

Parabiblica Coptica

Edited by
IVAN MIROSHNIKOV

Parabiblica

3

Mohr Siebeck

Parabiblica
Editiones et Studia

Edited by / Herausgegeben von

Felix Albrecht (Göttingen) · Christfried Böttrich (Greifswald)
Jan Dochhorn (Durham) · Nils Arne Pedersen (Aarhus)
Jacques van Ruiten (Groningen) · Tobias Thum (München)

Managing Editor / Geschäftsführender Herausgeber

Jan Dochhorn

3

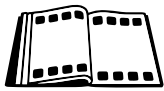


Parabiblica Coptica

Edited by
Ivan Miroshnikov

Mohr Siebeck

Ivan Miroshnikov, born 1986; 2008 Specialist Diploma in Religious Studies from Moscow State University; 2016 PhD from the University of Helsinki; Pro Futura Scientia XIV Fellow at the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study (Uppsala), researcher at Mid Sweden University (Sundsvall), senior research fellow at the Centre for Egyptological Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences), and docent in Early Christian and Coptic Studies at the University of Helsinki.
orcid.org/0000-0003-0524-2861



SCHRIFT-BILDER.org
Handschriften- und
Bildforschung

Erschließung und Erhalt von historischem
Kulturgut in Schrift- und Bildform

ISBN 978-3-16-162086-7 / eISBN 978-3-16-162224-3

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-162224-3

ISSN 2941-2609 / eISSN 2941-2617 (Parabiblica)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <https://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2023 Mohr Siebeck Tübingen. www.mohrsiebeck.com

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was typeset by epline in Bodelshausen using Minion typeface, printed by Gulde Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper, and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany

Preface

As the editor of *Parabiblica Coptica*, I wish to thank Jan Dochhorn and Felix Albrecht for their invitation to edit this volume, the editorial board of the Parabiblica series for accepting it for publication, and all the contributors for their hard work. Thanks are also due to Schrift-Bilder gGmbH (Berlin) for their financial support for the typesetting of the manuscript and finally to the publishing house Mohr Siebeck, especially to Elena Müller, Betina Burkhart, and Dominika Zgolik for their professional guidance.

The title of the volume – *Parabiblica Coptica* – warrants a brief explanation.¹ The expression “parabiblical texts” is, to some extent, synonymous with the term “apocrypha,” which Hugo Lundhaug in a recent contribution defined as texts and traditions that

- (1) develop or expand upon characters and events of the biblical storyworld and/or
- (2) contain a claim to authorship by a character from that storyworld or a direct witness to it.²

While Lundhaug’s definition certainly applies to most of the literary works analyzed in this volume, the word “apocrypha” in the title is deliberately avoided.

With the notable exception of the Nag Hammadi codices and *Papyrus Berolinensis* 8502 (where it occurs, e. g., in the title of the Apocryphon of John), the word *apocryphon* in Coptic literature has predominantly negative connotations. Shenoute, the Coptic writer *par excellence*, writes in *I Am Amazed*, “Those who write apocryphal books are blind, and blind are they who learn them by heart and who believe them.”³ In his attack on apocrypha Shenoute follows in the footsteps of Athanasius of Alexandria, who in his Thirty-Ninth Festal Letter – discussed in great detail in Nils Arne Pedersen’s contribution to this volume – claimed that apocryphal writings were invented by heretics. As Pedersen observes, this notion was not invented by Athanasius; rather, associating apocrypha with heresy “was an old tradition in Patristic literature.”

It thus seems plausible that the writers and the readers of most of the texts discussed in this volume would not conceptualize them as “apocryphal.” The word “Parabiblica,” on the other hand, is neutral and thus would probably not have raised any objections, as the term merely denotes texts that do not belong to the Bible but, in a sense, move in its orbit. After all, according to the oft-quoted passage from the *Homily on the Passion and the Resurrection* (cc 0149) by Pseudo-Evodius of Rome, “the Lord Jesus will not blame us if

¹ See also Jan Dochhorn, “Überlegungen zur Reihe ‘Parabiblica,’” in volume 1 of the series.

² Hugo Lundhaug, “The Fluid Transmission of Apocrypha in Egyptian Monasteries,” in *Coptic Literature in Context (4th–13th cent.): Cultural Landscape, Literary Production, and Manuscript Archaeology*, ed. Paola Buzi (Rome: Quasar, 2020), 217.

³ David Brakke and Andrew Crislip, *Selected Discourses of Shenoute the Great: Community, Theology, and Social Conflict in Late Antique Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 54. For the Coptic text, see Hans-Joachim Cristea, *Schenute von Atripe: Contra Origenistas*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 60 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 138.

we add some embellishments to the holy gospels”⁴ – in other words, one can develop and expand the biblical story world while staying clear of “heresy” and the associated “apocrypha.”

Moreover, the term “Parabiblica” can be applied not only to the literary works that have a thematic link with the Bible but also to those that are “almost” in the Bible due to their chronological and authoritative proximity to it. For this reason it seemed appropriate to include in the present volume a contribution by Dan Batovici on the so-called “apostolic fathers.”

As for the second word in the title – *Coptica* – it outlines the fact that the studies published in this volume predominantly deal with texts composed by Egyptian Christians and transmitted in Coptic (and, in many cases, probably also composed in this language). Additionally, two studies focus on matters of reception: Batovici discusses the Coptic stage of transmission of a collection that was originally composed in Greek, while Vincent W. J. van Gerven Oei and Alexandros Tsakos scrutinize the Old Nubian versions of the texts that were initially produced in Coptic.

Many Coptic literary texts remain unpublished; the history of Coptic literature, largely unwritten. With this volume, its ten authors wish to offer a small contribution to the noble goal of publishing and understanding Coptic literature.

Bergen, December 2022

Ivan Miroshnikov

⁴ For the Coptic text, see Paul Chapman, “Homily on the Passion and the Resurrection Attributed to Euodius of Rome,” in *Homiletica from the Pierpont Morgan Library*, ed. Leo Depuydt, CSCO 524 (Leuven: Peeters, 1991), 91.

Table of contents

Preface	V
Abbreviations	IX
I. Editiones	
<i>Bull, Christian H., and Alexander Kocar</i>	
The Acts of Andrew and Paul (CANT 239): A New Edition with an Introduction, Translation, and Notes.....	3
<i>Burns, Dylan M.</i>	
More Greek Philosophers Among the Copts: The Notes of Some Philosophers (MONB.BE) and the “Wisdom from Outside” in Pseudo-Evodius of Rome’s <i>Homily on the Passion and Resurrection</i>	31
<i>Miroshnikov, Ivan</i>	
The Preaching of Philip: A New Edition of the Sahidic Fragments with an Introduction, Translation, and Notes.....	53
II. Studia	
<i>Batovici, Dan</i>	
The “Apostolic Fathers” in Coptic: Problems and Overview	103
<i>Frangulian, Lilia</i>	
24, 72, 1000: Biblical Numbers in the Investitures of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel	127
<i>Pedersen, Nils Arne</i>	
Heresies and Apocrypha in the <i>Thirty-Ninth Festal Letter</i> of Athanasius of Alexandria	151
<i>Smagina, Eugenia B.</i>	
Onomastik und Rechtschreibung von Lehnwörtern in koptischen Texten, insbesondere in den Apokryphen	175
<i>Van Gerven Oei, Vincent W.J., and Alexandros Tsakos</i>	
Apostolic Memoirs in Old Nubian	191
Index of Ancient Sources	225
Index of Modern Authors	237
Subject Index	239
List of Contributors	241

Abbreviations

The abbreviations for primary and secondary sources used throughout this volume are the ones prescribed in the *SBL Handbook of Style* (2nd ed., 2014; see also <https://sblhs2.com> for the “corrections and additions that will be included in the third edition”). Abbreviations for papyri follow those given in John F. Oates et al., “Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets,” available at <https://papyri.info/docs/checklist>. Additionally, the following abbreviations are used.

- CANT Geerard, Maurice. *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*. Corpus Christianorum. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992.
- cc Clavis optica, http://www.cmcl.it/~cmcl/chiam_clavis.html
- CLM Coptic Literary Manuscript, <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts>
- CMCL Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari, <http://www.cmcl.it>
- DBMNT Database of Medieval Nubian Texts, <http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl>
- ECCA e-Clavis: Christian Apocrypha, <https://www.nasscal.com/e-clavis-christian-apocrypha>
- GIOV Codex from the Church of John the Baptist in Thi(ni)s (followed by a two-letter siglum)
- LDAB Leuven Database of Ancient Books, <https://www.trismegistos.org/ldab>
- MACA Codex from the Monastery of Saint Macarius in Wādī al-Naṭrūn (followed by a two-letter siglum)
- MICH Codex from the Monastery of the Archangel Michael at Phantouu in the Fayyūm (followed by a two-letter siglum)
- MONB Codex from the White Monastery (followed by a two-letter siglum)
- P.QI 1 Plumley, J. Martin, and Gerald M. Browne. Vol.1 of *Old Nubian Texts from Qaşr Ibrīm*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1988.
- P.QI 3 Browne, Gerald M. Vol. 3 of *Old Nubian Texts from Qaşr Ibrīm*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1991.
- P.QI 4 Ruffini, Giovanni. *The Bishop, The Eparch, and the King: Old Nubian Texts from Qaşr Ibrim (P. QI IV)*. The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplements 22. Warsaw: Raphael Taubenschlag Foundation, 2014.

I. Editiones

The Acts of Andrew and Paul (*CANT* 239)

A New Edition with an Introduction, Translation, and Notes

Christian H. Bull and Alexander Kocar

The present article offers a new edition and translation of the Acts of Andrew and Paul (hereafter Acts Andr. Paul; *CANT* 239).¹ Acts Andr. Paul is extant in a single, fragmentary Coptic manuscript, which lacks the first several pages of the text.² The story is set sometime after the death and resurrection of Jesus. Its titular characters, Andrew and Paul, travel through and perform wonders in Andrew's hometown, to be identified with either Capernaum (cf. Mark 1:21–22, 29) or Bethsaida (John 1:44). Acts Andr. Paul is an impressive compilation of well-worn apocryphal tropes (e. g., a tour of hell; apostolic wonder-working; and inter-religious rivalry with “the Jews”); and yet, it also offers surprising departures from what is expected, humanizing, for example, a suffering and sympathetic Judas Iscariot. In light of similarities but also important differences from related texts (e. g., the third-/fourth-century Apocalypse of Paul³ and the fourth-century Acts of Pilate), it is difficult to confidently date Acts Andr. Paul. Thus, we offer a possible range of composition from the fourth to the seventh centuries.

1. Contents/Summary

Due to the fragmentary state of the manuscript, the narrative as preserved begins *in medias res* with Andrew encountering a sailor who hands over to the apostle the robe of Paul, who has leapt from that sailor's ship into the watery abyss of the near-by sea. Andrew then comes upon a father who pleads with the apostle to save his gravely ill child. Andrew promises to help the mourning father but is stopped from entering into the town by “the Jews”⁴ who oppose the apostle's preaching of the name “Jesus.” Rebuffed, Andrew vows to return in a day's time to heal the child.

¹ We have published a more substantial introduction and discussion of the theological context and thematic contents of this text elsewhere, with a more complete bibliography: Christian Bull and Alexander Kocar, “The Acts of Andrew and Paul: An Introduction and Translation,” in *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, ed. Tony Burke (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2023), 3:181–204. We thank Tony Burke for permitting us to reuse our translation and some of our introductory observations. In this article, our focus will be on the Coptic edition of the text.

² On the contents of this codex, see Ivan Miroshnikov, “The Acts of Andrew and Philemon in Sahidic Coptic,” *Apocrypha* 28 (2017): 10–16.

³ For more on the “family” of texts associated with the Apocalypse of Paul and their portrayals of hell, see further Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983).

⁴ On the Christian construction of “the Jews” as the dangerous other or outsider, see further John

Andrew then sets sail to find his companion Paul. Once out at sea, Andrew performs a ritual incantation that separates salt water from fresh water, thereby creating an opening in the sea out from which leaps Paul, carrying a fragment of the door to hell. In a misguided effort to replicate the Savior's Harrowing of Hell (cf. 1 Pet 3:18–20; 4:6), Paul had journeyed into the underworld, where he found the doors to hell blasted open and hell itself empty, except for Judas Iscariot. Paul then relates an extended monologue by Judas, in which he recounts his betrayal of Jesus, attempted yet failed repentance, strategic suicide, and eventual abandonment by Jesus in hell. Remarkably, we find a sympathetic Judas here who not only regretted his betrayal but also was able to convince Jesus to give him a second chance after he recited Christ's own words of forgiveness (cf. Matt 18:22) back to him. Unfortunately, all of Judas' plans fail, and Jesus leaves Judas in hell in spite of Judas' pleas for mercy.

Judas' story continues but broadens its point of view so that we now hear from disgruntled, infernal powers as well. After Jesus "laid waste" to hell, its gatekeepers began to question the devil who had previously boasted of his powers saying, "I am king, and there is no one else besides me."⁵ The devil, in an effort to save face, maintained that he still had Judas in hell. To embarrass the devil one final time, Jesus sent the angel Michael down to show that if he wanted to he could lift Judas out of hell. After mocking the devil, Michael then put a weeping Judas back into hell to await the final Day of Judgment.

After hearing Judas' tale, Paul began touring the deserted streets of hell. He saw the paradisiacal places that had held the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Paul also heard but did not see those souls who are sentenced to weeping and gnashing their teeth for their sins (cf. Matt 8:12; 13:42; 22:13; 24:51, and 25:30). The sinners doomed to this fate are those who committed murder, infanticide, or practiced magic (cf. Rev 21:8).

Paul finishes recounting his journey through hell just as he and Andrew arrive back at the shore. The apostles try to enter the city to heal the ill (now deceased) child of the man who earlier had beseeched Andrew for help; the Jews, however, have fortified the gate against their entry. Andrew sends a bird named "truth" to bring a message to the grieving father, asking him and the crowd of mourners at his home to open the city-gates for the apostles. Enraged, a mob moves towards the gate carrying stones that they intend to hurl at the Jews. On their way to the gate, the mob encounters the governor who, upon learning

Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes Toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Peter Schäfer, *Judeophobia: Attitudes toward the Jews in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Paula Fredriksen and Oded Irshai, "Christian Anti-Judaism: Polemics and Policies," in *The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period*, ed. Steven T. Katz, vol. 4 of *The Cambridge History of Judaism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 977–1034.

⁵ The boast is reminiscent of Isa 45:5–6 (cf. also 45:21; 46:9) where the Lord tells Cyrus: "I am the Lord and there is no other; besides me there is no god." In the so-called Sethian Gnostic literature this boast is placed in the mouth of Ialdabaoth, the evil demiurge and caricature of Yahweh; see Ap. John (NHC II 11.20–22; 13.8–9); Nat. Rulers (NHC II 86.30–31); Gos. Eg. (NHC III 58.25–27). This connection was first pointed out by Hans-Martin Schenke, *Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 9. Cf. Steve Johnston, *Du créateur biblique au demiurge gnostique. Trajectoire et réception du motif du blasphème de l'Archonte* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019); Johnston, "Le mythe gnostique du blasphème de l'archonte," in *Les textes de Nag Hammadi: Histoire des religions et approches contemporaines. Actes du colloque international réuni à Paris*, ed. Jean-Pierre Mahé, Paul-Hubert Poirier, and Madeleine Scopello (Paris: AIBL, 2010), 177–201.

what is happening, is upset at the prospect of violence in his city. Rather than side with the mob or the Jews, the governor puts the apostles to the test, asking them to open the gate through their own power. Paul then knocks three times against the city-gate with the splinter of wood from the gate to hell and evaporates the door.

There are then four pages missing from the text. When the story resumes, the apostles have apparently resurrected the child, and now the Jews try to fake a resurrection of their own before the governor. But the man they had paid to fake his death is now actually dead. The apostles then succeed at raising him from the dead, and he reveals the ploy and begs their forgiveness. After the Jews are refuted, they are then converted and baptized *en masse*.

2. Manuscript Provenance and Current Edition

Acts Andr. Paul survives only as pages 115–126 and 131–133 in a dispersed codex from the White Monastery designated as MONB.DN. The parchment codex is a Coptic collection of various Andrew *Acta* including in order: the Acts of Andrew and Matthias in the City of Cannibals (CANT 236); the Acts of Andrew and Philemon (CANT 240); Acts Andr. Paul; the Acts of Andrew and Bartholomew (CANT 238), and finally the Acts of Andrew and Peter (CANT 237).⁶ The last extant page number of the codex is 180, so it must have consisted of at least 90 folia, of which today only 28 are extant.⁷ Since all the texts in the manuscript are related to the apostle Andrew it is possible that they were considered to belong to an “Andrew-cycle”; although as Ivan Miroshnikov notes, the Acts Andr. Bart. is labeled “the Acts of Bartholomew,” and so the notion of an Andrew-cycle probably reflects more the intentions of the compiler of the manuscript, and not the original authors.⁸ Beyond the character Andrew, there is not much connecting these texts internally, nor to the other Acts of Andrew extant in various languages.⁹ According to Eusebius, a certain text known as Acts of Andrew was popular among sectarians (*Hist. eccl.* 3.25.6), but there are no discernible traces of any specific sectarian theology in the present text.

The manuscript once belonged to the famous Coptic library of the White Monastery, near Sohag in Upper Egypt, but like all White Monastery manuscripts its pages are now divided between different collections, and for a large part missing. MONB.DN bears some resemblances to the subgroup of White Monastery manuscripts produced at the monastery of Toutōn, in the Fayyūm, and donated to the White Monastery around the middle of

⁶ Codex reconstructed by Enzo Lucchesi, “Contribution codicologique au Corpus copte des *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*,” in Paul-Hubert Poirier, *La version copte de la Prédication et du Martyre de Thomas*, Subsidia Hagiographica 67 (Brussels: Société des bollandistes, 1984), 10–11; for deeper discussion of the codex and several of the Andrew texts it contains, see Ivan Miroshnikov, “The Coptic Versions of the Acts of Andrew and Matthias (CANT 236), with an Edition of IFAO Copte Inv. 132,” *Mus* 132 (2019): 291–328; Miroshnikov, “The Acts of Andrew and Philemon in Sahidic Coptic,” 10–13.

⁷ Tito Orlandi and Alin Suciu, “The End of the Library of the Monastery of Atripe,” in *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times*, ed. Paola Buzi, Alberto Camplani and Federico Contardi, OLA 247 (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 2:893.

⁸ See Miroshnikov, “The Acts of Andrew and Philemon in Sahidic Coptic,” 12, n. 9.

⁹ See Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *Writings Related to the Apostles, Apocalypses and Related Subjects*, vol. 2 of *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McLachlan Wilson, 6th ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 101–51 for Acts Andr., and 449–50 for Acts Andr. Paul.

the tenth century.¹⁰ However, since there are also dissimilarities with the Toutōn manuscripts, we can only tentatively say that the manuscript was likely produced in the Fayyūm between the 10th and 12th century, the time-period of all dated White Monastery manuscripts.¹¹

The White Monastery manuscripts in Rome were sent to the Cardinal Stefano Borgia (1731–1804) by Jesuit missionaries to Egypt. The Borgia collection was eventually split up and is today housed in the Vatican Library and the National Library in Naples.¹² The pages containing Acts Andr. Paul are found exclusively in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vat. Borg. copt. 109, cass. xxvi, fasc. 132). The first group of pages, 115–126, were published in the catalog of the Borgia collection by Georg Zoega in 1810;¹³ the second, 131–133, by Ignazio Guidi in 1887.¹⁴ The two were published together along with a French translation by Xavier Jacques in 1969,¹⁵ and the text has appeared in excerpts and summaries over the years but never, until now, in a complete English translation with a Coptic edition.¹⁶

We have produced our own original transcription and re-edition of the text based on in-person autopsy as well as high-resolution photos of the manuscript. We do, however, note where previous editors were able to see more letter-forms in the manuscript than what currently survives. Furthermore, we offer a limited critical apparatus, noting where our current readings improve and correct previous editions.

¹⁰ Tito Orlandi, “The Library of the Monastery of Saint Shenute at Atripe,” in *Perspectives on Panoopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*, Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 31 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 215–17; Chiemi Nakano, “Indices d’une chronologie relative des manuscrits coptes copiés à Toutōn (Fayoum),” *JCoptS* 8 (2006): 147–59.

¹¹ Miroshnikov, “The Acts of Andrew and Philemon,” 10.

¹² Alin Suci, “The Borgian Coptic Manuscripts in Naples: Supplementary Identifications and Notes to a Recently Published Catalogue,” *OCP* 77 (2011): 299–325.

¹³ Georg Zoega, *Catalogus codicum copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adseruantur* (Rome: Typis sacrae congregationis de propaganda fide, 1810), 230–35; also included in the Lese-stücke of Georg Steindorff, *Koptische Grammatik mit Chrestomathie, Wörterverzeichnis und Literatur*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1904), 34*–26*.

¹⁴ Ignazio Guidi, “Gli Atti apocrifi degli Apostoli nei testi copti, arabi ed etiopici,” *Giornale della Società asiatica italiana* 2 (1888): 45–46; Guidi, “Frammenti copti. Nota III^a,” *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei: Rendiconti* 3.2, ser. iv (1887): 80–81.

¹⁵ Xavier Jacques, “Les deux fragments conservés des ‘Actes d’André et de Paul’ (Cod. Borg. Copt. 109, fasc. 132),” *Orientalia* 38 (1969): 187–213. See also the French summary in Jacques, “Les ‘Actes d’André et de Paul,’” *RSR* 58 (1970): 289–96.

¹⁶ See the overview of previous scholarship in Jacques, “Les deux fragments,” 187–91.

3. Edition

Page 115 (Borg.copt. 109, fasc. 132, fol. 1r)

ϣϣ . . η . . .	1	χε ειναβ[ωκ] τα[με]
мπεσωηρε η		ϣτ ητοπος μηη[ογν]
Τεγνοϋ νταπνεεϋ		ηαι ηταπχοεις
μοοηε αϋσωϣτ		βωκ εροοϋ ηταναϋ
αϋναϋ εανδρεαϋ	5	χε ηταϋααϋ ηαϣ
ερεπηνηϣε σοοϋϋ		ηϋε ^{vac} ηαι δε
εροϣ κατα θε		Νετϋϣω ημοοϋ
Νταπαγλοϋ χοοϋ ηαϣ		χε (ειε)χοοϋ εροκ χε
αϋϣι ηπεϣεπεν		†τωβϋ ημοκ
τηδϋϋ επεκρο ετ	10	ηηρη παωβω
ρεϣτααϣ ηαϣ		ετρεκει εβολ ϋητ
ατηααϋ δε		μηποτε ησεα
ηηνεεϋ		μαϋτε ημοι η
ηαϋ επεϋ		σι ηκαταϑθουη
ϣηρε εϣ	15	οη ηηποϋη
ηηϋ εβολ επεκρο		Τοτε ανδρεαϋ αϋϣι
αϋβωκ χε εϋηα		ηπεπεντϋηηϋ
αϋπαϋε ημοϣ		ηπαγλοϋ ητο
Δπεντϋδϋϋ η		οτϣ ηηνεεϋ
παγλοϋ ταϋε ηεϋ	20	Πεχε ανδρεαϋ ηηηε
βαλ αϋηαϋ εβολ		εϣ χε βωκ επεκηη
αϋ† εοοϋ ηηποϋ		ανοκ ϋω τααϣω
τε εϋη ηεν		ηηε ηη ηειοϋδαι
ταϣωϣπε		ηκεκοϋη ^{vac} ηη
Δηδρεαϋ δε αϋει ε	25	ηηωϋ ταβωκ ε
βολ ϋηη ηηηνεεϋ		ηηα εηεϣηηηηϣ
Πεχαϣ χε εϣτων		αϣτωοϋη αϣβωκ
ηρωηε εττα		επεϣηη ησι ηηε
ληϋ επϣοι ηη		εϣ εϣ† εοοϋ ηηποϋ
ηακ ηεχε	30	τε ^{vac} αϣ† ηηεϋ
ηηεεϋ χε αϣϣο		κεϣη ηηηρωηε
ϣ[ϣ] ητοοτη επη		ηαϋ ^{vac} ανδρεαϋ
[οϋ] εϣϣω ηηοϣ		δε ϋτωϣϣ ϋϣβ[ωκ]

115 col. i, ll. 12–15: Scribe has written around a hole in the ms.

115 col. ii, l. 2: ηηη[ογν] is Zoega's suggestion. If so, the word goes far into the margin.

115 col. ii, l. 8: We follow the emendation of H. Quecke reported by Jacques.

εροϋ ντρε χε πα χοεις τ̄c πενταϋ πωρϋ εβολ μποϋο ειν ἡτμητε μ πκακε = ^{vac} πεν	1	πωρϋ απαγλος φοσϋ ερραι ζμ πμο οϋ ^{vac} ερεοϋκογι μ ποσε νωρε ζν τεϋ σιϋ – αϋφοσϋ
Ταϋπωρϋ εβολ μ πκαρ φαντεππετ φωγωϋ οϋωνε εβολ = ^{vac} ρραι δε ζμ	5	εζοϋν εανδρεαc αϋασπαζε μμοϋ Πεχε ανδρεαc ναϋ χε εκνηϋ των πασον η εκζην αϋ μηδ· ^{vac} πεχε
Πεκραν τ̄πωρτ ἡπεῑαποτ μμο οϋ ετρωλοc εθαλαcσα ετμερ μμοϋ ετ μολε ^{vac} χε εσεανα	10	Παγλοc ναϋ χε κω ναι εβολ πασον· νται βοκ αιμεωτ̄ ἡ τοποc μπιουϋν ναι νταπεινχοεις βοκ εροϋϋ αιναϋ εροϋϋ· χε ζεναϋ μμινε νε· ^{vac} πε
Χωρει ναc ντε ππετφωγωϋ οϋωνε εβολ νϋπωσε ἡ̄σι πκαρ μν πμοϋν ^{vac} νϋει	15	Χε ανδρεαc ἡ̄ναϋ χε ακτοлма παρα πϋι ρολωc ρω ανοἡ μμοc ναποc τολοc [[. . . .]] εῑμμοϋε μἡ πσωτηρ:
ερραι ν̄σι πασον παγλοc = ^{vac} ναι Δε ἡ̄ττερεϋχοϋϋ αϋ πωρτ μπαπωτ μμοϋ ετρωλοc εθα λαcσα ^{vac} εϋϋω	20	Χ̄ινταϋτωϋν εϋτcαβο μμον ερωβ μμ ^{vac} αϋααν ἡ̄χοεις εϋἡ̄ σον μμ
μμοc χε αναχω ρει νακ πμοϋ ετμολε αϋω ετ σαϋε ρῑον ἡ̄πετ ρωλοc = ^{vac} ναι δε	25	αϋω μπεϋον μ
Νττερεϋχοϋϋ απετ φωγωϋ οϋω νε εβολ απμοϋν	30	

Index of Ancient Sources

Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

Genesis		Deuteronomy	158
1	186	4:2	157
1:6	23 n. 20	4:26	158
2:2–3	187	30:19	158
2:7	92 n. 105	31:9	159 n. 36
3:7	176	31:22	159 n. 36
3:20	177	31:24	159 n. 36
4:1	184	31:28	158
4:15	184		
4:20	185	1 Chronicles	
4:21	185	24:1–19	134 n. 52
4:26	185		
5	185	2 Chronicles	
5:1	185	3:1	187
5:9–12	185		
5:18–24	155	Ezra	
6	162	1:15	186
6:1–4	161–63		
6:4	183	Nehemiah	
10	143 n. 137	9:12	141 n. 126
10:8	182	9:19	141 n. 126
10:8–9	182		
10:9	182–83	Job	
22:2	187	2:1	178
		28:22	186
Exodus	119; 123		
4:22	163	Psalms	
12:39	179 n. 23	2:1	156 n. 21
13:21–22	141 n. 126	38:6 (37:6 LXX)	217
		82:1 (81:1 LXX)	163
Leviticus		82:6 (81:6 LXX)	163
16:29	144 n. 146	96:10 (95:10 LXX)	201
23:27	144 n. 146	99:7 (98:7 LXX)	141
		115:4–8	
Numbers		(113:12–16 LXX)	54; 91 n. 103
5:17	92 n. 105	115:13 (113:21 LXX)	95 n. 113
14:14	141 n. 126	127:2 (126:2 LXX)	156
22:22	178	135:15–18	
29:7	144 n. 146	(134:15–18 LXX)	54; 91 n. 103
31:38	143 n. 134		
33:1–2	159 n. 36	Proverbs	
		1:7	181

1:22	181	36:16	56 n. 8
8-9	181	40:9	158
8:22	169	40:23	168
9:1-6	140 n. 116	40:26	168
9:13-18	181	45:5-6	4 n. 5
14:7	181	45:19	158
15:11	186	45:21	4 n. 5
25:2	132 n. 33	46:9	4 n. 5
26:11	47	64:3	160 n. 42
37:6	217	64:4	161 n. 47
		65:16	160 n. 42
Ecclesiastes		Jeremiah	
2:19	180 n. 33	5:21	180 n. 33
7:17	180 n. 33	Ezekiel	
10:3	180 n. 33	1:15	186
10:6	180 n. 33	Hosea	
10:14	180 n. 33	9:4	156
Isaiah	56 n. 8; 158; 160	9:7-8	180
1:2	163		
11:34	161		

New Testament

Matthew	60 n. 35	Luke	119; 123; 142; 154; 169
4:20	22 n. 19	1:1	157
5:44	49	1:1-4	154; 155 n. 14
8:12	4	5:17	66
13:35	132 n. 33	6:27	49
13:42	4	7:38	95 n. 111
13:57	160	10:1	143 n. 135
18:22	4	10:17	143 n. 135
20:1	140 n. 108	14:16-24	140 n. 116
22:2	140 n. 116	22:30	142 n. 131
22:13	4	23:39-43	214
22:31-32	167	23:42	214
24:51	4	John	60 n. 35; 108; 123
25:1-13	140 n. 116	1:1	1:1
25:30	4	1:14	167
26:28	95 n. 114	1:44	3; 26 n. 27; 67
28:19	167	4:14	156
Mark	60 n. 35	5:39	168
1:4	95 n. 114	5:46-47	159 n. 36
1:18	22 n. 19	5:46	168
1:21-22	3; 26 n. 27; 67	10	107
1:29	3; 26 n. 27; 67	10:1-10	107
9:12	60	10:1-42	107
		11	107

11:1-8	107	2 Timothy	
11:1-44	107	3:16	156 n. 21; 157
11:39	217		
11:45-52	107	Hebrews	
11:45-13:12	107	8:11	95 n. 115
14:27	88 n. 95	11:3	153; 168
Acts		James	108; 123
1:3	213	1:13-5:20	107
1:9-12	213	5:13-15	134 n. 51
2:2-4	168		
2:11	88 n. 94	1 Peter	
2:38	95 n. 114	1:16	66
8:10	96 n. 115	3:18-20	4
16:16	89 n. 98	4:6	4
27:19	22 n. 19		
Romans		2 Peter	
7:12	168	2:22	47
14:10	167; 167 n. 72	Jude	
		6	162
1 Corinthians		Revelation	
2:9	160-61		109; 120; 123; 132-33;
5:4	66		133 n. 49; 136; 143; 153
15:47	92 n. 105	5:5	134 n. 50
		7:14-14	134 n. 50
2 Corinthians		9:11	186
5:10	167; 167 n. 72	11:18	95 n. 113
		13:16	95 n. 113
1 Timothy		19:5	95 n. 113
3:15	163	20:4	140 n. 117
4:3-4	96 n. 116	20:5	142
4:14	134 n. 51	21:8	4
5:17	134 n. 51	22:18-29	157
5:22	134 n. 51		

Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

Apocalypse of Elijah	141 n. 126; 161; 161 n. 46; 165-66	63.3	159
Assumption of Moses	161	2 Enoch	158-59; 159 n. 31, n. 34; 169 n. 76; 178
		22-23	177
1 Enoch	158-59	24	169 n. 77
1-36	161		
10.4-4	162	4 Ezra	
10.11-16	162	5.40	161; 161 n. 46
19.1	169 n. 76		
37-71	158 n. 31	Letter of Aristeas	143
41.1	159		

Life of Adam and Eve 1.3	184	Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs	184
Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah	160–61; 167; 169	Testament of Abraham	140 n. 112
4.20	160 n. 40	Testament of Isaac	140; 140 n. 112
5	165	Testament of Jacob	140 n. 112; 161
6.15–17	160 n. 40	Vita Adae et Evae (Latin)	
11.34	161	21.3a	185

New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Acts of Andrew	5; 152	Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius	64 n. 63
Acts of Andrew and Bartholomew	5	Apostolic Church Order 18.1–2	137 n. 83
Acts of Andrew and Matthias 1–11	5; 55 n. 5; 59 n. 34; 66; 128 57	Apostolic Constitutions	105
Acts of Andrew and Paul	3–28; 67	Apostolic Lists <i>Anonymus I</i> Pseudo-Dorotheus	63; 63 n. 52 63
Acts of Andrew and Philemon	5; 54 n. 2; 59 n. 34; 68 n. 92; 128	Book of Bartholomew	65
Acts of John 106–115 (Metastasis Iohannis)	58; 87; 152 58	Dance of the Savior	204
Acts of Peter and Andrew 10	5; 21; 67 67	Discourse of the Savior See also → Hymn of the Cross, Stauros Text	65–66; 192; 203; 212– 16; 218; 220
Acts of Peter with Simon 39	161; 161 n. 44	Epistle of Pseudo-Titus	161; 161 n. 44
Acts of Pilate	3; 49	Gospel of Matthias	152
Acts of Philip 13 13.1–2 13.3	62; 65–68 66; 68 66–67 66–67	Gospel of Peter	152
Acts of Simon and Theonoe	63	Gospel of Thomas 17	152–53 161; 161 n. 44
Apocalypse of Paul	3; 3 n. 3	History of Joseph the Carpenter	139; 140 n. 107; 186
		Hymn of the Cross See also → Discourse of the Savior, Stauros Text	192; 203–11; 218–19

Investiture of the Archangel Gabriel	127–32; 136–38; 138 n. 87; 142–45	37 38–41 38–70	54 54 58
Investiture of the Archangel Michael	127; 127 n. 3; 128–32; 136–38; 142–45; 194–202; 216; 219–20	39 42–45 46–49 48–52	87 54 54 57
Martyrdom of Andrew (Coptic)	56; 61–62	50–54 55–58 55	54 54 58
Martyrdom of Bartholomew	2	59–61 60–76 62–65	54 56; 57 n. 18 54
Martyrdom of Luke	58	66–67 66	54 60
Martyrdom of Mark	58	68–69 68	60 54
Martyrdom of Peter 10	161; 161 n. 44	69 70 71	54 54; 59 54
Martyrdom of Philip	53; 53 n. 1	72–74 75–76	54 54
Martyrdom of Thomas	61	75	59–60
Preaching of Bartholomew	56–58; 62; 87	Preaching of Thaddaeus	66 n. 80; 87
Preaching of James the Great	55–56	Preaching of Thomas	55; 55 n. 5
Preaching of Philip	53–97	Pseudo-Clementines <i>On Chastity</i>	105; 109–10 105–6; 108–10; 115; 122–23
1–36	55	<i>Homilies</i>	105
1–4	53	<i>Recognitions</i>	105; 143
2–4	65	2.42	143 n. 140
5–6	53	Stauros Text	192; 202–19
7–9	53	2.9–10	216
9	65–66	3.1–5	213
10–12	53; 66–67	3.2–3	212
10–25	59	3.5–6	212
13–25	66; 67	5.5	212
13–17	53	6.6–8	213
18	54	7.1–2	212
19–23	54	8.12–9.1	213
24–25	54	9.2–3	213
26–28	54	9.4–5	213
29–30	54	9.9–10	213
29–45	91 n. 101	10.12–13	213
29	58	11.3–4	213
31–32	54; 59	11.6–7	212
33–34	54	12.1–3	214
35–36	54		

12.12–13	213	20.1–4	207
13.1–2	212	20.4	211
13.2–7	213	20.5–6	218
14.1–2	218	21.2	218
14.5	212	21.3–6	208
14.9	212	21.5–6	211
14.12–13	213	22.3–5	210
15.5–6	212	23.10–12	210
15.10–11	214	24.9–12	207
16.3	218	25.10–26.14	208
18.1–6	217	See also → Discourse of the Savior, Hymn of the Cross	
18.12–19.5	207	Testamentum Domini	161; 161 n. 44
19.1–2	211		
19.3–5	210		
20.1–2	210		

Nag Hammadi Codices and Related Literature

Apocalypse of Adam (NHC V 5)	180	Gospel of the Egyptians (NHC III 2, IV 2)	183
NHC V 70.17–19	185	NHC III 58.25–27	4 n. 5
Apocryphon of John (NHC II 1, III 1, IV 1, BG 2)	V	Letter of Peter to Philip (NHC VIII 2, Tchacos 1)	64–66; 68
BG 38–40	183	NHC VIII 133.13–17	65
NHC II 11.20–22	4 n. 5	NHC VIII 140.23–27	65
NHC II 13.8–9	4 n. 5	Tchacos 1.24–2.2	65
NHC II 10	183	Tchacos 9.8–12	65
NHC III 16	183	Tchacos 9.11–12	65
NHC IV 17	183	Nature of the Rulers (NHC II 4)	
Dialogue of the Savior (NHC III 5)		86.30–31	4 n. 5
NHC III 140.1–4	161; 161 n. 44	Pistis Sophia (Askew Codex)	161 n. 44
Gospel of Judas (Tchacos 3)		114	161
Tchacos 47.10–13	161	Prayer of the Apostle Paul (NHC I 1)	
Tchacos 51.8–17	182	NHC I 1.25–29	161; 161 n. 44

Apostolic Fathers

Barnabas	103–4; 122	Didache	103; 105; 120–22
1 Clement	103; 105; 106–8; 106 n. 18; 109–10; 110 n. 41; 115; 122–23	1.1–6.1	120
2.1–26.2	107	8.1–2	120
2 Clement	103–5; 109–10; 122	10.3b–12.2a	120
		11.3–13.7	120
		Epistle to Diognetus	104

Epistles of Ignatius	103; 105; 110–12; 115; 117; 120–22	Papias of Hierapolis	104; 104 n. 7
<i>To the Antiochenes</i>	111–12; 117	Polycarp	
<i>To the Ephesians</i>	112	<i>To the Philippians</i>	103; 105; 110; 117; 122
<i>To Hero</i>	105; 111–12; 117	Quadratus	104; 104 n. 7
<i>To the Philadelphians</i>	112	Shepherd of Hermas	104–5; 118–20; 122– 23; 153
<i>To Polycarp</i>	112	<i>Mandates</i>	
<i>To the Romans</i>	112	8	119
<i>To the Smyrnaeans</i>	112	12	119
<i>To the Trallians</i>	112	<i>Similitudes</i>	
<i>Laus Heronis</i>	115; 118; 121	2	119
Life of Polycarp	105	4	119
Harris Fragments		5	119
on Polycarp	110	6	119
Martyrdom of Ignatius	105; 113–18; 121–23	8	119
BHG 813	113; 113 n. 63	9	119
BHG 814	105; 110; 113–14	<i>Visions</i>	120
Martyrdom of Polycarp	103–5; 110; 115–18; 122–23	1–4	118 n. 103
		5	118 n. 103
		<i>Traditions of the Elders</i>	104

Patristic and Hagiographic Texts
(often of spurious authorship)

Acacius of Neocaesarea		Antiochus of Mar Saba	
<i>Encomium on Mercurius</i>		<i>Pandecta scripturae</i>	
<i>the General</i>	93 n. 108	<i>sacrae</i>	108
Ambrose of Milan		Arethas of Caesarea	
<i>De Noe et arca</i>		<i>Commentarius in</i>	
1.12	132 n. 35	<i>Apocalypsin</i>	135
Ammon, bishop		PG 106:569	135 n. 69, n. 70
<i>Letter</i>		PG 106:573	135 n. 69
12	169 n. 78	PG 106:684	135 n. 69
Anastasius of Euchaïta		Athanasius of Alexandria	
<i>Encomium on Theodore</i>		<i>Apologia ad Constantium</i>	
<i>Stratelates</i>	175	4	153
Andrew of Caesarea		<i>Canons</i>	
<i>Commentarii in</i>		11–12	164
<i>Apocalypsin</i>	134–35	18	164
Preface	135 n. 62	25	164
4.10	135 n. 61, n. 63	<i>De decretis Nicaenae</i>	
		<i>synodi</i>	153; 153 n. 7
		5–6	155 n. 14
		18.1–2	153

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| 18.3 | 153 | Clement of Alexandria | |
| <i>Epistula ad Afros episcopos</i> | | <i>Stromata</i> | 137 |
| 7 | 162 | 1.24 | 143 n. 138 |
| <i>Epistulae festales</i> | | 6.106–107 | 137 n. 83 |
| 20 | 158 n. 30 | | |
| 22 | 154 n. 14 | Constantine of Asyūt | |
| 28 | 159 n. 33 | <i>First Encomium on</i> | |
| 39 | V; 151–71 | <i>Claudius of Antioch</i> | 61 |
| 39.6–12 | 155 | <i>Second Encomium on</i> | |
| 39.14 | 155–56; 156 n. 21; 163
n. 56 | <i>Claudius of Antioch</i> | 61 n. 42 |
| 39.14–15 | 165 | Cyril of Alexandria | |
| 39.15–16 | 156 | <i>Homilia XVII in parabolam vineae</i> | |
| 39.15 | 156; 163 | PG 77:1096–97 | 140 n. 108 |
| 39.16 | 154; 170 | | |
| 39.19 | 156–57 | Cyril of Jerusalem | |
| 39.20–21 | 157 | <i>Catecheses ad illuminandos</i> | |
| 39.21 | 156–57 | 4.33–36 | 153 |
| 39.22 | 157 | <i>Homily on the Twenty-</i> | |
| 39.23 | 157 | <i>Four Elders</i> | 134 |
| 39.24 | 168 | | |
| 39.25 | 163; 163 n. 56; 168 | Damianus of Alexandria | |
| 39.26–28 | 160 | <i>Homily on nativity</i> | 114 |
| 39.27 | 160 | <i>Paschal Letter</i> | 142 |
| 39.32 | 154; 163–65 | | |
| 41 | 165; 170 | Dioscorus of Alexandria | |
| 42 | 165–66; 166 n. 68; 170 | <i>Encomium on Macarius,</i> | |
| <i>Epistulae ad Serapionem</i> | 167 | <i>bishop of Tkow</i> | 62; 113 |
| 1.26 | 162 | | |
| 2.3 | 162 | Epiphanius | |
| <i>Historia Arianorum</i> | | <i>Panarion</i> | |
| 78.1 | 155; 164 | 67.1.5 | 167 |
| <i>De incarnatione</i> | | 67.3.4 | 160 n. 38; 167; 169 |
| 35 | 155 n. 15 | | |
| <i>On Virginity</i> | 109; 109 n. 38 | Ephrem the Syrian | |
| <i>Orationes contra Arianos</i> | | <i>Sermo in pertiosam et vivicam crucem,</i> | |
| 1.49 | 162 | <i>et in secundum adventum, et de caritate</i> | |
| 3.52 | 155 n. 15 | <i>et eleemosyna</i> | 205–6; 206 n. 63; 209 |
| <i>Vita Antonii</i> | | <i>In Sanctam parasceuen, et in crucem</i> | |
| 5 | 162 | <i>et latronem</i> | 205–6; 208–9; 211 |
| 22 | 162 | 43 | 208–9 |
| 90 | 166 | | |
| | | Eusebius of Caesarea | |
| Augustine | | <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> | |
| <i>Contra Faustum Manichaeum</i> | | 3.25.1–7 | 152; 154 |
| 20.3 | 168 n. 74 | 3.25.6 | 5 |
| <i>De civitate Dei</i> | | 3.31.3–4 | 62 |
| 16.3 | 143 n. 138 | 3.39.9 | 62 |
| <i>Epistulae</i> | | 6.25.1 | 162 |
| 237 | 204 n. 54 | 6.25.1–2 | 152 |

6.25.3	152 n. 4	Irenaeus	
4.26.14	152	<i>Adversus haereses</i>	
6.25.1–2	152	3.11.8	132 n. 39
7.24	141 n. 122		
Eustathius of Thrace		John Chrysostom	
<i>Encomium on Michael</i>		<i>Encomium on the</i>	
<i>the Archangel</i>	62	<i>Archangel Raphael</i>	90 n. 100
		<i>Encomium on the</i>	
		<i>Archangel Michael</i>	179 n. 22
Evodius of Rome		<i>In quattuor animalia</i>	177 n. 11; 128; 192; 220
<i>Homily on the Passion</i>		<i>In venerabilem crucem</i>	203–6; 209–11; 211
<i>and the Resurrection</i>	V–VI; 31–51	<i>sermo</i>	n. 75; 217; 219
Introduction	32 n. 5; 51	12.20–21	201
2	32 n. 5	14.14–17	207
7	32 n. 5	14.15–16.20	203
16	50	14.15	211
16–26	33	14.16–17	210
19	32 n. 5	14.17–20	208
26	32 n. 6	14.20–21	210
27	33	14.23–24	210
29	33 n. 9	14.25–15.2	207
32–33	33 n. 10	15.3–4	210
33	34–36; 38–39; 41–42	15.4–5	210
33–34	34; 35	15.8–11	207
34	34–35; 37–41; 43–44; 46–47	15.20–22	208
35	50 n. 30	15.23–25	209
38	51 n. 31	16.1	211
40–45	33	16.2	211
47	32 n. 6	16.5–6	211
48	50	16.8–9	211
53	32 n. 6	16.8–11	208
75	50	16.14–16	207
75–76	32 n. 5	16.15–16	211
83	33	16.17–19	207
Gregory the Great		John of Alexandria	
<i>Moralia in Iob</i>		<i>Encomium on Apa Mena</i>	45
35.16	132 n. 36		
Hippolytus of Rome		John of Damascus	
<i>Refutatio omnium haeresium</i>		<i>Sacra parallela</i>	205–6
V.14.3	182		
V.16.11	182	John of Parillos	
		<i>Treatise against</i>	
		<i>Apocryphal Works</i>	127; 145; 195
Historia Eudoxiae	91 n. 101; 114		
Historia Gesii et Isidori	62	Lactantius	
		<i>Institutiones divinae</i>	
		7.14	132 n. 34

Life of Cosmas and Damian	117	Martyrdom of Victor	93 n. 106
Life of Pamin	164	Maximus the Confessor <i>Quaestiones ad Thalassium</i>	55 132 n. 37
Life of Dioscorus of Alexandria	113	Menas of Pshati <i>Encomium on Macrobius,</i> <i>bishop of Pshati</i>	116; 118; 123
Life of Epiphanius 46	27 n. 28	Origen <i>Contra Celsum</i>	5.54–55 5.54
Life of Pachomius 189	170		158 158
Life of Onnophrius	139–40; 141 n. 123; 176	<i>Commentarii in evangelium Joannis</i>	6.42[25] 158
Life of Shenoute	122	<i>Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei</i>	10.18 160
Macarius, bishop of Tkow <i>Homily on the</i> <i>Archangel Michael</i>	179 n. 22		27.9 161 117 161
Martyrdom of Anub	139	<i>De principiis</i>	141
Martyrdom of Epima	137	1.3.3	158
Martyrdom of Eusebius	139	2.11.2–3	141 n. 119
Martyrdom of George	94 n. 109	4.4.8	158
Martyrdom of Isidore	139	<i>Homiliae in Numeros</i>	28.2 158
Martyrdom of James the Persian	117	Proclus of Constantinople <i>Encomium on the</i> <i>Twenty-Four Elders</i>	134; 136 n. 77; 137; 137 n. 80
Martyrdom of Joore	114	Severian of Gabala <i>Encomium on the</i> <i>Twelve Apostles</i>	65
Martyrdom of Macarius of Antioch	139	Severus of Antioch <i>Homily on the</i> <i>Archangel Michael</i>	61 n. 39
Martyrdom of Philotheus	55 n. 8; 117	Shenoute <i>I Am Amazed</i> <i>(Contra Origenistas)</i> <i>On Christian Behavior</i>	V; 164 87
Martyrdom of Sarapamon	139	Stephen the Theban <i>Sermo asceticus</i>	110; 122
Martyrdom of Shenoufe	139	Synaxarion, Ethiopian	58
Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste	115		

Synaxarion, Copto-Arabic	58; 140	294.50–51 294.67–295.12	211 208
Tertullian <i>De cultu feminarum</i> 1.3	159 n. 36	Timothy of Alexandria <i>On the Investiture of Abbaton</i>	128; 128 n. 8; 186–87
Theodosius of Jerusalem <i>Encomium on George</i>	93 n. 108	Victorinus of Pettau <i>Commentarius in Apocalypsin</i>	133; 135
Theophilus of Alexandria <i>Sermo de cruce et latrone</i>	139; 205–6; 208; 211	<i>De fabrica mundi</i>	135

Rabbinic Texts

Exodus Rabbah 18	179 n. 23	24.6 26.4	186 n. 64 182
Genesis Rabbah 23.7	182	Targum on Proverbs	181

Manichaean Texts

Kephalaia 22,32 6,11,18	168 n. 74 168 n. 74	Manichaean Psalm-Book 4,22 49,26	168 n. 74 168 n. 74
-------------------------------	------------------------	--	------------------------

Varia

Abū al-Barakāt <i>Scala magna</i>	63–64	O.Frangé 15, ll. 4–5 16, l. 10 17, l. 15 29, l. 4 33, l. 2 42, l. 10 792, l. 7	88 n. 96 88 n. 96 88 n. 96 88 n. 96 88 n. 96 88 n. 96
Notes of Some Philosophers	31; 34–35; 38; 43; 48–50		

Index of Modern Authors

- Amélineau, Émile 116 n. 88; 176
- Batovici, Dan VI; 103
- Beelen, Jan Theodor 108
- Bélangier Sarrazin, Roxanne 127
- Bethge, Hans-Gebhard 64–66; 68
- Borgia, Stefano 6
- Boud'hors, Anne 107–8; 195 n. 18
- Bovon, François 66–68
- Brakke, David 152 n. 2; 154 n. 14; 165–66; 166 n. 68
- Browne, Gerald M. 196–97; 200–203; 206; 210; 213–14; 219
- Budge, E. A. Wallis 58
- Bull, Christian H. 3; 34 n. 16; 67 n. 84
- Burns, Dylan M. 31
- Burke, Tony 3 n. 1; 53
- Buzi, Paola 33 n. 13; 34 n. 14, n. 14; 131
- Camplani, Alberto 163; 164
- Crum, Walter Ewing 17; 43; 56; 56 n. 13; 60; 62 n. 50; 116–17; 117 n. 96; 134 n. 55
- Delaporte, L. J. 56; 56 n. 13
- Depuydt, Leo 175
- Dochhorn, Jan V; 127 n. 3; 128 n. 8; 137; 179 n. 25
- Dobschütz, Ernst von 107
- Ehrman, Bart 103
- Evelyn-White, Hugh G. 57; 141–42
- Frangulian, Lilia 127
- Frankfurter, David 165–66; 169
- Gerven Oei, Vincent W. J. van VI; 191
- Guidi, Ignazio 6; 19–20; 55
- Hatch, William H. P. 57; 57 n. 26
- Hoklotubbe, T. Chris 206
- Holmes, Michael 104
- Hyvernât, Henri 57; 60 n. 35; 116
- Jacques, Xavier 6; 7
- Kaestli, Jean-Daniel 53; 62 n. 49; 63 n. 55
- Kocar, Alexander 3; 67 n. 84
- Kuhn, K. H. 87
- Landau, Brent 206
- Lai, Kenneth W. 53
- Lefort, Louis Théophile 106; 108–9; 109 n. 38; 111–15; 118–19; 121–23
- Lemm, Oscar von 56–59; 61; 62 n. 50; 64
- Lucchesi, Enzo 32 n. 4; 55 n. 5; 108; 110; 113; 120
- Lundhaug, Hugo V
- Macomber, William F. 64
- Malan, S. C. 58
- Marjanen, Antti 53
- Matthews, Christopher R. 66; 67
- Miroshnikov, Ivan VI; 5; 34; 43; 47; 53; 103 n. 1; 127–28; 195 n. 17; 218 n. 96
- Munier, Henri 64
- Müller, Detlef G. 128; 134; 197
- Müller, Elena V
- Ong, Walter 209–10
- Outtier, Bernard 105 n. 17; 111 n. 47
- Pedersen, Nils Arne V; 151
- Plumley, J. Martin 196
- Rossi, Francesco 32 n. 4; 45–47
- Rostkowska, Božena 196
- Rösch, Friedrich 106
- Santos Otero, Aurelio de 66–67
- Schäfer, Heinrich 202; 202 n. 43
- Schmidt, Karl 106–7; 193; 202; 202 n. 43
- Simon, Denn R. 185
- Smagina, Eugenia B. 175
- Suciu, Alin 31 n. 2, n. 4; 34 n. 14; 56; 66; 66 n. 79; 110; 110 n. 41; 122; 127 n. 3; 128–29; 139 n. 104; 140 n. 112; 142; 186; 191; 196; 206; 211 n. 74; 215

Tardieu, Michel 183

Till, Walter C. 33; 34 n. 15; 43

Tsakos, Alexandros VI; 53; 127; 135 n. 65; 191;
196

Vivian, Tim 176

Voytenko, Anton 176

Welburn, Andrew J. 183

Wickham, Lionel R. 162; 163

Zoega, Georg 6

Subject Index

- Abbaton (angel) 186–87
Andrew (apostle) 3–4; 21–23; 25–28
Andrew of Caesarea 133–35; 135 n. 60; 143
Angel(s) 4; 130–32; 135; 137–40; 142–43; 159
n. 36; 161–62; 177–87; 194; 197–98
Apocrypha V–VI; 31; 48; 48 n. 25; 65; 127; 132;
135 n. 65; 145; 151–52; 152 n. 2; 154–66; 168–
71; 175; 177–78
Apostolic memoirs 31; 31 n. 1; 128–29; 139; 140
n. 112; 141–42; 191–92; 194; 196; 197 n. 30;
202; 204; 215–16; 219–20
Arethas of Caesarea 133; 135
Arians 141; 155–56; 163–65; 167–68; 170
Athanasius of Alexandria V; 109–10; 115; 123;
151–71

Bohairic 53; 55; 60; 64; 115–16; 133; 140; 211
Book(s) of Enoch 158–59

Christ 4; 27–28; 32–33; 50; 53–54; 59–60;
88–89; 91 n. 100; 92; 94–96; 116; 129–31;
134; 137–41; 143–45; 152; 152 n. 2; 155–56;
156 n. 21; 162–63; 165; 167–68; 184; 202;
212–16
Crucifixion 33; 50; 129

Didymus (Roman Jew) 32; 51
Diogenes Laertius 34; 48
Dionysius of Alexandria 141

Enoch, Enochic 134; 140 n. 108; 154–55; 155
n. 16; 158–59; 159 n. 36; 161–63; 168; 168
n. 76; 170; 177
Epiphanius 108; 110; 167; 169

Fayyūmic 53; 55; 57; 57 n. 18; 59; 60; 60 n. 36;
62 n. 50; 127; 195; 197–200; 219

Gabriel (archangel) 90 n. 100; 128; 130–31; 138
n. 87; 142; 144–45
Gospel(s) VI; 49; 129; 132; 141–42; 152 n. 4; 169;
204; 213–14; 219
Gregory of Nyssa 115

John (apostle) 131; 134; 140
John of Ephesus 215–16
John the Baptist 117; 129; 145; 194
Judas Iscariot 3–4; 23–25
Julius Africanus 162

Mastema 179; 194; 197–98
Martyr(s) 61; 111; 116–17; 131; 134; 137–40; 142;
165–66; 169
Martyrdom(s) 55–56; 58; 66; 110; 117; 122; 139
n. 96; 140 n. 114; 165
Melitians 152 n. 2; 154–55; 155 n. 17; 163–66;
166 n. 68; 168–71
Michael (archangel) 4; 24–25; 87; 115; 127–28;
130–31; 136–39; 142–45; 179 n. 22, n. 23; 193–
201; 205
Mount of Olives 53; 65; 88; 130; 204; 213; 215
Muriel (angel) 186–87

Nebro, Nimrod 181–83; 187
Numerological
– symbolism 131
– system 131

Oecumenius 133–34
Old Nubian 127; 191–92; 194–204; 208–14;
216–20

Pachomius 169 n. 78; 170–71
Paul (apostle) 3–5; 21; 23–28
Peter (apostle) 53–54; 59; 61; 65–68; 88–92; 92
n. 104; 94–96; 96 n. 117; 108; 110; 129; 212
Philip (apostle) 53–54; 54 n. 2; 56; 58–59; 61–
68; 88–96
Phrygia 53–54; 61–63; 67–68; 88–89; 97; 169
Polycrates (bishop) 62
Proclus (Montanist) 62

Sahidic 17; 43; 53; 55–56; 57 n. 18; 59–60; 62
n. 50; 64; 66; 87; 94 n. 109; 108; 110; 114–16;
118; 127; 140; 151; 195–200; 203; 211; 219
Saklas 180–82
Satan 131; 136; 162; 178–79

Stephen (protomartyr) 130–31; 134

Stephen the Theban 66 n. 79; 110; 110 n. 41; 122

Tychonius 133; 135

Twenty-four

– Elders 132–37; 137 n. 80, n. 81; 145

– months of torment 138

– young disciples 138

Victor of Asyūt 140

White Monastery 5–6; 32; 32 n. 4; 55–56; 56
n. 8; 60 n. 35; 112; 120; 133; 195

Yehuda (rabbi) 184