

Sifting history from literature in the Miracles of St Menas

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Languages, manuscripts and editions

Greek

Numerous MSS representing four recensions, all probably ultimately dependent on recension α (Silvano & Varalda 2019). No MS earlier than 10th c., never more than 13 miracles, no additional miracles beyond those listed in BHG 1256-1269.

Помяловский И. [Pomjalovskij I.]. 1900. *Житіє преподобнаго Паусія Великаго у Тимофея патріарха александрійскаго повѣствованіе о чудесах Св. Беликомученика Мины*, 62-89. Санктпетербургъ: Типография Императорской Академии Наукъ. (recension β according to Silvano & Varalda 2019; CPG 2527, BHG 1256-1269, Cult of Saints Database E07440; based on a single MS; the only edition of a collection of 13 miracles; no translation).

Silvano L., Varalda P. 2019. 'Per l'edizione dei Miracula sancti Menae (BHG 1256-1269)'. *Philologia Antiqua* 12: 51-85. (critical edition of four miracles of recension α : The Woman pilgrim – Sophia, The paralytic and the dumb woman; The foal with three legs, Pastamon and the pigs).

Devos P. 1960. 'Le juif et le chrétien, un miracle de Sainte Méнас'. *AnBol* 78: 154-308 at 282-285 (The Jew and the Christian; based on two MSS of recension α).

Miedema R. 1918. 'De Wonderverhalen van den Heiligen Menas'. *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 14: 210-245 (MS V₅ of recension γ according to Silvano & Varalda: The Isaurian pilgrim; Eutropius and his plates; The woman pilgrim – Sophia; The Jew and the Christian; The paralytic and the dumb woman; MS V₁ of recension α according to Silvano & Varalda: Three brothers, the pigs and the crocodile; The poor woman's sheep; The foal with three legs; The soldier and the wood-offering; Pastamon and the pigs; Dutch translation).

Bourbouhakis E., Duffy J.M. 2003. 'Five Miracles of St. Menas'. In *Byzantine Authors: Literary Activities and Preoccupation, Texts and Translations dedicated to the Memory of Nicolas Oikonomides*, J.W. Nesbitt ed., 65-81. Leiden – Boston: Brill (completely different composition exploiting the plot of otherwise known miracles but with no clear textual affinities with abovementioned miracle collections).

Old Slavic

Numerous MSS with 13, 6 or single miracles; the oldest one from 1390.

Provisional description of Slavic tradition in Jagić V. 1909. 'Ein mittelbulgarisches Bruchstück des ersten Wunders des Großmartyrers Menas (aus dem XIV. Jahrh.)'. *Archiv für slavischen Philologie* 30: 392-399 at 392-393.

Тимофея архієпископа Александрьскаго о чудесехъ святаго великомученика Христова Мины. 1897. Великія минеи четыйи. собранные всероссийским митрополитом Макарием. Ноябрь, день 1-12. В. Василевский [Vasilevskij V.] ред. 447-477. Санктпетербургъ: Типографія Императорской Академіи Наукъ (13 miracles in the same order as in Pomjalovskij)

Сказание Тимофея, архієпископа Александрійскаго, о чудесахъ святаго великомученика Мины. 1764. Димитрій Ростовскій (Dymitr of Rostov). Житія святыхъ. Книга первая. Сентябрь, октябрь, ноябрь. 337г-338в. Киев: Издание Киево-Печерской лавры, 1 (originally published in 1689; there exist translations into modern Russian; it is not a scholarly edition).

Jagić V. 1909. 'Ein mittelbulgarisches Bruchstück des ersten Wunders des Großmartyrers Menas (aus dem XIV. Jahrh.)'. *Archiv für slavischen Philologie* 30: 392-399 (The Isaurian pilgrim)

Atanassova D. 2008. 'The Miracles of the Great Martyr Menas in the Medieval Slavic pre-Metaphrastic Menaia-Čet'i (Critical Edition of the Text, Based on Manuscript No. 1039 from the SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia)'. *Scripta & e-Scripta* 6: 305-324 [Bulgarian MS from 14th c. containing the 10th c. translation from Greek]

Latin

No pre-modern MSS, translated into Latin from Greek and published in print in the 16th c.

'Timothei archieposcopi Alexandrini narratio de maximis miraculis sancti et gloriosi martyris Menae'. 1556. In *Vitarum sanctorum patrum numero nonagintatrium, per Simeonem Metaphrastam, auctorem probatissimum conscriptarum...*, t. 5, G. Hervet. transl., f. 62-65. Venetiis: in vico sanctæ Mariæ Formosæ, ad signum Spei (5 miracles : The Isaurian pilgrim, Eutropius and his plates, The Woman pilgrim – Sophia, The Christian and the Jew, The paralytic and the dumb woman);

Also in: Surius L. 1575. *De probatis sanctorum historiis...*, t. VI, 242-247. Coloniae Agrippinae: Gervinus Calenius & heredes Quentelii.

Armenian

BHO 748-750 (The Isaurian pilgrim, The Jew and the Christian; *De Agapio* ?)

Vark' ew Vkeyabanut' iwnk' srboc' hat'entir k'alealk' i čar'entrac'. 1874. Vol. 2, 67-73. Venetiis: Imprimerie Saint-Lazare (only Armenian; non vidi; there are no studies on Menas tradition in Armenia known to me)

Coptic

MS Pierpont Morgan 590 (CLM 221; Cult of Saints Database E01222). 893 AD. Collection includes 17 miracles, but since heavy deterioration of MS only a selection has been edited.

- *Codices coptici photographice expressi*. 1922. Hyvernat H. ed. Rome: Bibliothecae Pierpont Morgan (facsimile edition);
- Drescher J. 1946. *Apa Mena: A Selection of Coptic Texts Relating to St. Menas, Edited, with Translation and Commentary*, 7-34 (text), 108-125 (translation). Le Caire: *Société d'Archéologie Copte*, (Prologue and the barren camel, The woman pilgrim – Sophia (in part), The poor woman's sheep (in part), The demoniac, The Samaritan pilgrim, The new water source);
- Devos P. 1959. 'Un récit des miracles de S. Ménas en copte et en éthiopien'. *AnBol* 77 : 454-460 at 156-157 (Three brothers, the pigs and the crocodile – in part);
- Devos P. 1960. 'Le juif et le chrétien, un miracle de Sainte Ménas', *AnBol* 78: 154-308 at 292-301 (The Jew and the Christian).

MS IFAO copte inv. 315-322 (CLM 1170), 11 c. The MS is a second quire from a larger codex; it includes miracles numbered from 2 to 6.

- Bacot S. 2011. 'Quatre miracles de saint Ménas dans un manuscrit copte de l'Ifao (Inv. 315-322)'. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 111: 35-73 (The foal with three legs (in part), The Isaurian pilgrim, Eutropius and his plate, The woman pilgrim – Sophia);
- Devos P. 1960. 'Le juif et le chrétien, un miracle de Sainte Ménas'. *AnBol* 78: 154-308 at 285-292 (The Jew and the Christian – in part).

MS London, British Museum Or. 5439 (2) = *P.Lond.Copt.* I 340 (CLM 1324)

Crum W.E. 1905. *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscript in the British Museum*, 156-157. London: British Museum (The Isaurian pilgrim – in part, The woman pilgrim – Sophia – in part). Re-edited in Bacot 2011.

MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS. or. Oct. 409, f. 27, 28 (CLM 6255), 11-13 c. (The soldier and the wood-offering – in part); unedited.

Ms found in Qasr Ibrim (CLM 6412), mentioned by J. Hagen, 'A City That Is Set on an Hill Cannot Be Hid: Progress. Report on the Coptic Manuscripts from Qasr Ibrim', [in:] A. Łajtar, T. Godlewski (eds.), *Between the Cataracts. Proceedings of the 11th Conference of Nubian Studies Warsaw University, 27 August-2 September 2006*, Vol. 2.2, Session Papers, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2010, p. 720 (unedited).

Arabic

13 MSS representing 8 recensions varying in number of miracles, with 23 in maximum (Jaritz). In total, there are 28 different miracles in Arabic MSS.

The oldest MS, dated 1363 (23 miracles, Jaritz siglum M), differs much in details of narration from both Coptic and Greek recensions;

Recension 2 (Jaritz siglum F; XVII c., 22 miracles – partially different from M; it represents narration generally congruent with IFAO MS. against P. Morgan MS (at least in miracles: "The woman pilgrim – Sophia" and "The Christian and the Jew" edited by Jaritz from this MS.)

Some MSS represent text close to Greek 13-miracle recension and are recognized by Jaritz as translations from Greek.

Jaritz F. 1993. *Die arabischen Quellen zum Heiligen Menas*, 145-238 (transl.), 365-439 (text). Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.

Ethiopic

Four identified MSS (EMML 1827, ff. 84va-111va; Paris, BnF, Éth. 57, ff. 22-82; Paris, BnF, d'Abbadie 179, ff. 139va-152rc; Paris, BnF, d'Abbadie 110, ff. 168rb-169v.) from 15th to 18th c. (probably, there are still others); almost certainly translations from Arabic; there are only fragmentary editions and summaries of the content.

Kaufmann C.M. 1910. *Zur Ikonographie der Menas-ampullen: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Funde in der Menasstadt nebst einem einführenden Kapitel über die neuentdeckten nubischen und aethiopischen Menastexte*, 48-49. Cairo: F. Diemer, Finck & Baylaender, Succ. (short description of 19 miracles from Abbadie MS).

Devos P. 1960. 'Le juif et le chrétien, un miracle de Sainte Ménas'. *AnBol* 78: 154-308 at 302-308 (The Jew and the Christian);

Devos P. 1960. Les Miracles de saint Ménas en éthiopien. In *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (Roma 2-4 aprile 1959)*, 335-343. Roma: Academia Nazionale dei Lincei. (Short passages from different miracles);

Devos P. 1959. Un récit des miracles de S. Ménas en copte et en éthiopien. *AnBol* 77 : 454-460 at 158-160 (Three brothers, the pigs and the crocodile – in part).

Isolated miracles not attested in the collections above

Coptic

MS Pierpont Morgan 585 (CLM 238); Drescher J. 1946. *Apa Mena: A Selection of Coptic Texts Relating to St. Menas, Edited, with Translation and Commentary*, 73-96 (text), 143-144 (translation). Le Caire: *Société d'Archéologie Copte* (two miracles unattested elsewhere).

MS Pierpont Morgan 590 ; Drescher J. 1946. *Apa Mena: A Selection of Coptic Texts Relating to St. Menas, Edited, with Translation and Commentary*, 64-65 (text), 108-125 (translation). Le Caire: *Société d'Archéologie Copte* (the inventio miracle incorporated into the *Encomium on Saint Menas* ascribed to John, Archbishop of Alexandria).

Old Nubian

Browne G.M. 1994. *The Old Nubian Miracle of Saint Menas*, Wien: Verein der Förderer der *Sudanforschung* (According to Browne, the translation was made from Greek).

Greek and Syriac

Budge E.A.W. 1907. *The Paradise or Garden of the Holy Fathers*, 242-243. London: Chatto & Windus;

Greek text of this miracle is N.47 = BHG 1322zj, ed. & transl. Wortley J. 2013. *The anonymous Sayings of the Desert Fathers. A Select Edition and Complete English Translation*, 42-43. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Arabic

Basset R. 1923. *Le Synaxaire Arabe Jacobite*, vol. 5, *Les moins de Baounah, Abib, Mésoré et jours complémentaires*, PO 17, 566-567 [1108-1109]. Paris: Firmin-Didot et Co. (inventio miracle, different in details from the one preserved in Coptic);

Jaritz F. 1993. *Die arabischen Quellen zum Heiligen Menas*, 258-270 (transl.), 456-466 (text). Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag (six miracles done after translation of the relics to Cairo)

Selected miracle collections in Coptic

Miracles of St Claudius

Shrine(s): Pohe

Source: Constantine of Siuout, *In Claudium* 1 (cc0125), *In Claudium* 2 (cc0126)

Date: end 6th-7th c.

Number of miracles: 3 + 4 (appended to main body of each encomium)

Cult of Saints database: E07007 (empty entry)

Miracles of St Phoebammon

Shrine(s): Touho (=Theodosiopolis), Thone, Assiut

Source: Kolluthos the Stylite, *Miracula Phoebammonis* (cc0235)

Date: ? (Ms: 8th – first quarter of the 9th c.)

Number of Miracles: 11

Cult of Saints database: E00240

Miracles of St Colluthus

Shrine: Antinoopolis, Pnueit (?)

Source: *Miracula Colluthi* (cc0227) ; some of them possibly belong to larger encomiastic compositions

Date: 6thc. (PATHs)

Number of Miracles: 8 (according to Schenke's edition; fragmentarily preserved in three different MSS)

Cult of Saints database: E00668, E03173, E03174

Miracles of St George

Shrine: Palestine (most probably Diospolis / Lydda)

Source: (Ps-)Theodosius of Jerusalem, *In Georgium* et *Miracula Georgii* (cc0388; Bohairic); *Miracula Georgii* (cc0229)

Date: no earlier than the 7th c.

Number of miracles: at least 10

Cult of Saints database: E00663, E03586 (skeleton entries)

Voluntarily servitude in the Miracles of St Menas and other Coptic collections

Miracle 1 “The barren camel”

απ[οι]ΚΟΝΟΜ[ΟΣ] ΔΑΔ ΝΑΠ[Ε] ΕΝΕΒΑΜΟΥΛ ΜΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΔΦΩ [ΕΦΟ ΝΖΜ]ΖΑΛ [ΜΠ]ΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ
[ΩΔ] ΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΕΦΜΟΥ

The oeconomus made him an overseer of the sanctuary’s camels. He remained a servant of saint Apa Menas till the day of his death.¹

Ὁ δὲ οἰκονόμος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἐπειδὴ ἄδελφε, ὁ ἅγιος θέλων τὴν σωτηριαν σου ἐπέτρεψέν μοι ἵνα διακονῆς, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· εἴ τι κελεύεις ποιῶ. καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ἐπάνω πασῶν τῶν καμήλων ἵνα διακονῇ αὐταῖς καὶ οὕτως μετ' εὐχαριστείας καὶ ὑπομονῆς ἐδούλευσεν τῷ ἁγίῳ

The oeconomus said to him: ‘since, o brother, the saint wants your salvation, he commanded me that you should serve’. (The man) said: ‘Whatever you order t, I (will) do it’. And oeconomus appointed him over all the camels in order that he serve them. And so he served the saint with thanksgiving and perseverance.

Miracle 5 “Pastamon and the pigs”

καὶ βαπτισθεὶς ἦν προσκαρτερῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ ἁγίου· ἐποίησε δὲ ἔτη ἑπτὰ δουλεύων τῇ ἀγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ οὕτως ἐτελειώθη

(...) and having been baptized he remained in the saint’s house. He spent seven years serving the saint church and so he was perfected (i.e. died).²

(Arabic MS Š) *wa-ī‘tamada wa-lazima haykal^a āl-qiddīsⁱ āš-šahīdⁱ Mīnās. fa-‘aqāma sab^a sinīn^a yaḥdimu haykal^a āl-qiddīsⁱ wa-ka-dalika tammama ‘umrahu.*

He was baptized and stayed at the church of saint martyr Menas. He lived and served seven years in the church of the saint and so he fulfilled his life.³

Miracle 16 “The Samaritan pilgrim”

ΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΔΑΦΤ ΜΠΕΤΝΤΑΦ ΤΗΡῆ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΑΠΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΔΦΩ ΕΦΔΙΑΚΚΟΝΕΙ ΖΜ ΠΕΦΤΟΠΟΣ
ΩΔ ΠΕΖΟΥ ΜΠΕΦΜΟΥ ΝΤΟΥ ΜΝ ΤΕΣΖΙΜΕ ΝΣΑΜΑΡΙΤΗΣ

Man gave all his property to the sanctuary of Apa Menas. He remained serving in the sanctuary till the day of his death, he and the Samaritan woman.⁴

Πάντα δὲ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ προσήνεγκε τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ ἔμεινεν δουλεύων ἐκεῖ μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς ἐρασθείσης αὐτῷ

He offered all his property to the shrine of the saint, and he stayed there serving together with the woman whom he desired.⁵

¹ Ed. Drescher, p. 12.

² Ed. Silvano & Varalda, p. 74.

³ Ed. Jaritz, p. 431, transcription A. Nieuważny.

⁴ Ed. Drescher, p. 32.

⁵ Ed. Pomjalovskij, p. 79.

Miracle 3 “Eutropius and silver plates”

(MS Pierpont Morgan)

αϕ† μπιπιναζ σναγ πρᾶτ ερογν επιτοπος μ̄ν πκεκογι νρμζαλ ετρεφσω εφδιακονει ωα περοογ
μπεφμογ αγω ντειρη επιωτ επιεφι

(Eutropius) gave two silver plate to his (i.e. (Menas’) sanctuary as well as his young servant in order that he shall serve till the day of his death. After that he rushed to his house.⁶

(MS IFAO) αϕ† μπιπιναζ σναγ νρᾶτ ερογν εροφ μ̄ν πκεκογι ρ̄μζαλ ετρεφσωζ̄ρ̄ νφνογζκ ωα
περοογ μπεφμογ αφωκ επιεφι

(Eutropius) gave two silver plates to it (i.e. sanctuary) as well as his young servant in order that he shall sweep up and water till the day of his death (and) he went home.⁷

Miracle 4 “The woman pilgrim (Sophia)”

αϕ† πεφρτο ερογν επιτοπος μπ\ρ/αγιος μαρτυρος μπεϛ̄ ετρεφσω επι μοογ ετεκρηνε
μπιτοπος ωα περοογ μπεφμογ

He gave his horse to the sanctuary of saint martyr of Christ in order that he (i.e. horse) bring water to the well of the sanctuary till the day of his death.⁸

λαβὼν τὸν ἵππον ἐχαρίσατο εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος
(He) took the horse (and) presented it to the shrine of the saint martyr.⁹

(Arabic MS F) *fa-dafa ‘a ḥiṣān^a li-bī‘a^ī ḥš-ṣahīd^ī ḥl- ‘azīmi Abū Mīnā*
He gave the horse to the church of the great martyr Abu Mīna.¹⁰

(Arabic MS M) *wa- ‘inna Allāh^a qabala su’ālahā wa- ‘a ‘ṭāhā zar^{an} mubāarak^{an} wa-huwa
walad^{an} ḥasan^{an}. wa- ‘asmathu Mīnā wa-ḡa ‘alathu ḥādim^{an} li-ḥl-bī‘a^ī.*

And God accepted her request and gave her a blessed seed, an excellent boy. She named him Mīna and had him serve the church.¹¹

⁶ Ed. Drescher, pp. 21-22

⁷ Ed. Bacot, p. 58.

⁸ Ed. Bacot, p. 64.

⁹ Ed. Silvano & Varalda, p. 60.

¹⁰ Ed. Jaritz, p. 415, transcription A. Nieuważny.

¹¹ Ed. Jaritz, p. 398, transcription A. Nieuważny.

Miracles of St Claudius

Miracle 1: “Dionysius, the Pagan”

Μῆσως ἀφωκ ἐπεφνι ἀφεινε μπετεογῆταφ τηρῆ ἀφει εζογῆ ἐπειτοπος μῆτεφρῆζαλ ἀγω πετογωτ (MS L: ἰδωλον) ἀφογοβπφ ἀφτααφ ἐτ.διακονια ννεζηκε ἀγω νεφωοοπ ζῆπτοπος μῆτεφρῆζαλ ἐγ.διακονει φα πεζοογ ῆπεφμογ

After that he went to his house, took all his property, enter the sanctuary with his servant. As for the idol, he broke it, gave to the service of the poor. And he stayed in the sanctuary with his servant, serving till the day of his death.¹²

Miracle 2: “Daniel, the Meletian presbyter”

[ντα]φει [ἐπ]τοπος ἀφω νζητφ εφειρε μπεφωεῆφφε ἀγω ἐφ.διακονει φα πεζοογ μπεφμογ

He come to the sanctuary and he remained there performing his ministry and serving till the day of his death.¹³

Miracle 3: “Three thieves from Pmanhabin”

ἀγω ἀφτρεπ.δουζ μογτε εγπρεσβυτερος μμαῖνογτε ἀφτααφ ετοοτφ ἀφκαθῆκει μμοογ ἀφβαπῆζε μμογ ἀγωφπε μπιστος ἀγσερβε ἐπεγζωβ νβιχ ἐγῆμντνα ἀγω ἐφωοοπ ζῆπτοπος [μ]πζαγιος ἀπα κολογθος ἀγ.διακονει ἀγω ἐγνηγ τερομπε ἐπειτοπος ετογ.αβ ἐγῆ εζογν εροφ ννεγῆρητ

And the dux had a pious presbyter called. He (i.e.) presbyter took them into his hands, catechized them, (and) baptized them. They became believers. They were freed from manual labour, practicing mercy, and they stayed in the sanctuary of Saint Apa Koluthos. They served coming annually to this holy sanctuary and bringing their offerings to it.¹⁴

Miracle 4 „Antony of Shotep, the magician”

πρωμε δε ἀφωκ ἐπεφνι ἀφρωκζ ννεφ.χωωμε ἀφταλο ντεφ.ζιμε μῆνεφωηρε εφωκ εζογν ἐπτοπος ἀφω ἐφ.διακονει εροφ.

The man went to his house, burnt his books, took his wife and children, entered the sanctuary (and) remained serving it.¹⁵

¹² Constantine of Siout, *In Claudium 2*, in: *Textes coptes relatifs à saint Claude d'Antioche*. Ed. G. Godron. Turnhout 1970 (PO 35), p. 617.

¹³ Constantine of Siout, *In Claudium 2*, in: *Textes coptes relatifs à saint Claude d'Antioche*. Ed. G. Godron. Turnhout 1970 (PO 35), s. 640.

¹⁴ Constantine of Siout, *In Claudium 2*, in: *Textes coptes relatifs à saint Claude d'Antioche*. Ed. G. Godron. Turnhout 1970 (PO 35), p. 654.

¹⁵ Constantine of Siout, *In Claudium 2*, in: *Textes coptes relatifs à saint Claude d'Antioche*. Ed. G. Godron. Turnhout 1970 (PO 35), p. 662.

Miracle of St Phoebammon (No 10)

πρωμε δε νταφταλσο ωωπε ναφ αφωωπε εφτιακονει νρουν επιμαρτηριον μπραγιος
φιβαμων ωα περοογ μπεφμογ εφεγχαριςτ μπινογτε ωα ενεε

The man, the one whom heling occur, became a servant in the martyrrium of the saint
Phoebammon till the day of his death, giving thanks to God forever.¹⁶

Miracle of St Colluthus (No 6 miracle from E03173)

ν̄τος δε αστωογν ασβωκ επεσχι ασεινε ν̄τεσχηριδ̄ τηρ̄ς μ̄ν̄ πεσσοβτε τηρ̄ϛ ασω ρ̄μπποπος
μ̄πραγιος κολογθος εςτακони ρ̄ν̄διδ̄κονια νιμ̄ αγω εςρ̄ρωβ ρ̄ν̄νεσσιδ̄

She then rose, went to her house, brought all her necessary items and all her furniture, and
remained in the sanctuary of saint Kollouthos serving any service and working with her hands.¹⁷

Miracle of St Georg (No 8 in the Bohairic collection)

αφ̄τ̄ν̄τ̄κε̄τ̄ ν̄λογκοχ̄ ε̄βογν̄ επιτοπος̄ ν̄τεπιαγιος̄ γεωργιος̄ αφωωπῑ εφωεμωῑ ν̄νη̄ ετωωνῑ
ωα περοογ̄ ν̄τεπεφμογ̄.

[The repentant thief] gave three pounds of gold to the sanctuary of Saint George. He ministered
to the sick till the day of his death.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Mighty Deeds and Miracles by Saint Apa Phoebammon. Edition and Translation of Coptic Manuscript. M582ff 21r-30v in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, ed. K. Verrone, Providence RI 2002, pp. 48-49.

¹⁷ Schenke, G., *Das koptisch hagiographische Dossier des Heiligen Kolluthos – Arzt, Märtyrer und Wunderheiler, eingeleitet, neu ediert, übersetzt und kommentiert*, CSCO 650 Subsidia 132 (Louvain: Peeters 2013), 266-267, English transl. Gesa Schenke, *Cult of Saints*, E03173 - <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E03173> (modified).

¹⁸ E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Martyrdom and Miracles of Saint George of Cappadocia*, London 1888, p. 75 (text), 268 (transl.); translation modified; text given according to I Balestri, H. Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum*, CSCO, Series. 3, Tomus. 2, Paris, 1924, p. 352.