them, ' Have ye nothing which I can give them to eat?' And they said unto Him, 'We have nothing at all in this place except five barley cakes and two fishes.'
And Jesus said \| unto them, 'Bring them hither.' Then Fol. 36 He commanded the multitudes to throw themselves down \(\overline{\boldsymbol{\varepsilon}}\) upon the grass, and He took the five cakes and the two fishes, and He lifted up His eyes to heaven, and blessed them, and brake them into pieces, and gave them to the disciples, and the

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\({ }^{1}\) See Matt. xiv. 6 ff.
\({ }^{2}\) Matt. xiv. 13-21.
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disciples gave them to the multitudes, and they all ate and were satisfied. And the broken pieces which remained over filled twelve baskets. Now those who ate were five thousand men, without [reckoning] children and women.

Now I wish, O my beloved, to describe unto you the honour which the Christ [paid] to John, and also what manner of love it was which He shewed to him, for He was his companion and his kinsman, and how He loved him to such a degree that He fed with these five cakes and two fishes five thousand men without [reckoning] children and Fol. \(4 a\) women. For the multitude was gathered together | because of the lamentation for John, and Jesus wept and made lamentation for John, and He distributed alms (or, charity) for his sake: inasmuch as he was His kinsman and His companion. For this reason when the disciples had said unto Him, 'Send away the multitude that they may go and buy for themselves that which they may eat,' He was unwilling to make them depart fasting. Now take good heed to the Scripture at this point. In the first place observe that when Jesus had heard concerning John the Baptist, He went away, and that the multitude followed after Him quickly. And in the second place observe that when the compassionate and merciful Jesus had seen them, He felt deep pity for them, even like a good shepherd who hath always pity for his sheep. And when the disciples asked Him, saying, 'Send away the multitude that they may go and buy for themselves that which they may eat,' the Saviour said unto them, 'Assuredly Fol. 4 b not,' and thought, | 'What manner of thanks shall I receive
\(\overline{\mathbf{H}}\) from My kinsman if these people, who have come unto Me on account of him, are put to inconvenience in this way? If they go away fasting as they are at present they will sink from exhaustion by the wayside.' As the Patriarch Joseph distributed alms (or, charity) because of the death of Jacob his father, \({ }^{1}\) even so did Jesus, and He distributed alms for

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\({ }^{1}\) Gen. 1, 1-12.
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the sake of His kinsman John. Moreover, all classes of people have always been accustomed to distribute alms and gifts of food in charity on behalf of any of their kinsfolk whensoever any one of them died.

Now I wish to declare unto you another high and deep purpose also. The holy Evangelist saith, 'John heard of the works of the Christ, now he was in prison, [and] he called two of his disciples and sent them to the Lord, saying, 'Art thou He Who is to come, or are we to expect another?' \({ }^{\prime} \mid\) And when they had come to Jesus, they said unto Him, 'It is Fol. 5 a John the Baptist who hath sent us unto Thee, saying, "Art \(\bar{\oplus}\) thou He Who is to come or are we to expect another?" Now at that time He had not healed the multitude, and He said unto the men whom John had sent to question Him, ' Depart ye and declare unto John the things which ye see, and the things which ye hear, namely, that the blind see, and the lame walk, those who are dead rise up, and to the poor the Gospel is preached; and blessed is he who shall not be offended in Me. I am He Who graciously bestowed thee upon Zacharias thy father and Elisabeth thy mother. I am He Who came unto thee whilst thou wast in the womb of Elisabeth thy mother. And when I Myself was in the womb of Mary, My mother, I saluted thee, and thou didst leap | therein. Again, it was I Who came unto thee at the Fol. 5 b tenth hour of the night on the eleventh day of the month \(\bar{i}\) Tôbe; I received baptism at thy holy hands. Verily, O John, since thou hast been held to be worthy to baptize Me , and art he who was worthy to attain to [this] honour, thou hast surpassed a nohle in heaven [who enjoyeth] every kind of honour. I am He Who was to come, and it was I Who received baptism at thy hands. I am He Who shall take away the sin of the world. Thou, O John, art he whom I have chosen, I and My Father Who is in heaven, and the Holy Spirit. I have sent thee [as My] forerunner, and thou

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\({ }^{1}\) Matt. xi. 3 ff .
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art he who maketh a way before Me . Moreover, speak thou unto the multitude saying, "Repent, for the Kingdom which is in the heavens hath drawn nigh, \({ }^{1}\)-that of which man thinketh not," even as he said, "Behold, I will do a work in your days, a marvellous work, and when ye shall hear Fol. \(6 a\) thereof \(\mid\) ye will not believe". \({ }^{2}\) And Jesus said unto the
\(\overline{\text { IX }}\) men who were sent by John to enquire of Him, "Depart ye, and declare the things which ye see, and the things which ye hear, namely, the blind see, the lame walk, those who are dead rise up, and to the poor the Gospel is preached. And blessed is he who shall not be offended through Me."'

Now when these [enquirers] had departed He began to speak unto the multitude concerning John, saying, 'What did ye go out into the desert to see? Was it a reed, with the wind moving it? But what did ye go out to see? Was it a man arrayed in soft (or, delicate) apparel? Behold, those who wear soft apparel are in the houses of kings. But what did ye go out to see? Was it a prophet? Yea, I tell you that he is more than a prophet. For thus [runneth] that Fol. \(6 b\) which is | written concerning him: "Behold, I will send my \(\overline{\mathbf{1 6}}\) angel before Thee, [and] he shall make straight Thy way." \({ }^{3}\) Amen I say unto you that among those who have been born of woman none greater than John the Baptist hath risen up; nevertheless, he that is less than he is greater than he in the Kingdom which is in the heavens.'

Now it is necessary for us to explain this passage to you, for very many of those who are not strong in the Scriptures in thinking about it say, ' Was it really a reed moving in the wind, or was it not?' Now every tree on the earth, whether it be palm tree, or fig tree, or sycamore tree, or-the shbirb tree, or the acacia tree, even to the grass of the field, is, as long as it is growing, moved by every wind, either to this side or to the other. Doth not every simple person know this, and more especially every one who is educated? But that

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\({ }^{1}\) Matt. iii. 2.
\({ }^{2}\) Hab. i. 5.
\({ }^{8}\) Matt. xi. 10 ; Mal. iii. 1.
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[reed] about which the Saviour spoke was the wind instrument which is [placed] in the places of contest (?) and which sendeth forth so loud a sound, there being no one \(\mid\) near them, Fol. 7 a that when those who are at a distance hear them they say, ' What hath happened? for the speaking reed is sounding?' And straightway they gather together to see what hath happened, and they find out that so-and-so the son of so-and-so hath been the victor in a contest, and that [the name of] so-and-so the son of so-and-so is written down in the gymnasium. It was for this reason that this wind instrument sounded in the place wherein the prophet was prophesying; and all the people gathered together that they might receive instruction. For this very reason it was that the Saviour said, 'What was it that ye went out into the desert to see? Was it a reed with the wind moving it? But what was it that ye went out into the desert to see? Was it a man arrayed in soft apparel? Behold, those who wear soft apparel are in the houses of kings.' Behold, O my beloved, I have explained this question to you, and now I will, by the will of God, expound the following tale to you.

Now at the time when the \(\mid\) cataclysm of waters increased Fol. \(7 b\) upon the earth in the days of Noah, the trees and the waters of the flood rolled over the body of Adam, and they carried it away and deposited it in the midst of Jerusalem, and the waters of the earth flowed over it and covered it. And when the Saviour had come and He was walking about that place, and was teaching, saying, ' If any man serveth Me My Father shall pay him honour; My Father, deliver Me from this hour' \({ }^{1}\)-at the very moment when the Saviour said these things the toe-nail of His right foot struck the head of Adam. And thus far is the story.

Now there is very much benefit to be derived by us from this story, but this is not the moment for [us to enjoy] it, because the banquet of the kinsman of the True Bridegroom,

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1 John xii. 26, 27.
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the Christ, is set before us. For if thou wilt consider thou wilt see that there are a multitude of men who shall cry out to the Christ in Amente, saying, 'Have mercy on us, Lord, have mercy upon us.' And thou wilt hear also many cries Fol. \(8 a\) of |'Lord, let Thy strength rise up! Come Thou to deliver
\(\overline{\mathbf{v e}}\) us, O our good God.' And Thou, O man-loving Christ, through the multitude of Thy compassion, dost draw every one to Thyself this day. Thou hast redeemed those who were in Amente from the beginning. Thou hast drawn all sinners to Thee in life. The harlot Thou didst make a virgin, and didst forgive her sin. The thief Thou didst take into Paradise. The publican Thou didst make an evangelist. The persecutor [Paul] Thon didst make an apostle. Thou didst redeem those who were bound. Thou didst lift up those who had fallen. Thou didst gather together those who were scattered. Thou didst ery out unto every one with Thy mouth of God, 'Come ye unto Me , every one who is aweary, and is [over] burdened, and I will give you rest.' \({ }^{1}\)

And behold also this day wherein Thou dost command Thy Fol. 8 b holy Apostles, and dost say unto them, ' Ye shall begin | [to
\(\overline{\Gamma \varepsilon}\) preach] from Jerusalem even unto the ends of the world. Ye are the witnesses of the things which the Jews did unto Me. Go ye, preach ye to them the salvation of the remission of sins. Do not thrust away sinners from you, but receive ye them in penitence. To the publicans give repentance. As for the harlots, forgive ye them their sins.' \(O\) my beloved, observe ye the glory wherewith the Christ paid exceedingly great honour to His kinsman, the holy forerunner, John the Baptist. He paid honour to him in heaven, but He paid far greater honour to him upon the earth.

For it came to pass that when our Lord Jesus was born on earth in the rest-house (or, khann) in Bethlehem, \({ }^{2}\) the slaughter of the little children by the hands of Herod the Wicked took place. Moreover, when the Archangel Gabriel had

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\({ }^{1}\) Matt. xi. 28. \(\quad{ }^{2}\) Matt. ii. 1 ; Luke ii. 4, 6, 7.
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warned Joseph in a dream, Joseph took the young Child Jesus, with His mother, | and they departed into Egypt. \({ }^{1}\) Fol. \(9 a\) Then, Elisabeth baving seized John in trepidation, she fled \(\overline{\mathbf{1}}\) with bim into the desert. Moreover, when the officers of Herod were pursuing her and ber child in order to slay him, she turned her eyes behind her and saw them coming close to her. Now when she and her son arrived at a rock in the mountains, she cried out, saying, ' O rock, admit me inside thee, and my son'; and straightway the rock opened its mouth, and when she reached the rock it received her, and it became unto her a monastery for meditation and a place of quiet wherein to dwell. Whensoever the need arose for her to go out to any place the rock used to open of itself, and after [she had gone out] to close of itself; through the dispensation of God it was a place which became large for their going out and for their coming in. Whensoever they asked for anything which they wanted, they found it [there]. If, for instance, it was locusts or wild honey [which they needed], they came in in this manner. |And the door of Fol. \(9 b\) [their] sleeping chamber (?) used to open by itself and to \(\overline{\mathbf{I H}}\) close by itself. Now if the days were the days of summer, the air always felt cool to them, and the heat never weighed heavily upon them. If the days were the days of winter, the air was always warm [therein], and the cold never caused them any suffering. And the same thing happened in the case of the wild animals which lived in the region round about them, and up to the day of the shewing forth of Saint John on the Jordan [they never molested Elisabeth].

Moreover, let us return [to our subject] and describe unto you the praises and the honours which God most graciously bestowed upon His beloved one John, according to the statements that we have found in the ancient manuscripts which the Apostles wrote and deposited in the Library of the Holy City Jerusalem. Now it happened to me to be in Jerusalem,

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\({ }^{1}\) Matt. ii. 13, 14.
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and whilst I was staying in the church, there was an old man Fol. \(10 a\) there, a God-ןloving presbyter, and he had authority therein; and I remained in that place in order that I might assist at the celebration of the festival of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus the Christ, and at the festival of the Holy Cross. Now I went through the books, and I had great enjoyment in this, and I found a little old volume [among them] which concerned the Apostles wherein it was written thus:

And it came to pass that we the Apostles were gathered together to our Saviour upon the Mount of Olives, after that He had made Himself to rise again from the dead. And He spake unto us and commanded us, saying: 'Go ye into all the world, and preach unto the people thereof the Gospel of the Kingdom.' \({ }^{1}\) [And] He spake unto us concerning John the Baptist, and the honours which He had bestowed upon him in the heavens. And we said unto Him, ' What ought we to do to inform ourselves rightly about Thy beloved one, Fol. 10 thy kinsman | John? Because Thou hast testified unto
\(\overline{\mathrm{K}}\) us, saying, I will bestow upon him the third heaven, and the untarnished gifts, and the good things which are therein instead of the blood which he poured out for me. Now therefore, O our Lord, inform us certainly concerning him, and instruct us about that heaven which Thou hast graciously bestowed upon John, Thy beloved one, and the good things which Thou hast prepared therein. Instruct us also about that same John concerning whom Thou hast said unto us, There is no one in the heavens who shall be compared unto him for the glory and the honours which My Father hath bestowed upon him.'

And at that moment our Saviour commanded, and brought down from heaven a cloud of light, and He mounted upon it, and He commanded us the Apostles also to mount upon it with Him. And He brought us up into the first heaven, and afterwards into the second heaven, and then He ascended

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\({ }^{1}\) Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15.
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to the third heaven, but He did not let us enter therein, and He carried us up to the fourth heaven, and to the fifth | heaven, and to the sixth heaven, and then to the seventh Fol. 11 a heaven, but He would not let us enter therein. Now after \(\overline{\mathrm{KX}}\) He had shewn us all these things, He brought us again into the third heaven, and we marvelled at its beauty, and its splendid decoration, and its great glory. And we saw John the Baptist, and Zacharias his father, and Elisabeth his mother, arrayed in garments of great splendour, studded with jewels made of real kikas, and stones of various colours. Then our Saviour made us to stand before John, and He made John to stand in our midst, with Zacharias [his father] on his right hand, and Elisabeth his mother on his left hand. As for us, the Apostles, He made us to stand in order, beginning with our father Peter, and ending with Matthias.

And our Saviour walked in front of us, and He shewed unto us the whole heaven, and He shewed us the good things and the enjoyments which are | prepared therein, and the Fol. 11 b untarnished gifts which He had bestowed upon His beloved \(\overline{\mathbf{r B}}\) John, so that he might bestow them on every one who celebrated upon the earth the festival of the Commemoration of John, who was His kinsman and His forerunner. I John, the brother of the Lord, who relate these things, swear unto you that I will not hide from you any one of the good things which I saw, or any of the things which were to be enjoyed, and which were prepared in the third heaven, and which God had bestowed graciously upon Saint John, in order that he might give them to every one who kept the festival of his commemoration upon earth.

At that time Paul, and Luke, and Mark were also with us. And afterwards the Good Saviour called to the Seven Archangels, from Michael the greatest of the Archangels, and the General of the forces of heaven, to Sedekiel, \({ }^{1}\) and He called

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\({ }^{1}\) i.e. צדקיאל. Sch the attributes of this Archangel see Schwab, 'Vocabulaire de l'Angélologie' in Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, Première Série, tom. x, Paris, 1897, p. 340.
}
unto us, the Apostles, one by one in turn, according to our Fol. \(12 a\) names, from our father | Peter, the greatest of the Apostles, \(\overline{\mathbf{K T}}\) to Mark the Evangelist, and He said unto us, 'O My Archaugels and holy servants, O My Apostles, ye were witnesses of My Birth, and of My Passion, and of My Crucifixion, and in like manner I make you to be witnesses again. Behold, I give the third heaven to John the Baptist, My companion and My kinsman. And moreover ye shall preach throughout the whole world that every man who shall celebrate the commemoration of this My beloved one John on the earth, either by making an offering, or by alms, or by gifts of charity which are given to the poor, or to his shrine in his name, or who shall write in a book an account of his life in commemoration of him, and shall place it in a church, or who shall dress Fol. 12 b a table in thy shrine with noble coverings, | thou, [O John, ]
\(\overline{\mathbf{K X}}\) shalt take them into the third heaven, which I have bestowed upon thee, and thou shalt array them in celestial apparel.
' I say unto thee, O My beloved John, who wast held to be worthy to baptize Me with thy holy hand, if any one shall make an offering of first-fruits to thy shrine in thy name, or if any one shall give food to a hungry person in thy name, or shall give to a thirsty person to drink [in thy name], or shall clothe a man who is naked in thy name, I will not allow them to be punished in Amente, but thou shalt take them into life for ever. And I will make My angels to clothe them with their wings of light, and I will bestow upon them the good things which are in My kingdom. My Father shall bless thy right hand, which thou didst lay on My head, My Fol. \(13 a\) tongue shall bless thy mouth and thy | tongue, wherewith
\(\overline{\boldsymbol{R E}}\) thou didst say, "Behold the Lamb of God Who shall take away the sin of the world " \({ }^{1}\); for I indeed am He. Amen, I say unto thee, O My kinsman John, that I will not punish in Amente any man who shall commemorate thee upon the earth for ever, neither shall his punishment [extend] to the

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\({ }^{1}\) John i. 29.
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river of fire which every man must pass over, whether he be righteous or whether he be a sinner. Behold, I will also bestow upon him this favour through thee - [the use of] the ferry-boat on this river of fire, which is a boat of gold; whosoever shall celebrate thy commemoration upon earth thou shalt transport across that river of fire in this boat.'

Then we, the Apostles, said unto our Lord, 'How many stadia [across] is the sea of that river of fire? Inform us Fol. 13 b so that we may be able to teach men how terrible a thing it
is.' Our Saviour said unto us, ' I will inform you concerning the measure thereof, and the measure of the boat of gold, which I have given unto My beloved John. The sea of the river of fire is thirty goeree from shore to shore, and from . . . . . . . . . . . . . . \({ }^{1}\) thirty stadia, to each qoesce. And I have given the boat of gold to Jobn My kinsman, for the passage over the river, so that he may be able to transport therein those who shall celebrate his commemoration upon the earth, if it be only by breaking a little bread, and the pouring out of a [little] cold water. And when they come to the end of the shore (?) where I am wont to baptize them in the river of fire, when any one who hath celebrated the commemoration of John shall come to be baptized, the waters of the river of fire shall become exactly like the waters of \| a bath, and like the hot water which a man applieth to his body in the place wherein he washeth himself; even so shall the river of life be. Therefore every man who shall celebrate thy commemoration upon earth, O John, My companion and My kinsman, whether with an offering, or with a gift of first-fruits, or with any gift whatsoever, which they shall give to thy shrine in remembrance of thy holy name, I command thee to transport him across the river of fire in the boat of gold which I bave bestowed upon thee. And thou shalt take them into the third heaven, and shalt make them

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 boat to the other; the passage is difficult.
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to enjoy the good things which are prepared there and which abide for ever.'

And it came to pass that when our Good Saviour had said these things unto us, we rejoiced exceedingly at the great honours which God had bestowed upon John the Baptist. And again He said unto us, 'Come ye and I will teach you Fol. \(14 b\) concerning the Paradise of the \| third heaven.' And He made
\(\overline{\mathbf{K H}}\) us to walk through a meadow of asphodel in that place which produced fruits of all sorts, each according to its kind, and they exhaled sweet odours. And there were there likewise meadows with gently running streams, and all the trees which were in that place yielded fruit, each according to its kind, and they were all covered therewith from their roots to their crowns, and there were there asphodel, and cinnamon-trees, and amomum, and mastiche, and mouskhatôn, and they all exhaled sweet odours, and each one was the choicest of its kind.

And Thomas said unto the Saviour, 'Lord, behold Thou hast taught us concerning all the trees which have a sweet smell in Paradise, and the gently running streams, and the palm-trees; tell us now what quantity of dates (?) each palm beareth, and how large are the fruits which each tree yieldeth, and how many bunches of grapes grow on each vine.'

The Saviour said, 'I will hide nothing from you about the things concerning which ye have questioned Me . As Fol. \(15 a\) regardeth the vine \(\mid\) concerning the fruit of which ye have
\(\overline{\mathrm{K}}\) asked, there are ten thousand bunches of grapes upon it, and each bunch will produce six mêtritês [of wine]. As regardeth the palm-trees in Paradise, each cluster yieldeth ten thousand dates, and each cluster is as long as a man is high. So likewise is it in the matter of the fig-trees; each shoot produceth ten thousand figs, and if three men were to partake of one fig each of them would be satisfied. On each ear of the wheat which is in Paradise there are ten thousand grains, and each grain produceth six measures of flour. And the
cedars also are on the same scale, each tree produceth ten thousand [nuts], and is of a very great height. And the appletree and the thourakion-tree are of the same height; there are ten thousand apples on each shoot, and if three men were to partake of one apple each of them they would be satisfied.
'These are the grod things which I have prepared for every one who shall celebrate the commemoration of My beloved one, and My kinsman John, upon the earth. Blessed is every one who shall be worthy to inherit these good things, | which Fol. 15 b the eye bath not seen, nor hath the ear heard thereof, nor hath [the idea] thereof entered into the heart of man. These are the things which God hath prepared for those who love Him, and those who love John, His companion and His kinsman, to whose position and honour in the heavens and upon the earth no man, no, not one, hath succeeded, for he was held to be worthy to baptize the Son of God with his holy hands. And he saw the Holy Trinity: the Son was in his hands when he baptized Him; the Voice of the Father he heard, saying, "Thou art My Son, My beloved One, in Whom My wish shall be fulfilled " \({ }^{1}\); and the Holy Spirit came down from heaven, and rested upon His Head in the form of a Dove.'

And again Peter spake unto the Saviour, saying, 'Our Lord and our God! Shew us what is the signification of these oars and these lamps.' The Saviour said, 'There is a lamp to every oar, and there are seven hollows, to each lamp seven Fol. 16 a hollows, which are filled and give light. Whosoever shall \(\overline{\boldsymbol{\lambda a}}\) light a lamp in the shrine of Saint John, or before his image, shall be ferried over the river of fire [by these oars] in the boat of gold which I have bestowed upon John My beloved. And these lamps shall burn before them, and shall light them until they have passed over the roads of darkness, and shall take them into the third heaven, which I have
given as an appanage to My beloved one John, and they shall inherit the good things which are therein for ever.'

And when the Good Saviour had said unto us these things He mounted upon a cloud, and He commanded us to mount upon it with Him, and He brought us down, and set us on Fol. 16 b the Mount of Olives. Then He stood up | and prayed with us, and He said unto us, 'Peace be with you.' And when He had said these things unto us, He went up into heaven with great glory, and the angels were singing hymns to Him. \({ }^{1}\)

Verily, O my beloved, there is none who can be compared with John the Baptist in the heavens, or on the earth, and there is no one who is more exalted than he in glory, according to what the mouth of the Christ, which cannot lie, said, 'Among those who have been born of women no one hath arisen who is greater than John the Baptist.' \({ }^{2}\) Behold, ye know the glory and the honour which God hath bestowed upon John the Baptist. Devote ye yourselves then diligently to charity, and to the giving of alms and offerings in his holy name. Ye know, O my brethren, that the life of man upon the earth is a vain thing. If thou wishest to be saved and to inherit the life which is for ever, make haste, redeem thy sins by alms and oblations, and [wipe out] Fol. \(17 a\) thine iniquity by means of acts of lovingkindness \(\mid\) to
\(\overline{\lambda \pi}\) the poor, and to those who are needy, so that thou mayest enjoy thyself with the good things which are in the habitation of joy and gladness. And if thou hast committed sin, turn thou, repent, and He shall forgive thee thy sins. For God is the Compassionate, and the Merciful One, and He is a lover of mankind, and He is wont to shew His mercy upon those who shall turn unto Him. For He spake by the prophet Ezekiel, saying, 'I do not desire the death of a sinner, but that he should turn himself away from his evil ways, and should repent and live.' \({ }^{3}\) And again he said,

\footnotetext{
1 The extract from the old manuscript mentioned by John Chrysostom on p. 344 seems to end here. \({ }^{2}\) Matt. xi. 11. \({ }^{3}\) Ezek. xviii. 32 ; xxxiii. 11.
}
' When the wicked man hath turned himself away from his evil, and he doeth righteousness, I will not remember his iniquity which he hath committed,' saith the Lord, 'but he shall live by reason of the righteousness which he doeth.' \({ }^{1}\) And again He saith in another place, 'Turn ye yourselves to \(\mathrm{Me}, \mathrm{O}\) ye sons who have wandered afar off, and I will heal your wounds. \({ }^{2}{ }^{2} \mid\) And again He saith in another place, \({ }^{\prime} I\) have Fol. \(17 b\) not come to call the righteous, but the sinners to repentance.' \({ }^{3} \overline{\overline{\lambda \lambda}}\) Ye know, O my beloved, that charity is good, and that almsgiving is a choice gift ; let therefore no man omit to do acts of charity and to give alms to the poor, and to those who are needy, according to his power. And ye must also make offerings to the church in the name of the saints. And by means of all these things let us give glory to God and to His holy forerunner, John the Baptist, the virgin, and martyr, and the kinsman of our Lord Jesus the Christ, Who hath bestowed upon him great honours, to Whom be all glory and all honour, which are His due, and to His Good Father, and to the Holy Spirit for ever and ever! Amen.

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Ezek. xviii. 21, 22, 27.
\({ }^{2}\) Jer. iii. 22.
\({ }^{3}\) Matt. ix. 13; Mark ii. 17; Luke v. 32 ,
}

\title{
THE INSTRUCTIONS OF APA PACHOMIUS, THE ARCHIMANDRITE
}

\author{
(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7024)
}

Fol. 18a THE INSTRUCTIONS WHICH OUR HOLY FATHER, \(\overline{\lambda \in} \quad\) WHO WAS GLORIOUS IN EVERYTHING, APA PACHOMIUS, THE ARCHIMANDRITE, PRONOUNCED CONCERNING A BROTHER WHO, IN THE TIME OF APA EBÔNKH, WAS STIRRED TO WRATH AGAINST A CERTAIN MAN WHOM HE HAD BROUGHT TO TABENNÊSE. \({ }^{1}\) HE SPAKE THESE WORDS TO HIM, AND THE OTHER FATHERS [WHO WERE] OLD MEN WERE THERE, AND THEY REJOICED EXCEEDINGLY. IN THE PEACE OF GOD! MAY HIS HOLY BLESSING AND THE BLESSINGS OF ALL THE SAINTS COME UPON US, AND MAY WE ALL BE SAVED! AMEN.

My son, listen. Make thyself wise, and receive the instruction of truth (?). There are two ways [which thou canst follow]. Either make thyself independent, [or] hearken unto (i. e. obey) God as did Abraham, \({ }^{2}\) who forsook his [native] land, and made himself an exile, | Fol. 18 b and lived in a tent with Isaac in the land of promise
\(\overline{\lambda \varepsilon}\) as a stranger. He obeyed, he humbled himself, he came into an inheritance, until at length he was put to the test

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) The Island of Tabenna on which the Monastery of Pachomius was built; it was not far from the modern town of Denderah.
\({ }^{2}\) Gen. xii. 1.
}
in the matter of Isaac. He shewed himself to be superior to the temptation, and he offered up Isaac as a sacrifice unto God. \({ }^{1}\) In this matter God called him, 'My companion' (or, friend \({ }^{2}\) ). And again, take to thyself the humility of Jacob, and his obedience, and his patient endurance, until he became a light, and he saw the Father of All, and was called 'Israel'.' And again, take to thyself the wisdom of Joseph and his obedience; and do thou strive earnestly under ascetic control, and with the service of a slave, until thou makest thyself a king. \({ }^{4}\) My son, emulate the lives of the saints, and follow closely their virtues in thy life and conversation. Awake! Be not careless. Stimulate him that dwelleth in thee, of whom thou art the sponsor. Rise up, tarry | thou Fol. 19 a not with the dead, and the Christ shall give thee light. \({ }^{5} \overline{\lambda_{3}}\) Let grace spring up into being within thee, for of all the gifts of grace it is long-suffering which thou shalt make manifest ; because the saints exercised long-suffering they inherited the promises. Long-suffering is the glory of the saints. Be thou then long-suffering, so that thou mayest be numbered among the company of the saints.

Thoughts? Bear them with long-suffering (or, patience) until God shall give thee rest. Fasting? Bear it continually with patient endurance. Prayer? Let it be without ceasing in thy habitation between thee and God. [Let thy] heart be at one with thy brother. [Let] virginity be in all thy members, [let] virginity be in thy thoughts (or, mind); purity of body and purity | of heart. A neck bowed in Fol. 19 b submission and a humble mind. Gentleness in the hour of \(\overline{\mathbf{N F F}_{\mathrm{F}}}\) wrath. If thoughts (or, anxieties) oppress thee, be not downhearted, but exercise patient endurance with gladness, saying, 'Though they keep me in on every side, in the Name of the Lord I will destroy them.' \({ }^{6}\) And straightway the help of

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Gen. xxii. 1-11.
\({ }^{2} 2\) Chron. xx. 7; Is. xli. 8 ; Jas. ii. 23.
\({ }^{s}\) Gen. xxxv. 10; 1 Kings xviii. 31.
\({ }^{5}\) Eph. v. 14.
\({ }^{4}\) Gen. xli. 40 ff .
\({ }^{6}\) Ps. exviii. 10.
}

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God shall come unto thee, and thou shalt drive them away from thee, and gladness shall compass thee round about, and the Glory of God shall walk with thee. For gladness goeth with him that is humble, and thou shalt be satisfied with whatsoever thy soul desireth. For the ways of God are with him that is lowly of heart, and with the humble man. For He said, 'I look upon every one who is lowly in heart and humble.' \({ }^{1}\) If thou shalt walk in the ways of the Lord, the Lord shall watch over thee, and give thee strength. He Fol. 20 shall | fill thee with knowledge and prudence, the remem-
\(\overline{\lambda \boldsymbol{\lambda}}\) brance of thee shall remain before Him at all times, He shall deliver thee from the Devil, and He shall bestow upon thee His peace at thine end.

My son, I command thee to watch and to be sober, and to understand what are the things which lie in wait for thee. The spirit of sloth and a not unbeliering attitude of mind walk together. The spirit of lying and the works and the words which are not deceitful walk together. The spirit of the love of money, and non-trafficking, and not swearing false oaths, and works which are not evil, and envy walk together. The spirit of vanity and non-greediness (?) walk together. The spirit Fol. 20 b of fornication and impurity walk together. | The spirit of
\(\overline{\text { el }}\) enmity and lack of sorrow walk together. Woe be to that miserable soul wherein these things take up their abode, and make themselves masters of it in such a manner that they drive it away from God; for it getteth out of its own control, and it is tossed about on this side and on that until it arriveth in the Tartarus of Amente.

My son, hearken unto me. Be not thon careless. Give no sleep to thine eyes, nor slumber to thine eyelids, so that thou mayest be able to escape like a goat from those who would shear it. For, 0 my son, all the spirits from my youth up have on many occasions made me weak, and [when] I came into the desert they used to afflict me to such a degree

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Compare Ps. Ixxii. 18.
}
that my heart failed me, and I thought that there was not strength enough in me to stand up against the threat of the Serpent. For he used to persecute me on every side: | if Fol. 21a I came into the middle [to fight] he would close in upon me \(\overline{\boldsymbol{L} \boldsymbol{\lambda}}\) and do battle with me; and if I tried to escape, he would afflict me with his insolence. My heart was in a state of black terror, and although I turned to this side and to that many, many times I could not find rest. But when we took refuge at the feet of God with weeping and with humility, and with fasting, and with vigils by night, the Enemy and all his spirits also became powerless in respect of me, and the joy of God came to me, and I experienced straightway the help of God, for through His support He teacheth the children of men His strength, and His Christ-like [affection].

My son, do not use words of abuse to any man, lest peradventure thou mayest see some one paying [the man] honour, and must say, 'This one hath ended [his trouble], he receiveth refreshing.' Take thou good heed to guard thyself against a thought of this kind, for it is exceedingly evil; and God | hateth him that payeth Him honour, if he be one who Fol. 21 b hateth his brother. And he who shall say concerning himself, ' I am something,' is nothing at all, and he only deceiveth himself; is there any one who can help him? He who is arrogant, and who maketh his heart like unto the heart of God, saying, 'There is no one who can be compared with me,' let him hear now his Creator, saying, 'Thou shalt go down into Amente. They shall cast thee down with the dead, the worms shall gnaw pieces from thy body, and the Worm shall envelop thee.' The man who hath gotten himself humility judgeth himself, saying, ' My sins are greater than those of every other man'; he judgeth no man in any way whatsoever, and he abuseth no man. Who art thou that thou shouldst judge a slave who doth not belong unto thee? For him who hath fallen down his God is able to set upon his feet [again].

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Fol. 22 a | My son, keep watch over thyself, and never abuse any
\(\overline{\boldsymbol{P e}^{(1}}\) man. Taste thou all the virtues, and guard thou them carefully. If thou art a stranger, keep to thyself. Rush not into the company of men, and thou shalt not mingle with their works. [If] thou art a poor man make not thyself liable in respect of any matter, lest men revile thee; for poverty is an evil matter in the mouth of the wicked. Hast thou never heard [it said that] 'If ye feel hunger ye will feel aggrieved, and ye will speak evil things against the governor and against the fathers'? Again, observe carefully lest war be let loose on thee because of something which thou didst lack for thy fleshly need, and because food hath rendered thee blameworthy; but endure patiently, in spite of everything, and God shall work effectively [for thee] in secret.
Fol. 22 b Remember Habakkuk in Judea, and Daniel | in Chaldea, \(\overline{\text { e2 }}\) though there was a difference between them-for one used to rule in the palace-especially the case of Daniel; when he was down in the pit [and was intended] to become food for the wild beasts, \({ }^{1} \mathrm{He}\) prepared a meal for him. Remember Elijah in the desert, \({ }^{2}\) and the widow in Zarephath, \({ }^{3}\) who notwithstanding the scourge of famine and the pressure of hunger which weighed heavily ppon her, and the helplessness of her old age, never lost heart, but she contended boldly, and prevailed and obtained the promise of God, and her house enjoyed abundance during the time of the famine. The giving of bread either in the time of abundance or in [the time of] poverty is not power if thou be once blameworthy through want. \({ }^{4}\) For it is written concerning the saints, 'They suffer want, they are afllicted, they endure tribulation, but they boast themselves in their troubles. \({ }^{5}\) If thou dost Fol. \(23 a\) contend in | patience in the strife of the Scriptures, no servitude
ele whatsoever shall come upon thee, according to that which is written, 'Do not let yourselves be deceived with eating, and drinking, or with the share at the festival, or with new moons,

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Dan. vi. 16. \(\quad{ }^{2} 1\) Kings xix. 1 ff. \(\quad{ }^{3} 1\) Kings xvii. 9.
\({ }^{4}\) Rendering doubtful. \({ }^{5}\) Cf. Rom. v. 3; 2 Cor. xii. 9-11.
}
or with sabbaths, which shall be a covering for the things that take place.' \({ }^{1}\)

Meditate thou always on the words of God, endure sufferings patiently, and in everything give thanks. Flee thou from before the honour of men. Love thou him that revileth thee, in the fear of God. Let every man be profitable unto thee, and do thou make thyself profitable to every man. Continue thou in thy work and word which is good. Turn not back unto him that runneth behind thee, so that God may not hate thee. For the crown shall be unto those who continue [to contend], and ever more and more do thou hearken to God, so that thou mayest make Him to save thee.

When thou art seated among the brethren, do not laugh at even the smallest | word of scurrility [which thou mayest Fol. 23 b hear]. Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego \({ }^{2}\) disregarded theer jeering of Nebuchadnezzar, and for this reason he was unable to compel them [to worship] by the songs and music of his instruments, neither was he able to trick them by meals at his table. And for this reason the flames of fire [of the furnace] which rose up to a height of forty-nine cubits were extinguished. And these men did not go over to the perverse (or, crooked), but they were upright before Him that is upright, that is to say, God; and for this reason He made them chiefs over their enemies. And again, Daniel did not hearken unto the conversation of the Chaldeans, which was evil, and for this reason he became a chosen vessel of great value. And [the lions] fell down, and watched him with intelligent understanding, and he shut the mouths of the savage lions.

Now therefore, O my son, if thou wilt set God before thee as thy hope, He will become a helper unto thee in the hour of thy strife; for it is right for him that setteth out to go | to Fol. 24 a God to believe that He is, and that this wage (i.e. reward, or \(\overline{e \ell \xi}\) prize) shall be to those who seek Him. \({ }^{3}\) These words have
\({ }^{1}\) Col. ii. 16, 17.
\({ }^{2}\) See Dan. iii.
\({ }^{3}\) Heb. xi. 6.
been written down for us in order that we may believe in God, and that we, from the least among us even to the greatest, may strive in the contest with fastings, and with prayers, and with other kinds of service, until the spittle drieth in thy mouth through fasting. And God will not be unmindful of this, but thou shalt find all these again in the hour of thy necessity. Only do thou humble thyself in everything. Set thy word behind thee, if thou wouldst have understanding of everything in peace. Accustom not thyself to treat [temptation] with contempt, but bear every temptation with gladness, for thou canst not know what honour may follow the temptation. Thou shalt not pray, 'Remove the temptation from me'; because it is better for thee that thou shouldst pray, and weep, and heave sighs until thou art Fol. \(24 b\) saved, than for thee to abandon thy heart, \| and to allow it to carry thee away captive.

O man, what wilt thou do in Babylon? Thou wilt commit some disgraceful act in [that] strange land, because thou hast never been put to the test, and thou wilt cast God away from thee willingly. For this reason, O my brother, do not abandon thy heart. Thou mayest perhaps forget for a short time, but thine enemies will never sleep, neither will they ever forget, either by night or by day, and they will attribute craft to thee. For this reason run not thou after greatness, lest thou be humiliated, and thine enemies rejoice over thee; run after humility, for he that exalteth himself shall be brought low, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. If thou art unable to make thyself independent, cling thou unto some one who doth work in the Gospel of the Christ, and thou shalt go forward with him. Or do thou obey thyself, or submit thyself, to one who doth obey. Or make thyself to become strong, so that men may call thee Fol. 25 a \(a\) Elias, or do thou | obey a strong man, so that men may call
\(\overline{\text { er }}\) thee Elisha; because since Elisha obeyed Elijab the spirit of Elijah came in a double portion upon Elisha.

If thou dost wish to dwell among men make thyself to be like unto Abraham [when he lived] with Lot, and like Moses and like Samuel. If thou wishest to live in the desert, behold, all the prophets [have done so] before thee; make thyself like unto them. They spread themselves about in the deserts, and in the ravines of the hills, and in the caverns of the earth, they suffered privations, and they endured tribulations, and afflictions, and pains. Again He saith, 'The shadows of those who were martyred (?) and the spirit[s] of the men who endured trial, and suffered tribulation, shall bless Thee.' Moreover, when the thief uttered one word on the cross, God forgave him his sins, and took him into Paradise. Behold, how very great shall be thine honour if thou shalt endure temptation with patience, or the spirit of fornication, or the spirit of pride; or any bodily passion whatsoever. In short, thou must thyself strive | in the struggle against the Fol. 25 b passions of the Devil, so as not to follow him. And Jesus \(\bar{\pi}\) shall graciously bestow upon thee His promises. Keep thou watch against sloth, for she is the mother of all vices.

My son, flee thou from the desire of lust, for that it is which produceth the understanding of wickedness. It will not permit a man to know the mystery of God, and it will make thee a stranger to the language of the Spirit; and it will not permit thee to bear the Cross of the Christ, and it will not permit the heart to breathe the blessings of God. Keep thou watch against the relaxation of the viscera, which shall make thee a stranger unto the good things of Paradise. Keep thou watch against the pollution of thy body, which shall provoke to wrath God and His angels.

My son, turn thou to God; thou shalt love Him, thou shalt flee from the Enemy, whom thou shalt bate, so that the graces of God may be with thee, and thou shalt inherit, | as did Fol. \(26 a\) Judah, the son of Jacob. For He saith, 'Judah, thy brethren \(\overline{\text { Md }}\) shall bless thee, thy hand shall be upon the necks of thine enemies, and the children of thy father shall act as slaves
unto thee.' \({ }^{1}\) Guard thyself against pride, for it is the beginning of every evil; the beginning of pride shall remove thee from God, and that which followeth in its train is callousness of heart. If thou keepest watch over thyself in respect of this, thy place of repose shall be the Jerusalem of heaven ; if the Lord desireth thee He will give glory unto thee. Keep watch, and let not thy heart be puffed up, but continue in thy humility, and thou shalt remain in the glory which God giveth to thee. Keep watch and be sober. Blessed is he who shall be found keeping watch, for they shall appoint Fol. 26 b him to be over \| the property of his Lord. And he shall
\(\overline{\boldsymbol{m}}\) enter into the Kingdom with gladness, and the companions of the Bridegroom shall love him, because he was to be found keeping watch in His vineyard.

My son, be thou long-suffering in everything, for it is written, ' Make haste to make thyself a chosen one of God, a workman who hath no need to be ashamed.' \({ }^{2}\) Set out on thy way to God after the manner of one who soweth and reapeth, and thou shalt enter into thy treasure-house (or, granary) of the good things of God. Do not turn away the face like the hypocrites, but treat with decision the wishes of thy heart; work for God, and work for thine own salvation. If the passion of the love of money attack thee, and envy, or hatred, or any one of the other passions, enter into thee, take thou to thyself the heart of the lion, take thou to thyself
Fol. \(27 a\) the heart of the mighty warrior, and do battle with them, and
ज(T) destroy them like Sihon, \({ }^{3}\) and \(\mathrm{Og},^{4}\) and all the kings of the Amorites; for the beloved Son, the Only-begotten, the King Jesus, fighteth for thee, and thou shalt inherit the city of the enemy. Only cast out from thyself every kind of pride, and thou shalt be strong.

And observe. When Joshua, [the son] of Nun was bold

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Gen. xlix. 8.
\(22 \mathrm{Tim} . \mathrm{ii} .15\).
* Num. xxi. 34 ; Deut. iii. 2 ; Ps. cxxxv. 11 ; cxxxvi. 19.
\({ }^{4}\) Deut. xxxi. 4 ; Joshua ii. 10.
}
(or strong), God gave his enemies into his hand. If thou become timid of heart thou makest thyself a stranger to the law of God. Timidity of heart filleth thee with excuses for sloth, and unbelief, and carelessness, until thou art destroyed. Be lion-hearted! Cry out, saying, 'Who shall separate us from the love of God \(\rho\) ' 1 If thou sayest, ' \(M y\) outer [man] will perish,' [it may be true], but thine inner man will become Fol. 27 b renewed day by day. If thou livest in the desert fight by \(\overline{\mathrm{Ka}}\) means of prayers, and fastings, and affictions; if thou livest among men, be thou wise as the serpents, and harmless as these doves [about] us. \({ }^{2}\) If a man hath struck thee a blow, bear it at his hands, and rejoice; set thy hope in God, and He will do what is good for thee. And as for thee, thou shalt not dishonour the image of God, Who Himself said, 'To him who giveth glory to Me will I give glory; him who dishonoureth Me I will dishonour.' \({ }^{3}\) And when men pay honour unto thee, rejoice not, for it is written, ' Woe unto you when all men pay honour unto you.'4 And again He said, ‘ Blessed are ye when men heap curses on you, and persecute you, and revile your names | as [those of] evildoer[s]. \({ }^{5}\) Behold our Fol. 28 a Fathers Barnabas and Paul, when honour was paid to them \(\overline{\pi e}\) they rent their garments, \({ }^{8}\) and they wept, hating the glory of men. And Peter himself, and John, when they had been beaten in the Synagogue \({ }^{7}\) came out rejoicing, because they had been held to be worthy of being beaten for the sake of the Holy Name of the Lord, [for] they were hoping for the honour of heaven.

O my son, do thou flee the comfort which is in this world in order that thou mayest enjoy thyself in the world which is to come. Be not careless, and do not let day after day pass unheeding, or [vices] will overtake thee before thou knowest [it], and thou wilt come into danger wherefrom thou canst

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Rom. viii. 35.
\({ }^{4}\) Luke vi. 26.
\(\begin{array}{ll}{ }^{2} \text { Matt. x. } 16 . & =1 \text { Sam. ii. } 30 . \\ 5 \text { Matt. v. } 11 . & \text { Acts Xiv. } 14 .\end{array}\)
7 Acts v. 40.
}
not escape, and these foul-faced things will surround thee, and seize thee, and carry thee away with insolent boldness, and they will cast thee into their place of darkness, which is |
Fol. 28 b filled with fear and tribulation. Grieve not if any man insult thee before men, but grieve and sigh when thou committest a sin, for this is the true disgrace for thee, to go to the stripes of thy sin. I command thee, with the greatest earnestness, to hate the glory which is vain. The armour of the Devil is empty praise, and it was in this way that he led astray Eve. He said unto her, 'Eat of the tree, for it will open your eyes, and ye shall become like the gods. \({ }^{1}\) She hearkened and she thought that it was true; she fled from the glory which was divine, and there was taken away from her [the glory] of humanity. And when thou pursuest the glory which is vain, it maketh thee a stranger to the glory of God. Now in the case of Eve the Scriptures were not written which would have informed her concerning this battle before the Devil tempted Fol. \(29 a\) her. | Therefore did the Word of God come, and take upon
\(\overline{\Gamma 7}\) Itself flesh of the Virgin Mary, in order that it might secure the freedom of the race of Eve. But thou hast been informed concerning this battle by the saints who were before thee, in the Holy Scriptures. For this reason, O [my] brother, do not say, 'I have not heard [of it],' or 'I was not told about it before yesterday, and the day before yesterday'. For it is written, 'The sound of them hath come forth over all the earth, and their words have reached unto the uttermost ends of the world.' \({ }^{2}\)

Now therefore, when honour is paid unto thee, abase thy heart thyself, and give glory to God ; and when they revile thee, give glory to God likewise, and give thanks unto Him because thou art held to be worthy of the portion of His Son and His saints. If they called thy Lord 'The Impostor', and Fol. 29 b the Prophets |'vile men', and the others 'madmen', behold,
\(\overline{\text { MH }}\) how much more will they call us by these names who are dust

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Gen. iii. 5.
}
\({ }^{2}\) Rom. x. 18.
and ashes? Grieve not when thou art reviled, for this is [thy] way to thy life. Now if it he thy carelessness which draweth thee to weeping, thou shalt mourn; for those who wear scarlet shall clothe themselves with dung, because they have been careless concerning the Law of God, and have followed after the desires of their hearts. Now, therefore, O my son, weep thou to God at all times, for it is written, 'Blessed is he whom Thou hast chosen, and hast received to Thyself ; Thou hast placed thoughts in his heart, a flood of tears, the place which Thou hast established.' \({ }^{1}\)

Make unto thyself simplicity (or, innocence). Be thou like unto the simple lambs about us, which when their wool is shorn from them say nothing. Go not from one place to another, saying, ' I shall find God in this | place or in that.' Fol. 30 a God saith, 'I fill the heavens, I fill the earth.' \({ }^{2}\) And again, ' If thou shouldst cross over the waters I should still be with thee, and the rivers shall not cover thee up.' \({ }^{3}\) Know, O my son, that God is in thine interior, so that He may make thee to remain in the law and commandments of God. Behold, the thief upon the cross went into Paradise. \({ }^{4}\) Behold, Judas himself in the midst of the Apostles betrayed his Lord. \({ }^{5}\) Behold Rahab and her fornication \(!^{6}\) She is numbered among the saints. Behold, Eve, who was deceived, is in Paradise. Behold, Job on the dung-heap is compared with his God. Behold, Adam, who transgressed the commandment, is in Paradise. Behold, the angels of heaven were taken into the abyss (?). Behold, Elijah \({ }^{7}\) and Enoch \({ }^{8}\) were taken into the kingdom of the heavens | with all glory.

Seek after God, seek ye His face at all times. Seek thou Him as did Abraham, who obeyed God and offered up his son as a sacrifice unto God, Who called him ' My Companion'.

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Ps.lxv. 4. The latter part of the verse differs from that of the received text.
\({ }^{2}\) Jer. xxiii. 24. \({ }^{\circ}\) 3 Ps. cxxxix. 9, 11. 4 Luke xxiii. 43.
\({ }^{5}\) Luke xxii. \(47 . \quad 0\) Joshua vi. \(17 . \quad 72\) Kings ii. 11.
}

Seek Him like Joseph, who contended against pollution, and at length hecame king over his enemies. Seek Him like Moses, who followed his God, and He made him a lawgiver, and taught him concerning His likeness. Daniel sought Him, and He taught him great mysteries, and delivered him from the mouths of the lions. The Three Holy Men sought Him, and found Him in the furnace of fire. Job took refuge with Him, and He healed him of his wounds. Susannah sought Him, and He delivered her out of the hand of the lawless men. Judith sought Him, and she found Him in the tent of Holophernes. All these sought Him, and He delivered them, Fol. \(31 a[\) and \(]\) He delivered \| others also.
\(\overline{\boldsymbol{Z}^{\boldsymbol{a}}}\) As for thee, O my son, how long wilt thou be careless? What is the limit (?) of thy carelessness? What it was last year, even so is it this year; and what it was yesterday, even so is it to-day. How long wilt thou remain careless? [When] wilt thou progress? Be sober. Lift up thy heart. For assuredly it will happen to thee that thou wilt be made to stand before the throne of God, and thou wilt have to explain the things which thou hast done in secret, as well as those which thou hast done openly. If thou goest to a place where fighting is, it belongeth to God, for the Spirit of God urgeth thee, saying, 'Rest not in the place wherein there is a snare, for the Devil will cast a spell on thee, saying, I will be with thee (?) the first time, otherwise what wilt thou see? Wilt thou not grieve?' Hearken not to his deceitful disFol. \(31 b\) course, so that the Spirit of God | may drive him away from thee, [or] thou wilt become feeble, and thou wilt become infirm like Samson, \({ }^{1}\) and the foreigners shall bind thee with fetters, and shall cast thee into the place of torture (?), that is to say, of gnashing of teeth. And thou shalt become to them 'an object of derision, that is to say, they shall rejoice over thee, and thou shalt never know (i. e. find) the way to thy city, thine eyes having been put out, because thou didst reveal \({ }^{1}\) Judges xvi. 4-21.
thy heart to Delilah, that is to say, to the Devil, who hath taken thee by guile, because thou didst set behind thee the counsels of the Spirit. And thou seest also how Bathsheba persuaded this mighty man David, and how she would have crushed him, had it not been that he repented quickly about the wife of Uriah. \({ }^{1}\) And moreover it is written, 'Ye see my stroke, be afraid.' \({ }^{2}\) And behold it hath been shewn to thee that He doth not spare His saints. Be sober therefore, and know what things are promised [to thee]. Flee thou from arrogance, separate thou thyself from it, lest it put out the eyes of thine understanding, and it make thee blind, and thou art unable to find the way | to the city which is thy Fol. 32 a habitation.

And again, know thou the city of the Christ, and give glory unto Him, because He died for thee. If it should happen that a brother uttereth some word concerning thee, why shouldst thou become angry, and behave towards him like a wild beast? And why dost thou not remember that the Christ died for thee? At the moment when thine enemy, that is to say, the Devil, whispereth unto thee, thou dost incline thine ear to him, and he poureth into it stinkingness, and thou openest thy heart, and dost swallow the venom which he poureth into thee. O miserable one, at this moment thou either becomest a wild beast, or thou becomest like a blazing fire, and dost burn until thou art consumed by all his wickedness; empty out thy heart, and vomit forth the wicked evil-eye which is therein, lest the poison fly throughout thy body and thou die. \(O\) man, nurse thou not the few words which thy brother hath spoken against thee. Thine enemy seeketh to swallow up thee and thy soul. What then wilt thou do? Wilt thou treat him harshly? | Do not, O my beloved, do not cause men to Fol. \(32 b\) lament for thee. In the place of the world because of \(\overline{\boldsymbol{Z}^{2}}\) men's deeds (or, works) they shave the head, instead of the

\footnotetext{
12 Sam. xii. 13.
\({ }^{2}\) Cf. Ps. exix. 120.
}
gold of the head. \({ }^{1}\) But be thou sober, and bear thou the stripe of him that smiteth thee patiently, and be thou longsuffering with thy brother, and do not thou make afraid his heart with the sufferings of the flesh.

O my son, take thou good heed to the words of the wise man Paul, and to that which he spake, saying, 'There are bonds and tribulations awaiting me in Jerusalem, but I do not value my soul in the very least so that I may complete my course. And I am ready to die in Jerusalem for the Name of my Lord Jesus, the Christ.' \({ }^{2}\) For neither sufferings nor temptation can prevent the saints from going to the Lord. Be thou of good cheer then, play the man; what hast thou to do with the sluggishness of the Devil? He fleeth before the patient endurance of the saints. O my Fol. \(33 a\) son, why dost thou flee from | Adonai, the Lord of Sabaôth ?
\(\overline{Z^{e}}\) Why dost thou flee to the captivity of the Chaldeans? Why dost thou give thy heart to eat with the devils? Guard thou thyself, O my son, from fornication. Destroy not the member of the Christ. Do not hearken to the devils, and make the member of the Christ into the member of a whore. Remember the tribulations and the punishments. Bring back the trial (?) of God before thee. Flee thou from before every lust. Strip thyself naked of the old man and his works, and do thou put on thyself the new man. Remember thy necessity in the hour wherein thou shalt come forth from the body.

O my son, flee thou to the feet of God, for it is He Who hath created thee, and He suffered for thee. 'I gave My back to the stripes of the whips, and My cheeks to the
Fol. 33 b buffetings of insult; | I did not turn away My Face from
\(\overline{\mathcal{Z}^{\mathfrak{E}}}\) the shame and the spitting.' \(O\) man, the road to Egypt is not for thee, and it is not for thee to make thyself drink water from this Gêôn (i. e. Nile) which is stirred up (i. e. muddy). These thoughts which are muddy also are not for

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Translation doubtful.
\({ }^{2}\) Acts xxi. 13.
}
thee. Bestir thyself until these sufferings depart(?) from thee. Moreover, turn thyself, weep for thy sins. For it is written, \({ }^{\text {' If }}\) ye set yourselves to consider your sins which are in the soul, a seed of a great plant shall appear.' \({ }^{1}\)

Therefore thou seest, \(O\) man, that transgression is an evil thing, and that sin is wont to produce a multitude of sufferings and punishment. O man, flee quickly from sin, and remember death immediately. For it is written, 'A wise man suppresseth sin, and the face of the ascetic shall shine like the sun.' \({ }^{2}\) Moreover, remember Moses, who chose to suffer with the people of God rather than to enjoy the \(\mid\) pleasures of sin for a time. \({ }^{3}\) If thou lovest the Fol. \(34 a\) suffering of the saints, they will make themselves to be companions of thine, and they will minister on thy behalf before God. And He will grant thee every good thing for which thou dost petition, because thou hast taken up thy cross, and hast followed thy Lord. Do not seek after a seat of glory among men, so that God may shelter thee from the blast of the storm of which thou knowest nothing, and may apportion thee a seat in His metropolis, Jerusalem of heaven.

Test everything. Lay hold upon that which is grood. Similarly, do not treat with contempt the image of God. Moreover, keep diligently thy youth with all care, in order that thou mayest be able to keep diligently thine old age with all care, lest thou be put to shame, and thou come to an end in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. \({ }^{4}\) The whole creation of God shall look upon thee, and they shall revile thee, saying, I'We Fol. 34 b used to think about thee every day, and believe that thou wast a sheep, but we find thee to be a wolf in this place. Get thee gone now into the pit of Amente, cast thyself down now into the heart of the earth. 0 what great shame! Whilst thou didst walk in the world men gave glory to thee thinking that thou wast a man of moral excellence; the

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) I cannot identify this quotation.
\({ }^{2}\) Probably one of the sayings of the Fathers.
\({ }^{3}\) Heb. xi. \(25 . \quad\) Joel iii. 2-12.
}
moment, however, that thou comest to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the place of judgement, thou art found to be naked. And every one looketh upon thy sins, and upon thy shame which is revealed to God and man.'

Woe be unto thee in that hour! Whither wilt thou turn thy face? Or, supposing that thou canst open thy mouth, what wilt thou say? Thy sins have sealed thy soul, which is black like unto sackcloth. What wilt thou do in that hour? Thou wilt weep, but they will not accept weeping from thee. Thou wilt make supplication, but they will not accept supplication from thee because the beings into whose hands thou shalt be given are merciless. \(O\) woe be unto Fol. \(35 a\) thee in that hour | wherein thou shalt hear that terrible
\(\overline{\bar{Z} \boldsymbol{\theta}}\) voice which shall give judgement, saying, 'Let the sinners return to Amente.' \({ }^{1}\) And again, 'Depart ye from Me, O ye accursed, into the everlasting fire which hath been prepared for the Devil and his angels.' \({ }^{2}\) And again, 'Those who commit transgressions, and all those who work iniquity, do I hate, and I will destroy them out of the city of God.' \({ }^{3}\)

Now therefore, O my son, make use of this world, but despise it as thou doest so, and walk therein holding it to be a thing of no account. Follow thou the Lord in everything, and thou shalt find boldness of speech in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. \({ }^{4}\) Let the things which are in the world appear to thee things which are to be despised, and in the Day of Judgement thou wilt find thyself arrayed in glory. Do not commit thy heart unto any man for the sake of the comfort of thy soul, but cast thy care upon the Lord, and He will Fol. 35 b sustain thee. \({ }^{5}\) Consider Elijah, | who settled himself by the
\(\overline{\mathbf{o}}\) brook of Cherith, and He fed him by the ravens. \({ }^{6}\) Keep watch over thyself with all diligence in respect to fornication, which bath overthrown very many. Make not thyself the companion of a youth. Go not after a woman. Flee from

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Compare Ps. ix. 17.
\({ }^{4}\) Joel iii. 2-12.
\({ }_{2}\) Matt. xxv. 41.
\({ }^{5}\) Ps. lv. 22.
}
the pleasures of the body, for companionship is wont to burn like fire. Flee not unto any being of flesh whatsoever, because when the stone striketh upon the . . . . . . . . . fire breaketh out, and it burneth up very much substance.

Flee thon to the Lord at every hour, sit thou down in the shadow of Him, for be who abideth in the help of the Most High shall be under the shadow of the God of heaven, \({ }^{1}\) and he shall never be moved. Remember thou the Lord and the Jerusalem of heaven; let [the memorial thereof] go up in thy heart, and thou shalt be under the blessing of heaven, and the glory of God shall support thee. Keep thou thy body and thy heart with the greatest diligence. Follow after peace and | humility, and if these are bound together [in thee] they will Fol. 36 a make thee to see God. Again, attach not thyself closely unto \(\overline{\mathbf{0 d}}\) any man, for he who is bound to his brother becometh an enemy unto God. And he who is at peace (?) \({ }^{2}\) with his brother is at peace (? \({ }^{2}\) with God.

Now thou knowest that there is no state of peace greater than that every man should love his brother; but if thou art free from sin of every kind but art at enmity with thy brother, thou art a stranger unto God. For it is written, 'Seek after peace and purity,' \({ }^{3}\) for they are bound together. And again it is written, 'And even if I have all the faith, so that [I can] remove a mountain, without love of heart, I am benefited in nothing.' \({ }^{4}\) Love buildeth up. There can be no purity in impurity. If hatred existcth in thy heart, or enmity, where is thy purity? The Lord saith in Jeremiah, 'He speaketh with his neighbour words of peace, whilst there is enmity in his heart; | he speaketh with his neighbour [words of] guile, Fol. \(36 b\) whilst there is enmity in his heart, or, he meditateth enmity: \(\overline{\mathbf{o h}}\) Shall not I be wroth concerning this, saith the Lord? Or shall not my soul perform vengeance on the heathen likewise? \({ }^{5}\) Thus He saith: He who is at enmity with his

\footnotetext{
\({ }_{1}\) Ps. xci. 1.
\({ }^{3}\) Compare Ps. lxyxv. 10.
\({ }^{2}\) The text has оірннн = егрннн?
\({ }^{4} 1\) Cor. xiii. \(2 . \quad 5\) Jer. ix. 5-9.
}

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brother-this man is the heathen, because the heathen walketh in the darkness of death, knowing [not] the light, which meaneth that he who hateth his brother walketh in the darkness, knowing not God. For the hatred of enmity hath closed his eyes, and he seeth not the image of God. And the Lord commanded us, saying, ' Love your enemies. Bless those who curse you. Do good unto those who persecute you.' \({ }^{1}\) In how great danger, then, of punishment are we if we hate each other, our neighbour who is yoked unto us, the sons of God, the branches of the true Vine, the sheep of the Fol. 37 a rational |fold, which the True Shepherd hath gathered
\(\overline{\text { ox }}\) together, the Only-begotten Son of God, Who offered Himself up as a sacrifice for us, which [i.e. the danger] was so great that the Living Word bore these sufferings Himself. And thou thyself, dost thou hate him?

O man, wherefore art thou envious of the glory which is empty? Or [why art thou] a lover of money, or [a lover] of magnificence, wherewith the Enemy bindeth thee in fetters, and maketh thee a stranger unto God? What kind of apology wilt thou be able to make to the Christ when He shall say unto thee, ' Inasmuch as thou hatest thy brother, it is I Whom thou hatest? And as for thee, thou shalt depart into the punishment which is for ever, for thou art an enemy of thy brother; but thy brother, he shall go into the life which is for ever, because he humbled himself unto thee for the sake of Jesus.' Let us search out then a remedy for the disease before we die.

O my beloved, let us flee to the feet of the Gospel of the Fol. \(37 b\) True Law of God, the Christ, and let us hearken | unto Him \(\overline{\boldsymbol{0 \lambda}}\) saying, ' Condemn not, that ye be not condemned.' \({ }^{2}\) Forgive, that ye may be forgiven. If thou dost not forgive, they will not forgive thee. If thou wilt bind thy brother, prepare thyself for punishment for thy slippings aside, and for thy transgressions, and for thy fornications which thou didst commit

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Matt. v. 44.
\({ }_{2}\) Matt. vii. 1.
}
secretly, and thy thefts, and thy obscene words, and thy evil thoughts, and thine avariciousness, [and] the evil things which thou wilt have to explain before the throne of the Christ. The whole of God's creation will be gazing at thee, all the angels, and all the hosts of heaven will be standing there, with their swords drawn, and they will compel thee to make excuses for and to confess thy sins. Thine apparel shall be motley, thy mouth shall be shut, thou shalt be terrorstricken to such a degree that thou shalt be unable to speak or to explain.

O wretched man, thy many fornications, which were | the Fol. 38 a disease (?) of thy soul, and the lusts of the eye, and the evil cogitations which afflict the spirit and cause grief to the soul, and the slip in the speech (or, mouth), and the tongue which speaketh words of boasting and defileth the whole body, and the evil words of scurrility and indecency, and the gossipings which are inspired by envy and hatred, and the scoffings, and the derisive words about the image of God, and the voluntary revilings (or, condemnations) which will deprive thee of the good things of Paradise, and the secret passions which it would be a disgrace to mention, the evil thought towards the image of God, and the anger, and discord, and impudence, and arrogance, and the thoughts of the heart [which sprang] from wickedness, and the want of compassion, and ambition-concerning all these things shall they enquire of thee because thou wast at enmity with thy brother, and because thou didst not put away [thine enmity] perforce by the love |of God. Fol. 38 b

Hast thou never heard that 'love covereth a multitude of sins'? \({ }^{1}\) And this is what your Father which is in heaven doeth for you. If ye do not forgive each other in your hearts, your Father which is in heaven will not forgive you your sins. Behold ye know, O my beloved, that we have clothed ourselves with the good and man-loving Christ. Let us not strip ourselves naked of Him for the sake of our evil works; for we

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1} 1\) Pet. iv. 8.
}

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are vowed to God in purity, and we are vowed to the life of the monk. Let us do the works thereof which are these: fasting and praying withont ceasing, and purity of the body and purity of the heart. Since we have vowed ourselves to God in purity let us not associate ourselves with the fornications which take manifold forms, for He saith, 'They comFol. \(39 a\) mitted | fornication in very many ways.' \({ }^{\prime} \mathrm{O}\) my brethren,
\(\overline{\mathbf{o}}\) let us not permit ourselves to be found in the works which are of the kind which will make us to fall below every [other] man. Moreover, we have promised to become disciples of Christ; let us therefore afflict ourselves, for sorrow bringeth low impurity.

And now that the contest is set, let us not allow ourselves to be defeated, so that we may not become slaves unto sin. Lightgivers have been placed in the world for us, let them not be offended because of us, let us bear silently, for very many shall be saved through our sobriety, \(O\) brethren. Let us not enter into reckoning with each other, in order that they may not enter into reckoning with us in the hour of punishment, whether ye are virgins, or whether ye are set apart to do special work, or whether ye are anchorites. Assuredly He shall say unto us, ' Bring [it hither], this belongeth to Me , Fol. \(39 b\) and the increase thereof.' | And He shall chide us, and say unto us, 'Where is the apparel of the bridal chamber? Where is the light of the lamps? If thou art indeed My son, where is the fear with which thou shouldst regard Me ? If thou didst hate Me in the world, then get thee away from Me , for I know thee not. If thou hatest thy brother thou art a stranger unto My Kingdom. If thou hast a bond on thy brother, and thou wilt not release him, then they shall bind thy hands behind thee, and thy feet, and shall cast thee into the outer darkness, where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. If thou rejectest thy brother, then will they deliver thee over to the angels who are without mercy,

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Ezek. xvi. 29 (?).
}
and they shall flog thee with whips of fire for ever. Thou didst not shew compassion upon My image, thou didst treat Me with contempt, thou didst hold Me in scorn, thou didst inflict disgrace upon Me ; therefore I will not shew compassion upon thee in thy time of danger and necessity.
'If thou dost not make peace with thy brother in this world, Fol. 40 a I will not be with thee in the Day of the Great Judgement. \(\overline{\boldsymbol{0}}\) [If] thou despisest the poor man, it is I Whom thou despisest therewith. [If] thou rejectest the man of misery, thou art the fellow (or, companion) of the man who rejected Me in My humility upon the Cross. Did I ever demand from thee anything during My absence from My home in the world? Did I not bestow upon thee My Body and My Blood, the Good of life? Did I not taste the death for thy sake until I redeemed thee? Did I not make thee acquainted with the mystery of heaven, and make thee My brother and companion? Did I not give unto thee the power to trample under thy feet vipers and scorpions, and all the might of the Enemy? Did I not give unto thee manifold medicines of life wherewith thou mightest heal thyself? My powers, and My signs, and My miracles, which I bore in the world as the armour of soldierhood I gave unto thee that thou mightest Fol. 40 b gird thyself about therewith, and mightest cast down head- \(\bar{\pi}\) long Goliath, that is to say the Devil. And now what is it which thou lackest that maketh thee to become a stranger to Me ? It is thy carelessness alone that driveth thee into the pit of Amente.'

Now therefore, O my son, these things and those which are far more severe shall we hear if we continue to be careless, and are not obedient [to the command] to forgive one another. Let us be sober. We know the virtues of God which shall help us in the day of death, and which shall act as a guide for us in the midst of the cruel and terrifying war, and which shall raise up [our] soul[s] from the dead. Now first of all there have been given unto us faith and the knowledge whereby
we may expel unbelief from within us. Next, there have been given unto us wisdom and understanding which enable us to Fol. 41 a understand the thoughts of the Devil, | and to flee from him, \(\overline{\Pi \alpha}\) and to hate him. [And] there are preached unto us fasting, and prayer, and continence, which shall give peace and tranquillity in the body [which is vexed] by passion. There have been given unto us purity and abstinence through which God shall dwell in us. And there have been given unto us patient endurance and long-suffering, and if we keep carefully all these [virtues] we shall inherit the glory of God. There have been given unto us love and peace, these mighty warriors in the battle, for the Enemy is unable to draw nigh unto the place wherein these are. We have been commanded concerning the joy wherein there is no grief if we fight. And we have also been instructed in generosity and in Christlikeness. There have been given unto us holy prayer and long-suffering, which are wont to fill the soul with light. There have been Fol. 41 b given unto us innocency of | heart and simplicity, which are wont to blot out wickedness. Directions have been written down for us in respect of judging no man, and we must overcome the falsehood of this evil blemish which is in man; for if we do not judge they will not judge us in the Day of Judgement. For the power to suffer patiently, and the power to bear violent assaults have been given unto us, in order that slothfulness may not cast us down headlong. And our fathers lived their lives to the very end in hunger and in thirst, and they suffered tribulations in great numbers until they produced purity within themselves. Especially did they flee from the drinking of wine, which is full of penalties of every kind. The disturbances in our members, and the twitchings therein, and their jerky and disconnected movements are due to overmuch wine; it is a madness which produceth much sin, it splitteth the head, and it maketh the joints of the hands and arms helpless.

For the pleasure which attendeth drinking in excess maketh
a man of understanding to become a fool, and it turneth the conscience ! into a shameless thing, and it setteth loose Fol, 42 a the bridle of the tongue. The greatest joy in all the world \(\overline{\Pi \pi}\) is to sorrow in the Holy Spirit; let us not stray in pleasure. For the priest spake, and the prophet gave a warning concerning wine,' Wine is insolent, drunkenness is a disgrace; whosoever shall devote himself to these shall not be innocent of sin.' \({ }^{1}\) Wine is good if we drink it in moderation; if thou givest thine eye to the wine-bottles and to the drinking-pots, thou shalt go naked, even like a corn-stalk (?).

Therefore let all those who have prepared themselves to be disciples of Jesus keep themselves away from wine and from drunkenness. For our fathers knew very well the danger which would arise because of wine, and they abstained from it, for they were wont to drink it in very small quantities when suffering from sickness. Now if only a very little wine was allowed to be given to the mighty workman Timothy, \({ }^{2}\) whose body was in a very infirm condition, | then what shall Fol. 42 b I say in respect of the man who is bubbling over with wicked- \(\overline{\Pi \Omega}\) ness, and is in the prime of early manhood, and who hath in him impure desires and passion in abundance? I am afraid to say it: Let no man drink wine at all, so that he may not hate his own salvation [and] murmur against me. For these words will be hard unto many at [this] time. Nevertheless, my beloved, it is good to keep oneself [from wine], and soberness (?) is beneficial ; for he who keepeth himself sober(?) shall sail in safety his ship into the harbour of the salvation, which is good and holy, and he shall drink of the good things of heaven.

And again, a greater thing than all these hath been given into thine hand, namely, the humility which keepeth watch over all the virtues; humility was this great and holy power

\footnotetext{

 \({ }^{2}\) See 1 Tim. v. 23.
}
wherein God arrayed Himself when He came into the world. It is the wall [round about] the virtues, the treasure-house of actions (or, deeds), the armour which delivereth, the healer of every grief. And when the apparel of byssus had been made, and the vessels of gold for the tabernacle, and all the Fol. \(43 a\) things for adornment, | they put on apparel of sackcloth.
\(\overline{\boldsymbol{\Pi e}}\) [Humility] is one of the least of things in the sight of men, but it is chosen and most honourable before God. If we acquire it for ourselves we shall [be able to] tread upon all the power of the Enemy. For He said, 'On whom shall I look except upon him that is humble and long-suffering?' \({ }^{1}\) Let us not relax our attention in the time of hunger, for boasting increaseth in a man as well as prudence. When gluttony increaseth, fornication reigneth through the drinking of the body, [and] pride hath rule, and the novices cease to listen to the elders, and the elders cease to trouble in any way about the novices, and each one walketh according to the desire of his own heart. This is the time wherein we must cry out with the prophet, ' Woe unto me, O my soul, for he who striketh Fol. \(43 b\) terror destroyeth upon |the earth. And he who is upright \(\overline{\Pi ®}\) among men existeth not according to the Christ, that is to say he doth not exist at all, and each one afllicteth his neighbour.' \({ }^{2}\)

Strive ye, \(\mathbf{O}\) my beloved, for the time hath drawn nigh, and the days have diminished. The father no longer giveth instruction to his son, and the son hearkeneth not to his father. The good Virgins have come to an end. The holy fathers are asleep in every place, the mothers are destroyed like the widows, we have become like unto orphans. The humble are trampled upon, and blows are showered upon the heads of the poor. Because of this, within a very little we have made God to be wroth. Then let us make lamentation, [for] there is none to comfort us. All these things have Fol. \(44 a\) come upon us because we have not afflicted ourselves. | Let us

\footnotetext{
- Isa. Ixvi. 21.
}

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{2}\) Cf. Mic. vii. 2.
}
strive earnestly, \(\mathbf{O}\) my beloved, so that we may receive the crown which is prepared. The throne is spread, the door of the kingdom is open, 'to him who overcometh will I give the manna which is his.' \({ }^{1}\) If we strive earnestly we shall conquer our passions, and we shall reign for ever and ever; but if they conquer us, we shall weep bitterly.

Let us fight for ourselves, inasmuch as repentance is sufficient for us. Let us put on ourselves sorrow, and make ourselves new [creatures] in humility. Let us become lovers of men, and make ourselves companions of Christ, the Lover of mankind. Since we are vowed unto God, [we must lead] the life of the monk in love. Virginity doth not [mean] virginity of the body only, but the keeping of oneself from every sin. For in the Gospel certain virgins were rejected because of their careless slothfulness, whilst those who watched bravely went | into the chamber of the bridegroom. May Fol. \(44 b\) it happen then that every one [here] may enter into that \(\overline{\mathrm{MF}}\) place for ever!

And as concerning the love of money by means of which fighting is carried on against us. If thou wishest to gain for thyself these things (or, possessions) which are transient, and can be destroyed by fire, \({ }^{2}\) by great avariciousness, or by trafficking, or by violence, or by evil design, or by excessive manual labour, thou art not free to serve God, at least certainly not in every way. If thou hast the eager desire to collect for thyself gold or bronze, remember that which He spake in the Gospel, saying, 'Thou man of no understanding, they shall carry away thy soul this very night; [and] the things which thou hast prepared unto whom shall they belong ?' \({ }^{3}\) Of similar import too are the words, 'He gathereth together, [but] he knoweth not for whom he is gathering.' \({ }^{4}\)

Strive eagerly then, \(\mathbf{O}\) my beloved, and fight against [this]

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Rev. ii. 17.
2 This rendering is doubtful. The text 耳eroole \(\overline{\text { IT }}\) oire \(\bar{\mu}\) nKwgt is perhaps corrupt.

B Luke xii. 20.
\({ }^{4}\) Ps. zxxix. 6.
}
passion. Thou shalt say, 'I will do what Abraham did, I will act uprightly in respect of God, the Most High, Who Fol. \(45 a\) created the heavens | and the earth-saying, If I have taken anything of the things which belong unto thee, from a thread even unto a shoe-latchet.' The stranger who is humble is a great good, and the Lord loveth the proselyte. Concerning, moreover, the slothfulness by means of which fighting is carried on against us, [and] concerning the right hand of need, remember that it is written, 'Thy houses for gathering in are accursed, and the things which are in them.' \({ }^{1}\) And again concerning the gold and the bronze James spake, saying, ‘ Their rust shall bear witness against them, and the rust shall devour your flesh like fire.' \({ }^{2}\) And, ' He chose a man, \({ }^{3}\) a righteous man who had no idol, he saw their affliction.' \({ }^{4}\) Again, purify thyself from the curse before the Fol. 45 b Lord calleth thee, for thou hast set thy hope | upon God,
\(\bar{\mp}\) because it is written 'Let your hearts be purified, [and] perfect towards God.' \({ }^{5}\)

I enquire of thee, O my beloved in the Lord, for if thou hast made God to be a helper [unto thee], and if thou art unto Him one beloved, and if thou hast set thy heart to walk in the commandments of God, then will God Himself bless thee so greatly that thy fountain shall become a river unto thee, and thy river shall become unto thee a sea. For thou art the chariot, and continence shall be the charioteer. The lamp of God is kindled above thee, and thou shalt give forth the light which belongeth unto the Spirit. Thou shalt control thy words in [giving] judgement. God granteth unto thee graciously the skill of the saints in contending, so that thou mayest not fall headlong before the image (or, phantom) in thy city. Thou settest thy foot upon the neck of the prince of darkness. Thou seest the general-in-chief of the Fol. \(46 a\) forces of the Lord standing at thy right | hand. Thou shalt

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Cf. Jer. v. 9. \(\quad{ }^{2}\) Jas. v. 3. \(\quad{ }^{8}\) Ps. lxxviii. 70; 1 Sam, xvi. 11, 12.
\({ }^{4}\) Exod. iv. 31.
\({ }^{5}\) Jas. iv. 8.
}
drown Pharaoh and his multitude. Thou and thy people pass over the sea of salt, \({ }^{1}\) that is to say, this life. Amen.

And besides these things, I command thee not to relax thy hold upon thy heart, for it is the joy of devils to make a man to relax his hold upon his heart, and to bring him into the net before he is aware of it. Therefore be not thou careless in receiving the teaching of the fear of the Lord. Thou shalt go forward (or, grow) like the new plants, and thou shalt please God like a new (i. e. young) bull which driveth away the sheep with [his] horns. Moreover, be thou a valiant man, both in deed and in word. Do not turn thy face away as do the hypocrites, lest thou join them and become converted unto them. Do not destroy (or, waste) the first day [of the week] in thy field, for thou must know what that must give to God day by day. Seat thyself by thyself, like a prudent governor, | and try [thyself] judicially Fol. \(46 b\) according to thy reason; and whether thou art away by ch thyself on a journey, or whether thou art among a crowd, thou shall pass judgement on thyself daily. For it is very much better for thee to be one among a crowd of a thousand people and to possess a very little humility, than to be a man living in the cave of a hyena in pride. It may be remembered in respect of Lot, that he lived in the midst of Sodom, and still was a believer and a good man. But we also hear in respect of Cain, with whom upon the earth there were only three other people, that he became a sinner.

Now therefore, behold, the contest is prepared for thee. Examine thou carefully those who come upon thee daily, for we must hide ourselves even as those who wage war against us hide themselves. For the devils are not wont to come against thee on the right hand only, but they appear also on the left hand to every man. For in very truth, in my own case, they fought against me on the right-hand side, and they brought

> 1 Arab. بَدر مِلْع.
unto me the Devil, being bound in the form of a wild ass, \({ }^{1}\) but the Lord helped me. I did not believe them, neither did Fol. 47 a I relax the vigilance of my heart | against them. And the व" works of the Devil on the right hand hurt me many times, and he went so far as to dare to tempt the Lord, but He destroyed him with all his works.

Now, therefore, O my son, array thyself in humility, and make the Christ to be unto thee a counsellor, and His Good Father [also]; make thyself a companion and a divine man, in whose heart is the Law of God. Make thyself to be like unto the poor man who carried His Cross, who became a companion of weeping. Make thyself to become poor, [put] a napkin on thy head, and let thy place of abode be unto thee a tomb, until God shall raise thee up and give unto thee the crown of triumph.

If it happeneth on a time that thou art utterly cast down about a brother, who hath caused thee suffering by [his] words; or if thy heart hath been wounded by a brother, and Fol. 47 b thou sayest, 'he \(\mid\) is not worth this'; or if the Enemy c| worketh in thee against a certain man [and thou sayest], 'he is not worthy of these honours,' lay thou hold upon thy speech. Or call to mind that it is the Devil of war who maketh himself great in thy understanding. [If] thou contendest with thy brother, thou knowest that there is no balm in Gilead, and that there is no physician in thy neighbourhood. Now [therefore] devote thyself to silent contemplation, and to making thyself conscious of God. Weep thou tears in the presence of thyself and Christ, and the Spirit of Jesus shall speak with thee in thine understanding, it shall give thee birth in the circle of the commandment, and make thee to strive by thyself; thou resemblest a wild animal inasmuch as the venom is in thee.

Remember how that thou thyself hast benefited on several

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) The Devil also appeared to Abba Nathaniel (died A. D. 376) in the form of an ass. See Paradise of the Fathers (ed. Budge), i. 112.
}
occasions. Dost thou not hear the Christ saying, 'Forgive thy brother seventy times seven'? \({ }^{1}\) Dost thou thyself not weep often when thou makest supplication, saying, 'Forgive me | the multitude of my sins'? And yet thou layest hold Fol. 48 a of a little thing against thy brother! And straightway the \(\overline{\text { ¢e }}\) Spirit of God shall bring before thee the Judgement, and the fear of the punishments. And thou must remember the saints, and how they were held worthy to be treated with coutempt. And thou must remember the Christ, and how they despised Him, and treated Him with contempt, and how they crucified Him for thy sake. And straightway thy heart shall become full of compassion and fear, and thou shalt cast thyself down on thy face weeping, and thou shalt say, ‘Forgive Thou me, O my Lord, for I have inflicted suffering' on Thine image.' And straightway thou shalt rise up, and thou shalt be [feeling] the consolation of repentance, thou shalt flee to the feet of thy brother, thy heart shall be as water, thy face shall be joyful, thy mouth shall he filled with gladness, peace shall be enveloping thee, and thou shalt make supplication to thy brother, saying, ' Forgive me, O my brother, for I have made thee to suffer pain.' | Thy weeping shall be Fol. 48 b abundant, but great joy shall be unto thee through [thy] \(\overline{\varphi \varepsilon}\) tears. And peace shall boast itself in your midst, and the Spirit of God Himself shall rejoice and shall cry out, saying, 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for it is they who shall be called the sons of God.' \({ }^{2}\) When the Enemy heareth the sound of the voice [of thy weeping] he becometh ashamed. [Take care] that God is glorified, so that a great blessing may be unto thee.

Now therefore, O my brother, let us fight boldly. Thou knowest that contention existeth in every place. The churches are filled with men who love fighting and with men of wrath. The Congregations and the bodies of monks love to arrogate to themselves greatness, pride hath made

\footnotetext{
\({ }^{1}\) Matt. xviii. 22.
\({ }^{2}\) Matt. v. 9.
}
itself to he king (or, to rule). No man sheweth bravery on behalf of his neighbour, but every man inflicteth persecution on his neighbour. We have fallen into the midst of sufferings. There is neither prophet nor Gnostic. No Fol. 49a man chideth another | in respect of any matter, because \(\overline{97}\) hardness of heart hath increased. He who hath understanding shall speak out, for the time is evil. Every man maketh himself to be his own king, and they devote their minds to the contemplation of the things which are unseemly. Now therefore, O my brother, make peace with thy brother, and thou shalt pray for me; I am unable to do anything in the matter, but I humble myself because of my wish. And do thou be sober in everything. Suffer, and perform the work of the evangelist, bear temptations patiently, fight out to the very end the fight which the life of the monk entaileth, humble thyself, make thyself to be long-suffering, let thy heart dread [certain] things [or, words], which thou must hear, and take good heed to guard thy virginity. And thou shalt commit thyself unto him with whom thou comparest thyself, and unto these strange voices concerning me. Set not thyself outside the writings of the saints, but make thyself strong in the belief in the Christ Jesus our Lord, Fol. 49 through Whom and to Whom be glory, | and to His Good \(\overline{\varphi_{H}}\) Father, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen. Bless us!

\section*{COPTIC FORMS OF GREEK WORDS}

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\section*{FOREIGN WORDS}
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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ See The Light of Egypt, London, 1910, p. 1.
    ${ }_{2}$ Paris, 1835, 8vo.
    ${ }^{3}$ Sitzungsberichte d. Königl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch. zu Berlin, 1891, pp. 1045-1049.
    ${ }^{4}$ Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, tom. ix, 1904, pp. 39 ff.

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ Rustafjaell, Light of Egypt, pp. 110 ff.

[^2]:    ${ }^{1}$ i. e. Mary, the mother of the Son of God.
    ${ }^{2}$ The Son of the Almighty, and the Master, and my Son.

[^3]:    - The text of an Ethiopic version of this apocryphon, with an English translation, will be found in my Contendings of the Apostles, vol. i, p. 214 ; vol. ii, p. 253.

[^4]:    ${ }^{1}$ i. e. at the expense of.
    ${ }^{2}$ The ancient Egyptian

[^5]:    ${ }^{1}$ Un Évéque de Keft au VII ${ }^{e}$ siècle, Paris, 1887.

[^6]:    ${ }^{1}$ Or, Armant, a town eight miles south of Thebes, on the left bank of the Nile.

[^7]:    ${ }^{1}$ An English rendering of the whole passage is given infra, p. 322.
    ${ }^{2}$ i. e. the bishopric of Coptos; in fact Moses was the successor of Pisentius.

[^8]:     Mum, or TA-Smi-t. of Upper Egypt, which is situated about half-way between A.swan and Luxor. The town was the centre of the cult of the Latus fish; hence the Greek name of the nome, Latopolites, and the Greek name of the town Latopolis.

[^9]:    ${ }^{2}$ Copt. qengoeit; rendering doubtful.

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Paradise of the Fathers, English translation by Budge, vol. i, pp. 129-131, 144-149, 283 ff.

[^11]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Book of the Dead, chaps. cxliv-cxlvii.
    ${ }^{2}$ Ibid., chap. xvii, 11.26 ff.
    ${ }^{3}$ Ibid., chap. cli.

[^12]:    1 mon
    ${ }^{3}$ Chap. Ixxxiii.
    ${ }^{2}$ Unàs text, $1.630=$ Tetä, 11. 305, 307.
    "Chap. ib (Papyrus of Nekhtu-Amen).
    ${ }^{0}$ Nārtiānkhemsenf, Ḥerfemqebf, Ānkhemfenṭu, Sāmemqesu, Hahutiämsau, Sheptemesu, Unemsāḥu, Sāmemsnef, Ānkhembetumitu.
    ${ }^{6}$ The Book Am-Tuat, seetions iv and $v$.

[^13]:    ${ }^{1}$ Book of Gates, section iii.
    ${ }^{5}$ Ȧm-Ţat, section viii.
    ${ }^{2}$ Ám-Tuat, section v .
    ${ }^{5}$ Ibid., chaps. xxxiii and xxxix. $\quad{ }^{6}$ Àm-Tuat, section vii.
    ${ }^{7}$ Unàs text, ll. 512 ff.

[^14]:    ${ }^{1}$ For the facsimile see Egyptian Fieratic Papyri in the Brit. Museum, Pl. XX ff.
    
    
    ${ }^{4}$ Unás, 11. 502, $503=$ Tetá, 1.30.
    ${ }^{5}$ Mariette, Denderah, text, p. 220.
    61. $\frac{0}{2}$;
    2. $\frac{8}{5}$;
    3. $\frac{8}{8}$;
    
    
    
    7. 照;
    13.
    
    8. $\underset{\sim}{n}$
    9. $\frac{\Delta}{8}$;
    10. $\sum_{y}^{\text {普 }}$;
    11. $\%$
    12. $\frac{8}{8}$;

[^15]:    ${ }^{1}$ See the Vignette in the Papyrus of Hunefer, Plate III.
    ${ }^{1}$ Mariette, Abydos, tom. ii, plates 54, 55.

[^16]:    ${ }^{3}$ For the hieratic text, hieroglyphic transliteration, and translation see Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Plates XXV-XXVIII.

[^17]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Pepi I, text, 1. 400.

[^18]:    ${ }^{\text { }}$ Compare the text of Lacau, 'Fragmentsd'Apocryphes Coptes,' p. 45, in Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale $d u$ Caire, tom. ix. Cairo, 1904.

[^19]:    ${ }^{1}$ The numbers were written on the margin in letters from five to thirty thus, $\overline{\mathbf{\epsilon}}, \overline{\mathbf{r}}, \overline{\mathrm{Z}}, \overline{\mathbf{H}}, \& \mathrm{c}$. ; the last visible is $\overline{\mathrm{Kz}}$.

[^20]:    ${ }^{1}$ Lacau's text, p. 46, line 35.

[^21]:    ${ }^{1}$ Lacau's text, p. 54, end of line 55.

[^22]:    

[^23]:    ${ }^{1}$ Lacau's text, p. 59, col. 2.

[^24]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Lacau's text, p. 63, line 35.

[^25]:    ${ }^{1}$ Lacau's text ends with the words $\boldsymbol{\lambda} \gamma \boldsymbol{\omega} \boldsymbol{\alpha}$ aqtaren eneqотернтє.

[^26]:    MS. Oriental. No. 6804. Fol. 5 a.

[^27]:    MS. Oriental No. 6804. Fol. 23 b.

[^28]:    ${ }^{*}$ кадк $\cdot \boldsymbol{\epsilon}_{\mathrm{k}}$ is written on the lower margin of this page in a different coloured ink.

[^29]:    ${ }^{1}$ For mataeon (?).

[^30]:     Mark xv. 43 ; Luke xxiii. 50 ; John xix. 38. According to Solomon of Al-Başrah (Book of the Bee, ed. Budge, p. 97) kings were elected from among the senators. If one of them committed an offence they used to beat his horse with white woollen gloves instead of him. Joseph was not a senator by birth, but purchased his dignity. He taught in Galilee and Decapolis and was buried in his town of Ramah (p. 109) ; his name appears in the list of the Seventy Apostles (p. 113).
    ${ }^{2}$ This town has been identified with the Ramathaim of 1 Mace. xi. 34, which was probably near Lydda.
    
    界 $\triangle$, which was originally the great Other World on the left bank of the Nile; here, however, it includes the Other World of Palestine.

[^31]:    ${ }^{1}$ A name derived from the Hebrew word tion, the kingdom of death; see Job xxviii. 22; Ps. Ixxxviii. 12; Prov. xv. 11, xxvii. 20. The angel of the abyss is in Rev. ix. 11 said to be called in Hebrew 'ABa $\delta \delta \omega \nu$, and in Greek 'Amodגvouv. He was the chief of the seventh division of hell.
    ${ }^{2}$ Death personified, as in Old Egyptian
    
     eines Lebensmüden, p. 66), and in Hebrew, $\boldsymbol{M}$.
     noted.

[^32]:    ${ }^{1}$ A name which is often found in magical papyri，and which was used by the Gnostics and others as a word of power．Originally it seems to have been intended to represent $\mathrm{B}^{3}$ ，or ，the God of the Hebrews，as Diodorus says（i．94）；but by many of those who had it cut on amulets and written in magical texts it was regarded as the name of the Supreme Being，whose symbol was the sun．On Gnostic amulets the name INU is associated with figures of various kinds．Thus on Brit．Mus．G． 235 it is cut on the shield which is carried in the left hand of the god Abrasax，who appears in the form of a cock－headed man，with legs terminating in serpents，holding aloft a whip in his right hand．On G． 44 （reverse）Abrasax stands in a chariot which is being drawn by two serpents．Above the serpents are the magical symbols 米王王 and the name ILIU，and on the bevelled edge is cut $\triangle B P A[A$ ．On G． 151 laô is seen standing on a lion；he has the body of a hawk with two pairs of wings，and human head，arms，hands，and feet．In each hand he holds a sceptre．On the reverse is the figure of a goddess standing on a
     is seen in the form which Horus has on the front of the Metternich stele （ed．Golenischeff，Plate I），and on some of the so－called＇cippi＇of Horus． For other examples see King，The Gnostics，Frontispiece and Plates III， IV，and VI；and Matter，Histoire du Gnosticisme，Paris，1828，Plate IX， In the last－named example the god who is figured as INUI is Jupiter．

[^33]:    In the Book of the Resurrection herein translated the god whose name is applied to Jesus is Harpokrates, or, Horus the Child.
    ${ }^{1}$ See Rev. iv. 4 ; v. 8, 14 ; xix. 4. According to the Book of the Bee (p.9), the angels consist of nine classes and three orders: 1. Upper Order, Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones. 2. Middle Order, Lords, Powers, and Rulers. 3. Lower Order, Principalities, Archangels, and Angels. And see Col. i. 16.
    ${ }^{2}$ See Lacau's text, p. 43.

[^34]:    ${ }^{1}$ Break in Lacau's text.
    B b

[^35]:    ${ }^{1}$ Lacau's text, p. 45.

[^36]:    1 An allusion to Isa. Ixvi. 24 and Mark ix. 44, 46, 48.
    2 i.e. Mary of Magdala, John xix. 25, Ex. 1, 11-18. Magdala was probably a village near the Lake of Tiherias.
    ${ }^{3}$ i.e. the mother of James the Less and Joses. See Matt. xxvii. 56, 61; Mark xv. 40, xvi. 1 ; Luke xxiv. 10.

    4 Mark xv. 40, xvi. 1. She was, perhaps, the wife of Zebedee, and the mother of James and John.

    5 Luke x. 38-42.
    ${ }^{6}$ Luke x. 38 ; John xi. 1, xii. 2.
    7 See Luke viii. 3, where however the wife of Herod's steward is said
     has probably dropped out of our Coptic text.

[^37]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Matt. ix. 20-22 ; Mark v. 25-34; Luke viii. 43-48.
    ${ }^{2}$ Luke vii. $11 . \quad$ s Luke vii. 47.
    ${ }^{4}$ Compare Luke ix. 37-42 or xxii. 50, 51.
     à่̉ $\partial ̀ \nu$ àpâ.

[^38]:     ó $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \tau a l \Delta ı \delta a ́ \sigma \kappa a \lambda \epsilon$.

[^39]:    ${ }^{1} \overline{\varphi^{0}}=90+9$, and qденні $=1+40+8+50$ (for 2 has no numerical value) $=99$; therefore $\overline{\mathcal{Y} \Theta}=$ Amen.

[^40]:    1 Literally 'said '.

[^41]:    ${ }^{1}$ Hebrew tradition states that, when in a state of innocence, Adam's body reached from earth to heaven; after Adam had sinned, his stature was shortened by God. The Muslims say that Adam was as tall as a high palm-tree, and that Eve's body was so long that when her head lay on one hill near Mecca, her knees rested on two other hills in the plain.

[^42]:    ${ }^{1}$ i. e. humble speech.

[^43]:    ${ }^{1}$ Lacau's text ends here with the words 'His feet'.

[^44]:    ${ }^{1}$ The people ask Siosphanes to tell them what happened to him after death, and who raised him up.

[^45]:    ${ }^{1}$ i.e. I will make no distinction between you.

[^46]:    ${ }^{1}$ Matt. xvii. 20 ; xxi. 21,22 ; Mark xi. 23 ; Luke xvii. 6.

[^47]:    ${ }^{1}$ ne．
    －ae．
    ${ }^{6}$ eperoc．
    ${ }^{9}$ seordoc．
    ${ }^{11}$ ere ur ter．
    ${ }^{2}$ orat．${ }^{3}$ armatoc．
    ${ }^{5}$ aekaitoc．
    ${ }^{7}$ 世rхен．${ }^{8}$ aN入a．
    ${ }^{10}$ Read，with Lacau，argwc．
    ${ }^{12}$ та入етюрос．
    ${ }_{13}$ The text is defective here．
    ${ }^{15}$ гrाwcrc．${ }^{16}$ тргкефа入ос．
    ${ }^{17}$ i．e．because of the charges of cruelty laid on them．
    ${ }^{18}$ mapadiaot．

[^48]:    ${ }^{1}$ янпшс.
    ${ }^{4}$ нa入 $\omega c$.
    ${ }^{7}$ raфoc.
    ${ }^{10}$ ctратіа.
    ${ }^{13}$ atralesc.
    ${ }^{16}$ Aaernac.

[^49]:    ${ }^{1}$ Philip. ii. 9.

[^50]:    ${ }^{1}$ i.e. it splayed out towards the bottom.

[^51]:    ${ }^{1}$ John xxi. 22, 23.

[^52]:    1 In the title of the Coptic text of this section strike out the word 'and'; Saint John is the holy virgin.
    ${ }^{2}$ So throughout this section.

[^53]:    ${ }^{1}$ Compare Ezek. i. 18; x. 12.

[^54]:    1 i. e. there is an abundant harvest.
    2 The Encomium of Eustathius supports this view about the part played by Saint Michael in making the waters of the Nile to rise. An honourable lady called Euphemia is greatly tormented by the Devil, who attacks her on every possible occasion, and is always foiled by the eikon which Euphemia carries about with her. One day the Devil said to her, 'Thou art saying at this moment that I shall not overcome thee so long as thou trustest in this little wooden tablet which is in thy hands, and if this be so, know that I will come to thee another time, on a day which thou shalt not know, that is to say, on the twelfth day of the month Paoni, for on that day Michael will be in conclave with the angels, and will be bowing down and praying with all the angel host outside the veil of the Father, for the waters of the River of Egypt, and for dew, and for rain. And I know that it will happen that he will continue in prayer ceaselessly for three days and three nights, and in prostrations, and in bowings down, and not standing upright until God shall hear him and grant his requests.'-Three Encomiums on St. Michael, ed. Budge, p. 90*, London, 1894.
    ${ }^{3}$ See Gen. i. 1.

[^55]:    ${ }^{1}$ Gen. ii. 16, 17.
    2 , חִִילָה, Havilah, see Gen. ii. 11.

[^56]:    12 Kings xx. 2 ; Isa. xxxviii. 2.

[^57]:    12 Kings xx. 7; Isa. xxxviii. 21.

[^58]:    ${ }^{1}$ Job v. 7 ; xiv. 1.

[^59]:    

[^60]:    4 i. e. July $7 . \quad{ }^{5}$ Read Terioeecic.

    - The name is spelt in various ways; see the forms in the List of Proper Names at the end of this book.

    7 Jas. iv. 17.

[^61]:    ${ }^{1} 2$ Cor. xii. 2.
    ${ }^{4}$ Ps. xxyiv. 17.
    ${ }^{2}$ Matt. v. 18.
    ${ }^{3}$ Matt. v. 14.
    ${ }^{\circ}$ Reading uncertain here.

[^62]:    1 This rendering is only a suggestion.
    ${ }^{2}$ From this it is clear that the family of Pisentius was well-to-do, and could afford to lend money to the peasants in the neighbourhood.
    ${ }^{3}$ At the beginning of his career as a monk Pisentius is said to have learned the entire Psalter by heart. asxoc on cebfrey xe Den
     thpion папосөнтнс. When he had learned the Psalter by heart, he began the Twelve Minor Prophets ; in twelve days he had learned them all, [for] each day he committed one to memory. He learned also the

[^63]:    ${ }^{1}$ Compare Ps. cxix. 24, 47.
    22 Cor. v. 1, 2.

