

A. Literarische Texte

1. Two New Fragments of the Sahidic Version of the Martyrdom of Paēse and Thecla ([P.Heid. Inv. Kopt. 644](#) and Louvre Inv. E 10040)

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The Martyrdom of Paēse and Thecla is an account of the life and death of two saints, Apa Paēse (Anbā Īsī in Arabic sources) and his sister Thecla, martyred under Diocletian. As Stephen J. Davis puts it, the text “abounds with stereotypical characters, sensational scenes, and inconsistent historical details – characteristics that have earned for most Egyptian martyrologies the reputation of literary fiction.”¹ Along with the martyrdoms of Anoub, Arē, Shenoufe and many others, the Martyrdom of Paēse and Thecla belongs to the cycle of Julius of Aqfahṣ.²

Copies of this story are known so far to exist in the Sahidic and Bohairic dialects, as well as in Arabic translation. It seems that the original version was composed in Sahidic rather than translated from Greek.³ The Bohairic version survives only in fragments.⁴ The Arabic version is attested by at least three unpublished manuscripts.⁵ Short summaries are given in both Arabic⁶ and Ethiopic⁷ Synaxaria.

- 1 Stephen J. Davis, *The Cult of Saint Thecla: A Tradition of Women’s Piety in Late Antiquity*, Oxford 2001, 180.
- 2 On Julius and his cycle see the literature cited in Alin Suciū, *New Fragments from the Sahidic Version of the Historia Iosephi fabri lignarii*, *Le Muséon* 122 (2009) 283, n. 17; see also Youhanna Nessim Youssef, *Coptic Bohairic Liturgical Texts Relating to Abbā Samuel of Kalamūn and Julius of Akfahṣ*, *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 7 (2010) 175–91.
- 3 The only Greek text that mentions the two saints, P. Berl. Sarisch. 3, does not seem to be part of the same Martyrdom of Paēse and Thecla. See Panagiota Sarischouli, *Berliner griechische Papyri: Christliche literarische Texte und Urkunden aus dem 3. bis 8. Jh. n. Chr. (Serta Graeca, 3)*, Wiesbaden 1995, 30–6 and pl. 2.
- 4 See E. A. E. Reymond and J. W. B. Barns, *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices*, Oxford 1973, 45–9, 67–8, and 71–3. *Editio princeps*: Hugh G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi ’n Natrūn*, vol. 1, New York 1926, 113–118 (description, text and English translation), xx (corrigenda) and pl. v; see also the description of the Leipzig fragments in Karl Vollers and Johannes Leipoldt, *Katalog der islamischen, christlich–orientalischen, jüdischen und samaritanischen Handschriften der Universitäts–Bibliothek zu Leipzig*, Leipzig 1906, 397. It is worth noting that Evelyn White’s fr. 1 (Leipzig University Library, 1086, 18) does not belong to the Martyrdom of Paēse and Thecla; see Reymond and Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 20.
- 5 See Georg Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire (Studi e testi 63)*, Vatican City 1934, 185 (#482, 5) and 276 (#718, 8); Gérard Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes; Première partie: Manuscrits chrétiens*, Paris 1972–4, 2:28 (#4777, 3) and 2:39 (#4788, 5).
- 6 René Basset, *Le Synaxaire arabe–jacobite (rédaction copte) II: Les mois de Hatour et de Kihak*, *Patrologia orientalis* 3 (1909): 409–11 (text and French translation); Jacques Forget, *Synaxarium alexandrinum (Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, 47–9, 67, 78, 90)*, Leuven 1905–26, 1:143–4 (text), 3:196–8 (Latin translation).

The Sahidic witnesses of this martyrdom, including the two new fragments published here, belong to seven different codices.⁸

A = Pierpont Morgan Codex M. 591 ff. 049–088 R, published by E. A. E. Reymond and J. W. B. Barns.⁹ According to its colophon, the codex was produced in 861 CE.¹⁰ It is the only complete manuscript of the martyrdom.

B = Borg. Copt. 109, fasc. 144 (2 partially preserved leaves), published by Walter Till,¹¹ (= *B*₁) + P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 644 (a fragment of a leaf), published here (= *B*₂). For its date, see the discussion below. The text of *B*₁ corresponds to *A* 051 R i 30 – 057 V i 1. The text of *B*₂ corresponds to *A* 087 V ii 18 – 088 R ii 32.

C = BnF Copte 129¹⁶ ff. 011–017, unpublished,¹² (= *C*₁) + Vienna K 9437 (1 leaf), published by Carl Wessely (= *C*₂).¹³ It was dated by Reymond and Barns to the ninth century CE.¹⁴ The text of *C* corresponds to *A* 049 R i 1 – 066 R i 5.

D = Borg. Copt. 109, fasc. 143 (7 leaves), published by Walter Till.¹⁵ According to Henri Hyvernat, it was produced *ca.* the tenth century CE.¹⁶ The text of *D* corresponds to *A* 060 V i 1 – 075 R i 19.

- 7 Sylvain Grébaud, *Le Synaxaire éthiopien IV: Le mois de Tâhschâsch*, *Patrologia orientalis* 15 (1927) 667–82 (text and French translation). See also E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, Cambridge 1928, 2:344–8.
- 8 The first four codices were labeled A–D in Reymond and Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 20.
- 9 Reymond and Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 33–79 (text and collation with *B*₁, *C*₂, and *D*), 151–84 (English translation), 234–52 (indices); Gerald M. Browne, *Martyrdom of Paese and Thecla* (P. Mich. inv. 548), *CdÉ* 49 (1974) 204–5 (corrigenda). See also C. Walters, review of E. A. E. Reymond and J. W. B. Barns, *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices*, *JEA* 61 (1975) 305. The codex is photographically reproduced by Henri Hyvernat as vol. 28 of *Bybliothecae Pierpont Morgan codices coptici photographice expressi*, Rome 1922.
- 10 See Arnold van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d’Égypte; Tome 1: Les colophons coptes des manuscrits sahidiques* (Bibliothèque du Muséon 1) Leuven 1929, 1:20–2 (#11).
- 11 Walter Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Martyrerlegenden* (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 102 and 108; Rome 1935–6), 1:71–74 (text), 1:84–86 (German translation), 1:xiv and 2:178 (corrigenda). See also Georg Zoega, *Catalogus codicum copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, Rome 1810, 238 (#144).
- 12 The twelve leaves from the miscellaneous volume Copte 129¹⁶ deposited in the National Library of France in Paris (BnF Copte 129¹⁶ ff. 011–022) were first identified in T. Orlandi, review of E. A. E. Reymond and J. W. B. Barns, *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices*, *Aegyptus* 56 (1976) 317. According to Orlandi, all these twelve leaves belong to *C*. And yet, judging from the page numbers of these twelve leaves, as well as from their linguistic and paleographical features, it seems that only the first seven of them (BnF Copte 129¹⁶ ff. 011–017) belong to the same codex as Vienna K 9437, whereas the other five (BnF Copte 129¹⁶ ff. 018–022) belong to another manuscript. I intend to publish both BnF Copte 129¹⁶ ff. 011–017 and BnF Copte 129¹⁶ ff. 018–022 in the near future.
- 13 Carl Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts* (SPP 9, 11–2, 15, 18), Leipzig 1909–17, 4:147–8 (text); Till, *Martyrerlegenden*, 1:71 (description), 1:85–6 (German translation), 1:74 (corrigenda).
- 14 See Reymond and Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 20.
- 15 Till, *Martyrerlegenden*, 1:74–84 (text), 1:86–94 (German translation), 1:xiv and 2:178 (corrigenda). A portion of this manuscript is reproduced in Henri Hyvernat, *Album de paléographie copte*, Paris 1888, pl. 11 (#4). See also Zoega, *Catalogus*, 238 (#143).
- 16 See Hyvernat 1888, 14 (#11, 4).

E = P. Mich. Inv. 548 (a fragment of a leaf), published by Gerald M. Browne who argued that it was copied in the tenth century CE.¹⁷ The text of *E* corresponds to *A* 055 R i 26 – V i 1.

F = BnF Copte 129¹⁶ ff. 018–022, unpublished; not dated.¹⁸ The text of *F* corresponds to 083 R ii 21 – 087 V ii 18.

G = Louvre Inv. E 10040 (a fragment of a leaf), published here. For its date, see the discussion below. The text of *G* corresponds to *A* 083 V i 5 – 084 R i 2.

17 Browne, *Martyrdom*, 201–203 (description, text, collation with *A*, and English translation).

18 See note 12 above.

(1) P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 644 (= B_2)[P.Heid. Inv. Kopt. 644](#)

19×18 cm

Toutōn

10th century (?)

plate I+II

B_2 is a fragment that once formed part of a parchment codex. It measures 19×18 cm. Only the top margin of the leaf and one side margin remain, while the bottom of the leaf is lost. The scribe arranged the text in two columns and drew two vertical lines in order to separate the columns from the intercolumn. R (hair side) i (12 lines), R ii (17 lines) and V (flesh side) i (18 lines) contain the ending of the *Martyrdom of Paēse and Thecla* and V ii (15 lines) contains a colophon. The fragment was identified by Friedrich Bilabel.¹⁹

The striking similarity of both paleographic and linguistic features of B_1 and B_2 leaves no reason to doubt that the fragments once belonged to the same manuscript, which means that when B_2 was complete it had approximately thirty lines of 8–10 letters per line. The following description applies to all the extant fragments of the codex.

The text of the martyrdom is written in bimodular uncial, while the colophon is written in sloping uncial. Enlarged initials indicate the beginning of a new paragraph. Some of these initials, as well as the large ϕ of the colophon, show traces of red ink. The scribe placed a “budded” diplē under every initial in the left hand margin and an obelos ÷ above every initial in the intercolumn. He also shaped some of the letters in the first line of each page as initials reaching far into the top margin.

The supralinear strokes are usually shaped as mere dots. Within the text, the middle line dot is used to divide the syntactic units. The blank parts of the lines preceding the new paragraphs are filled with a colon followed by a string of dots and a stroke.

As was already pointed out by Till,²⁰ the text, although written in standard Sahidic, reveals a Fayyūmic tendency.²¹ The long definite article ne is sometimes used before a noun beginning with a single consonant, e.g., $\text{ner}\omega\text{me}$ (B_2 V i 6–7), $\text{ne}\text{no}\gamma\text{v}$ (B_1 73, 20). The vowel o is occasionally replaced by α , e.g., $\text{tau}\omega$ (B_2 V ii 13; B_1 72, 9), ntak (B_1 73, 27 and 74, 1). The supralinear stroke can replace the vowel ϵ , e.g., $\text{x}\eta\theta\epsilon$ (B_1 71, 2), and vice versa, e.g., ϵn (B_1 73, 18). The supralinear stroke can also designate an autosyllabic vowel, e.g., ϵbol (B_1 73, 16) and λnok (B_2 R ii 6).

Apart from the linguistic features of B , its Fayyūmic provenance is indicated by the phrasing of the colophon (see the comments on V ii 5–8 and 13–16) and the shortening of the supralinear stroke to the size of a dot. The ornament and the supralinear system of the codex suggest that it was produced in the scriptorium of Toutōn. It was probably written in the tenth century, since both colophons that mention the donor’s native village, Perpnoute, date to the tenth century.²²

19 Friedrich Bilabel, *Neue literarische Funde in der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung*, in *Actes du V^e Congrès international de Papyrologie*, Oxford, 30 août – 3 septembre 1937, Brussels 1938, 83.

20 Till, *Martyrerlegenden*, 1:71, n. 1.

21 In what follows, the citations from B_1 refer to Till, *Martyrerlegenden*, 1:71–4 according to page and line number; see also the corrigenda listed below.

22 See van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons*, 1:71–2 (#45; 902–903 CE) and 1:88–90 (#55; 939–940 CE).

R i of *B*₂ corresponds to *A* 087 V ii 18 – 30, R ii corresponds to *A* 088 R i 14 – 31, V i corresponds to *A* 088 R ii 18 – 32. Apart from *A*, the other known witnesses do not preserve the ending of the martyrdom.

Recto (hair side)

[τ]ογααβ · χε ν		ν[ξ] έροϋ ντε[γ]
[ν]ελααγ χωρ		ωη · πεχαϋ
[ε]ροογ ·		ναϋ · χε
[π]ρηγεμων		απαρη · αφο[γω]
δε αϋωτορ	5	ωβ χε ειςρη[η]
τερ · μη νετ		τε ανοκ πχ[ο]
νημαϋ · αϋ		εις ·
χοοο νηδγ		πεχε παγγελ[οο]
[μ]ιο[ς] ετρεγ		ναϋ · χε αμογ
[νοχ]ογ επ	10	νησκεπαζε ν
[μοο]γ ·		νεσωμα ηνε
[ντοο]γ δε η		τογααβ ·
[τερογ]		η[ε]χαϋ χη†σο
[[ογ]ν αν ηπεγ
[15	[μ]α · απαγγε
[[λ]οο μοωϋ [ν]μ
[[μ]αϋ · [±β]
[[
[[
[20	[
[[
[[
[[
[[
[25	[
[[
[[
[[
[[
[30	[
[ογω]		[

i 1 [τ]ογααβ : the last line of the preceding leaf most certainly read [νηεσωμα ηνε] | i 1–2 χε ν[ν]ελααγ χωρ : ηπεγκα λααγ εχωρ *A* | i 4 ρρηγεμων : πλογζ *A* | i 7–10 αϋχοοο νηδγ[μ]ιο[ς] ετρεγ[νοχ]ογ : αϋκελεγε

εετρεῖκκεστωναριος βωκ ἡσενοχ ἡνեսωμα A | i 8–9 Δγ[μ]ιο[ς]: i.e. Δημιος²³ | i 12 [ντοο]γ: ἡκκεστωναριος A | ii 4 απαρη: i.e. απα αρη;²⁴ αρη αρη A | ii 8–9 πεχε παγγελ[ος] ναγ: πεχαγ ναγ ἡβι παγγελος ἡπχοεις A | ii 9 αμογ: τωοῖν αμογ A | ii 11–12 νεσωμα ηηετογααβ: ἡσωμα ἡηειπετογααβ A | ii 13–14 [πε]χαγ χητσο[ογ]η αν: πεχαγ ναγ χε παχοεις ἡτσοογῆ αν A | ii 14–15 ἡπεγ[μ]α: επεγμα A | ii 15–16 παγγε[λ]ος + ἡπχοεις A

Verso (flesh side)

[χ]οσε · αφτααπ		αρι ταγαπη [ογ]
[ο]γ · ωα πε[ρ]οογ		ον ηημ ετ[να]
[ε]τερεππογτε		ωω ρῆ πιχ[ωω]
[η]αερ ρηαγ εογ		με · ωληλ ρ[ι]
[ο]ηρογ εβολ ·	5	χῆ πεημαιν[ογ]
[Δγ]ω τηπε ηηε		τε ἡσον ημα[ι]
[ρ]ωμε ηταγ		αγαπη · αγω ἡ[μαί]
[ε]ρ μαρτυρος ·		προσφορα ·
[μ]η νετογααβ ·		π̄Δ̄ παντογλ[εος]
απα πανσε ·	10	πωηηβελιαμ[ην]
μη θεκλα τεγ		πραμωε [π]α[περ]
σωηε · σεειρε		ππογτ[ε ρῆ π]
ηητοογ ηω[ε]		ταω π[ιομ · χῆτ]
μη σαωφε [μ]		ογ αφ[χι προογω ρῆ]
ψχη ·	15	[νε]φρ[ι]σε ἡμην ἡ
πεοογ δε ηπ		[μογ]
[ειω]τ · μη η		[]
[ωηρε ·] ἡη [πε]		[]
[πηα ετογααβ]		[]
[]	20	[]
[]		[]
[]		[]
[]		[]
[]		[]
[]	25	[]
[]		[]
[]		[]

23 The form Δγμιος is also attested in Vienna K 9449 (see Till, *Martyrerlegenden*, 1:108, 16 and 1:109, 8) and Borg. Copt. 109, fasc. 121 (see Paul de Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, Göttingen 1883, 26).

24 Cf. απα απαρη in P.Lond.Copt. I 321.

[[
[[
[30	[
]

i 1–2 αϕτααπ[ο]ϣ : τααπϖ appears to be an unattested prepositional form of the verb τωωπ, “to accustom,”²⁵ which in this context may mean something along the lines of making a customary burial; it is also possible that the scribe confused τωωπ with the verb τωωβε, “to seal,” which would make good sense in the passage;²⁶ αϕταμσοϥ A | i 3–4 [ε]τερεπνοϥτε [η]λερ ρηαϥ : η̄τασερ ρηοϥ η̄σι πνοϥτε A | i 7–8 η̄ταϣ[ε]ρ μαρτυροϥ + η̄περοϥ ε̄τ̄μαϣ A | i 10–12 απα πανσε · μη θεκλα τεϕσωνε om. A | i 13–14 ϕτοϥ η̄[ε] μη σαϭϥ : ϭεμααβ σαϭϥ A | i 16 δε om. A | ii 5–8 the expression πennaίνοϥτε η̄σον μμαίαγαπη αϭω μμαίπροσφορα appears in a number of colophons; almost always they come from the Fayyūm²⁷ | ii 9 παντοϣ[ε]οϥ : a Greek name;²⁸ remarkably, it is attested by two tenth century inscriptions from Toutōn, an epitaph dedicated to deacon παντολεοϥ (Louvre, Paris, inv. E 25091)²⁹ and a shawl with a prayer for παντοϣλεωϥ (Metropolitan Museum, New York, inv. 31.19.13 and 31.19.15)³⁰ | ii 10 βελιαμ[η] : this unusual form of the name βενιαμην is attested by at least two Coptic documents³¹ | ii 11–12 [περ]πνοϣ[ε] : a village in the Fayyūm mentioned already in Demotic documents;³² its Coptic name is mentioned in two colophons³³ and one of them explicitly identifies περπνοϣτε with the village Θεογονίϥ (απω χωρίϥ η̄[ε]ωκενίτοϥ · [ε]τε[ε] περπνοϣ[τε] πε ρ̄η̄ η̄τωϥ [π]ομ), well-attested in the Greek papyri;³⁴ the arabicized form of the same name, Barbanūdah, is attested by two eleventh century Arabic documents, P. KölnKauf. (1024 CE)³⁵ and P. Utah 933 (1030 CE); in both documents Barbanūdah is called a *day’ah*, i.e. a landed estate³⁶ | ii 13–14 [χ̄η̄τ]οϣ : cf. *B*₂ R ii 13; *B*₁ 71, 2; 73, 26 and 28 |

25 Cf. the prenominal form τααπ– peculiar to the Sahidic dialect with a Fayyūmic tendency; see Crum, dict., 422b, s.v. τω(ω)π.

26 Cf. *B*₁ 72, 20–1 where the scribe confused the verbs χαλαξελ, “to drip,” and λαχλεχ, “to languish.”

27 See van Lantschoot, Recueil des colophons, 1:84–90 (## 53–55), 1:92–94 (#57), 1:98–100 (#60), 1:102–7 (##61–63).

28 Wilhelm Pape and Gustav Eduard Benseler, Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen, Braunschweig 1911, 2:1128, s.v. Παντουλέϊος.

29 See Anne Boud’hors and Florence Calament, Un ensemble de stèles fayoumiques inédites: à propos de la stèle funéraire de Pantoleos de Toutōn, in: Mat Immerzeel and Jacques van der Vliet (eds.), Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies: Leiden, 27 August – 2 September 2000 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 133), Leuven 2004, 1:455 and 470–1.

30 See Boud’hors and Calament, Un ensemble, 1:457 and 468 (#34).

31 P.Ryl.Copt. 217,1.5; O.CrumVC 114,1–2 and v 2.

32 See Richard A. Parker, An Abstract of a Loan in Demotic from the Fayum, RdÉ 24 (1972) 129–136; Brian Muhs and Jacco Dieleman, A Bilingual Account from Late Ptolemaic Tebtunis: P.Leiden RMO Inv. No. F 1974/7.52, ZÄS 133 (2006) 56–65 and pl. xv–xviii.

33 See van Lantschoot, Recueil des colophons, 1:71–2 (#45) and 1:88–90 (#55).

34 See Carl Wessely, Topographie des Faijūm (Arsinoites Nomus) in griechischer Zeit, Wien 1904, 71–3; Aristide Calderini, Sergio Daris, Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell’ Egitto greco–romano, Cairo/Madrid/Milano 1935–87, 2:259–61; Stefan Timm, Das christlich–koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit, Wiesbaden 1984–92, 4: 1901–2.

35 See Werner Diem, Eine arabische Kaufurkunde von 1024 n. Chr. aus Ägypten: Aus der Sammlung der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim–Stiftung, Wiesbaden 2004.

36 I am indebted to Mohamed G. Elmaghrahi for this information.

ii 13–16 the restoration seems to be reliable, since the expression $\chi\epsilon\ \acute{\nu}\tau\omicron\upsilon\ (\acute{\nu}\tau\omicron\varsigma)\ \lambda\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota\ (\lambda\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota)\ \pi\rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\ \gamma\acute{\eta}\ \nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\epsilon\ (\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\epsilon)\ \mu\acute{\iota}\mu\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma\ (\mu\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\varsigma)$ (with minor variations) appears in a large number of Fayyūmic colophons³⁷

Translation

(R i:) ... (the bodies of the) saints, so that no one might touch them. And (δέ) the governor (ἡγεμών) and those who were with him were troubled. He said to the executioners (δήμιος) to throw them (i.e. the bodies) into the [water]. But (δέ) [when they]...

(R ii:) ... (the angel) [appeared] to him in the night. He said to him: “Αρα Αρε!” He answered: “Here I am, lord!” The angel (ἄγγελος) said to him: “Come and protect (σκεπάζω) the bodies (σῶμα) of the saints.” He said: “I do not know the [place] where they are.” The angel (ἄγγελος) walked with him...

(V i:) ... (that is) high. He made them a customary burial (?) until the day the Lord will be pleased to reveal them. [And] the number of the people who became martyrs (μάρτυρος) with Αρα Παῖσε and his sister Thecla, the saints, is four hundred and seven souls (ψυχή). Glory, then (δέ), to the [Father], and to the [Son], and [to the Holy Ghost (πνεῦμα)]...

(V ii:) Everyone who [will] read this book, please (+ἀγάπη), pray for our God-loving, alms-loving (-ἀγάπη) and offering-[loving] (-προσφορά) brother, deacon (διάκονος) Pantouleos, son of Beliamin the carpenter, a native of Perpnoute [in the] district of the [Fayyūm], for [it was him] who [provided (for it) through his own labors]...

(2) Corrigenda to Till’s edition of Borg. Copt. 109, fasc. 144 (= *B₁*)

As I have already pointed out, *B₁* and *B₂* were originally parts of the same Toutōnian codex. I take this opportunity to offer a few corrections to the text of *B₁* published by Walter Till.

71, 2 for “ $\chi\acute{\nu}\theta\epsilon$ ”, read “ $\chi\acute{\nu}\theta\epsilon$ ”;

71, 4 for “ $\kappa\lambda\gamma\omega$ ”, read “ $\lambda\gamma\omega$ ”;

71, 7 for “* $\mu\acute{\nu}\ [\pm\beta]\eta\gamma\epsilon\ [\dots]\eta$ ”, read “ $\omicron\gamma\mu\eta[\tau\epsilon\eta\kappa\epsilon\ \eta]\eta\gamma\ \epsilon[\chi]\omega\iota\ \cdot$ ”; for “ $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\eta\epsilon[\theta]\gamma\rho\iota\omicron\eta$ ”, read “ $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\eta\epsilon\theta\gamma\rho\iota\omicron\eta$ ”;

72, 1 for “ $\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\mu\alpha\acute{o}$ ”, read “ $\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\acute{o}$ ”;

72, 3 for “ $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\beta$ ”, read “ $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\lambda\beta$ ”;

72, 6 for “ $\tau\mu[\pm\gamma]\iota\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\rho\epsilon\mu\cdot[\dots]\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon$ ”, read “ $[\pi]\rho\alpha\gamma\mu[\lambda\tau\epsilon\gamma\tau]\eta\varsigma\ \bar{\eta}\rho\epsilon\mu\rho[\lambda\kappa\omicron]\tau\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon$ ”;

72, 8 for “ $\eta\chi\rho\eta\mu\alpha$ ”, read “ $\eta\chi\rho\eta\mu\alpha$ ”;

72, 12 for “ $\omega\beta\eta\rho\epsilon$ ”, read “ $\omega\beta\eta\rho$ ”;

72, 13 for “ $\eta\tau\epsilon[\upsilon?] \varsigma\omega\omega\epsilon$ ”, read “ $\eta\tau\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\omega\omega\epsilon$ ”;

72, 14 for “ $\eta\varsigma\omega\cdot[\]$ ”, read “ $\eta\varsigma\omega\cdot[\omega\epsilon]$ ”;

72, 15 for “ $[\rho]\eta\rho[\pm\gamma]$ ”, read “ $[\epsilon\gamma]\varsigma\omega\ [\mu\eta\ \nu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon]\rho\eta\gamma\ \cdot$ ”; for “ $\epsilon\eta\epsilon[\omega\lambda\upsilon\alpha\ \rho\alpha?] \omega\epsilon$ ”, read “ $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\omega[\lambda\upsilon\alpha\ \rho\alpha] \omega\epsilon$ ”;

72, 17 for “ $\bar{\eta}\rho\alpha\rho[\mu]\gamma\lambda\tau$ ”, read “ $\bar{\eta}\rho\alpha\rho\epsilon\mu\gamma\lambda\tau$ ”;

37 See van Lantschoot, Recueil des colophons, 1:83–90 (## 52–55), 1:92–94 (#57), 1:98–100 (#60), 1:106–7 (#63).

- 72, 19 for “ερακοτε”, read “ερακοτε”;
 72, 20 for “πιτρεφω[κ]”, read “πιτρεφωκ”;
 72, 20–1 for “αχα[λ?]χελ”, read “αχαλχελ”;
 72, 24 for “ιπεραζιωμα”, read “ιπεραζιωμα”;
 72, 27 for “[α]λλα”, read “αλλα”;
 73, 4 for “ινηπηγε”, read “ινηπηγε”;
 73, 7 for “[π]χοεις”, read “πχοεις”;
 73, 7–8 for “νανογι”, read “νανογι”;
 73, 12 for “διπ* [”], read “μπ*[ναγ]”;
 73, 13 for “[]σειχ* [±δ]”, read “π[εχε παν]σε · δε [αρε πασον]”;
 73, 19 for “παι”, read “ναι”;
 74, 4 for “αφογαζα”, read “αφογαζα”.

(3) Louvre Inv. E 10040 (= *G*)

Louvre Inv. E 10040
10th century (?)

18.5×21.5 cm

White Monastery
plate III + IV

Measuring 18.5×21.5 cm, *G* is a fragment of a parchment leaf from a codex. The bottom of the leaf is lost, only the top and the inner margins remain. A narrow strip of parchment was joined to the right edge of the verso in order to consolidate the manuscript.

The text is arranged into two columns. R (flesh side) i has 15 lines, R ii has 16 lines, V (hair side) i has 16 lines, and V ii has 15 lines. The text of the fragment was identified by Anne Boud'hors as a part of the Martyrdom of Paëse and Thecla.³⁸

The text is written in bimodular uncial. New paragraphs are indicated by initials that are considerably larger than the other letters. A paragraph mark shaped as obelos ÷ is placed above an initial on the recto. The blank parts of the lines preceding the new paragraphs are filled with several dots and a stroke. The syntactic units are sometimes set off with raised points. Superlinear strokes are occasionally shortened and even reduced to the size of a dot.

The text is written in standard Sahidic with minor variations explained in the commentary. Along with the majority of the fragments of the Louvre collection, the fragment comes from the White Monastery.³⁹ Since the dated manuscripts deposited in the White Monastery come from the period from the tenth to the twelfth centuries,⁴⁰ and since other Sahidic witnesses of the text of the martyrdom date to the ninth (*A* and *C*) and tenth (*B*, *D* and *E*) centuries, I tentatively suggest that *G* was produced in the tenth century.

Two manuscripts, *A* and *F*, preserve the text parallel to the one of *G*. R i of the fragment corresponds to *A* 083 V i 5–16 and *F* 018 R i 17–26, R ii corresponds to *A* 083 V i 24 – ii 3 and *F* 018 R ii 3–12, V i corresponds to *A* 083 V ii 9–20 and *F* 018 R ii 16–27, V ii corresponds to *A* 083 V ii 28 – 84 R i 2 and *F* 018 V i 2–10. Given that the text of the fragment does not significantly differ from the parallel versions, it is possible to assume that the codex had approximately 23 lines per column (with 7–9 letters per line).

Recto (flesh side)

[ΝΤΕΡΕC]ΟΥΩ ΔΕ		ⲙⲓⲣⲏⲉ · ⲡ[ⲉ]
[ⲈϢⲗ]ⲓ · ΝΤΕ		ⲭⲗ[Υ] ⲙⲡΔΟΥϢ
ΠΙCΤΟΛΗ ΝCΙ		ⲭⲈ [ⲗ]ⲧⲓⲠΟΛΙC
ⲧⲙⲌⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔⲔ ⲈⲈⲔ		ⲧⲎ[ϢϢ] ΟΥⲗⲗ[Ϣ]
ⲗⲗ · ⲗCⲧⲗ	5	ⲛϢⲗ ⲡⲓⲙⲌⲒ[ΟϢ]

38 Anne Boud'hors, *Le catalogage des textes coptes du Louvre*, in: Stephen Emmel, Martin Krause, Siegfried G. Richter, and Sofia Schaten, (eds.), *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit: Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses*, Münster, 20.–26. Juli 1996, Wiesbaden 1999, 2:261.

39 Boud'hors, *Le catalogage*, 258. According to the inventory books of the Louvre, the fragment was bought at the Hoffmann Sale in Paris in 1889 (I am indebted to Florence Calament for this information).

40 See Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten*, 2:613–616.

ΔC ΝΟΥΚΟΥΓΙ		CNAΓ · ΑΓΩ
ΝΖῆΖΑΛ ΝΤΑC		ΕΥΤΑΛCΟ Νῆε[Τ]
ΔCΧΟΟΥC · ΕΔΝ		ΩΩΝΕ · Ζῆ
ΔΙΝΟΟΥ ·		ΝΕΥΜΑΓΙΑ ·
ΜῆΝCΑ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ	10	ΑΥCΕΚ ΤΠΟΛΙC
ΤΗΡΟΥ		ΤΗΡC ΩΑΡΟΟ[Υ]
[ΔϚ]Ω[CΚ] ΝCΙ Π		ΑΥΛΟ ΕΝΚΑ ΟΥ
[ΔΟΥΖ Ε]Ωῖῆ[Ε]		ΡΩΜΕ · ΕΝΕΙ
[ΝCΑ ΝΕΤΟΥΔΑ]Β ·		[ΕΠ]ῖΡΠΕ ·
[ΖΜ ΠΕΥΩ]ΤΕ	15	ΑϚ[C]ΩΝῆ ΔΕ
[ΚΟ]		[ΝCΙ ΠΔ]ΟΥ[Ζ]
[]		[]
[]		[]
[]		[]
[]	20	[]
[]		[]
[]		[]
[]		[]

i 2–3 ΤΕΠΙCΤΟΛΗ : ΤΕΙΠΙCΤΟΛΗ A | i 4 ΤΗΑΚΑΡΙΑ om. A | i 8–9 ΑΝΔΙΝΟΟΥ : i.e. ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ⁴¹ | i 11 ΤΗΡΟΥ om. A | i 13 [Ε]Ωῖῆ[Ε] : ῆΠΕΩῖῆ A | i 15–16 [ΠΕΥΩ]ΤΕ[ΚΟ] : ΠΕΩΤΕΚΟ A | ii 5 ΠΗΜΑΓ[ΟC] : ΠΕΪΜΑΓΟC A | ii 7 ΕΥΤΑΛCΟ : CΕΤΑΛCΟ A | ii 8–9 Ζῆ ΝΕΥΜΑΓΙΑ : ΖΙῖῆ ΝΕΥΜΑΓΙΑ A | ii 11 ΩΑΡΟΟ[Υ] : ΕΡΟΟΥ A | ii 12 ΕΝΚΑ : i.e. ῆΚΑ | ii 12–14 ΑΥΛΟ ΕΝΚΑ ΟΥΡΩΜΕ · ΕΝΕΙ [ΕΠ]ῖΡΠΕ : ΑΥΛΟ ΕΥΚΩ ῆΝΕΡΩΜΕ ΕΕΙ ΕΠῖΡΠΕ A | ii 13 ΕΝΕΙ : i.e. ῆΕΙ | ii 15 ΔΕ om. A

Verso (hair side)

[ΜΜ]ΟΝ ΜΠΕΩ		ΕCΝΑΩΤ [·]
[CΜ]CΟΜ ΕΡΟΟΥ		ΑΥΧΟΟC ΕΡΩΝ
[ΔΥ]Ω ΑΥΘΛΙΒΕ		ΧΕ ΧΙ ΝΝΙΜΑ
[ΜΜ]ΟΙ ΜΜΑΤΕ		ΓΟC · ΝΤΕ
[ΔΥ]Ω ΕΙΩΑΝΚΑ	5	ΤῆΜΟΡΟΥ
[ΔΥ] ΝῆΖΕ · ΤΠΟ		ΝΖῆΖΑΛΥ
ΛΙC ΤΗΡC ΝΑΟΥ		CΙC ·
ΔΖC ΝCΩΟΥ ΝCΕ		ΜΠΕΝΙΠΕ

41 This form seems to be unattested elsewhere. Cf. the form ΑΝΔΙΟΧΙΑ (instead of ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΑ) in Reymond and Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 132 (Pierpont Morgan Codex M. 583 f. 169 R i 20), Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte*, 4:12, ii 15 (Vienna K 372) and 4:17, i 35–6 (Vienna K 381), Till, *Martyrerlegenden*, 1:115, 18 (Vienna K 9488). On the substitution of τ with Δ in Greek loan words see Crum, *dict.* 49.

ΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΞΡΑΙ		ΝΤΕΤἸ
[ε]χῶι ·	10	ΤΑΛΟΥ
[Δ]ΥΩ ΤΑΚΕΣΙΜΕ		ΕΥΚ[ΑΦ]ΟΣ
ΜΜΙΝΟΥ ΜΜΟΙ		ΝΤΕΤ[Ν]
ΑΥΜΑΓΕΥΕ		ΜΟΥ[Ρ ΝΟΥ]
ΜΜΟΣ		ΝΟ[Σ ΝΩΝΕ Ε]
ΑΧΑΡΝΑ ΝΝ	15	ΝΕΥ[ΜΑΚΕ]
[ΝΟΥ]ΤΕ ·		Ν[ΣΕ]
[]		[]
[]		[]
[]		[]
[]	20	[]
[]		[]
[]		[]
[ΕΥΒΑΣΑΝΟΣ]		[]

i 4 ΜΗΑΤΕ : ΕΜΑΤΕ A | i 6 ΝΤΡΕ : ΝΤΕΪΡΕ A | i 7–10 ΝΑΟΥΑΡΣ ΝΩΟΥ ΝΣΕΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΞΡΑΙ [ε]χῶι : ΝΑΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΞΡΑΪ ΕΧΟΪ A | i 12 ΜΜΙΝΟΥ ΜΜΟΙ : i.e. ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΙ; om. A | ii 2 ΑΥΧΟΥΟΣ ΕΡΩΝ : ΑΥΧΟΥΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΝ A | ii 3–4 ΝΝΗΑΓΟΣ : ΝΕΪΜΑΓΟΣ A | ii 4–5 ΝΤΕΤἸΜΟΥΡΟΥ : ΜΑΡΟΥ A | ii 9–10 ΝΤΕΤἸΤΑΛΟΥ : ΤΑΛΟΥ A | ii 12–14 ΝΤΕΤ[Ν]ΜΟΥ[Ρ ΝΟΥ]ΝΟ[Σ ΝΩΝΕ] : ΜΑΡ ΟΥΝΟΣ ΝΩΝΕ A | ii 15 ΝΕΥ[ΜΑΚΕ] : ΠΕΥΜΑΚῚ A

Translation

(R i:) And (δέ) [when] the blessed (μακαρία) Thecla had finished [writing] the letter (ἐπιστολή), she gave it to a young servant of hers, and sent it to Antinoou. And (δέ) after all this, the [duke (δούξ) delayed to] enquire [for the saints in their prison].

(R ii:) ...of the temple. They said to the duke (δούξ): “The whole city (πόλις) has gone after those two sorcerers (μάγος), and they are healing the sick by means of their sorceries (μαγεία), and they have drawn all the city (πόλις) to them, and they did not let any man go to the temple.” And (δέ) the duke (δούξ) was angry...

(V i:) “...for I have been powerless against them, and they have afflicted (θλίβω) me exceedingly. And if I leave them thus, the whole city (πόλις) will go after them and rise against me. And they have bewitched (μαγεύω) even my own wife, and she has denied (ἀρνέομαι) the [gods].”

(V ii:) “...(of a torture) that is severe. They told us: “Take those sorcerers (μάγος), and bind them in iron chains (ἄλυσις), and put them upon a boat (σκάφος), and tie a great [stone] to their [necks, and let them]...””

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Anne Boud'hors, Eitan Grossman, Sebastian Richter, Gesa Schenke, Georg Schmelz, and Alin Suciu for their comments. I also thank Korshi Dosoo for improving my English. Finally, I thank the Coptic section of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the Louvre, and especially Florence Calament, for the permission to publish E 10040.



Nr. 1 Verso



zu Nr. 1 Recto (Louvre E 1004 Recto)



zu Nr. 1 Verso (Louvre E 1004 Verso)