A. Literarische Texte

1. Two New Fragments of the Sahidic Version of the Martyrdom of Paëse and Thecla

(P.Heid. Inv. Kopt. 644 and Louvre Inv. E 10040)

Ivan Miroshnikov (Helsinki)

The Martyrdom of Paëse and Thecla is an account of the life and death of two saints, Apa Paëse (Anbū Ḳisṭ 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.” Along with the martyrdoms of Anoub, Arê, Shenoufe and many others, the Martyrdom of Paëse and Thecla belongs to the cycle of Julius of Aqfasḥ.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from Greek.3 The Bohairic version survives only in fragments.4 The Arabic version is attested by at least three unpublished manuscripts.5 Short summaries are given in both Arabic6 and Ethiopic7 Synaxaria.

3 The only Greek text that mentions the two saints, P. Berl. 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.
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).
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 (= B1) + P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 644 (a fragment of a leaf), published here (= B2). For its date, see the discussion below. The text of B1 corresponds to A 051 R i 30 – 057 V i 1. The text of B2 corresponds to A 087 V ii 18 – 088 R ii 32.

C = BnF Cop. 12916 ff. 011–017, unpublished,12 (= C1) + Vienna K 9437 (1 leaf), published by Carl Wessely (= C2).13 It was dated by Reymond and Barns to the ninth century CE.14 The text of C corresponds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.

8 The first four codices were labeled A–D in Reymond and Barns, Four Martyrdoms, 20.
10 See Arnold van Lantschoot, Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d’Egypte; Tome 1: Les colophons coptes des manuscrits sahidique (Bibliothèque du Muséon 1) Leuven 1929, 1:20–2 (#11).
12 The twelve leaves from the miscellaneous volume Cop. 12916 deposited in the National Library of France in Paris (BnF Cop. 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 Cop. 12916 ff. 011–017) belong to the same codex as Vienna K 9437, whereas the other five (BnF Cop. 12916 ff. 018–022) belong to another manuscript. I intend to publish both BnF Cop. 12916 ff. 011–017 and BnF Cop. 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).
$E = \text{P. Mich. Inv. 548 (a fragment of a leaf), published by Gerald M. Browne who argued that it was copied in the tenth century CE.}^{17}$ The text of $E$ corresponds to $A$ 055 $R$ i 26 – $V$ i 1.

$F = \text{BnF Copte 129 ff. 018–022, unpublished; not dated.}^{18}$ The text of $F$ corresponds to $083$ $R$ ii 21 – $087$ $V$ ii 18.

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

---

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

18 See note 12 above.
B2 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 Paëse 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 B1 and B2 leaves no reason to doubt that the fragments once belonged to the same manuscript, which means that when B2 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 Ρ 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 Fayyūmīc tendency.21 The long definite article α is sometimes used before a noun beginning with a single consonant, e.g., ηαρων (B2 V i 6–7), ἱηυτα (B1 73, 20). The vowel ο is occasionally replaced by α, e.g., ταιω (B2 V ii 13; B1 72, 9), ἀτηξ (B1 73, 27 and 74, 1). The supralinear stroke can replace the vowel ε, e.g., χιαω (B1 71, 2), and vice versa, e.g., ει (B1 73, 18). The supralinear stroke can also designate an autosyllabic vowel, e.g., ειωλ (B1 73, 16) and εικοικ (B2 R ii 6).

Apart from the linguistic features of B, its Fayyūmīc 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

20 Till, Martyrerlegenden, 1:71, n. 1.
21 In what follows, the citations from B1 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]γυλαβ · χε η | [η]ελαγ γωρ | [εροον · | [π]ηγεκων | λε ματορ | [τερ · ην ηετ | ηήνηρ · αη | χοος ηλλυ | [η]ηο[ε] ετρεγ | [ηο]ος[ε] επ | [ην]ουγ · λη | [ντοοι]γ λε η | [τεροι] | [ογιω αι ηπει | [ ] | 15 | [η]α ραματε | [ ] | [ ] | 20 | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | 25 | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | 30 | [ ] |

The form Δυνως 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).

1. Two New Fragments of the Martyrdom of Paëse and Thecla

[1–2 άρταλμος]: τὰλμος appears to be an unattested prepositional form of the verb ταλμον, “to accustom,” which in this context may mean something along the lines of making a customary burial; it is also possible that the scribe confused ταλμον with the verb ταλμεον, “to seal,” which in this context may mean something along the lines of making a customary burial; it is also possible that the scribe confused ταλμον with the verb ταλμεον, “to seal,” which would make good sense in the passage; άρταλμος A | i 3–4 [ε]τερμονουσε [ε]ταλμον άνωυ διανυσην άνω A | i 7–8 ταλμον [ε]ταλμον [ε]ταλμον άνωμοσ + άνωμοσον ετταλμον A | i 10–12 άλλα παντοκ ήν οιδαι τεταλμονιον άπο A | i 13–14 τεταλμον ήν[ε]ν ήν το[ι]εν: οιδαι τεταλμον άπο A | i 16 δε ομ. Α | ii 3–4 the expression πενναλησευτε ανων διαναλησευτε appears in a number of colophons; almost always they come from the Fayyûm27 | ii 9 παντογλαυκ: a Greek name;28 remarkably, it is attested by two tenth century inscriptions from Toutôn, an epitaph dedicated to deacon παντολοκς (Louvre, Paris, inv. E 2509)29 and a shawl with a prayer for παντογλαυκ (Metropolitan Museum, New York, inv. 31.19.13 and 31.19.15)30 | ii 10 θελαν[ι]ν: this unusual form of the name θελανιν is attested by at least two Coptic documents31 | ii 11–12 [περ[ι]σουγγε]: a village in the Fayyûm mentioned already in Demotic documents;32 its Coptic name is mentioned in two colophons33 and one of them explicitly identifies περισουγγε with the village θελανιν (ἀπεκαθή περισονγον [ε]πισων γον: τεταλμον άπο ην[ε]ν θελανιν [ήνω], well-attested in the Greek papyri;34 the arabicized form of the same name, Barbanûdah, is attested by two eleventh century Arabic documents, P. Köln.Kauf. (1024 CE)35 and P. Utah 933 (1030 CE); in both documents Barbanûdah is called a day’ah, i.e. a landed estate36 | ii 13–14 [χιτρο]: cf. B2 R ii 13; B7 71; 2; 73, 26 and 28 | 25 Cf. the prenominal form ταλμ– peculiar to the Sahidic dialect with a Fayyûmic tendency; see Crum, dict., 422b, s.v. τοι[ων].


27 Cf. B7 72, 20–1 where the scribe confused the verbs άλλακεσ, “to drip,” and άλλακεσ, “to languish.”

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


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.


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


36 I am indebted to Mohamed G. Elmaghrabi for this information.
ii 13–16 the restoration seems to be reliable, since the expression ΧΕ ΕΤΠΟ (ΗΤΟΣ) ΛΟΨΗ (ΛΟΨΗ) ΠΡΟΟΨΗ ΡΗ ΝΗΡΕΙΟ (ΗΝΕΙΟΝ) ΙΠΝΗ ΙΠΝΟΣ (ΗΝΟΣ) (with minor variations) appears in a large number of Fayyûmic colophons.\(^{37}\)

Translation

(R i:) ... (the bodies of the) saints, so that no one might touch them. And (δὲ) the governor (ἡγμῶν) 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 (δὲ) [when they]...

(R ii:) ... (the angel) [appeared] to him in the night. He said to him: “Απα Αρέ!” He answered: “Here I am, lord!” The angel (ἄγγελος) said to him: “Come and protect (σκεπάζω) the bodies (σώμα) 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 (μαρτυρεῖται) with Apa Paζ and his sister Thelca, the saints, is four hundred and seven souls (ψυχῆ). Glory, then (δὲ), to the [Father], and to the [Son], and [to the Holy Ghost (πνεῦμα)]...

(V ii:) Everyone who ... reader this book, please (+) (+), pray for our God–loving, alms–loving (+) (+) and offering–loving (+) (+) brother, deacon (άδεων) Pantouleos, son of Beliamin the carpenter, a native of Perpnute [in the] district of the [Fayyûm], 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 Toutônian codex. I take this opportunity to offer a few corrections to the text of B1 published by Walter Till.

71, 2 for “χίηο”, read “χίοο”;
71, 4 for “καχόω”, read “καχόω”;
72, 1 for “νρεθιλ”, read “νρεθιλ”;
72, 3 for “εφετογηλα”, read “εφετογηλα”;
72, 12 for “ομηνε”, read “ομηνε”;

1. Two New Fragments of the Martyrdom of Paëse and Thecla

72, 19 for “ἐρακωτε”, read “ἐρακωτε”;  
72, 20 for “πτησεβαθ[ε]”, read “πτησεβοκ”;  
72, 20–1 for “ἀγξα[λ]?εξε”, read “ἀγξαλεξε”;  
72, 24 for “ἰνεκαζιωνα”, read “ἰνεκαζιωνα”;  
72, 27 for “[ά]λλα”, read “άλλα”;  
73, 4 for “πινιπνιε”, read “πινιπνιε”;  
73, 7 for “[π]νοειε”, read “πνοειε”;  
73, 7–8 for “νανοι”, read “νανοι”;  
73, 12 for “ἀ[ν]ς [’], read “ἀ[ν]ς[ν]”;  
73, 13 for “[σεχ] [πα[φ]]”, read “π[εχε] παν[δε] : ἅ[πε πακον]”;  
73, 19 for “ὐα”, read “ὐα”;  
74, 4 for “ἀγογαγ”, read “ἀγογαγ”. 
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 Pa`se 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)

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{[иπρεσ]ογια[--]δε} \\
\text{[ερλα]· κτε} \\
\text{πιετοι ηηι} \\
\text{θυακαρι οεκ} \\
\text{αλ· ακτα} \\
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{μπρε· πε} \\
\text{κα· γη· ηπεογια} \\
\text{κε· [κ]ττποικι} \\
\text{τη·[πc] ογας[c]} \\
\text{νκα· πηγα[οc]} \\
\end{array}\]


\[39\] 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).

1. Two New Fragments of the Martyrdom of Paëse and Thecla

This form seems to be unattested elsewhere. Cf. the form ΛΥΩ (instead of ΛΩΤΟΣ) 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.
Translation

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

(R ii:) …of the temple. They said to the duke (δοῦξ): “The whole city (πόλις) has gone after those two sorcerers (μαγικοί), 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 (δὲ) the duke (δοῦξ) 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 (μαγεύω) the [gods].”

(V ii:) “…(of a torture) that is severe. They told us: ‘Take those sorcerers (μαγικοί), and bind them in iron chains (ἀλάνσι), 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.