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Aaltje Hidding

THE ERA OF THE MARTYRS

REMEMBERING THE GREAT PERSECUTION IN LATE ANTIQUE EGYPT

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The Era of the Martyrs

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Preface

When Egyptian Christians started numbering the years according to the 'Era of the Martyrs', from the ninth century onwards, they indicated that the 'Great Persecution' (*c*. 303-313) had become a fundamental event for them. Indeed, this chronological time reckoning would suggest that they viewed their history as beginning with the martyrs of the Persecution. This last imperial attempt to remove Christian presence from the Empire, only years before the reign of Constantine, left an everlasting impression upon later generations of Christians.

As the subtitle of this book indicates, this study tells about the memories Christians had of the Persecution, beginning in its immediate aftermath and ending with the Arab conquest. In my travels, I have encountered many different memories, from legends of evil persecutors who eventually converted to Christianity to stories about heroic martyrs who performed the most incredible miracles. I now have the pleasure to thank my colleagues, friends and family members who have helped me navigate this journey through memory lane.

The idea for the project of which the present study is the result goes back to 2014. In that year, I finished an MA-thesis at the University of Groningen – although much of the writing took place during a research stay at the Royal Holloway University of London – about the Christianization of Late Antique Oxyrhynchus. While Christian communities organized their present, however, they also thought about their past. When the Church spoke about 'a new beginning' with the 'triumph of Christianity', they also needed to explain how the previous era had ended. In other words, the formation of a Christian collective identity went hand in hand with the creation of a Christian collective memory. I was particularly interested in how Christians came to remember one of the most traumatic experiences of early Christianity, the event that has become known as the 'Great Persecution'. In the summer of 2014, the first ideas about what was going to be the topic of my doctoral dissertation appeared as an appendix to my MA-thesis. Encouraged by my classics teacher Anneke de Vries and the supervisor of my MA-thesis Jan Willem Drijvers, I then took these ideas with me on the academic road. In the winter of the same year, the Graduate School Distant Worlds offered me a pre-doctoral fellowship at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich to materialize my questions into a doctoral research project with the same title as the present book. The following year, a fellowship enabled me to write a doctoral dissertation at the same university, of which this book is a revised version.

In Munich, the Graduate School provided me with the opportunity to optimally develop my research. Since the project required specialist knowledge in four vastly different areas of research – literature, archaeology, papyrology and epigraphy –, the fact that the Graduate School combines research from a broad spectrum of disciplines has allowed me to have access to specialists in all these fields. I would like to thank all the principal investigators of the Graduate School, first and foremost my

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supervisor Christof Schuler. His pragmatic advice and continuous support during all phases of the project have made this academic journey much easier to navigate. Special thanks are also due to Friedhelm Hoffmann for kindly inviting me to participate in the research colloquia at the Institute of Egyptology and Coptology. As a member of my evaluation committee, he offered useful criticism and contributed greatly to improving this book. I also thank Andrea Eberle for helping me through the difficulties that come from learning German and Coptic at the same time. Students and staff have made the office of the Graduate School and the Egyptology library pleasant and invaluable workplaces (special mention must go to Susanne Beck and Amanda Davis Bledsoe).

For the methodological questions about remembering and forgetting, the research group 'Organization of Memory and Forgetting', supervised by Verena Schultz, Virginia Fabrizi and Maciej Paprocki, has been crucial. Our readings of the works of Maurice Halbwachs, Jan Assmann, Pierre Bourdieu and others helped me to attain new insights into memory studies. Our actual travels to Rome and, in the footsteps of Halbwachs, Jerusalem provided me with a deeper understanding of the complex process of remembering and forgetting. Our discussions, however, also revealed that these complexities were not always reflected in the scholarly works applying theories from memory studies. When I found a framework in cognitive science that could give a solid structure to interesting but otherwise isolated ideas, this led to stimulating responses as well as new critical debates in our research group.

On the journey through Late Antique Egypt, my profound gratitude goes to my co-supervisor Jitse Dijkstra. I first contacted him five years ago, when I was a master's student, with a question about one of his publications about religious transformation in Late Antique Egypt. When I contacted him again, during my year as a predoctoral student in Munich, he enthusiastically agreed to co-supervise my dissertation. His enthusiasm was contagious, setting the tone for four years of invaluable as well as enjoyable conversations. He contributed to many topics discussed in this book, having read it from the first until the final draft. I feel most fortunate to have had his advice over the years, and to have his continued support as a mentor and helpful critic long after the dissertation defence.

In the fall of 2017, I also enjoyed Dijkstra's hospitality during a research stay at the University of Ottawa. This semester in Ottawa not only provided me with valuable time to have regular meetings with him, but also to benefit from the large collection of early Christian literature at St. Paul's University and to translate one of the key texts of my dissertation, the *Passion of Paphnutius*, into English. In a Coptic study group organized and supervised by Dijkstra, the *Passion of Paphnutius* and several other Coptic texts were read. Emily Laflèche and Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin were wonderful partners in this study group and I benefited much from our discussions. I also fondly recall many lunch conversations about our research with Mélanie Houle, in Munich as well as Ottawa.

It has been a privilege for me to present my research at the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich, the Humboldt University of Berlin, the University of Edinburgh, Ghent University, the University of Ottawa, the University of Montréal, the University of Warsaw and multiple times at graduate workshops organized by the Dutch National Research School in Classical Studies (OIKOS). I have also presented my work at the International Congress of Papyrology held at Barcelona in August 2016. I am grateful for the feedback and fruitful discussions at these events. Special thanks must go to Jan Bremmer's keen eye for detail in these early phases of my research as well as after the dissertation defence, when he read through the entire manuscript and brought my attention to studies or texts that I would otherwise have missed. I would like to thank the Graduate School for the funding that made these exchanges possible. The FAZIT-Stiftung further generously funded my trip to Ottawa.

In the early summer of 2018, I submitted my dissertation. Soon afterwards, I travelled to Paris to participate in the Summer School in Coptic Papyrology. The summer school provides training in Coptic papyrology that is available in only a few institutions worldwide, and I have benefited immensely from my participation: my time in Paris not only allowed me to bring my skills in Coptic to the next level, but also gave me the opportunity to deepen my knowledge of papyrology in an environment with many experts in the field. I owe a great deal of gratitude to Anne Boud'Hors for organizing this summer school and taking the time to discuss Coptic papyrological issues with me when I first encountered them in new contexts. After the summer school, co-organizers Alain Delattre and Gesa Schenke kindly read chapter two of the dissertation and I am immensely grateful for their corrections and suggestions.

The dissertation was defended in Munich on 27 November 2018. Not long afterwards, I was given a position as a Volontärin, a form of apprenticeship in the museum sector in Germany, at the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, with a first posting at the Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst in Munich. The first half year as an assistant curator at the said museum left me little time to revise the dissertation, but it did give me the opportunity to look at Roman and Late Antique Egypt from a broader perspective. At the start of the second half year, when I was stationed at the Archäologische Staatssammlung in Munich, the editors of *Millennium Studies* accepted the manuscript of my dissertation for publication. I would like to thank Rene Pfeilschifter and the anonymous referee for their helpful suggestions and comments on the manuscript. My gratitude also goes to Anne Rudolph, production manager at De Gruyter, who guided the stages of the publication and editing process with meticulous care.

Finally, and above all, I express gratitude to my parents, Seine and Ida, who have always supported me, my sister Gretha, who encouraged this academic adventure from the very beginning, and my husband Koji, whose support and love were invaluable for the completion of this book.

Munich, 8 April 2020

Contents

Abbreviations

Abbreviations for editions of papyri and ostraca follow http://papyri.info/docs/-checklist. Epigraphical abbreviations follow the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden and Amsterdam, 1923-) = *SEG*, available online at http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum/abbreviations-aabbr.

For references to classical texts, abbreviations from H.G. Liddell, R. Scott and H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1996[9] with rev. suppl.) have been followed. For references to patristic Greek sources, see G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1968) = Lampe, *PGL*, for Latin Christian texts A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout, 1967[2]) and for Bible books B.J. Collins et al. (ed.), *The SBL Handbook of Style* (Atlanta, 2014[2]).

For abbreviations of reference works, see S. Hornblower et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 2012[4]), available online at https://oxfordre.com/-classics/page/abbreviation-list/. For abbreviations of journals, see J. Marouzeau (ed.), *L'année philoloqiue. Bibliographie critique et analytique de l'antiquité gréco-latine* (Paris, 1924-), available online at https://about.brepolis.net/aph-abreviations, unless different abbreviations are used in Egyptology, in which case these have been preferred, see W. Helck, E. Otto and H. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1975-1992) = *LÄ*.

Other abbreviations used are:

Copt.Enc.	A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, 8 vols. (New York, 1991).
Crum, *Dict.*	W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939).

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1 General Introduction

1.1 The Great Persecution: History Becomes Memory

> It was the nineteenth year of the reign of Diocletian, the month of Dystrus, which would be termed March among the Romans, as the festival of the salvific Passion was approaching, when imperial letters were sent everywhere ordering the churches smashed to the ground, the writings destroyed by fire, and publicly proclaiming that those with status be stripped of status and the members of the [imperial] households, if they persisted in being disposed to Christianity, be deprived of liberty. Such was the first document against us. But not long after we were visited by other letters that ordered all the presidents of the churches in every place first be put to prison and then, later, that they be compelled by every machination to sacrifice.[1]

Not long after the Persecution, the bishop of Caesarea and great pioneer of ecclesiastical history, Eusebius, painted this picture of the beginning of the Great Persecution (*c.* 303-313).[2] His account of these times implies that the Persecution impacted the Christian communities in the Roman Empire greatly. The Scriptures were burned in public fires, churches were razed to the ground and Christians were captured, tortured and eventually even executed if they would not sacrifice to the Roman gods. In Egypt, writes Eusebius, countless numbers of men, women and children suffered martyrdom.[3] The nightmare ended in triumph, when an emperor who was sympathetic towards Christians came to power.[4] Eusebius and the Christian teacher of rhetoric Lactantius celebrated the reign of Emperor Constantine (306-337) and the latter author wrote extensively about the horrible ends of the former persecutors.

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1 Eus. *h.e.* 8.2 (trans. J.M. Schott, *Eusebius of Caesarea. The History of the Church: A New Translation* [Oakland, 2019] 398).

2 The date at which Eusebius wrote his *Church History* has been much debated, although scholars agree that the final editing was done sometime between 313 and 325. According to T.D. Barnes, 'The Editions of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*', *GRBS* 21 (1980) 191-201, Eusebius wrote his *Church History* in four different stages. The original design (*c.* 295) consisted of seven books, including parts of Book 8 and all of Book 9. The second edition was written in 313, after the Persecution had ended, and included a short version of the *Martyrs of Palestine* and an account of the last two years of Maximinus. The third, revised edition (*c.* 315) ended at Book 10.7. The fourth and final edition was written after Licinius was defeated in 324. Most scholars, however, now agree with R.W. Burgess, 'The Dates and Editions of Eusebius' *Chronici Canones* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*', *JThS* 48 (1997) 471-504, who notes that there is no evidence that Eusebius carried out major revisions after the supposed first edition and therefore concludes that he must have finished his first edition after the persecution in 313. Cf. A.P. Johnson, *Eusebius* (London, 2014) 20-1 and 104-12, who has recently argued for a single edition in 324.

3 See esp. Eus. *h.e.* 8.8-9.

4 For an overview of the 'ending' of the Great Persecution in the different regions of the Roman Empire, see T.D. Barnes, 'From Toleration to Repression: The Evolution of Constantine's Religious Policies', *SCI* 21 (2002) 189-207.

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Today, our main sources for the Great Persecution are the writings of Eusebius and Lactantius, who had both been eye-witnesses, as well as a few contemporary papyri and hagiographical literature. Most of our evidence has thus been coloured by a Christian pen. What these Christian authors have remembered and forgotten, or chosen to or not to record, has shaped our image of the Great Persecution. As a result, the history of this period has become blurred, in hindsight, by their perceptions. And yet, these very same sources connote the significance of the Persecution for later generations of Christians. The shared remembrance of this time provided them with an image of the past, an understanding of the present and a design for the future.

The significance of the Great Persecution in the formation of a collective Christian memory, which would then ground the formation of a collective Christian identity, has much to do with the fact that it happened, retrospectively, at a pivotal moment in the history of Christianity. Only years before Christian authors would write about Constantine winning the Battle of the Milvian Bridge under the sign of the cross in 312, the imperial government made a last attempt to remove Christian presence from the Empire.[5] By this period, the beginning of the fourth century, Christians seem to have formed a large and visible minority in the Roman Empire. According to Eusebius, the Persecution was a divine punishment for this steadily growing but lazy, proud and divided Christian community.[6] Afterwards, however, Church and Empire would be reunited in a 'new and much stronger Jerusalem'.[7] In contrast, Lactantius writes that the personal hatred of Diocletian's co-Emperor Galerius towards the Christians caused the Persecution.[8] According to Lactantius, it would, however, be the last and the greatest of the persecutions leading to the triumph of Christianity.[9]

Although modern scholarship has shown that there is no evidence for Galerius' instigation of the Persecution, the exact circumstances and motivations of the Roman authorities remain unknown.[10] Nevertheless, there is a wide consensus that the

5 For an overview of the impact of Constantine on Christianity, including a concise bibliography, see H. Drake, 'The Impact of Constantine on Christianity', in N. Lenski (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine* (Cambridge, 2012) 111-36. For the impact of the Great Persecution on the early Church, see the articles in M. Humphries and D.V. Twomey (eds.), *The Great Persecution, AD 303: The Proceedings of the Fifth Patristic Conference* (Dublin, 2009).

6 Eus. *h.e.* 8.1, 9.2. For Eusebius' reverberations on the Great Persecution see T. O'Loughlin, 'Eusebius of Caesarea's Conceptions of the Persecutions as a Key to Reading his *Historia Ecclesiastica*', in Humphries and Twomey, *Great Persecution*, 91-105.

7 Eus. *h.e.* 10.4.3: καινῆς καὶ πολὺ κρείττονος Ἰερουσαλὴμ.

8 Lact. *Mort.* 36.3.

9 For a discussion of Lactantius' response to the Great Persecution and its influence on Constantine, see E. DePalma Digeser, *The Making of a Christian Empire: Lactantius and Rome* (Ithaca, 2000).

10 The Great Persecution has been studied extensively, see especially the studies by H.C.W. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church. A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus*

Roman government considered Christians impious and therefore a threat to the wellbeing of the Roman Empire.[11] Precise numbers of executed Christians are lacking.[12] As for Egypt, the few contemporary papyri reveal that sacrifices were obligatory in court, Church property was confiscated and Christians were arrested, but they do not allow for generalisations about the impact of the Persecution on the Christian

(Oxford, 1965) 477-535, R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (Harmondsworth, 1986) 592-608, P.S. Davies, 'Origin and Purpose of the Persecution of AD 303', *JThS* 40 (1989) 66-96, G.E.M. De Ste. Croix, *Christian Persecution, Martyrdom, and Orthodoxy* (Oxford, 2006) 35-78 ('Aspects of the "Great" Persecution', 1954[1]), Humphries and Twomey, *Great Persecution* and T.D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History* (Tübingen, 2010) 97-150. For Galerius' role in the Great Persecution see M. Gelzer, *Kleine Schriften* (Wiesbaden, 1963) 378-86 ('Der Urheber der Christenverfolgung von 303', 1935[1]) and Davies, 'Origin and Purpose'.

11 Modern scholarship has been unable to give a definitive answer as to why Diocletian and his co-emperors initiated the Persecution. However, several possible motives have been suggested. Whereas scholars such as J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford, 1979) 247 and Davies, 'Origin and Purpose', 93 have argued that the Persecution occurred in a period of peace, which gave the emperors time to think about their political ideology, others, such as M. Humphries, 'The Mind of the Persecutors: "By the Gracious Favour of the Gods"', in Humphries and Twomey, *Great Persecution*, 11-32 at 25-7 and E. Manders, 'The Great Persecution and Imperial Ideology: Patterns of Communication on Tetrarchic Coinage', in J.H.F. Dijkstra and C. Raschle (eds.), *Religious Violence in the Ancient World. From Classical Athens to Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2020) 203-27 have alleged that the emperors initiated the Persecution as a reaction to political unrest. And whilst scholars such as T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, 1981) 15-27 have argued that the origins of the Persecution depended on the personalities of the emperors, others, such as Davies, 'Origin and Purpose' and E. DePalma Digeser, *A Threat to Public Piety: Christians, Platonists, and The Great Persecution* (Ithaca, 2012) hold that philosophers convinced them to persecute Christians. For overviews of the different motives see P. Aubreville, 'Zur Motivation der tetrarchischen Christenverfolgung', *ZAC* 13 (2009) 415-29 and I. Alexandru, 'The Great Persecution of Diocletian and Its Consequences', in E. Dal Covolo and G. Sfameni Gasparro (eds), *Costantino il Grande alle radici dell'Europa* (Vatican City, 2014) 105-20.

12 In Antiquity, different numbers were mentioned. The late fourth-century *History of the Episcopate of Alexandria*, for instance, records a total of 642 martyrs during the time Peter was bishop of Alexandria (A. Bausi and A. Camplani, 'The *History of the Episcopate of Alexandria* [*HEpA*]: *Editio minor* of the Fragments Preserved in the *Aksumite Collection* and in the *Codex Veronensis* LX [58]', *Adamantius* 22 [2016] 249-302 at 275) whereas the fourth- or fifth-century papyrus *P.Köln* 354 AII 8, possibly from Middle Egypt, contains an ode to Egypt that mentions 83,721 martyrs, albeit without specifying during which time period they were martyred (G. Schenke, 'P.Köln. 354. Über Ägyptens Sonderstatus vor allen anderen Ländern', in M. Gronewald, K. Maresch and C. Römer [eds.], *Kölner Papyri. Band 8* [Opladen, 1997] 183-200 and 'The "Ode" to Egypt, P.Köln 354: Egypt as the Holy Land of Martyrs', *Journal of Coptic Studies* 20 [2018] 165-72). The conclusion drawn by Adolf Harnack in his 1890-letter to Theodor Mommsen – 'eine wirkliche Vorstellung von der Zahl der Märtyrer ist leider bis z.Z. des Decius m.E. nicht zu gewinnen' – is thus still accurate (S. Rebenich, *Theodor Mommsen und Adolf Harnack* [Berlin, 1997] 591). Recently, J.N. Bremmer, *The Rise of Christianity through the Eyes of Gibbon, Harnack and Rodney Stark* (Groningen, 2010[2]) 23 has likewise concluded that 'we simply do not have enough evidence to know the exact numbers'.

population.[13] Nevertheless, debates in Egyptian churches about the readmission of Christians who had lapsed from faith show that Christians from all social statuses had been affected by the Persecution.[14]

Yet, as Mark Humphries and Vincent Twomey remind us, 'the Great Persecution is important not only in terms of sufferings of Christians at the time or of the circumstances in which it arose, but also on account of its later reverberations'.[15] The fact that the last attempt by the Roman authorities to expunge Christianity from the Empire was followed so soon by the reign of Constantine meant that the Great Persecution became a symbol. Thus the fourth-century Church historian Rufinus of Aquileia and several authors of Church histories after him represented the Council of Nicaea (325) as a gathering of the champions of Christianity, the war-heroes who had survived the previous period of hostility.[16]

In Late Antique Egypt, colourful legends arose about the protagonists of the Persecution. Emperor Diocletian, for instance, is said to have been a Christian shepherd in Egypt before he became soldier, emperor and eventually persecutor of Chris-

13 For discussions of these papyri see A. Luijendijk, 'Papyri from the Great Persecution: Roman and Christian Perspectives', *JECS* 16 (2008) 341-69 and *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Cambridge MA, 2008) 189-226. For the confiscation of the church property in the Egyptian village of Chysis see also E. Wipszycka, *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive* (Rome, 1996) 415-20 ('Un lecteur qui ne sait pas écrire ou un chrétien qui ne veut pas se souiller', 1983[1]); M. Choat and R. Yuen-Collingridge, 'A Church with No Books and a Reader Who Cannot Write: The Strange Case of *P.Oxy*. 33.2673', *BASP* 46 (2009) 109-38. For a papyrus fragment containing Constantine's letter to the provincials, in which he deals at length with the return of confiscated property of Christians who had been exiled or executed, see T.C. Skeat, 'Two Byzantine Documents', *British Museum Quarterly* 18 (1953) 71-3 and A.H.M. Jones, 'Notes on the Genuineness of the Constantinian Documents in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*. With an Appendix by T.C. Skeat', *JEH* 5 (1954) 197-200. The fragment, *P.Lond*. III 878, is written on the back of a petition dated 319/320.

14 The canonical letter of Bishop Peter of Alexandria (300-311), Petr. I Al., *ep. can*. 18.509 (Migne, *PG* 26, col. 509), distinguishes between clergy and laity and therefore indicates that all Christians were indeed involved in the Persecution. It furthermore gives an idea of how Christians reacted in the face of persecution: Peter addresses those who had lapsed after torture, without torture and without torture or imprisonment, those who had lapsed and were unrepentant, those who had sent non-Christian slaves, Christian slaves who had sacrificed, masters of Christian slaves who had forced their slaves to sacrifice for them, lapsed Christians who had later repented and confessed faith, zealots who had given themselves up voluntarily, fallen clergy, those who had given money to avoid sacrificing, those who had given up property and withdrawn and those who had lapsed under torture and had witnesses.

15 M. Humphries and D.V. Twomey, 'Editors' Preface. The Great Persecution, 303 AD: A Commemoration', in Humphries and Twomey, *Great Persecution*, 7-9 at 7-8.

16 Rufin. *hist*. 10.4-5 (*GCS* NF 6.2, pp. 963-5), on which Socr. *h.e* 1.11 (*GCS* NF 1, pp. 42-4), Soz. *h.e*. 1.10-1 (*GCS* NF 4, pp. 155-6), Thdt. *h.e*. 1.5 (*GCS* NF 5, pp. 30-3) and Gel. Cyz. *h.e*. 2.9-11 (*GCS* 28, pp. 56-8) are based.

tians.[17] Another story tells that the bitter persecutor Arianus converted to Christianity after a miraculous healing and subsequently became a martyr himself.[18] The persecutor Armenius, after a similar experience, nevertheless continued persecuting Christians.[19] Legend also has it that during the Persecution, Bishop Peter of Alexandria and his opponent Melitius were imprisoned in the same cell and had a heated discussion about whether to accept lapsed Christians back into the Church. The Melitian schism is symbolized by Peter hanging up his cloak in the middle of the cell and saying that those agreeing with him should come to his side whereas those agreeing with Melitius should go to the other side.[20]

After the Great Persecution, Constantine emerges as the ideal emperor. In Coptic hagiographical literature, he releases Christians from prison, builds churches and fights under the sign of the cross – albeit not at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge but against the Persians. Compared to the predominant role of Diocletian, however, Constantine seems to have played only a minor part in Coptic literature.[21] Indeed, during his reign quarrels and disagreements among Christians in Egypt led to what

17 J. Schwartz, 'Dioclétian dans la littérature copte', *BSAC* 15 (1958-1960) 151-66 hypothesizes that this legend was created because hagiographical authors simply did not know what had actually happened. According to him (p. 162, n. 1), Diocletian was made a shepherd because 'pour un moine égyptien, un chevrier devait être aussi impur, qu'un porcher en Israël'. Y.N. Youssef, 'La genèse de la légende sur le roi Dioclétien', *BSAC* 28 (1986-1989) 117-9 rejects this explanation, arguing that the story was strongly influenced by the legend of Gyges as told by Plato. The most probable explanation is given by S.A. Naguib, 'Martyr and Apostate: Victor Son of Romanos and Diocletian. A Case of Intertextuality in Coptic Religious Memory', *Temenos* 29 (1993) 101-13, who argues that Diocletian represents the oppressive powers after the Council of Chalcedon and the Arab conquest. A. Papaconstantinou, 'Historiography, Hagiography, and the Making of the Coptic "Church of the Martyrs" in Early Islamic Egypt', *DOP* 60 (2006) 65-86 at 81 also argues that after the Arab conquest, Diocletian became the stereotypical wicked emperor and the martyrs of the Great Persecution became representatives of those who fought against religious enemies. For an overview of Coptic passions and homilies mentioning Diocletian see G. van den Berg-Onstwedder, 'Diocletian in the Coptic Tradition', *BSAC* 29 (1990) 87-122.

18 T. Baumeister, *Martyr invictus: Der Märtyrer als Sinnbild der Erlösung in der Legende und im Kult der frühen koptischen Kirche: Zur Kontinuität des ägyptischen Denkens* (Münster, 1972) 92, 105-8, 172, 'Der Märtyrer Philemon', in E. Dassmann and K.S. Frank (eds.), *Pietas. Festschrift für Bernhard Kotting* (Münster, 1980) 267-79 and 'Arianus, Saint', in *Copt.Enc*. I (1991) 230-1.

19 *Passion of Paese and Thecla* (ed. E.A.E. Reymond and J.W.B. Barns, *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices* [Oxford, 1973] 62-3). For a summary of the martyrdom see Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 123-4.

20 Epiph. *haer*. 5.68.3.

21 For an analysis of Constantine in Coptic hagiography see T. Wilfong, 'Constantine in Coptic. Egyptian Constructions of Constantine the Great', in S.N.C. Lieu and D. Montserrat (eds.), *Constantine. History, Historiography and Legend* (London, 1998) 177-88 and P. Buzi, 'Re-Interpreting History: Constantine and the Constantinian Age according to Coptic Hagiography', in P. Buzi, A. Camplani and F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times. Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 2016) 2.1117-28.

a work ascribed to Athanasius calls 'a new kind of people and persecution'.[22] When Timothy II (457-477) commissioned a history of the Church, the story thus did not end with Constantine, but with the re-establishment of Timothy as the bishop of Alexandria.[23] Only '[now] all divisions have left the Church [...] again. [...] there being [no cause of] offence [...], but there was peace [for] all the peoples that hated the tome of Chalcedon'.[24]

As soldiers of Christ, the martyrs of the Great Persecution naturally enlisted in the on-going wars.[25] While their stories have travelled a long way from history to legend, they nevertheless reveal how important the Great Persecution was in the collective memory of Christians.[26] Tales of courageous martyrs and evil persecutors fascinated later generations of Christians from Eusebius and Lactantius in Late Antiquity, to hagiographers in the Middle Ages and Christians in the present day.[27] Indeed, the *Coptic Church Review* of 1984 states that 'through the centuries, before and after Diocletian, the annals of the Coptic Church history have been filled with accounts of martyrdom and persecution. With the celebration of the feast of the

22 Ps.-Ath. *Ep. Luc.* 3 (ed. G.F. Diercks, *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt* [Turnhout, 1978] 306): *O novum genus hominum et persecutionis*.

23 The first part of the *Histories of the Church* consists almost entirely of reworkings of the first eight books of Eusebius' *Church History*. Chapters about the time of the Great Persecution until Timothy Aulurus have been added. It is assumed to have been originally written in Greek, but today only Coptic fragments survive. For the edition see T. Orlandi, *Storia della Chiesa di Alessandria. Testo copto, traduzione e commento*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1968-1970), for the current state of research see T. Orlandi, 'The Coptic Ecclesiastical History: A Survey', in J.E. Goehring, J.A. Timbie (eds.), *The World of Early Egyptian Christianity. Language, Literature, and Social Context. Essays in Honor of David W. Johnson* (Washington, 2007) 3-24.

24 *Histories of the Church* (ed. Orlandi, *Storia della Chiesa* 2, 57): [ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲭⲓⲙⲁ [ⲧⲏⲣⲟ]ⲩ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲥϥ [ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲋⲛ̄] ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ [.....] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲋⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲥ [.....] ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲛ. ⲉⲙⲛ [.....] ⲛ̄ⲥⲕⲁⲛⲇⲁ[ⲗⲟⲛ] ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲗⲁ [.....] ⲁⲗⲗⲁ [ⲁ ⲟⲩⲉⲓ]ⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ [ⲋⲛ̄ ⲛ̄]ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧ[ⲙ]ⲟⲥⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲙⲟⲥ [ⲛ̄]ⲭⲁⲗⲕⲏⲇⲱⲛ. Tr. based on W.E. Crum, 'Eusebius and Coptic Church Histories', *PSBA* 24 (1902) 68-84 at 83. As Crum notes, this passage is fragmentary and it is therefore not included in the translation of Orlandi, *Storia della Chiesa* 2, 90.

25 In their martyr stories, one could read how the martyrs had died for the beliefs of the various Christian communities in the Roman Empire. For examples see M. Detoraki, 'Greek *Passions* of the Martyrs in Byzantium', in S. Efthymiadis (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, 2 vols. (Farnham, 2011-2014) 2.61-101. On pp. 62 and 85, however, she notes that the Arian crisis does not seem to have inspired many martyr stories. For the discourse of persecution used by Christians in the midst of ideological conflicts, see also W. Mayer, 'Heirs of Roman Persecution: Common Threads in Discursive Strategies across Late Antiquity', in É. Fournier and W. Mayer (eds.), *Heirs of Roman Persecution. Studies on a Christian and Para-Christian Discourse in Late Antiquity* (London, 2019) 317-340.

26 See also Humphries and Twomey, 'Editors' Preface', 8.

27 See also M. Humphries, *Early Christianity* (New York, 2006) 34-63.

Martyrs this year, the Coptic Church starts its fourth year under the latest Islamic and government-directed persecution'.[28]

The aim of this study is not to identify these legends as a particular form of narrative and then to try to use them to sketch a picture of the historical situation. These legends were not written as history books. Instead, their value lies in what they tell us about how the Late Antique Christians who told them articulated their memories of the Great Persecution. These stories are themselves part of the history of early Christianity, in that they contribute to an understanding of the conceptions that Late Antique Christians had of themselves and their pasts. Therefore, in this study I will attempt to reconstruct, in the words of Peter Brown, 'the constant dialogue between priests and flock, men and women, the rich and the barely visible but ever-present figures of pilgrims and the poor' in creating memories of the Great Persecution.[29] In short, the central question addressed in this book will be how Christians remembered the Great Persecution over the course of Late Antiquity.

1.2 Previous Scholarship: The Great Persecution in Late Antique Egypt

When studying the memories of the Great Persecution, Late Antique Egypt has the obvious attraction of providing us not only with hagiographical, epigraphical and archaeological material, but also with thousands of literary and documentary papyri. This particular rich array of sources allows for a multidisciplinary approach in order to answer the research question of how the Persecution was remembered in the Late Antique period. Even though, as we will see, these sources have their own limitations, they nevertheless offer us unique glimpses of a particular time and place in Late Antiquity. As a part of the Roman Empire, moreover, the experiences in Egypt should have been comparable to other provinces in the East. Although local and regional differences obviously did occur, the Egyptian material thus also reflects general developments in the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity. These developments include the gradual integration of Christianity into Late Antique society, its organization through the Church and the criticism that the Church fathers voiced

28 R. Yanney, 'About This Issue', *Coptic Church Review* 5 (1984) 74-5 at 74, quoted in S.A. Naguib, 'The Era of the Martyrs. Texts and Contexts of Religious Memory', in N. van Doorn-Harder and K. Vogt (eds.), *Between Desert and City. The Coptic Orthodox Church Today* (Eugene, 1997) 121-41 at 121. See also C.R. Moss, *The Myth of Persecution: How Early Christians Invented a Story of Martyrdom* (New York, 2013), who demonstrates that stories about persecutions under Roman emperors are still taught in Sunday school classes, celebrated in sermons and employed by politicians in the United States. Concerning the 'persecuted minority discourse' in Egypt see V. Ibrahim, *The Copts of Egypt: The Challenges of Modernisation and Identity* (London, 2010) 1-10.

29 P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 2014[2]).

about certain practices of Christian communities concerning the cult of the martyrs of the Persecution.

Before we start to discuss the process of remembering and forgetting in Late Antique Egypt, it is necessary to make a few remarks about the nature of the sources. To start with the Church fathers, the bishop of Alexandria, Athanasius, is one of many who discussed the rituals and religious practices among Christians. From his ambo in Alexandria, Athanasius sent out Festal Letters to Christian communities in Egypt informing them about the festal calendar. At the same time, he used the wide circulation of these letters to address other issues.[30] In his Festal Letter written for the Passover feast in 370, he voiced his disapproval of Christians visiting martyr shrines and expecting the martyrs to heal the blind, the deaf and the mute:

> When they say that many people who had unclean spirits have been healed in the martyr shrines, these are their excuses. Let them listen, and I will answer them by saying that they are not healed by the martyrs coming upon the demons, but they are healed by the Saviour, the one whom the martyrs confessed. (...) This is the humiliation of the saints and a sign of ignorance of what a martyr is. (...) Why do they even go to their tombs? They are doing this annoying thing, not because they want them to act as ambassadors in their behalf before God, but so that they might question the demons.[31]

Athanasius strongly criticizes the emphasis that devotees of the martyr cult placed on the veneration of the martyrs and on particular practices such as the visiting of martyr shrines to find healing or to ask oracular questions. Instead of focussing on the tombs of the martyrs, Athanasius argues, Christians should give all their attention to Christ.[32]

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30 On the Athanasian festal letters see e.g. A. Camplani, *Le lettere festali di Atanasio di Alessandria* (Rome, 1989) and *Atanasio di Alessandria: Lettere festali* (Milan, 2003).

31 Ath. *ep. fest.* 42 (ed. L.-T. Lefort, *Lettres festales et pastorales en copte* [Leuven, 1955] 64-7): ϵⲩϣⲁⲛⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲇϵ ⲭϵ ⲁⲥⲁⲥ ⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲥⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ ϵⲩⲛ̄ⲡⲛϵⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲛ ⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩ. ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛϵ ⲛϵⲩⲗⲟⲓⲟϵ. ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲟⲩⲱϣϐ̄ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲓⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲭϵ ϵϣⲁⲩⲧⲁⲗⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲥⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲣϵⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ϣⲱⲡϵ ⲥⲓⲥϵⲛⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ, ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϵϣⲁⲩⲧⲁⲗⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲓⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ, ⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲥⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲉⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ, (…) ⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲡϵ ⲡⲥⲱϣ ⲛ̄ⲛϵⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁϐ ⲁⲩⲱ ϵⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲓⲙϵ ⲭϵⲟⲩⲡϵ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ (…) ϵⲧϐϵⲟⲩ ⲇϵ ⲥⲱⲗⲟⲥ ⲥϵϐⲏⲕ ϵϐⲟⲗ ϵⲛϵⲩⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ; ϵⲩϵⲓⲣϵ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡϵⲓⲥⲕⲩⲗⲙⲟⲥ ϵⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲁⲛ ϵⲧⲣϵⲩⲡⲣϵⲥϐϵⲩϵ ⲥⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲥⲣⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ, ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲭϵⲕⲁⲥ ϵⲩϵⲱⲓⲛϵ ϵϐⲟⲗ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ; tr. D. Brakke, '"Outside the Places, within the Truth": Athanasius of Alexandria and the Localization of the Holy', in D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (Leiden, 1998) 445-81 at 478-80.

32 For an analysis of Athanasius' opinion towards the cult of saints see D. Brakke, 'Athanasius of Alexandria and the Cult of the Holy Dead,' in E.A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Patristica XXXII. Athanasius and His Opponents, Cappadocian Fathers, Other Greek Writers of Nicaea* (Leuven, 1997) 32-8 and 'Outside the Places'. For Athanasius' condemnation of the cult of relics, see R. Wiśniewski, *The Beginnings of the Cult of Relics* (Oxford, 2019) 190-1.

The tirades of Athanasius against what was happening at the martyrs' shrines seem to express an ideology rather than an attempt to abolish the cult of the saints.[33] Judging by their polemical writings and repeated condemnations in Church canons, bishops all over the Empire seem to have been confronted by their flocks venerating saints rather than Christ and focusing on the power of the saints in everyday life rather than on spiritual worship.[34] But however self-consciously Church fathers may have condemned the cult of the martyrs, they were well aware that it was also widespread and there was little they could do about it apart from attempting to integrate the cults into their ecclesiastical practice. Peter Brown describes the struggle about who would orchestrate the cult of the saints and the ways in which bishops 're-wired' the commemoration of the 'very special death' by relocating the martyrs from the private sphere into the public space of the Church.[35] The actions of these bishops have illuminated us concerning Christian approaches towards the cult of the saints from a top-down perspective. This study, however, does not focus on the normative process. Instead, it takes a closer look at the viewpoints of the congregations themselves by examining both literary and documentary sources.

The memories of the Great Persecution are most clearly visible in the written words of, mainly, hagiography. These literary texts reveal a flourishing martyr cult. However, despite the information that these texts provide about political, social and cultural life in Late Antiquity, hagiography has long been and still is an understudied subject. When the Bollandists first started studying hagiography in the seventeenth century – first in reaction to criticism on the saints by Protestants, later with more historical interests –, they were primarily interested in the historical situation behind the literary drama and as a result, these legends were soon discarded as unreliable historical evidence.[36] As for Coptic hagiography, when the Bollandist Hippolyte Delehaye (1859-1941) wrote his foundational article about Coptic hagiog-

33 J.N. Bremmer, 'From Heroes to Saints', in F. Heinzer, J. Leonhard and R. von den Hoff (eds.), *Sakralität und Heldentum* (Würzburg, 2017) 35-66 at 46-7 and 63-4 notes that Christians started to call certain persons 'holy' already in the second century, but only in the last decades of the fourth century was the term 'saint' used to denote individual holy persons. According to J.N. Bremmer, 'The Emergence of the Christian Martyr in the Second and Third Centuries', in J. Hahn (ed.), *Innovations in the Veneration of Martyrs in the Fourth Century CE* (forthcoming) the meaning of the term 'martyr' seems to have changed from 'witness' to 'somebody who dies for his or her faith in Christ' from about 150 onwards. For convenience sake, in this study I use the terms 'saint' and 'martyr' interchangeably despite their terminological difficulties.

34 For the criticism of Augustine see L. Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity* (London, 2004) 37 and for John Chrysostom and Basil of Caesarea M. Girardi, *Basilio di Cesarea e i culto dei martiri nel IV secolo: scrittura e tradizione* (Bari, 1990) 201-8.

35 Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, see esp. pp. 23-49.

36 The Bollandists published the first volume of the *Acta sanctorum* in 1643 and the last in 1940, discussing saints from January 1 through November 10.

raphy in 1922, he even dismissed Coptic martyr stories as pure fantasies.[37] The fantastic miracles that the martyrs performed, the gruesome tortures that they endured and the multiple resurrections that they underwent before finally receiving the martyr's crown only showed that Coptic hagiographers had 'a taste for exaggeration that does not stop at the absurd'.[38] Moreover, Delehaye considered the literary talents of Coptic hagiographers mediocre and even spoke of 'miserable literature'.[39] The bad reputation of Coptic hagiography did not encourage successive scholars to study the subject.[40]

Although hagiographical literature takes place in historical time, its authors and audiences were not generally interested in historical facts. They knew what to expect from Emperor Diocletian but might not remember in which years he reigned, and they were familiar with the trials of Christians leading towards their inevitable conclusions but might not recollect or be aware of how the Roman legal system worked. As we shall see in the following section about remembering and forgetting, tracking the past is only one function of memory. Just like we need memory to construct and maintain our own individual identity and – going one step further – transmit 'cultural memories', the author of a martyr story was not so much interested in the correct dates, titles or even historical personalities, but wanted to identify the community with the persecuted Church. Additionally, martyr stories were meant to entertain, instruct and exhort. If the audience followed the desired devotional practices of the monastic leader Shenoute it would listen to the martyr story and suffer with the saint.[41] Likewise, if the advice of Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria

37 H. Delehaye, 'Les martyrs d'Égypte', *AB* 40 (1922) 5-154; 299-364 at 326. See also his monograph *Les légendes hagiographiques* (Brussels, 1905) in which he engages in the contemporary discussion about the historical value of hagiographical literature and examines the background of the hagiographer. At p. 69, he defines the term 'legend' as a story about a fictitious character without palpable attachment to reality.

38 Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 326: 'un goût de l'exagération qui ne recule pas devant l'absurde'.

39 Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 148: 'misérable littérature'.

40 W. Schenkel, *Kultmythos und Märtyrerlegende. Zur Kontinuität des ägyptischen Denkens* (Wiesbaden, 1977) 7 honestly admits that he did not research Coptic literature out of his own free will. A PhD-candidate chose it as topic for his dissertation, leaving Schenkel with no other option than to study it himself too.

41 Shenoute, *Since It Behooves Christians* (ed. É. Amélineau, *Oeuvres de Schenoudi: Texte copte et traduction française*, 2 vols. [Paris, 1907-1914] 2.205). For a reconstruction of this sermon see S. Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*, 2. vols. (Leuven, 2004) 2.668-9, 858. For a discussion of Shenoute's opinion about the martyr cult see L.-T. Lefort, 'La chasse aux reliques des martyrs en Égypte au IV^{e} siècle', *La nouvelle Clio* 6 (1956) 225-30, Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 66-7, P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlegrinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origins à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1985) 58 and J. Horn, *Studien zu den Märtyrern des nördlichen Oberägypten*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1986-1992). For Shenoute's opinion of the cult of relics, see Wiśniewski, *Beginnings*, 190-1.

were followed, the faithful would take the martyr as a Christian role-model.[42]

Following the twenty-fifth anniversary of Peter Brown's 1971-article 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', more recent publications examine hagiographies as discourses between author and public.[43] Scholars now acknowledge that hagiographical literature written by a village priest tells us something about the memory of this particular priest but also gives information about his audience, the society to whose recollections of the past he was responding.[44] Often, these stories contain cult aetiologies, explaining the presence of a sanctuary dedicated to a martyr. In his study of Coptic hagiography, Theofried Baumeister points to the strong focus on the places where the martyr's relics were located.[45] As cult aetiologies, martyr stories provide us with evidence of the historical process that constructed and reconstructed the Christian landscape after the Great Persecution. 'Hagiography, as far as it writes history,' as Jacques van der Vliet formulates it, 'writes performative history, or, rather, represents itself in the historical process in that it links the landscape to past historical or mythical events that are finely at-

42 Ath. *ep. fest.* 41 and 42. For translations and a discussion of these letters see Brakke, 'Outside the Places'.

43 P. Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Men in Late Antiquity,' *JRS* 61 (1971) 80-101 and its rejoinder 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Men in Late Antiquity 1971-1997', *JECS* 6 (1998) 353-76. See also the papers in J. Howard-Johnston and P.A. Hayward (eds.), *The Cult of the Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999), which increased the interest in the genre of hagiography and the cultural institutions connected with it. C. Rapp, 'Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: The Use of *Diegesis*', *JECS* 6 (1998) 431-8 introduces the term 'spiritual communication' for the discourse between the hagiographer and his audience. In a similar vein, J. Horn, *Untersuchungen zu Frömmigkeit und Literatur des Christlichen Ägypten: Das Martyrium des Viktor, Sohnes des Romanos* (Göttingen, 1988) lix notes that an analysis of hagiographical literature should not just focus on the composer, but also take the expectations of his audience into account.

44 Concerning Egypt, Horn, *Untersuchungen*, examines Coptic martyr stories as literature from Late Antique Egypt and at pp. v-vi motivates scholars to see the legends as expressions of the social and religious climate of Late Antique Egypt. For the intentions and narrative methods of Coptic hagiography see e.g. G. Schenke, *Das koptisch hagiographische Dossier des Heiligen Kolluthos: Arzt, Märtyrer und Wunderheiler* (Leuven, 2013) 13-21.

45 The topographical references in martyr stories once inspired É. Amélineau, *Les actes des martyrs de l'Église copte* (Paris, 1890) to write an historical reconstruction of the journeys of the persecutors. See also his *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte* (Paris, 1893). Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 92 notes that each persecutor indeed has his own sphere of influence: Arianus features in martyr stories located in Antinoopolis, Culcianus appears in stories in Alexandria, Lower and Middle Egypt and Pompeius of Pelusium and Armenius of Alexandria are the persecutors in hagiographies from Lower Egypt. For the strong local traditions in Coptic hagiography, see also P. van Minnen, 'Saving History? Egyptian Hagiography in Its Space and Time', in J.H.F. Dijkstra and M. van Dijk (eds.), *The Encroaching Desert: Egyptian Hagiography and the Medieval West* (Leiden, 2006) 57-91.

tuned to a precise present situation, but may be arbitrary from any other point of view'.[46]

When interpreting hagiographical literature, previous scholarship has often been looking for ancient Egyptian 'survivals' in Coptic literature.[47] Siegfried Morenz laid the foundations of what German scholars have called Survival-Forschung.[48] Morenz searched for Egyptian elements of death and afterlife in the story of Joseph the Carpenter.[49] Influenced by the work of Morenz, Baumeister argued that the literary motifs in Coptic martyr stories were essentially Egyptian. He examined the standard repertoire of scenes in Coptic hagiographies and focused especially on what he called the 'Coptic consensus', the many healings and resurrections of the martyr performed by the archangels before he eventually died.[50] This theme is not as omnipresent in hagiographical literature outside Egypt.[51] The reason therefore, according to Baumeister, is that it is rooted in Egyptian thoughts about the integrity of the dead body.[52] These views have been challenged by later scholars of Late Antique

46 J. van der Vliet, 'Bringing Home the Homeless: Landscape and History in Egyptian Hagiography', in Dijkstra and Van Dijk, *Encroaching Desert*, 39-55 at 54-5.

47 As early as 1913, E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1913) lxi-lxxiii stated that Coptic martyr stories contain conceptions that are essentially Ancient Egyptian. According to Budge, Christianity never succeeded in removing these 'pagan survivals'.

48 See e.g. M. Krause, 'Heidentum, Gnosis und Manichäismus, ägyptische Survivals', in M. Krause (ed.), *Ägypten in spätantik-christlicher Zeit: Einführung in die koptische Kultur* (Wiesbaden, 1998) 81-116.

49 S. Morenz, 'Die koptische Literatur', in B. Spuler et al. (ed.), *Handbuch der Orientalistik: Der nahe und der mittlere Osten, Literatur* (Leiden, 1970) 239-50 at 246 ('Die koptische Literatur', 1952[1]), however, acknowledges that 'in die Geschichte von Joseph dem Zimmerman bin ich zu weit gegangen'. See also his 'Fortwirken altägyptischer Elemente in christlicher Zeit', in O. Barthol and T. Krause (eds.), *Koptische Kunst: Christentum am Nil* (Essen, 1963) 55-9 and *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten. Gesammlte Aufsätze* (Weimar, 1975) 590-5 ('Altägyptischer und hellenistisch-paulinischer Jenseitsglaube bei Schenute', 1953[1]).

50 The standardization of scenes in Coptic hagiography was first described by Amélineau, *Actes des martyrs*, 210. See also Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 138-48, J. Zandee, 'Het patroon der martyria', *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 14 (1959-1960) 1-28 and Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 95.

51 See e.g. the examination of the basic elements present in 'epic' Latin passions by M. Lapidge, *The Roman Martyrs: Introduction, Translations, and Commentary* (Oxford, 2018) 18-34. The resurrection scenes known from Coptic hagiographies are not present in this tradition, nor do the standard scenes in which the martyr heals an ill relative of the prison registrar or court official normally occur Coptic literature.

52 Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*. For research on the theological motives in Coptic literature see T. Baumeister, *Die Anfänge der Theologie des Martyriums* (Münster, 1980). Other examples of scholars who have searched for Egyptian elements in martyr stories are W. Kosack, *Die Legende im Koptischen: Untersuchungen zur Volksliteratur Ägyptens* (Bonn, 1970) and H. Quecke, '"Ich habe nichts hinzugefügt und nichts weggenommen": Zur Wahrheitsbeteuerung koptischer Martyrien', in J. Assmann et al. (ed.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto* (Wiesbaden, 1977) 399-416.

Egypt.[53] They criticize 'survival' scholars for focussing too much on pharaonic elements in Christian art and literature and forgetting other spheres of influence. They argue that, having been part of the Ptolemaic Kingdom and the Roman Empire, Late Antique Egypt was not only influenced by local Egyptian traditions, but also by the Graeco-Roman world. Furthermore, they stress that aspects of Ancient Egyptian culture found in Christian contexts did not mean that pharaonic beliefs still lingered in Christian circles. Instead of interpreting Egyptian elements found in Christian texts as 'pagan survivals', they suggest that these aspects were rather like 'invented traditions' of Christians who created a new history for a new community. While, for instance, mummification is undoubtedly an old tradition, the obsessive interest in the afterlife is not necessarily a belief inherited from the pharaonic past.[54]

In a similar vein, Coptic hagiography is now reappraised as a literary genre. Eve Reymond and John Barns have looked for typical elements of the romantic style in Coptic martyr legends and found similarities with the Greek novel and even Greek tragedy.[55] Furthermore, a research team under the direction of Koen De Temmerman has studied the novel in Antiquity and its reception in Late Antique and early medieval hagiographical narrative traditions.[56] Recent research focuses on the question of the origins of the legends as well as on their development.[57] Critical about Dele-

53 See e.g. J. Zandee, 'Traditions pharaoniques et influences extérieures dans les légendes coptes', *CdE* 46 (1971) 211-9, J. Horn, 'Kontinuität im Übergang. Ein Beitrag zum Problembereich "pharaonisches" vs. "christliches" Ägypten', *ZDMG* 6 (1985) 53-73, Wipszycka, *Études sur le christianisme*, 9-61 at 29-31 ('Le nationalisme a-t-il existé dans l'Égypte byzantine?', 1992[1]), R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993) 321-5, Papaconstantinou, 'Historiography, Hagiography', 74, H. Behlmer, 'Ancient Egyptian Survivals in Coptic Literature: An Overview', in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms* (Leiden, 1996) 567-90 and A. Papaconstantinou, 'Aux marges de l'Empire ou au centre du monde? De l'Égypte des Byzantins à celle des historiens', *JJP* 35 (2005) 195-236.

54 See esp. Wipszycka, *Études sur le christianisme*, 30, Van Minnen, 'Saving History?', 74 and Papaconstantinou, 'Historiography, Hagiography', 84-5.

55 Reymond and Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*. See also J.W.B. Barns, 'Egypt and the Greek Romance', in H. Gerstiger (ed.), *Akten des 8. internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie in Wien 1955* (Vienna, 1956) 29-36.

56 The project 'Novel Saints. Studies in Ancient Fiction and Hagiography' has recently reached its final stages and dissertations, monographs and edited volumes are currently being finalized. Among the publications from the project will be e.g. K. De Temmerman (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Biography* (Oxford, 2020). See also A. Bossu, D. Praet and K. De Temmerman, 'The Saint as Cunning Heroine: Rhetoric and Characterization in the *Passio Caeciliae*', *Mnemosyne* 69 (2016) 433-52.

57 See e.g. the project 'An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature', in which the geography of Coptic literary production is examined: P. Buzi, J. Bogdani, N. Carlig, M.C. Giorda and A. Soldati, '"Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in Their Geographical Context. Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage": A New International Project on Coptic Literature and the Role of the Coptic Papyrus Codices of the Museo Egizio for Its Development', *Rivista del Museo Egizio* 1 (2017) 1-11, P. Buzi, 'Tracking Papyrus

haye's model of simple and short court proceedings changing into complex fictitious tales, more recent scholarship argues that the process could be described in a more nuanced way.[58] Arietta Papaconstantinou rightly questions the 'literary evolution' by pointing out that the current schemes take for granted that the development of hagiography was entirely linear. She notes that although biographies tend to grow more complex with the passing of time, different styles coexisted.[59] Moreover, in the sixth and seventh centuries, Byzantine hagiographers are known to have made complex martyr narratives more simple and logical.[60] Concerning a chronological reconstruction of Coptic literature, the only attempts have been made by Tito Orlandi in several successive articles, although about this topic too, the last word has not yet been said.[61]

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and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in Their Geographical Context. Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage ("PAThs"). A New Project on Coptic Literary Texts', *Early Christianity* 8 (2017) 507-16 and J. Bogdani, 'The Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. A Question of Method', *Vicino Oriente* 21 (2017) 59-69. See also the project 'The Cult of Saints' of the University of Oxford, which researches the cult of saints from its origins until around 700 CE, including in Egypt. The evidence has been collected in B. Ward-Perkins et al. (eds.), *Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2014-2019), available as an online searchable database at http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk. References to entries in the database made throughout this book will include the author of the entry, the name of the database and the number of the entry.

58 H. Delehaye, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels, 1921).

59 A. Papaconstantinou, 'Hagiography in Coptic', in Efthymiadis, *Ashgate Research Companion* 1, 323-43 at 328-31. See also Detoraki, 'Greek *Passions*', 63-6, who points out that hagiographers did not just turn historical martyr stories into epic passions and that passions of different kinds existed from the very origins of the genre.

60 C. Rapp, 'Byzantine Hagiographers as Antiquarians, Seventh to Tenth Centuries', in S. Efthymiadis, C. Rapp and D. Tsougarakis (eds.), *Bosphoros. Essays in Honour of Cyril Mango* (Amsterdam, 1995) 31-44 at 36-9 explains that they removed elements that did not correspond to their criteria of authenticity and began 'cleaning up' by removing unbelievable elements and giving more details on places and persons. For examples of Greek passions, see also N. Kälviäinen, 'Not a Few Martyr Accounts Have Been Falsified from the Beginning. Some Preliminary Remarks on the Censorship and Fortunes of the Demonic Episode in the Greek Passion of St. Marina (*BHG* 1165-1167c)', in I. Lindstedt and J. Hämeen-Antilla (eds.), *Translation and Transmission. Collection of Articles* (Münster, 2018) 107-37.

61 T. Orlandi, 'Coptic Literature', in B.A. Pearson and J.E. Goehring (eds.), *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1986) 51-81, 'Cycle', in *Copt.Enc.* III (1991) 666-8, 'Hagiography, Coptic', in *Copt.Enc.* IV (1991) 1191-7 and 'Letteratura copta e cristianesimo nazionale egiziano', in A. Camplani (ed.), *L'Egitto cristiano. Aspetti e problemi in età tardoantica* (Rome, 1997) 39-120. See also the discussions in A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides: l'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes* (Paris, 2001) 31-4 and 'Hagiography in Coptic', 328-31, T. Baumeister, 'Die *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* und die Entwicklung der koptischen hagiographie', in M. Immerzeel and J. Van der Vliet (eds.), *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 2004) 1.269-80.

All in all, *vitae*, acts of martyrs, 'epic' martyr stories and collections of miracles and homilies in honour of saints are now recognized in their own right and no longer dismissed as unreliable historical evidence and, speaking about Coptic hagiography, 'miserable literature'. During the last decades, hagiographical literature has come to be seen as representing its own reality.[62] However, whereas scholars have now acknowledged the literary themes of the genre and how they fit within a regional or local context, a synthesis about what these themes say about the perceptions of the Great Persecution has not yet been written.[63]

When studying the martyr cult, most scholars focus on hagiographical literature. Recent research, however, also attempts to locate the sanctuaries mentioned in these literary texts and makes use of archaeological evidence when studying the cult of saints. The martyrs were visible in the urban and suburban landscape through their sanctuaries.[64] Unfortunately, there is comparatively little archaeological evidence. Naturally, not all the churches found in excavations were dedicated to saints, and many of those who were remain unidentified. Nevertheless, the sources we do have give interesting glimpses of the cult of the martyrs. The most famous example is undoubtedly the sanctuary of the soldier martyr Menas in the Mareotis desert. With the passing of years, his shrine developed into a major pilgrimage site and today one could say that the inhabitants of the city lived, in the words of Gesa Schenke, of 'pilgrimage tourism'.[65] At his sanctuary, these 'tourists' could purchase

62 S. Efthymiadis, 'Introduction', in Efthymiades, *Ashgate Research Companion* 1, 1-14 at 1 opens the volume with the statement that today, 'a collective book on Byzantine hagiography hardly needs justification'. For an overview of recent research on hagiography see S. Efthymiadis, *Hagiography in Byzantium: Literature, Social History and Cult* (Farnham, 2011) 151-71 ('New Developments in Hagiography: The Rediscovery of Byzantine Hagiography', 2006[1]).

63 Only Naguib, 'Era of the Martyrs' and 'The Martyr as Witness. Coptic and Copto-Arabic Hagiographies as Mediators of Religious Memory', *Numen* 41 (1997) 223-54 has attempted to apply memory studies to hagiographical literature. Although her approach offers an opportunity to acknowledge that hagiographical representations are oriented on the present rather than the past, her articles lack a firm theoretical framework that can be applied to the sources and remain without reflection on the audiences of the representations in question.

64 For studies that use archaeological evidence to get a more complete image of the cult of the martyrs see B. Köttig, *Peregrinatio religiosa: Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche* (Münster, 1950), N. Marcos Fernández, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio: Contribución al estudio de la incubatio cristiana* (Madrid, 1975) and Maraval, *Lieux saints*. For Egypt, see Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints* and the various articles in Frankfurter, *Pilgrimage*.

65 Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 194 remarks: 'Heute würde man wahrscheinlich sagen, die Bewohner der Menasstadt lebten vom Wallfahrtstourismus'. On Menas, see Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 146-54. On his sanctuary in Abu Mena, see Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 319-22, P. Grossmann, 'The Pilgrimage Center of Abû Mînâ', in Frankfurter, *Pilgrimage*, 281-30 and N. Litinas, *Greek Ostraca from Abu Mina (O.Abu Mina)* (Berlin, 2008) ix-xi.

small terracotta flasks to take holy oil or water back home. These flasks, depicted with an image of the saint, have been found all over the Mediterranean.[66]

Not only archaeological remains from Late Antique Egypt have been preserved. The dry sands of Egypt have left us with a rich fund of source material that allows us to tell the stories of individual Egyptians in their own words and to draw conclusions 'in ways that are better documented and more secure than for other Greeks and Romans': numerous papyri – private letters as well as official correspondence – mention martyr shrines and feast days in honour of martyrs' anniversaries.[67] Much of the papyrological and epigraphical material has been collected by Papaconstantinou in her ground-breaking 2001-monograph. Papaconstantinou has shown that the evidence from papyri and inscriptions can supplement, or even dramatically alter, the picture painted by narrative sources. Her examination unearthed a mass of local saints, some of them unknown from hagiographical sources, alternated by a few well-known figures. Furthermore, her research indicates that – in contrast to statements made in hagiographical literature – some saints were more prominent than others from the beginning and would thus not have crushed a local cult of saints.[68]

Papaconstantinou has collected the papyrological material up to 1999, and since then newly discovered papyri have introduced new saints and new sanctuaries. The papyri confirm the hagiographical evidence in showing that a martyr cult only developed when the persecutions became matters of the past. The earliest attested *martyrium* appears in Oxyrhynchus in an order to pay wheat and vegetable seed dated 14 August 398.[69] However, 'only after 450 does the cult actually become visible in the field. In the second half of the fifth century, it rapidly started rising into prominence in the cities and villages of the Nile Valley, until it reached its full potential in the sixth century'.[70] Hagiographical literature follows this same pattern and it is not unimportant to note that most of our source material thus only appears about a century after the Persecution.

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66 For analyses of these flasks see e.g. Z. Kiss, *Les ampoules de Saint Ménas découvertes à Kôm el-Dikka (1961-1981)* (Warsaw, 1989) and S.J. Davis, 'Pilgrimage and the Cult of Saint Thecla in Late Antique Egypt', in Frankfurter, *Pilgrimage*, 303-39 at 303-8.

67 R.S. Bagnall and D. Rathbone, *Egypt: From Alexander to the Copts: An Archaeological and Historical Guide* (London, 2004) 25.

68 Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*. See also her discussion of the material in 'The Cult of Saints: A Haven of Continuity in a Changing World?', in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700* (Cambridge, 2007) 350-67.

69 *P.Haun*. III 67.

70 Papaconstantinou, 'Cult of Saints', 353. For the growth of the cult of saints see also W. Clarysse, 'The Coptic Martyr Cult', in M. Lamberigts and P. van Deun (eds.), *Martyrium in Multidisciplinary Perspective, Memorial Louis Reekmans* (Leuven, 1995) 377-95.

Although the documentary sources have been mostly collected, an analysis about what this material says about how the Great Persecution was represented and remembered has not yet been made. This study attempts to fill this lacuna in scholarship. The regional and local character of the voices of Christian Egyptian men and women enable us to see the reverberations of the Persecution from nearby. Listening to the localized responses to the Persecution and placing them in dialogue with Egyptian Church fathers I hope to be able to reconstruct a complete image of how the people who would eventually number the years according to the 'Era of the Martyrs' remembered this period.[71] Before we travel to Late Antique Egypt, however, it is necessary to ask a few methodological questions about remembering and forgetting.

1.3 Remembering and Forgetting: A Cognitive Approach

People's reflections on their past change when time passes and family history becomes the heritage of local communities, and eventually even leaves a long-term impact on society. The meaning of a certain event, place or person changes when those who remember it are further and further removed. It follows that, when that present lies years, decades or even ages back in the past, it becomes more and more difficult to grasp how the people living then conceived their past. Given these difficulties, it is not unreasonable to ask how to study the past of an ancient society, when even contemporary life of that society is hard to reconstruct. How do we study the memories of past peoples such as, in the case of this study, the memories of the Great Persecution of Christians in Late Antique Egypt?

Since the blooming of memory studies in the 1980s and 1990s, scholars have used the term 'memory' to explore the memories of individual people who actually

71 Although the 'Era of the Martyrs' is regularly used only after the Arab conquest and thus after the period this study examines, it does refer to an event that became fundamental for defining the collective past of Christian communities in Egypt. The name is first attested on tombstones from Nubia dated to 785/786 and 796/797. See R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Leiden, 2004^2) 63-87, in which they refute the earlier evidence given in L.S.B. MacCoull and K.A. Worp, 'The Era of the Martyrs II', in M. Capasso, G. Messeri Savorelli and R. Pintaudi (eds.), *Miscellanea papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1990) 2.375-408. At pp. 67-8 of the former study, Bagnall and Worp suggest that the name of the era was changed from Era of Diocletian to Era of the Martyrs to express the religious identity of Christian communities after the Arab conquest: 'The new designation of the Coptic era as that "of the Martyrs" emphasizes even more strongly than the name of Diocletian the fact that the community, religiously defined by its new non-Christian rulers, saw itself as the heir of the martyrs of the Great Persecution of the early fourth century'. Humphries, 'Mind of the Persecutors', 17-8 also remarks that the later Christian adaptation of the Diocletianic era suggests that the Great Persecution was an important period in the historical consciousness of Egyptian Christians. Cf. G. Ochała, *Chronological Systems of Christian Nubia* (Warsaw, 2011) 31-97.

experienced the event.[72] Additionally, the term has come to denote the representation of the past and the making of 'collective memory'. Memory studies have resulted in compelling and thought-provoking research, but often miss a clear, concise and coherent terminology and are much criticized for predictability and lack of focus.[73] There is, furthermore, a tendency in the humanities and social sciences to study solely the traditional philosophical questions about remembering and forgetting and to neglect practical research done by cognitive scientists. For whereas scholars from the humanities have made interesting observations about how the mind works, they often base their conclusions on a single example or a few case studies. As Karl Galinsky, the editor of *Memory in Ancient Rome and Early Christianity*, remarks, cognitive neuroscientists and psychologists are able to validate some of the ideas of the founding figures of memory studies with statistical evidence that was not available at the time.[74] Cognitive science is, furthermore, able to contribute a better understanding of the underlying neurology.

72 As concise histories of memory studies have already been given at other places, I will discuss in the following only the approaches relevant for my analysis. For an overview of previous scholarship, the current state of research and the various disciplines working on memory, see J.K. Olick, V. Vinitzky-Seroussi and D. Levy, 'Introduction', in J.K. Olick, V. Vinitzky-Seroussi and D. Levy (eds.), *The Collective Memory Reader* (Oxford, 2011) 3-62. Additionally, M. Berek, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit. Eine Theorie der Erinnerungskulturen* (Wiesbaden, 2009) 9-17 discusses the blooming of memory studies since the 1990s. See further C. Gudehus, A. Eichenberg and H. Welzer (eds.), *Gedächtnis und Erinnerung. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch* (Stuttgart, 2010) and A. Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen. Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart, 2011) for the most important concepts developed in memory studies. The different approaches used in memory studies from 1902 onwards are more fully discussed in J.K. Olick and J. Robbins, 'Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices', *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998) 105-40. In addition, the journal *Memory Studies* (published since 2008) discusses in every issue an aspect of previous scholarship on cultural and social memory.

73 For criticism on memory studies, see e.g. A. Confino, 'Collective Memory and Cultural History, Problems and Method', *American Historical Review* 102 (1997) 1386-1403, W. Kansteiner, 'Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies', *History and Theory* 41 (2002) 179-97, H.L. Roediger and J.V. Wertsch, 'Collective Memory: Conceptual Foundations and Theoretical Approaches', *Memory* 16 (2008) 318-26, J.V. Wertsch, 'Collective Memory', in P. Boyer and J.V. Wertsch (eds.), *Memory in Mind and Culture* (Cambridge, 2009) 117-37 at 117 and, in the same volume, H.L. Roediger, F.M. Zaromb and A.C. Butler, 'The Role of Repeated Retrieval in Shaping Collective Memory', 138-70 at 138-9.

74 K. Galinsky, 'Introduction', in K. Galinsky (ed.), *Memory in Ancient Rome and Early Christianity* (Oxford, 2016) 1-39 at 16. In a critical evaluation of the contribution of cognitive studies to research in the humanities, D. Xygalatas, 'On the Way Towards of Cognitive Historiography: Are We There Yet?', *Journal of Cognitive Historiography* 1 (2014) 193-200 at 193 rightly states that 'if the humanities are to survive in the modern academia, they need to keep up with theoretical and methodological developments in other disciplines, and certainly with scientific approaches to the study of human nature'.

Therefore, it is important to first discuss the terminology and to integrate traditional memory studies with work done by cognitive psychologists and neurologists. The resulting methodological framework, the 'cognitive ecology', is a promising basis for researching the ways in which we today as well as people in ancient societies remembered the past.

Most scholars who study the human mind and how it creates cultural memories take the work of the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945) as a starting point. According to Halbwachs, the present paints its own picture of the past, adapting and adjusting it to the current social situation.[75] Knowledge of the historical truth is only of minor or even no importance, for stories are not necessarily told to preserve the past: they first and foremost serve present purposes. Furthermore, Halbwachs argues that memory is a social phenomenon and only develops through communication with other people. Following this theory to the extreme, some scholars have argued that this would mean that a human being growing up in total isolation would have no memories at all. Many historians felt uncomfortable with this determined anti-individualism and as a result distanced themselves from the term 'collective memory' as used by Halbwachs and instead proposed terms such as 'social memory', 'collective remembrance' and 'public memory'.[76]

In a purely semantic way, however, the word 'collective' is specific enough to connote a social group and vague enough not to specify the social structure and the number of people in this group. Furthermore, Halbwachs himself never followed his theory to this extreme anti-individualism. Individuals do remember, but they mostly remember in groups and thus influence each other's memories when they access their collective past together. This becomes clearer when we follow cognitive psy-

75 M. Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte: étude de mémoire collective* (Paris, 1941), *La mémoire collective* (Paris, 1950) and *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris, 1952).

76 M. Bloch, 'Mémoire collective, tradition et coutume', *Revue de synthèse historique* 40 (1925) 73-83 continues to use the term 'collective memory', although he points out that one cannot simply borrow terms from individual psychology and then add the adjective 'collective'. For this reason, P. Burke, 'History as Social Memory', in T. Butler (ed.), *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind* (New York, 1989) 97-113 at 98, prefers the term 'social memory'. He explains that whereas it is the individual who remembers, the social group determines what will be remembered and how it will be remembered. Roediger and Wertsch, 'Collective Memory', 319-20 choose the term 'collective remembrance' to stress that the making of a collective memory is a continuous process, whereas G. Dickinson, C. Blair and B.L. Ott, 'Introduction: Rhetoric/Memory/Place', in G. Dickinson, C. Blair and B.L. Ott (eds.), *Places of Public Memory. The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials* (Tuscaloosa, 2010) 1-54 at 6 prefer the term 'public memory' to emphasize the rhetorical understanding of memory. See also A. Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (Munich, 1999) 133-43, who distinguishes between two functions of memory. 'Storage memory' preserves all memories, like a limitless library. From this library, 'functional memories' can be chosen.

chologists and neurologists in differentiating between 'personal memory' (memories about our personal past), 'habit memory' (memories about how to do certain things) and 'factual memory' (beliefs about how the world works).[77] The most important reason for this division is that people with different types of brain damage might lose one type of memory, while maintaining others.

When we apply this to the ancient sources, we see that personal memories are unique and often emotional events. They are the personal memories visitors to martyrs' sanctuaries made, bringing their own fears and hopes to the martyrs' oracles and healing centres. Their 'habit memories' told Egyptian Christians to use certain amulets, divination techniques and healing rituals when they wanted to accomplish certain things.

How difficult it is to change habit memories can be aptly illustrated by the polemical writings of the monastic leader Shenoute (*c.* 348-465). According to Shenoute, laity and clergy alike are deceived by those who tell that they can find healing by sleeping in the cemeteries or that they can receive oracular dreams by sleeping near the bones and cadavers of the dead martyrs.[78] And as if this is not bad enough, people even reserve graves in the tombs of the martyrs and worship their relics: 'If the martyr now lived with us, we would know how angry he was at us!'[79] About a century after Shenoute formulated his angry speech, in Egypt these practices were apparently omnipresent and popular. In the past decades, scholars have indeed acknowledged that impressions of heated debates among Christians and deep distinctions between Christians and non-Christians appear sharpest in polemical writings and that the social experience was different.[80]

When visitors arrived at a martyr's sanctuary, they must have had at least a minimal knowledge about the life and martyrdom of the saint, and the miracles that he or she had performed after his or her death. This general knowledge can be described as 'factual memories', memories about how the world works. In his study about the role of memory in religion, the anthropologist Harvey Whitehouse argues that the information given during repetitively performed and routinized rituals is

77 For a comprehensive introduction to the philosophy of memory see D. Locke, *Memory* (London, 1971).

78 Shenoute, *Those Who Work Evil* (ed. Amélineau, *Oeuvres de Schenoudi* 1, 220). For a reconstruction of this sermon see Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* 1, 649-50, 669-70.

79 Shenoute, *Since It Behooves Christians* (ed. Amélineau, *Oeuvres de Schenoudi* 1, 201-2): ⲱ ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲛ̀ⲥ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲫⲥⲟⲏⲧ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ. For a reconstruction of this sermon see Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* 2, 668-9, 858. For discussions of Shenoute's opinion about the cult of the martyrs see Lefort, 'Chasse aux reliques', Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 66-7, Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 58 and Horn, *Studien zu den Märtyrern* 1.

80 See e.g. M. Kahlos, *Debate and Dialogue: Christian and Pagan Cultures, c. 360-430* (Aldershot, 2007). On the opinion of Church fathers versus the reality of oracular sites, see e.g. D. Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt. Syncretism and Local Worlds in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 2018) 19-20, 105.

remembered as a 'factual memory'.[81] A martyr story, following the standard route from confession to trial to execution, is an example of a 'factual memory'.

Public sermons thus generated the necessary common knowledge about a martyr. The symbolic characteristics of a martyr – the martyrdom, the miracles and his or her portrayal as a physician, soldier, virgin, priest or monk – are worth more when they are widely understood.[82] Factual memories, however, are also formed in dialogue between priest and flock. For when a bishop preaches a sermon, he is also responding to the recollections of the past of his audience. Recent currents in memory studies confirm that the creation of collective memory is not just a top-down process, but a constant dialogue between members of all social strata.[83] 'Organizers' would therefore be a better term than 'Träger', as used by the German Egyptologist Jan Assmann, for the carriers of collective memories can only be the collective as a whole.[84] It follows that there has to be some kind of agreement between the ideas of the organizers and the 'receptiveness' of the collective: the inef-

81 H. Whitehouse, Modes of Religiosity: A Cognitive Theory of Religious Transmission (Walnut Creek, 2004). For earlier formulations see his Inside the Cult: Religious Innovation and Transmission in Papua New Guinea (Oxford, 1995) and Arguments and Icons: Divergent Modes of Religiosity (Oxford, 2000).

82 According to M. Suk-Young Chwe, *Rational Ritual. Culture, Coordination, and Common Knowledge* (Princeton, 2001) 'rational rituals' such as weddings, graduation ceremonies and presidential inaugurations are all communal activities that can serve a rational purpose: they can solve 'coordination problems' in which taking action requires common knowledge. A wedding, for instance, is not just about two people loving each other, but also about showing their relationship to others, who then recognize and treat the couple as married. Common knowledge of an inauguration is essential to the legitimacy of the office: people are more likely to support an authority, the more others support it. Mark Zuckerberg, the founder of Facebook, found Chwe's rational ritual theory 'an important idea for designing social media'. Personal experiences on Facebook become common knowledge, for instance, when people begin 'liking' a page, and others see, share and discuss it. See further the article by R. Feloni, 'Mark Zuckerberg Hopes This Book Will Help Shape his Vision for Facebook', *Business Insider* (April 1 2015) available online at http://www.businessinsider.com/-mark-zuckerberg-facebook-book-club-rational-ritual-2015-4.

83 The conception that memories are created in constant dialogue between different social groups follows the line of thinking that appears in the common expression 'power comes in many forms'. This line of thinking goes back to the ideas of the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984), who saw power as the ability to create change in the behaviour (or memories) of both individuals and society. He thus argued against the then widespread assumption that the only real power was sovereign power and proposed that power comes from multiple sources instead. In e.g. *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison* (Paris, 1975) and *Histoire de la sexualité*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1976-2018) he shows how social institutions like the Church, hospitals, the law and the police built and administered power in certain 'discourses' about madness, illness, crime or sexuality. These discourses can change when social movements resist traditional ways of thinking and propose a new mentality and set of discourses to convey it.

84 J. Assmann, 'Kollektives Gedächtnis und kulturelle Identität', in J. Assmann and T. Hölscher (eds.), *Kultur und Gedächtnis* (Frankfurt, 1988) 9-19 at 14.

fectiveness of Shenoute's polemics confirm that a potential memory can only become an actual memory when at least the majority of the group agrees with the organizers. All in all, these three kinds of memory, each with their particular mode of operation, all cooperate in the process of memorization.

To return to Halbwachs, he stressed that collective memories are created in a social context: when individuals remember, they formulate their memories by talking to each other, by reproducing and rewriting narratives and by materializing memories in the form of monuments.[85] Cognitive psychologists would say that the history of remembering leads through several social settings, various environments and different cognitive artefacts helping people to construct their memories. In this study, I will attempt to take what can be covered by the term 'cognitive ecology' into account.

The term 'cognitive ecology' was introduced about fifty years ago, in reaction to computational models of cognition used in computer science and neuroscience.[86] In these fields, memory was seen as a storehouse or archive. Moreover, in court, first-hand memory reports of victims, witnesses and suspects were and still are treated as crucial evidence – with far-reaching consequences when people are wrongly convicted based on somebody's false memory.[87] Indeed, throughout the centuries, memories have been described as wax-tablets, archives or libraries, as 'photographic memories', holograms and eventually computers.[88] All these metaphors have in common that they encourage us to imagine memories as preserving wholly intact pictures of the past. This image of our memory is unsurprising, as memories are indeed essential to everything we do. Without our memories, we would no longer be able to perform simple tasks, from making coffee to finding our way to the supermarket. We would even lose our sense of self, since we derive our identity from our memories. Memories, moreover, not only provide us with an understanding of the past, but what people remember of the past also determines their actions in the

85 See also S. Price, 'Memory and Ancient Greece', in B. Dignas and R.R.R. Smith (eds.), *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World* (Oxford, 2012) 15-36, who posits that networks of memories are constructed in four different contexts: objects and representations, places, ritual behaviour and textual narratives.

86 For the 'birth' of cognitive science see J.-P. Dupuy, *The Mechanization of the Mind: On the Origins of Cognitive Science* (Princeton, 2000).

87 See e.g. A. Barnier, J. Sutton and M. Temler, 'Total Recall: Truth, Memory, and the Trial of Oscar Pistorius', *The Conversation* (11 April 2014), available online at https://theconversation.com/total-recall-truth-memory-and-the-trial-of-oscar-pistorius-25496 about a judge who did not accept the suspect's claim that he did not remember a certain event and interpreted his inconsistencies as lies (the same article appeared as 'Truth, Memory and the Trial of Oscar Pistorius', *The New Zealand Herald* [14 April 2014], available online at https://www.nzherald.co.nz/lifestyle/news/article-.cfm?c_id=6&objectid=11237871).

88 For these metaphors, see D. Draaisma, *De Metaforenmachine: Een geschiedenis van het geheugen*, (Groningen, 1995).

present and their plans for the future. Our memory is indeed a defining force, but also an elusive one. Whatever may have changed between the wax tablet and the hard disk, memories have never been carved in stone. Instead, they overlap and compete, change over time or are forgotten.

Therefore, psychologists pointed out that it has long been acknowledged that memory does not work like a USB-stick.[89] We cannot store a memory in our brain in the way we can save a file on a computer. For whereas the file remains the same every time it is downloaded, when we remember we do not reproduce the exact same event. This is not to say that memory is always false, but to point to the fact that tracking the past is only one function of memory. As Halbwachs notes, these memories are used to make sense of ourselves, to construct and maintain our own individual identity and – going one step further – to transmit the collective identity of society as a whole by means of what Assmann first called 'cultural memory'.[90]

When we remember the past, we are constructing a memory. And with our brains being different from the hard disks of computers, philosophers argue that the construction of a memory does not just take place inside the head. Between perception and action, between simple in-put and out-put, many more factors than just the naked brain – the hard disk – play a role. Memories can be provoked by a photo in a family album or an article in a newspaper, by the sight of an old school or house or by talking to friends or family. The mechanisms of memory are not all in the head. Instead, as embodied human beings, we live in a world full of things, people and institutions and the theory known as distributed cognition asks how all the components of these worlds – social systems, cognitive artefacts and the physical environment – work together in constructing memories.[91] When one component chang-

89 See e.g. A. Clark, *Natural Born Cyborgs: Minds, Technologies, and the Future of Human Intelligence* (Oxford, 2003) and A. Clark and R.H. Wilson, 'How To Situate Cognition', in P. Robbins and M. Aydede (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Situated Cognition* (Cambridge, 2009) 55-77, in which the influential philosopher Andy Clark challenges the view that remembering and forgetting takes place only inside the head.

90 J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (Munich, 1992) 48-56 and *Religion und kulturelles Gedächtnis* (Munich, 2000) 16-20 makes a distinction between 'communicative memory' and 'cultural memory'. The former term refers to everyday communications about the meaning of the past and is strongly influenced by the contemporary situation. In contrast, the latter denotes memories formed by texts, rituals and monuments which are designed to recall the past. Assmann argues that just as Halbwachs has shown that people need bonds in order to develop a memory and to be able to remember, the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) has shown that people need a memory in order to be able to form bonds. In other words: alongside the bonding memory, there is also a collective memory whose task it is to transmit a collective identity. They are not built up gradually as with communicative memory and do not disappear again with the cycle of three generations. Instead, cultural memory is based on tradition. Cf. Van Minnen, 'Saving History?', 74-6.

91 Distributed cognition developed by way of independent movements, until the idea was integrated by Andy Clark in A. Clark, *Being There: Putting Brain, Body, and the World together Again* (Cambridge MA, 1997). It entered mainstream philosophy via A. Clark and D. Chalmers, 'The Extended

es, for instance when pencil and paper are replaced by an iPhone or when we move from the city we live in to the village in which we grew up, the way we construct our memories changes as well. The extended mind is both embedded in and extended into its worlds: inner and outer are complementary. In the past twenty years, researchers have recognized that such a complex phenomenon as memory must be understood across the entire system: across the entire cognitive ecology.

The first element of the cognitive ecology is the social system in which a memory occurs. Historians have, of course, always been concerned with social structures and how they influence the ways in which people viewed the world. They have long been influenced by the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), who analysed the role of social structures in society such as the family we are born into, our educational background, our position in cultural life and in the economic order.[92] According to Bourdieu, our individual *habitus* – our taste, our accent, all those big and little details revealing the way we look at the world – is the unconscious consequence of the social structures we are living in. Cognitive researchers confirm that our memories are influenced by the culture and environment in which we grow up, by the way we learn to remember as children.[93] Some parents or caretakers, for instance, will focus more on the factual details about what happened in the past whereas others will focus more on emotions or moral lessons. There are, furthermore, gender differences in the way we talk to our daughters and sons.[94] Moreover, researchers have discovered that languages influence the way in which an event is remembered. For instance, when required to give a description of a robbery or a road accident, English and Spanish speakers would give an equally detailed report. However, English speakers, who use more active language than Spanish speakers, remembered the agents of the accidents better.[95] In short, the social systems we live in have a profound influence on the way in which we remember.

Apart from social settings, the two other elements of the cognitive ecology – available cognitive artefacts and the physical environment – have a profound influ-

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Mind', *Analysis* 58 (1998) 7-19. For an overview of previous research see K. Michaelian and J. Sutton, 'Distributed Cognition and Memory Research: History and Current Directions', *Review of Philosophy and Psychology* 4 (2013) 1-14.

92 P. Bourdieu, *Le sens pratique* (Paris, 1980). See also his *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique* (Geneva, 1972) 85-8.

93 C. Strauss and N. Quin, *Cognitive Theory of Cultural Meaning* (Cambridge, 1997) 44-7 note that Bourdieu's theory of practice relies heavily on the cognitive sciences of the 1960s and the 1970s and bears strong similarities to Dan Sperber's view of culture as a shared schema.

94 E.g. R. Fivush and C.A. Haden (eds.), *Autobiographical Memory and the Construction of a Narrative Self* (Mahwah NJ, 2003), K. Nelson (ed.), *Narratives from the Crib* (Harvard, 2006), E. Reese, *Tell Me a Story: Sharing Stories to Enrich Your Child's World* (Oxford, 2013) and Q. Wang, *The Autobiographical Self in Time and Culture* (Oxford, 2013).

95 C.M. Fausey and L. Boroditsky, 'Who Dunnit? Cross-Linguistic Differences in Eye-Witness Memory', *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review* 18 (2011) 150-7.

ence on how we look at the world and how we form our memories. According to Assmann, the very reason why the cultural heritage of ancient Greece and Israel has been preserved while other cultures were forgotten is that these societies produced texts and then canonized them.[96] Criticising scholars for relying too much or solely on textual evidence, archaeologist Susan Alcock explores how material culture, in particular landscape and monuments, can reveal commemorative practices and collective amnesia in past societies.[97] Pierre Nora calls these landscapes 'milieux de mémoire', and argues how they changed from real environments of memory to 'lieux de mémoire', artificial environments designed to recall the past.[98] Cognitive ecology does not focus on one set of artefacts, but brings all these approaches together, opening new windows through which changes in the way people remember can be seen.

Cognitive psychologists and neurologists agree that objects and landscapes profoundly influence the formation of our memories. If an object is strongly associated with one memory in particular – for instance the bracelet of a grandmother or a school painting made by the youngest child in the family – it makes it much more likely that a memory is stored. In a similar way, grave decorations, statues or paintings and indeed buildings can transmit, disrupt or renew memories. The small wooden hut, said to have been the house of Romulus, that stood next to the imperial palace in Rome until at least the fourth century CE reminded the Romans of Rome's origins. The amphitheatre that was built on the site where Nero's palace had been was actually meant to obliterate the memory of the infamous emperor. By the Mid-

96 Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*, 163. See also J. Goody and I.P. Watt, 'The Consequences of Literacy', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5 (1963) 304-45, who compare the transmission of cultural heritage in non-literate with literate – and, going one step further, alphabetic – societies. As such, they consider the city states of Greece and Asia Minor as the first literate cultures. Although they acknowledge the importance of material and oral culture, J. Goody, *Food and Love: A Cultural History of East and West* (London, 1998) 1 argues that literacy had allowed 'a quantum jump in human consciousness': he emphasizes that whereas oral societies transmit their cultural heritage almost entirely face-to-face, literate societies have a permanently recorded version of the past at their disposal. Since its first publication in 1963, this thesis has been much and vigorously debated: see e.g. M. Cole and J. Cole, 'Rethinking the Goody Myth', in D.R. Olson and M. Cole (eds.), *Technology, Literacy, and the Evolution of Society* (Mahwah NJ, 2006) 305-24.

97 S. Alcock, *Archaeologists of the Greek Past. Landscape, Monuments, and Memories* (Cambridge, 2002). See also J. Boardman, *The Archaeology of Nostalgia. How the Greeks Recreated Their Mythical Past* (London, 2002), who asks how the ancient Greeks reconstructed their history with the help of material culture. D. Frankfurter, 'Introduction: Approaches to Coptic Pilgrimage', in Frankfurter, *Pilgrimage*, 3-48 emphasizes at pp. 13-8 that pilgrims used the landscapes that surrounded them to articulate their beliefs. A. Hartmann, *Zwischen Relikt und Reliquie, Objektbezogene Erinnerungspraktiken in antiken Gesellschaften* (Berlin, 2010) gives an extensive overview of the material objects which the ancients from the eighth century BCE to the fourth century CE used to reconstruct their histories.

98 P. Nora, 'Between Memory and History', *Representations* 26 (1989) 7-24.

dle Ages, however, it was being called the Colosseum, after the enormous bronze statue that had once been commissioned by Nero and perhaps represented him. Today, the person and the place have become so interconnected that modern filmmakers show us Nero executing Christians in the Colosseum.[99]

Furthermore, memory researchers have confirmed statements by ancient and modern rhetoricians, showing that when emotions are involved, the chance that a memory remains increases. For instance, when you have enjoyed a happy childhood at your parents' house in the countryside, the smell of hay and fresh cut grass brings back joyful memories of summer and family life. In contrast, when you have been bullied at school, years later the sound of a school bell can bring back negative feelings. The sound of the school bell and the smell of grass respectively activate feelings of sadness and happiness *and* information about school and home. In the brain, this simultaneous activation strengthens the connections in the neuronal networks and makes it easier to remember these events.[100]

An understanding of our neuronal network also explains why we tend to fill in gaps with information that seems plausible, why we connect things with already existing neurological patterns. Our collective *habitus* indeed has a great impact on the way in which we remember: we often actively search for information that confirms our opinion. Human beings tend, to borrow a term coined by Hayden White, to 'emplot' themselves within already known traditions. According to White, when we tell a story or write about a historical event, false memories may slip in while we attempt to create a coherent narrative out of a set of data.[101] The tendency to create a

99 In ancient times, however, Nero's image was not always that pitch-black. In the sixth century, John Malalas (ed. J. Thurn, *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* [Berlin, 2000] 189) paints a picture of a naïve emperor admiring Jesus: καὶ ἀγνοήσας, ὅτι ἐσταυρώθη, ἐζήτησεν αὐτόν ἀνενέγκαι ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὡς φιλόσοφον μέγαν καὶ θαύματα ποιοῦντα 'being unaware that he had been crucified, he asked that he be brought to Rome, since he was a great philosopher and wonder-worker' (tr. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Malalas* [Melbourne, 1986] 133). The story continues with Nero executing Pontius Pilate. For movies about Nero see e.g. the most recent movie based on the 1895-novel by Henryk Sienkiewicz, *Quo Vadis*, directed by J. Kawalerowicz (Poland, 2001) and the ninth episode from the series *Horrrible Histories*, directed by S. Gibney and I. Curtis (England, 2015), based on the children's book published by Terry Deary in 2014.

100 See e.g. T. Takeuchi et al., 'Locus Coeruleus and Dopaminergic Consolidation of Everyday Memory', *Nature* 537 (2016) 357-62, in which they show that our memories remain longer when dopamine is released from the brain's *locus coeruleus*, for instance after an emotional event.

101 H. White, *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, 1973) and *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, 1978). The title of the German translation of the latter monograph, *Auch Klio dichtet oder die Fiktion des Faktischen* (Stuttgart, 1986), explains White's statements. Clio, the daughter of Zeus and Mnemosyne, was the Muse of history as well as epic poetry. The radical conclusion is that this would make historians poets, not scientists.

coherent image is also visible in experiments done by cognitive researchers, who found that it is even possible to plant false memories in people's minds.[102]

It also follows that we generally do not accept or understand completely new ideas. When a novelty is entirely alien to an audience and they cannot place it in their world, or, in other words, when there is no connection in their neuronal networks, they will most likely reject the innovation.[103] An audience, in other words, is most likely to accept a new memory when the way the organizers formulate it corresponds with the *habitus* of that particular society. 'It is generally everybody's instinct,' ancient historian Ramsay MacMullen notices, 'to make the least possible tear in the fabric of already held beliefs when obliged to admit some urgent novelty'.[104] When something is entirely new, it becomes not only incomprehensible, but also unacceptable and undesirable. Instead, when potential memories are told in accordance with old schemata, they are more likely to become actual memories. What happens when an audience is not convinced can be aptly illustrated by Eusebius' description of Constantine's speech about how God had given him his earthly rule: whereas the audience applauded loudly, after the speech they went home and gave no further thought to the matter.[105]

All in all, the theory of cognitive ecology forces us to take all aspects of remembering and forgetting into account. By studying the effect that social systems, cognitive artefacts and physical environments have on memories, with theories from cognitive sciences contributing to existing studies from the humanities and social sciences, I have created a theoretical framework that we can use to study memories in the ancient world. Furthermore, by differentiating between 'personal', 'habit' and 'factual memories' we are able to bridge the gap between individual versus collective memories. Having given this overview of memory studies and cognitive science,

102 See e.g. E.F. Loftus and J.E. Pickrell, 'The Formation of False Memories', *Psychiatric Annals* 25 (1995) 720-5, for a memory experiment in which adults were falsely told that they had been lost in a shopping mall as a small child, but had been rescued by an elderly person and reunited with their family. During this experiment, several adults falsely recalled the made up 'lost in the mall' memory and even unwittingly invented several additional details of the false narrative, trying to make a logical story. For similar experiments see C.M. Heaps and M. Nash, 'Comparing Recollective Experience in True and False Autobiographical Memories', *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 27 (2001) 920-30 about false memories of nearly drowning but being rescued by a lifeguard and S. Porter, J.C. Yuille and D.R. Lehman, 'The Nature of Real, Implanted, and Fabricated Memories for Emotional Childhood Events: Implications for the Recovered Memory Debate', *Law and Human Behavior* 23 (1999) 517-37 about vicious attacks by an animal and witnessing demonic possession.

103 The Dutch research project 'Anchoring Innovation' currently examines the different ways in which ancient societies connected the new to the already known: I. Sluiter, 'Anchoring Innovation: A Classical Research Agenda', *European Review* 25 (2017) 1-19.

104 R. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire* (A.D. 100-400) (New Haven, 1984) 21-2.

105 Eus. *v.C.* 4.29.

it remains to show how the theory of cognitive ecology can be applied to our ancient sources.

Cognitive ecology, the extended mind and distributed cognition were terms that had important consequences for disciplines such as linguistics, anthropology and educational theory.[106] In history, however, the terms have not yet taken ground.[107] Nevertheless, philosopher John Sutton suggested already in 1998 that the theory of cognitive ecology could be applied to research in history and the humanities. He proposed the term 'historical cognitive science' for studies focusing not on how an event had actually happened, but on how this event was remembered.[108] In 2011, this approach was applied for the first time to the English Reformation.[109] English scholars Evelyn Tribble and Nicholas Keene have shown how Reformers actively worked to shape new cognitive ecologies. They discuss prayer, catechisms, sacred space, print, hymns and education and conclude that late medieval Catholics thought with a different set of objects, artefacts and social surroundings than Protestants did.[110]

In the last five years, scholars of Late Antique Egypt have also acknowledged the usefulness of cognitive research on memory in their work. Hugo Lundhaug has shown that the reading, memorizing and interpreting of authoritative texts, and the

106 See D. Kirsch, 'Distributed Cognition: A Methodological Note', *Pragmatics and Cognition* 14 (2006) 249-62 for a discussion of the principles of distributed cognition and its usefulness in a wide range of disciplines.

107 Although they do not mention cognitive ecology, scholars in the field of religious studies have based themselves on cognitive theories since the end of the twentieth century. For a recent manifesto for the use of cognitive sciences in the study of ancient religion, see O. Panagiotidou and R. Beck, *The Roman Mithras Cult: A Cognitive Approach. Scientific Studies of Religion: Inquiry and Explanation* (London, 2017), who use this methodology to describe the experiences of members of the Roman Mithras cult. See also R. Beck, *The Religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire. Mysteries of the Unconquered Sun* (Oxford, 2006), in which he introduces a cognitive approach to the cult of Mithras.

108 J. Sutton, *Philosophy and Memory Traces: Descartes to Connectionism* (Cambridge, 1998) 10-2.

109 E.B. Tribble and N. Keene, *Cognitive Ecologies and the History of Remembering: Religion, Education and Memory in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2011).

110 P. Burke, in a review of Tribble and Keene, *Cognitive Ecologies*, in *JEH* 63 (2012) 405-6 observes that their attempts to introduce cognitive psychology into historical research did neither result in new questions about the Reformation nor provide answers to old questions with a new methodology and he therefore concludes that the use of new technical terms has no additional value. A second attempt, however, harvested more fruitful results. In *Cognition in the Globe: Attention and Memory in Shakespeare's Theatre* (New York, 2011), Tribble asks how Shakespeare's company could cope with enormous mnemonic loads, performing up to six different plays a week. She addresses the material conditions of playing space, artefacts such as parts, plots and playbooks, the social structures of the companies, and actor-audience dynamics through the lens of distributed cognition. This time, the recasting of these questions into cognitive terms leads to what F.E. Hart, review of Tribble, *Cognition in the Globe*, in *Renaissance Quarterly* 65 (2012) 635-7 at 637 writes are 'compelling interpretations (...) worth further testing'. The 'further testing' is done in L. Johnson, J. Sutton and E.B. Tribble (eds.), *Embodied Cognition and Shakespeare's Theatre: The Early Modern Body-Mind* (London, 2014).

corresponding need to control such practices, shaped memories in early monastic communities. These texts were part of the cognitive ecology of the monks.[111] In a similar way, Malcolm Choat argues that monastic genealogies found in inscriptions in monasteries were important cognitive artefacts: 'literally embedded in the walls and floors of their cells, before their eyes every day as they walked throughout the monastery, prayed, ate, and worked, they are a much more direct and constant presence than the sermons of their abbots, or the texts they read or memorised as part of their education'.[112]

Although the observations made by Lundhaug and Choat are certainly interesting, critics of historical cognitive science have pointed out that they do not see what this new theoretical framework of cognitive ecology adds to what historians have already drawn from the primary sources themselves.[113] Questions of how societies remember can indeed be and have been approached via a wide range of sources and from a variety of perspectives. However, unlike what the saying presupposes, the stones do not always speak for themselves. Instead, memories preserved in ancient literature, written on papyri and in inscriptions, and lingering at museums and archaeological sites need to be put into context. For instance, when studying the continuity of ritual practices from Roman to Late Antique Egypt, David Frankfurter argues that the reason why Christians continued to visit oracular sites and healing centres was that these habits were culturally ingrained.[114] By focussing exclusively on habit memories and neglecting personal and factual memories, however, he fails to explain how these habit memories were integrated into the ideological framework of Christianity.[115]

Furthermore, in a recent article, Stephen Davis has shown that the use of memory in scholarship on the Egyptian desert fathers stands in sharp contrast to recent sociological and scientific studies. For whereas scholars use the category of memory to argue that the memories preserved in the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* were historically authentic, cognitive researchers have shown that memories are far from static and unchangeable in character, but can be shaped and re-shaped over time.[116] In line with Davis' approach, in the following outline of the study we will

111 H. Lundhaug, 'Memory and Early Monastic Literary Practices: A Cognitive Perspective', *JCH* 1 (2014) 98-120.

112 M. Choat, 'Narratives of Monastic Genealogy in Coptic Inscriptions', *Religion in the Roman Empire* 1 (2015) 403-30 at 424.

113 See e.g. the comments by R. Parker, 'Commentary on *Journal of Cognitive Historiography*, Issue 1', *Journal of Cognitive Historiography* 1 (2014) 186-92 at 190.

114 Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt*, 103.

115 A. Hidding, review of Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt*, in *Journal of Late Antiquity* 13 (2020) 177-9.

116 S.J. Davis, 'The Category of Memory in Recent Scholarship on the Desert Fathers', in S. Moawad and Y.N. Youssef (eds.), *Coptic Studies from Old Cairo to the New World* (Leuven, 2013) 59-76.

take both memory studies and cognitive science into account when trying to sense in which ways Christians remembered the Great Persecution.

1.4 Plan and Scope of the Study

As the subtitle of this study indicates, I will attempt to trace the changing memories of the Great Persecution in Late Antique Egypt. My 'Late Antiquity' begins, as it has generally been defined, with the reign of Diocletian in 284 and ends with the Arabic conquest of Egypt in 641/642. In the more than three hundred years that passed between the Persecution and the Arabic conquest, stories about the Great Persecution were retold by several generations of Christians, adapted and adjusted to the needs of contemporary times.

Memories, however, do not just change because of the passage of time.[117] Studying memories means studying all the 'means and processes by which a sense of the past – as something meaningfully connected to the present – functions, is sustained, and is developed within human individuals and cultures'.[118] For after the Great Persecution, the society in which this event was remembered changed. As seen in the previous section, other social settings, cognitive artefacts and environments – in other words, a different cognitive ecology – led to different stories about the martyrs, the judges and the emperor(s) who started it all. An application of these three aspects to Late Antique Egypt leads us to the three following sub-questions within the overarching research question of how Egyptian Christians remembered the Great Persecution throughout Late Antiquity:

1) Who formulated and promulgated the dominant memories, and – if they did – in which social settings did these memories clash with other versions of the past?
2) What cognitive artefacts were used to remember, and commemorate, the Great Persecution?
3) Where was the Great Persecution remembered, and how did the environments where commemoration took place influence the way in which the persecution was remembered?

It is evident that if we would study all the memories circulating about the Great Persecution, we would no longer see the wood for the trees. The *Synaxarium* records

117 E. Esposito, *Soziales Vergessen. Formen und Medien des Gedächtnisses der Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt, 2002) 31 goes one step further and argues that time is only a by-product. According to Esposito, people remember to make sense of themselves and their history and forget everything that is not relevant to this purpose. The passing of time thus plays only a minor role in the process of remembering and forgetting.

118 This is the definition as given by Lundhaug, 'Memory', 99, who in turn adapts the working definition of G. Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester, 2007) 9.

the stories of 254 martyrs and the catalogue in Papaconstantinou's *Culte des saints* lists no fewer than 167 saints. Therefore, I have chosen to offer chapters that are not so much complete overviews of all these martyrs and memories, but rather more in-depth discussions on particularly relevant aspects of what was remembered and forgotten about the Great Persecution in a specific local context. The sub questions above will thus be answered over a series of three chapters, each focusing on a different city in Late Antique Egypt where the combination of archaeological, papyrological and hagiographical material allows for more complete images.

In chapter 1, we will gain a general overview of the cult of the martyrs by exploring the memories of the martyrs in Oxyrhynchus. The thousands of papyrus fragments found at the city's rubbish dumps make Oxyrhynchus into one of the best documented cities in the ancient world: not only do the sources permit us to gain a vivid image of daily life in Oxyrhynchus, they also provide us with a treasure trove of information concerning the remembrance and representation of the martyrs. By analyzing the three different elements of the cognitive ecology, we shall see that the martyrs were embedded in each layer of everyday life. The Oxyrhynchites would pray to them, invoke them in their amulets, go to their churches to receive charitable help and by means of oracular tickets ask for advice about everyday concerns. In this way, the power of the martyrs was omnipresent. Although they had died long ago, the martyrs had become an essential part of social and religious life in the city.

Building upon the foundation given in the first chapter, the second chapter zooms in on details regarding a particular saint: the hagiographical, archaeological and papyrological sources concerning the physician martyr Colluthus of Antinoopolis provide us with a multifaceted picture of this saint. Furthermore, by examining the various perspectives from which these sources approach Colluthus, we will aim to get a better insight into the differences between individual and collective memory. Although the second chapter focusses on a specific martyr in his local context, the case of Colluthus nevertheless reveals some basic elements of the remembrance of the martyrs in the cities and villages of Late Antique Egypt. Among these elements are the ways in which his martyr story was told and how his miracles proved the power of the saint, a healing power still present at his sanctuary in Antinoopolis.

In the third chapter, we see how the growing monastic world came to influence the memories of the Persecution. In this chapter, we take a close look at the memories of the legendary martyr Paphnutius of Dendara. Paphnutius' passion tells us about an anchorite who converted a large number of inhabitants of Dendara to Christianity and thereby led them into martyrdom before he was executed himself. His rich hagiographical record and the occurrence of his name in graffiti from Esna and Western Thebes attest to the importance of this ascetic in the memories of Late Antique Christians. This chapter pays particular attention to martyr stories as cognitive artefacts and makers of factual memories by evaluating the recurring scenes, repetitive formulae and epithets used to describe Paphnutius' story. What role did

this ultimate martyr, who both lived a life of spiritual martyrdom and suffered a physical martyr's death during the Great Persecution while leading the entire Christian community of Dendara with him to martyrdom, played in the construction of memory of the Great Persecution?

2 The Martyrs of Oxyrhynchus. Remembering the Great Persecution in the City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish

2.1 Introduction

Oxyrhynchus, an important regional capital in Middle Egypt, is often mentioned as the hometown of martyrs or as the city where Christians received martyrdom.[119] One of the stories tells of a day in August, in the reign of the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian, when the bishop and his clergy, a soldier, a tribune and his family, and eight other Christians were tried before the court of the notorious governor Culcianus. Witnesses told Culcianus that these people were 'the only individuals in the city of Oxyrhynchus' who had not followed the imperial precept, disregarded the gods and defied his tribunal.[120] Therefore, Culcianus ordered the seventeen Christians to sacrifice to the Roman gods. They refused, and were thrown before the wild beasts in the arena. However, instead of attacking the Christians, the beasts fell down at their feet as if they were gentle lambs. Culcianus then tried to burn the Christians, but the fire miraculously went off. So the seventeen martyrs were decapitated and after the execution a certain priest named Julian collected their relics and sent his son to bring them back to Oxyrhynchus.[121]

Recently, Lincoln Blumell has labelled this story about the seventeen martyrs of Oxyrhynchus 'the only direct piece of evidence for Christian martyrdom at Oxyrhynchus'.[122] He mentions one historical mistake in the story of the martyrs of Oxyrhynchus that its first editors also note: the date given in the manuscripts – the second consulship of Diocletian and the first of Maximian – is clearly incorrect. The Great Persecution did not start when Diocletian first came to power, but coincided with the celebrations of the twentieth year of his reign. The editors solved this problem by simply omitting the consulships and instead mention only the names of the emperors. Apart from this mistake, Blumell argues that there are 'no blatant anachronisms that would suggest it [= the martyr story] ought to be discounted outright'.[123]

119 For places mentioned in this study, see Fig. 1. Modern placenames follow the spelling in J. Baines and J. Málek, *Cultural Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2000, rev. ed. of *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* [Oxford, 1980]).

120 J. Pinio, G. Cupero and J. Stiltingo, *Acta sanctorum: Augusti tomus sextus* (Paris, 1868) 14: *(...) soli (...) in Oxyrinchena civitate*.

121 For the story of the martyrs of Oxyrhynchus see Pinio, Cupero and Stiltingo, *Acta sanctorum*, 14-5.

122 L.H. Blumell, *Lettered Christians: Christians, Letters, and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus* (Leiden, 2012) 252.

123 Blumell, *Lettered Christians*, 253.

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He points out that the names of many of the martyrs – Serapion, Ammonius, Chiron – were common Oxyrhynchite names in the early fourth century. Furthermore, the governor Culcianus is known from other martyr stories, is mentioned by Eusebius and he even appears in papyri from Oxyrhynchus. Although Blumell proposes that these elements suggest that there may be some historical basis to this account, other arguments can be made that engender doubt about the veracity of the story. First, the tale is preserved in a passage from the *Acta sanctorum*, a seventeenth-century encyclopaedic text examining the lives of Christian saints. This is a relatively young edition and it is uncertain on which sources it is based.[124] Second, the story tells about martyrs who feature under different names and who are not always in the company of the same martyrs in other manuscripts.[125] Therefore, instead of using the *Acta* as historical evidence, I would see this image of a small community wiped out during the final, 'Great Persecution' as a typical case of a later 'invention of tradition'.

This chapter is about the martyrs of Oxyrhynchus, who, like the martyrs in the *Acta*, transmit memories of the Great Persecution. We will furthermore examine them as Christian role models who, in hagiographical literature, refused to sacrifice to the gods and died for their faith and who, in the papyrological record, appear as

124 The editors have arranged the saints according to the date of their feast days and included notes, indexes and chronologies. For the story of the martyrs of Oxyrhynchus they refer to two Latin manuscripts: one is located in Florence and the other is identified as the Cluniancensis manuscript. The former is believed to have been compiled in the late sixth century by monks in Gaul, who used calendars or martyrologies originating in Rome, Africa and the Eastern Roman Empire, and additional literary sources. This manuscript is now lost, but the Cluniancensis manuscript can be consulted in the 18th-century edition of J. Mabillon, *Praefationes actis sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti* (Rouen, 1732). It had come into the possession of this French scholar through his friendship with the prior of the Benedictine monastery in Cluny. Unfortunately, it is not known what happened to this manuscript after Mabillon made his edition. According to H. Achelis, *Die Martyrologien, ihre Geschichte und ihr Wert* (Berlin, 1900) 19 it either stayed in Paris and got lost in the inheritance of Mabillon or it returned to Cluny to disappear there. Either way, by the time the story appeared in the *Acta sanctorum*, it had a long road behind it.

125 When comparing these manuscripts with the *Acta sanctorum*, Achelis, *Martyrologien*, 173-7 and Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 65 note that whereas one manuscript refers to Tomis as the place of execution, a second manuscript mentions Thmuis and a third speaks of *Omoinem civitatem*. In the *Acta*, a specific place is not even mentioned anymore. The martyrs are just said to have died at an unspecified place 'in Egypt', but now – for the first time – they are said to have come from Oxyrhynchus. Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 5 concludes that 'cette fois, du moins, ce sont les reliques, venues d'un peu partout, qui ont fourni au rédacteur le personnel de son récit. Il a pu ignorer les pays d'origine de chacun des martyrs, et les prendre pour des indigènes. Pareille confusion ou transformation est loin d'être sans exemple'. In other words, the martyrs of Oxyrhynchus may not have been citizens of Oxyrhynchus at all. After years and years of editing, the origins and place of the trial of the martyrs are less than certain – and cultural memories of later generations of Christians shine through the inconsistent versions of the story.

patrons of the poor and healers of the sick. As we will see, the martyrs of the Great Persecution were embedded in the everyday life of Late Antique Oxyrhynchus.

Our trip down memory lane begins in the fourth century, when Christianity became organized and slowly spread throughout Egypt, and ends in the sixth century, when the majority of the Egyptians were Christians and Christianity had obtained a prominent position within society. With Christianity's gradual integration into Egyptian society, the cognitive ecology in which the Great Persecution was remembered changed. In the theoretical framework discussed in the General Introduction, we have seen that these changes can be traced by looking at three different aspects of the cognitive ecology: the social setting, cognitive artefacts and the physical environment. In the remainder of this section, an application of these three aspects to Late Antique Oxyrhynchus provides us with a solid basis for an examination of the memories of the Great Persecution in Oxyrhynchus throughout Late Antiquity.

In the first place, the social setting changed when Christianity became institutionalized. The organization of Christianity through the Church, with a structure of bishops, priests and deacons, was already visible to some extent in the second half of the third century, when the earliest known bishop of Oxyrhynchus appears in the papyrological record. We see him busy networking with other Christians, involved in teaching, fund-raising and perhaps also copying Scripture.[126] However, only after the Great Persecution and from the reign of Emperor Constantine onwards did the Church become more powerful and Christianity gradually a more visible part of society. Families more often chose Christian names for their children, naming them after biblical figures or saints.[127]

The city of Alexandria became one of the main centres of the Church and Oxyrhynchus received, as most nome capitals did, an episcopal see. According to the anthropologist Jan Vansina, strong and structured cultural memories first appear when those who remember them have organized themselves in central political institutions.[128] The strongest cultural memories of the Great Persecution indeed appear to have been formulated and promulgated by the Church. Already in the mid-

126 Luijendijk, *Greetings*, 81-151. The discovery of the Ethiopic version of the *History of the Alexandrian Patriarchate* has recently confirmed Luijendijk's argument that Sotas was indeed bishop in the later third century. According to the *History*, Sotas was ordained by Bishop Maximus of Alexandria (264-282). See A. Luijendijk, 'On and beyond Duty: Christian Clergy at Oxyrhynchus (*c*. 250-400)', in R.L Gordon, J. Rüpke and G. Petridou (eds.), *Beyond Priesthood. Religious Entrepreneurs and Innovators in the Imperial Era* (Berlin, 2017) 103-26 at 107 and 109.

127 R.S. Bagnall, *Later Roman Egypt. Society, Religion, Economy and Administration* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2003) Chs. VIII-IX, M. Depauw and W. Clarysse, 'How Christian Was Fourth Century Egypt? Onomastic Perspectives on Conversion', *VChr* 67 (2013) 407-35, D. Frankfurter, 'Onomastic Statistics and the Christianization of Egypt: A Response to Depauw and Clarysse', *VChr* 68 (2014) 284-9 and M. Depauw and W. Clarysse, 'Christian Onomastics: A Response to Frankfurter', *VChr* 69 (2015) 327-9.

128 J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, 1985) 95.

dle of the third century, Christians in Carthage and Rome remembered the days of their martyrs' deaths and wrote these down in martyrological calendars.[129] This remembering presupposes the initiative and influence of the clergy.[130] However, Jan Bremmer rightly reminds us that commemoration is not the same as cult and that the latter clearly was a (post-)Constantinian phenomenon.[131] In the case of Egypt, the cult of the saints became visible in the landscape and hagiography came to maturity only from the middle of the fifth century onwards.[132]

Memory is a wily time traveller. It rewrites the past with knowledge of the present and individuals as well as societies update old memories with new experiences, thereby creating stories that fit in the current world. Within memory studies, it is often assumed that the composition and coordination of collective memories are tasks of a political system: a new ruler feels the need to justify his rule, legitimate the new political order, set himself apart from his rivals and create 'a new beginning' with a new identity and new collective identity types.[133] Although the cult of the martyrs often began with Christians gathering at private places to commemorate their 'very special dead', bishops struggled to take control over these monuments. By gaining control over private martyr shrines, they not only dealt with power bases of potential rival religious leaders, but they could also better control the way in which Christians remembered these martyrs.[134]

Under the auspices of the institutionalized Church, the martyr cult was used for the formation of a new Christian collective memory. According to Philippe Buc, contemporary Christians remembered the trials and executions of fellow Christians

129 A. Struiber, 'Heidnische und christliche Gedächtniskalender,' *JbAC* 3 (1960) 24-33 and C. Pietri, *Christiana respublica. Éléments d'une enquête sur le christianisme antique*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1997) 2.1283-8.

130 Pietri, *Christiana respublica* 2, 1287 remarks that the composing of martyrological calendars presupposes the initiative and control of the clergy. See also Bremmer, 'Heroes to Saints', 52, who refers to Cyprian's insistence that confessors should be included in the martyrological calendar, revealing his influence in its composition.

131 Bremmer, 'Heroes to Saints', 50-4, 57-64. See also the discussion about the development of the cult of the martyrs in F. Lifshitz, 'The Martyr, the Tomb, and the Matron: Constructing the (Masculine) "Past" as a Female Power Base', in G. Althoff, J. Fried and P.J. Geary (eds.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2008) 310-41.

132 See p. 16 above.

133 For memory politics, see e.g. M. Kohlstruck, 'Erinnerungspolitik: Kollektive Identität, Diskurshegemonie', in B. Schwellig (ed.), *Politikwissenschaft als Kulturwissenschaft. Theorien, Methoden, Problemstellungen* (Wiesbaden, 2004) 173-93, Berek, *Kollektives Gedächtnis*, 150-61 and H. König, 'Das Politische des Gedächtnisses', in Gudehus, Eichenberg and Welzer, *Gedächtnis und Erinnerung*, 115-25.

134 Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, 23-49. See Lifshitz, 'Martyr', 310-41 for the role of women in organizing martyr shrines.

not as punishments of criminals but as victories over the Devil.[135] Focusing on North African Christianity, Robert Markus argues that the members of the now triumphant Church presented themselves as the heirs of the martyrs of the final, 'Great Persecution'.[136] As for Egypt, it has been asserted that the representation of the martyrs changed with the Church's retrospective self-understanding, as it underwent immense changes after the Council of Chalcedon and the Arabic conquest. Diocletian became the prototype of the wicked emperor and the martyrs of the Great Persecution representatives of those who fought against religious enemies or imperial power.[137]

This brings us to the second aspect of the changing cognitive ecology, cognitive artefacts. Only in the fifth century, when the Christian population of Egypt had increased considerably and the Persecution had become a matter of the past, does commemoration seem to have developed into cult. The papyrological record of Oxyrhynchus, as well as of other cities and villages in Late Antique Egypt, reveals a flourishing cult of the martyrs. From the second half of the fourth century onwards, the martyrs were present, through a whole range of means, in the everyday lives of the Oxyrhynchites. These means, or cognitive artefacts, have noteworthy parallels with Graeco-Roman culture. For instance, whereas the Oxyrhynchites used to go to Sarapis with their oracular questions, in Christian times they went to the oracle of the martyr Philoxenus.[138]

David Frankfurter has argued for a 'demographic continuity' of ritual practices from Roman to Late Antique Egypt. He points out that Christian clergy acted as healers and diviners and continued to use traditional Egyptian images, amulets and

135 P. Buc, 'Martyre et ritualité dans l'Antiquité tardive. Horizons de l'écriture médiévale des rituels', *Annales (HSS)* 48 (1997) 63-92.

136 R. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge, 1990) 24, 86-100.

137 Orlandi, 'Cycle', 'Hagiography, Coptic' and 'Letteratura copta' argues that literary developments in hagiography were consequences of the Council of Chalcedon and the Arabic conquest. See also Naguib, 'Martyr and Apostate' and Papaconstantinou, 'Historiography, Hagiography', who posits that the martyrs became prototypes for those who fought with religious enemies. Furthermore, Van der Vliet, 'Bringing Home', 40 observes that under Islamic rule, the protagonists in martyr stories often apostatized, reconverted and subsequently suffered martyrdom. For summaries of these passions see Detoraki, 'Greek *Passions*', 81-4.

138 According to L. Papini, 'Domande oracolari: Elenco delle attestazioni in greco e copto', *APapyrol* 4 (1992) 21-7 at 24-5, the oracle of Philoxenus replaced an earlier oracle of Sarapis. There is, however, a gap of three centuries between the latest 'pagan' and Christian oracle tickets. Moreover, these tickets were used in Pharaonic, Graeco-Roman, Late Antique as well as in medieval times (see D. Valbelle and G. Husson, 'Les questions oraculaires d'Égypte: histoire de la recherche, nouveautés et perspectives', in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors and H. Willems [eds.], *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, 2 vols. [Leuven, 1998] 2.1055-71). Therefore, I would rather agree with Wiśniewski, *Beginnings*, 76, who states that it is not evident that Christian oracles were inspired by 'pagan' examples.

divination techniques.[139] The everyday lives of the Oxyrhynchites hardly changed when they converted to Christianity. They continued to live in the same streets, speak the same language, wear the same clothes and have the same everyday worries as before. Christian clergy, far from having the same beliefs or conceptions as the ritual experts in Pharaonic Egypt, still thought with the same set of cognitive artefacts and therefore rather acted as 'local agents of religious transformation in Late Antique Egypt' when they adapted existing religious practices such as 'magic' to new purposes.[140]

Over the course of the centuries, this religious transformation also led to a shift in the topography of Christian buildings. In Oxyrhynchus, the earliest evidence for church buildings surfaces around the early fourth century, when a North Church Street and a South Church Street are mentioned in a list of streets and buildings.[141] Apparently, at the beginning of the fourth century, these two churches dominated the street view at either side of the city. By the end of the century a Palestinian pilgrim wrote enthusiastically about a thoroughly Christianized city, 'for there was no heretic or pagan inhabitant in the city, all the citizens alike were believers and catechumens'.[142] His travelogue, however, says more about the enthusiasm of the pilgrim than about late fourth-century Oxyrhynchus, for the papyrological record demonstrates that the inhabitants of this city – as the rest of the Roman Empire – did not massively convert to Christianity, but only gradually became Christian in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries. By the sixth century, the Oxyrhynchus papyri walk the reader through a city filled with churches, monasteries and other Christian buildings.

The third aspect of the cognitive ecology, the environment, had now profoundly changed. As the sacred landscape of Late Antique Egypt became filled with churches and monasteries, the martyrs too were visible in the urban and rural environ-

139 D. Frankfurter, 'Ritual Expertise in Roman Egypt and the Problem of the Category "Magician"', in P. Schäfter and H.G. Kippenberg (eds.), *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (Leiden, 1997) 115-35 at 129-30, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton, 1998) 259-61 and *Christianizing Egypt. Syncretism and Local Worlds in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 2018) 15-20.

140 T.S. de Bruyn and J.H.F. Dijkstra, 'Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parchments, Ostraka, and Tablets', *BASP* 28 (2011) 163-216 at 182. For the problematic term 'magic', see, conveniently, J.N. Bremmer, 'Preface: The Materiality of Magic', in D. Boschung and J.N. Bremmer (eds.), *The Materiality of Magic* (Paderborn, 2015) 7-19 at 10-2.

141 *P.Oxy*. I 43 v° i 10: ῥ(ύμῃ) τῇ βορινῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, iii 19: ῥ(ύμῃ) τῇ νοτινῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. The *recto* of this papyrus is dated to 295. In the Oxyrhynchite nome, the earliest datable mention of a church is the confiscation of the property of a church in Chysis (*P.Oxy*. XXXIII 2673), dated 304. For a discussion of this papyrus see Luijendijk, *Greetings*, 191-210.

142 *h. mon.* 41-2: ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἦν οἰκήτωρ αἱρετικὸς οὐδὲ ἐθνικὸς ἐν τῇ πόλεις. ἀλλὰ πάντας ὁμοῦ οἱ πολῖται πιστοὶ καὶ κατηχούμενοι. Translations are mine, unless indicated otherwise.

ments. The papyrological record of Oxyrhynchus reveals some forty churches by the sixth century, of which thirty were dedicated to saints alone.[143] In terms of archaeology, in the 1930s Evaristo Breccia reported about 'the remnants of a large Christian building' with a crypt.[144] More recently, Eva Subías identified two chapels, a monastic site and a fifth- to seventh-century *basilica*, in which the tombstone of a certain Menas, the abbot of a monastery of Saint Cyriacus, is located.[145] At the same time, most temples had lost their once sacred functions and had been reused for new purposes. A Serapeum built in the reign of Philip III Arrhidaeus (323-317 BCE), for instance, functioned as a church in Late Antiquity, probably dedicated to the local saint Philoxenus.[146] Furthermore, the Caesareum had been transformed into a church by at least 406, when a certain Phoibammon paid three golden *solidi* for a pair of double-fleeces on behalf of Peter, its priest.[147]

In this chapter, I will try to capture these three changing aspects of the cognitive ecology and the influence they had on the memories of the Great Persecution for

143 For an overview of the saints venerated in Oxyrhynchus, see Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 286-8. For an overview of Christian institutions attested at Oxyrhynchus see G. Pfeilschifter, 'Oxyrhynchus: Seine Kirchen und Klöster auf Grund der Papyrusfunde', in A.M. Gietl (ed.), *Festgabe, Alois Knöpfler zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres gewidmet von seinen Freunden und Schülern* (Freiburg, 1917) 248-64, G. Modena, 'Il cristianesimo ad Ossirinco secondo i papiri', *BSAA* 9 (1937) 254-69, P. Barison, 'Ricerche sui monasteri dell'Egitto bizantino', *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 29-148 at 75-83, L. Antonini, 'Le chiese cristiane nell'Egitto dal IV al IX secolo', *Aegyptus* 20 (1940) 129-208 at 172-83. More recent lists are found in S. Timm, *Das Christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, 6 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1984-92) 1.287-91, R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London, 2002) 295-6 and Blumell, *Lettered Christians*, 330-6.

144 E. Breccia, *Le Musée Gréco-Romain 1931-1932* (Bergamo, 1932) 36.

145 E. Subías, 'A Byzantine Domain in the Suburbs of Oxyrhynchos', in Buzi, Camplani and Contardi, *Coptic Society* 2, 1381-94. For the Late Antique 'fortress', see also her earlier overview 'La fortaleza bizantina del suburbio noroccidental de Oxirrinco (El-Minia, Egipto)', in L.M. de Araújo and J. Das Candeias Sales (eds.), *Novos trabalhos de Egiptologia ibérica. IV Congreso ibérico de Egiptología*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 2012) 2.1163-78 and for a recent archaeological description of Oxyrhynchus and the surrounding area, 'Oxyrhynchos: Metropolis and Landscape', in E. Subías et al. (eds.), *The Space of the City in Graeco-Roman Egypt: Image and Reality* (Tarragona, 2011) 93-116. For the stela of Menas, see C. Piedrafita, 'El prior Menas i una inscripció amb l'era de Dioclecià a Oxirrinc', in N. Castellano, M. Mascort and C. Piedrafita (eds.), *Ex Aegypto lux et sapientia. Homenatge al professor Josep Padró Parcerisa* (Barcelona, 2015) 455-66 at 455-8 (no. 1), with corrections by A. Delattre, J.H.F. Dijkstra and J. van der Vliet, 'Christian Inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia 7 (2019)', *BASP* 57 (2020) in press (no. 6).

146 J. Padró, J.J. Martínez and C. Piedrafita, 'Historia de un edificio religioso en Oxirrinco, desde el siglo IV a.C. hasta el siglo VII d.C.', in A. Guzmán Almagro and J. Velaza (eds.), *Miscellanea Philologica et Epigraphica Marco Mayer Oblata* (Barcelona, 2018) 702-718. For images of the graffiti referring to Saint Philoxenus, see pp. 710-1 (Figs. 7, 9). For an edition of the graffiti based on these photos, see Delattre, Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, 'Christian Inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia 7', in press (nos. 8, 10).

147 *P.Mert*. I 41.

Egypt as a whole and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus in particular. The City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish, where Bernard Pyne Grenfell (1869-1926) and Arthur Surridge Hunt (1871-1934) excavated thousands of papyrus fragments, provides a treasure trove of information concerning the roles that the martyrs fulfilled in the everyday lives of the Oxyrhynchites. Both literary and documentary papyri and later hagiographical literature allow us to see the martyrs in different contexts and situations.

First, I will discuss the literary evidence to show how later generations of Christians remembered the Persecution. The focus will be on stories about martyrs found among the literary papyri from Oxyrhynchus and on martyrs from Oxyrhynchus figuring in later hagiographies. The hagiographical works contain, in addition to a wealth of information about which martyrs were remembered, invented traditions of how Christian Oxyrhynchites had reacted in the face of persecution. In other words, although the representation of the martyrs in Late Antique Egypt was far removed from historical reality, the Great Persecution was considered an important moment in the history of Late Antique Oxyrhynchus.

The martyrs, however, were not only figures from a persecution of the distant past: the past had become a living reality. The second part of the chapter, then, addresses the different roles of the martyrs in the daily lives of the Oxyrhynchites. The papyrological record reveals how the martyrs, visible in the urban landscape, shaped the collective memory of the Christian community. It shows, furthermore, how martyrs acted as patrons of the poor and how the power of the saints was used in everyday life. Far from being figures known from a long past persecution, the martyrs were still highly relevant in the contemporary world.

2.2 The Earliest Martyrdom Account

Before we start looking in more detail at the hagiographical fragments found in Oxyrhynchus, it is necessary to make a few introductory remarks about the *Acta martyrum*. In response to common misconceptions, Jan Bremmer has recently reminded us that 'the term "martyr acts" is a modern construct that imposes a unity on what is, at least initially, an essentially heterogeneous corpus of texts and certainly not a genre'.[148] Its origins are traditionally seen to lie in the reports of court

148 J.N. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 349-86 at 350 ('Perpetua and Her Diary: Authenticity, Family and Visions', 2002[1]). On the development of hagiography as a genre see also S. Efthymiadis, 'Introduction', in Efthymiadis, *Ashgate Research Companion* 2, 1-21. On defining 'hagiography' as a genre, see the articles by M. Van Uytfanghe, 'L'hagiographie: un "genre" chrétien ou antique tardif?', *AB* 111 (1993) 135-88 and 'L'origine et les ingrédients du discours hagiographique', *SEJG* 50 (2011) 35-77 in which he proposes to use the term 'hagiographical discourse' instead of characterizing hagiography as a genre. In a similar way, C. Rapp, '"For Next to God, You Are My Salvation": Reflections on the Rise of the Holy Man in Late

cases, letters from one congregation to another or even, in the case of Perpetua, a combination of a diary kept in prison while awaiting her trial, a report of a dream and editorial comments.[149]

The earliest martyrdom account found in Oxyrhynchus belongs to the group of martyr stories that is regarded as accounts of the trials of Christians based on, and with little to no alteration of, the official court record. The editor notes that the handwriting of this papyrus is similar to fragments dated to the first century CE, but points out that the content requires a date after 307. He reports, however, that Theodore Skeat (1907-2003) compared the palaeography with a more similar fourth-century papyrus written in a formulized documentary style and therefore assigned the account to the fourth century: the handwriting indeed indicates a date perhaps not long after the Great Persecution.[150] Apparently, the papyrus fragment was part of a book-roll (the back is blank) and it contains the beginning of the martyr story of Dioscorus, a city councillor from Oxyrhynchus' neighbouring city of Kynopolis:[151]

> [...of Dio]cletian.... [Diosco]rus, [a city councillor] from [Upper Kynopolis, was arrested and brought before the prefect Culc]ianus. [Culcianus said:] 'Dioscorus, we have heard [that you are quite wise because of your pai]deia. Sacrifice and sub[mit to the commands of the lords emperors.] Dioscorus said: ['I am not sacrificing to gods like these nor do I submit except] to God alone... ...?... ...in heart... [Culcianu]s asked him: ['Are you a lector?' Dioscorus said: 'I am not, but my fath]er was a lec[tor'.][152]

The story begins in protocol style, with the date, the name, the occupation and the place of residence of the accused. Then the prefect orders Dioscorus to sacrifice, which the city councillor refuses, and an interrogation begins. The different worldviews of Culcianus and Dioscorus, or, in a broader sense, the Roman stand-

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Antiquity', in Howard-Johnston and Hayward, *Cult of Saints*, 63-81 argues that 'hagiography' says more about the subject of a text than about its literary representation.

149 Reports of court cases also inspired the martyr stories of Alexandrian martyrs who died defending the rights of Greeks before the Roman emperors, see H.A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* (Oxford, 1954). See also Van Minnen, 'Saving History?', 68, who reminds us that texts were reused in different contexts and Coptic hagiography was influenced by different literary genres and local traditions.

150 I would like to thank Guglielmo Cavallo for clearly describing the palaeography of the scribe of *P.Oxy*. L 3529.

151 It is tempting, but cannot be proven, that the Dioscorus of this papyrus fragment is the same Dioscorus as the one mentioned in the Coptic Church calendar (ed. W.E. Crum, 'Fragments of a Church Calendar', *ZNW* 37 [1938] 23-32 at 26, l. 36: ⲁⲡⲁ ⲇⲓⲟⲥⲕⲟⲣⲟⲥ) that will be discussed below.

152 *P.Oxy*. L 3529: [Διο]κλητιανοῦ[... συλληφθεὶς Διόσκο]ρος ἀπὸ τ[ῆς Ἄνω Κυνοπολιτῶν βουλευτὴς εἰσήχθη πρὸς Κουλκ]ιανὸν ἡγεμ[όνα. Κουλκιανὸς εἶπεν·] Διόσκορε, ἠκούσα[μεν ὅτι λίαν συνετὸς γέγονας τῇ παι]δ(ε)ίᾳ. θῦσον καὶ ὑπά[κουσον τοῖς προστάγμασι τῶν κυρίων σεβαστῶ]ν. Διόσκορος εἶ[πεν· θεοῖς τοιούτοις οὐ θύω οὐδὲ ὑπακούω εἰ μὴ μό]νον τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ [...]νω ὃς οὐκ ἐκ' φα[ίνεται ...]τῃ καρδίᾳ.[... Κουλκιανὸ]ς αὐτῷ εἶπ[εν· ἀναγνώστης εἶ; Διόσκορος εἶπεν· οὔκ, ἀλλ' ὁ πατ]ήρ μου ἀναγ[νώστης ἦν].

ards versus the Christian mentality, are immediately obvious. In the mind of Culcianus, it was inconceivable that a well-educated person could fail to observe the Roman rituals. For Dioscorus, however, sacrificing to the gods meant forsaking his Christian faith. The words of the martyr during his trial, which were recorded in the court proceedings, would later inspire, astonish and, if necessary, strengthen the congregation in their own suffering.[153]

The dry sands of Egypt have preserved numerous copies of court proceedings, taken from official records.[154] It follows that these official documents were publicly accessible and that Christians must have been able to make copies of, for instance, the trial of Dioscorus from Kynopolis. In fact, bishop Dionysius of Alexandria (190-265) quoted the transcript of his own trial during the persecution of Valerian in a letter to his congregation in which he gave his own, personal impression of the hearing.[155] Moreover, it seems that from an early date onwards Christians started collecting the *Acta martyrum* and used them during the liturgy.[156] At the end of the

153 According to S.R. Huebner, 'Soter, Sotas, and Dioscorus before the Governor: The First Authentic Court Record of a Roman Trial of Christians?', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 12 (2019) 2-24, *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 287 may constitute the first verbatim copy of a trial of Christians. However, this fragmentary second- or third-century papyrus of unknown provenance does not provide conclusive evidence to connect the recorded trial with the persecutions or the mentioned names with two known Christians. For stenographers writing court proceedings see W. Ameling, 'Zwei epigrafische Bemerkungen zum *Martyrium Pionii*', *ZPE* 198 (2016) 68-74 at 68-71. For martyr stories as entertainment, Zandee, 'Patroon der martyria', 1-28, who compares the reading of the adventures of the martyr by ancient audiences with the reading of a detective novel today. Grig, *Making Martyrs*, 34-53, esp. pp. 42-3 argues that the tortures in martyr stories were presented as Christian alternatives to Roman spectacles in the arena, which Church fathers considered inappropriate entertainment.

154 For a discussion of the copying of court proceedings see Van Minnen, 'Saving History?', 60-3. On the form and development of court protocols see R.A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri* (Brussels, 1966) and, more recently, various articles by R. Haensch: 'Das Statthalterarchiv', *ZRG* 100 (1992) 209-317, 'Typisch römisch? Die Gerichtsprotokolle der in Aegyptus und den übrigen östlichen Provinzen tätigen Vertreter Roms. Das Zeugnis von Papyri und Inschriften', in H. Börm et al. (eds.), *Monumentum et instrumentum inscriptum* (Stuttgart, 2008) 117-25 and 'Die Protokolle der Statthaltergerichte der spätantiken Provinzen Ägyptens', in R. Haensch (ed.), *Recht haben und Recht bekommen im Imperium Romanum. Das Gerichtswesen der römischen Kaiserzeit und seine dokumentarische Evidenz* (Warsaw, 2016) 299-324. For a comparison of martyr acts with court proceedings preserved on papyrus see G. Lanata, *Gli atti dei martiri come documenti processuali* (Milan, 1973).

155 The letter of Dionysius of Alexandria is quoted by Eusebius (*h.e.* 7.11.3-11). Additionally, fellow bishops wrote to Cyprian that they had read his court proceedings and taken the answers which Cyprian gave during his trial as an example of how to act in court (Cypr. *Ep.* 77.2.1). The court records of Cyprian are also mentioned in *V. Cypr.* 11.1.

156 Eusebius was the first to speak of his 'collection of the martyrdoms of the ancients' (*h.e.* 4.15.47 and 5: τοῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων συναχθείσιν ἡμῖν μαρτυρίοις and τῇ τῶν μαρτύρων ἡμῖν (..) συναγωγῇ). See also V. Saxer, 'Les actes des martyrs chez Eusèbe de Césarée et dans les martyrologues syriaque et hiéronymien', *AB* 102 (1984) 85-95. According to G. Lazzati, *Gli sviluppi della letteratura sui martiri nei primi quattro secoli. Con appendice di testi* (Turin, 1956) 13-62 and B. de Gaiffier, 'La lecture des

fourth century, this practise seems to have become official, when the Council of Hippo in 393, reiterated at Carthage in 397, declares: 'It is also permitted to read the passions of the martyrs, when their anniversaries are celebrated'.[157] In the fifth century, Shenoute of Artripe even writes that a true martyr should have a martyr act (ⲛ̄ⲥⲩⲡⲟⲙⲛⲏⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ 'the public records/acts of the martyrs') in which his martyrdom is described. According to Shenoute, false martyrs did not possess such documents.[158]

In Late Antiquity, when the persecutions belonged to the past and Christianity gradually integrated into society, stories like the one of Dioscorus were retold by later generations.[159] Moreover, new stories were created as the martyr cult grew and developed. Concerning Egypt, 'epic' passions were created, characterized through long discussions between judge and martyr, detailed descriptions of gruesome tortures, comforting visions of Christ and the archangels, and fantastic miracle stories. For many, the 'epicness' of Coptic martyr stories has become the defining feature of Coptic hagiography. In recent years, however, scholars have acknowledged that 'this image is found only in a specific group of rather late martyr stories, which can by no means stand as representative of all hagiography in Coptic'.[160] Zooming in on the hagiographical literature found in Oxyrhynchus, we indeed find a wide variety of literary styles.

2.3 Other Hagiographical Literature from Oxyrhynchus

Concerning the few hagiographical fragments that have been found at Oxyrhynchus, it might not be unimportant to note that they have been rediscovered at the

actes des martyrs dans la prière liturgique en Occident', *AB* 72 (1954) 134-66 at 165-6, the liturgy played a key role in the formation and redaction of the martyr texts.

157 *Concilium Hipponense* (*CCSL* 149, p. 21), also *Reg. eccl. Carth. exc.* 46 (*CCSL* 149, p. 186): *Liceat etiam legi passiones martyrum cum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur*. For the reading of the martyr story at the anniversary of the martyr, see also L.E. De Lacy O'Leary, *The Saints of Egypt* (London, 1937) 32, Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 172-3 and Horn, *Untersuchungen*, lviii-lix.

158 Shenoute, *Since It Behooves Christians* (ed. Amélineau, *Oeuvres de Schenoudi* 2, 208). For this sermon see Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus* 2, 668-9, 858.

159 See the four parallel texts: the fifth-or sixth-century Syriac *Passion of Dioscorus* (ed. E. Tisserant and H. Quentin, 'Une version syriaque de la Passion de S. Dioscore', *AB* 39 [1921] 333-44), a twelfth-century Latin *Passion of Dioscorus* (ed. H. Quentin, 'Passio S. Dioscori', *AB* 24 [1905] 321-42), another twelfth-century Latin *Passion of Dioscorus* (ed. H. Delehaye, 'La Passion de S. Dioscore', *AB* 40 [1922] 352-4) and a thirteenth-century Latin *Passion of Dioscorus* (ed. Quentin, 'Passio S. Dioscori,' 321-42). The fifth- or sixth-century Greek parchment leaf P.Mich. inv. 33 (P.J. Sijpesteijn, 'P.Mich. inv. 33: A Fragment of a Martyrology?', *BASP* 31 [1994] 121-4) contains a dating formula parallel to those in the literary texts and may be the end of a parchment codex which once included the *Passion of Dioscorus*.

160 Papaconstantinou, 'Hagiography in Coptic', 323.

ancient rubbish dumps.[161] What does the fact that these texts were discarded as garbage say about their readership? And which martyrs were mentioned in the manuscripts that were not thrown away? As we will see below, the Oxyrhynchites venerated various martyrs. There must have existed at least a minimal narrative about their martyrdoms. Nevertheless, the papyrological record of Oxyrhynchus has not preserved these accounts. Even the names of the local martyrs Philoxenus, Serenus and Justus, which we will later in this chapter encounter in a liturgical calendar, letters about feasts and charity, amulets and oracular tickets, do not occur among the hagiographical fragments in Oxyrhynchus.[162] Moreover, the stories about their lives and deaths have not been found in the documentary papyri and do not occur in sources outside the city either.[163]

The absence of these martyr stories in Oxyrhynchus seems to confirm a hypothesis posited by Willy Clarysse, who suggests that whereas martyr stories had been used in local cults for centuries, perhaps transmitted orally, they were only copied and gathered on a large scale after the Arab conquest, at the same time as the dating according to the 'Era of the Martyrs' became common.[164] When comparing hagiographical works with other Greek and Coptic Christian literature dated up to the Arab conquest, Clarysse points out that martyr legends do not seem to have been a popular genre. Of the *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, complemented with the Christian papyri collected by Kurt Treu, only 0,6% of the total are martyr stories.[165] Additionally, Clarysse could find only a few examples of martyr stories in catalogues of monastic libraries before the seventh century.

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161 A. Luijendijk, 'Sacred Scriptures as Trash: Biblical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus', *VChr* 64 (2010) 217-54.

162 See below, pp. 52-64.

163 The first editors of *P.Oxy*. XI 1357 identify Philoxenus with the bishop of Hierapolis, who died in 523. A. Papaconstantinou, 'La liturgie stationale à Oxyrhynchos dans la première moitié du 6^{e} siècle. Réédition et commentaire du *P.Oxy*. XI 1357', *RÉG* 54 (1996) 135-59 at 145 and *Culte des saints*, 204 shows that this is impossible, since a church of Philoxenus already existed in 487. A monastery of Serenus is mentioned in a papyrus fragment from the Memphite nome (*CPR* XIV 52 C 31) and in a litany from Saqqara (H. Thompson, 'The Coptic Inscriptions', in J.E. Quibell [ed.], *The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* [Cairo, 1912] 47-125 at 67), although Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 187-8 points out that these are not necessarily the same persons. At p. 109 of the same monograph, she notes that a Justus who died on the same date as the Justus in the Greek liturgical calendar from Oxyrhynchus is mentioned in an unedited text from the Vatican.

164 Clarysse, 'Coptic Martyr Cult', 392-5. See Van Minnen, 'Saving History?', 63-4, who also concludes that hagiographical literature was relatively unimportant before the eighth century. For the Era of the Martyrs, see above, p. 17 (n. 71).

165 J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris, 1976) and K. Treu, 'Christliche Papyri', *APF* 19 (1969) 169-206; 20 (1970) 145-52; 21 (1971) 207-14; 22 (1973) 367-95; 24/25 (1976) 253-61; 26 (1978) 149-59; 27 (1980) 251-8; 28 (1982) 91-8; 29 (1983) 107-10; 30 (1984) 121-8; 31 (1985) 59-71; 32 (1986) 87-95; 34 (1988) 69-78; 35 (1989) 107-16; 36 (1990) 95-8; 37 (1991) 93-8.

When we take the hagiographical fragments that have been unearthed from Oxyrhynchus' rubbish dumps and place these stories next to other Christian literature found in the city, the results confirm Clarysse's hypothesis that hagiographical literature was clearly less popular than for instance the *apocrypha*.[166] About half of the Christian literary papyri are fragments from the New Testament and 19% are apocryphal texts, which leaves us with fifty texts of a Christian character outside the Bible. Among these are works of well-known Church fathers (11%), anonymous Christian hymns and homilies (7%) and hagiographical literature (4%). If we take only the Late Antique papyri (dated from the fourth century onwards) into account, the percentages do not change much. Again, approximately half of the papyri are texts from the New Testament and 17% are apocryphal texts. Among the remaining 35 texts are writings of Church fathers (9%) and hymns and homilies (10%). The hagiographies, which are all dated to the fourth century or later, now account for 7%: a considerably higher percentage than the 0,6% found by Clarysse. Additionally, a parchment containing the name 'Apa Victor' in uncials and within an ornamental border may have served as a cover or title for a work dedicated to this saint.[167] Furthermore, the Oxyrhynchite monk Theon opens two letters with a quotation in Latin from the martyr story of Apollonius: not only was Theon apparently acquainted with this well-known passion, but he also actively used it in his letters.[168]

The majority of these 7% of hagiographical texts that have been unearthed from Oxyrhynchus' rubbish dumps were not necessarily connected with a martyr cult, for the names of these martyrs only occur in literary papyri. They do, however, provide us with information as to which martyrs were known and how their stories were presented. From papyri containing the *acta* of biblical saints to fragments of martyr stories staged during the reigns of Commodus, Septimius Severus and Diocletian, the Oxyrhynchites could choose from a wide variety of texts about persecution and martyrdom.[169]

Instead of starting with a narrative concerning the Great Persecution, we will first look at a text written approximately during that time: a fourth-century Coptic papyrus containing the beginning of the story of a certain priest John, who died

166 These percentages are taken from the lists of Christian literary papyri – excluding 'magical' papyri – from Oxyrhynchus dating from the second to the eighth centuries, as collected by Blumell, *Lettered Christians*, 318-25.

167 *P.Oxy*. VI 987. The martyr Victor was known in Oxyrhynchus. Since Victor is a common name, however, it must remain a hypothesis that this parchment may have been one of the few written narratives about the martyrs venerated in Oxyrhynchus.

168 L.H. Blumell, 'A Potential Source for the Latin Preface in *P.Oxy*. XVIII 2194', *ZPE* 183 (2012) 72-4 and L.H. Blumell and T.A. Wayment, *Christian Oxyrhynchus: Texts, Documents, and Sources* (Waco TX, 2015) 590.

169 The Acts of the Apostles are written in a different tradition than the martyr stories and are therefore not further discussed here.

during the persecution of Septimius Severus.[170] Alcock suggests that the scribe never finished writing the story: the *verso* of the papyrus is left half empty. Reymond and Barns, however, do not consider the piece incomplete; they assume that the scribe simply wrote all that he knew about the early history of priest John. Content-wise, the scribe indeed seems to have combined two stories about priest John. For our purposes, John's story is particularly interesting as it contains a fascinating description of how Christians reacted in the face of persecution:

> He [=Severus] raised a persecution against the Christians. Among those who believed in Christ, many were afraid and sacrificed to the idols, but others withdrew from the city, because they were unable to tolerate the polluted worship which they saw. For altars were set down in the square (while it was said): 'The one who wishes to receive something from the emperor, he will go first and sacrifice, and a reward will be put aside for him'. There was a great persecution in the land of Egypt. The emperor had the Christians killed and temples of the so-called gods were built. But some of the Christians withdrew from the city.[171]

When remembering the persecutions, most hagiographical works remain silent about the uncomfortable phenomena they wished either to forget or to remember only in certain, specific contexts. Interestingly, however, the narrative about priest John does mention the other, uncomfortable side of the story: not all Christians had stuck to their faith. The aftermath of the persecutions forced Christians to deal with those who had given in to the pressure to sacrifice to the gods. Others, however, had

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170 *P.Oxy*. IV 1B 74/K (a). A translation of this text appears in Reymond and Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 16. The latter author was preparing an edition of this text, but never published it. An edition and commentary are now available in A. Alcock, 'Persecution under Septimius Severus', *Enchoria* 11 (1982) 1-5 and for a revision see H.-M. Schenke, 'Bemerkungen zum P. Hamb. Bil. 1 und zum altfayumischen Dialekt der koptischen Sprache', in G. Schenke Robinson, G. Schenke and U-K. Plisch (eds.), *Der Same Seths. Hans-Martin Schenkes Kleine Schriften zu Gnosis, Koptologie und Neuen Testament* (Leiden, 2012) 744-71 at 763-5 ('Bemerkungen zum P. Hamb. Bil. 1 und zum altfayumischen Dialekt der koptischen Sprache', 1991[1]). Concerning the date, both palaeography and orthography indicate that the story was written in the early fourth century, around the time of the Persecution. The scribe wrote in what Reymond and Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 16 recognized as an unfamiliar Middle Egyptian dialect, 'abominably spelt' and in 'a coarse semi-literate hand'. However, Schenke, 'Bemerkungen', 763, 766 speaks about an 'etwas wilde, und doch kontrolliert wirkende Orthographie', which has many similarities to an early Faiyumic dialect he encountered in an early fourth-century papyrus codex. According to him, this dialect represents a direct connection of Middle Egyptian to Faiyumic and thus reveals a bilingual Christian community.

171 *P.Oxy*. IV 1B 74/K (a) (ed. Schenke, 'Bemerkungen', 764 r°, II. 6-23): ⲁϥⲧⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱⲣⲙⲟⲥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϫⲣⲛⲥ· ⲟⲩⲁⲙ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲡⲉϫⲣⲥ· ϩⲁϩ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲉⲣϩⲁⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁⲍⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ· ϩⲉⲛⲕⲁⲟⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓ ⲡⲡⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲙⲡⲟⲩⲛⲉⲱϭⲉⲛϭⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲁ ⲡⲱⲉⲙⲱⲉ ⲉⲧϫⲉϭⲙ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲁϥ· ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ϩⲉⲛⲱⲏⲟⲩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲁⲩⲕⲏ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲁⲓ ⲧⲁⲅⲟⲣⲁ· ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲛⲉⲉⲣϩⲛⲉϥ ⲉϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲉⲣⲁ ⲱⲁϥⲱⲉ ⲛⲉϥ ⲛⲱⲁⲣⲡ ⲛϥⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁⲍⲉ ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲱ ⲛⲉϥ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲟ†ⲱⲛⲓⲟⲛ· ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲁϭ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲣⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥⲱⲁⲛ ϩⲛ ⲧⲉϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲛⲕϩⲙⲉ· ⲛⲉϫⲣⲛⲥ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲣⲁ ϩⲟⲧⲃ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲣⲡⲏⲓⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲥⲉⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛ† ⲛⲁⲩⲕⲟⲧ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ· ϩⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉϫⲣⲛⲥ ⲁⲩⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲩ ⲡⲡⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ. Tr. based on Schenke, 'Bemerkungen', 764.

fled to escape persecution, which the author of this text seems to consider acceptable. His main character owned an estate located two miles outside Alexandria, and some Christians withdrew to this place.

The narrative about priest John provides an unexpected glimpse into the way in which a writer from Late Antique Oxyrhynchus represented the early history of the Christians in Egypt. At the same time, it shows how he presented his readers with a Christian role-model in the figure of priest John. But who were these readers? Alcock suggests that the sentence '[John,] of whom we have already spoken to you' indicates that this text was to be read out aloud, as indeed most of these stories were, eventually, meant to be.[172] Reymond and Barns propose that although the story of priest John begins at Alexandria, it may have ended with his martyrdom in Oxyrhynchus. In addition, Blumell has suggested that this John might be identified with the '*martyrium* of Saint John' mentioned in a sixth-century list of churches and in an order for a supply of wine.[173] Nonetheless, it is needless to say that John is a common name and such connections must remain unproven.

The names of the martyrs in the Oxyrhynchite papyri are not always easy to identify. In the late fourth or early fifth century, for instance, a Christian hymn on the martyrs was written on the back of an *epikrisis* return.[174] Unfortunately, the papyrus is damaged – half to two-thirds is missing – but the words and half-sentences give an impression of the form that the remembrance of martyrs in Oxyrhynchus could take. The hymn begins by invoking the martyrs as heroes of the Church, tells about their victory over evil and their reward of eternal life and ends by stressing the importance of this for the Christian community. The author, at least, seems to refer to the martyrs and to address a Christian audience at the same time. Martyrs and the members of the Christian community shared a past – 'Moses (...) leader of our ancestors' – and are today's 'righteous offspring of the Church'.[175] Normally, hymns conclude by invoking the martyrs and the last line indeed contains names. The editor, however, could not identify these names with any well-known martyrs and they do not occur among the martyrs featuring in the documentary papyri of Oxyrhynchus. She suggests that they were local martyrs whose commemoration never developed into a cult, or citizens being praised in the way martyrs usually were.[176]

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172 *P.Oxy*. IV 1B 74/K (a) (ed. Schenke, 'Bemerkungen', 764 v°, II. 9-10): ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲉⲣⲱⲉⲣⲡ ⲛⲭⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲧⲉⲛ.

173 *P.Oxy*. LXVII 4619 and 4622. See Blumell, *Lettered Christians*, 252.

174 P.Yale inv. 1360v° (ed. S.A. Stephens, 'A Eulogy for Christian Martyrs?', *BASP* 22 [1985] 333-48). P.Yale inv. 1360v° (ed. S.A. Stephens, 'A Eulogy for Christian Martyrs?', *BASP* 22 [1985] 333-48). On the nature of this text, see also Á.T. Mihálykó, *The Christian Liturgical Papyri: An Introduction* (Tübingen, 2019) 37. For the *epikrisis* return, P.Yale inv. 1360, see S.A. Stephens, 'An Epicrisis Return and Other Documentary Fragments from the Yale Collection', *ZPE* 96 (1993) 221-6.

175 P.Yale inv. 1360r° (ed. Stephens, 'Eulogy', 338): μοισεὶας (...) ἄρχων τῶν προγόνη̣ (...) δ[ι]καί̣ων σ̣υ̣στοιχίας ἐκλησείας ἔγγο̣νο̣ι.

176 Stephens, 'Eulogy', 335-6.

Whereas the story of priest John was written on a single piece of papyrus and the hymn on the martyrs appeared on the back of another document, other stories were written in luxury codices or included in collections of hagiographies. A fifth-century papyrus that belonged to a *volumen* of 'Hagiographica', for instance, preserves a scene from the martyrdom of the anchorite Paphnutius of Dendara: the story, as we will see in more detail in chapter three, reads like a combination of a monk's *vita* and a martyr's passion.[177] On the *verso* of this papyrus, part of the martyr story of Christine of Tyre was recorded.[178] Furthermore, some elegantly written sixth- or seventh-century pieces of papyrus, together forming almost a complete leaf of a luxury papyrus codex, preserve part of the hearing of a certain Pamoun by a governor who may be identified with Sossianus Hierocles.[179] His story does not have the simplicity of a court record, although Pamoun's speeches are not extremely elaborate either.

All in all, the papyri containing the martyrdom accounts of Dioscorus and Pamoun, the collection of 'hagiographica' including scenes from the passions of Paphnutius of Dendara and Christine of Tyre, the Christian hymn on the martyrs and the Coptic martyrdom of priest John give an impression of a wide variety of literary styles throughout the centuries. Furthermore, the hagiographical papyri show that there was more literature circulating about martyrs in Oxyrhynchus than estimated by previous research. Nevertheless, the martyrs mentioned in these literary papyri are hard to identify with martyrs in the documentary record. In the next section, we will see that that the martyrs known from the papyri are different from martyrs mentioned in later literature as well.

2.4 The *Synaxarium*

It seems that later generations of Christians, who in manuscripts often mentioned Oxyrhynchus as the hometown of martyrs or as the city where Christians received martyrdom, thought that the Persecution had impacted the city greatly. This is apparent from the story of the seventeen martyrs of Oxyrhynchus in the *Acta sanctorum*, as we have seen in the introduction, but also from the seventh-century *Passion*

177 *PSI* I 26. A Paphnutius is also mentioned in the Coptic Church calendar (ed. Crum, 'Fragments', 25: [ⲡⲁ]ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) that will be discussed below, pp. 54-5. Paphnutius, however, was a common name and could refer to several persons.

178 *PSI* I 27.

179 *P.Oxy*. LXX 4759. Pamoun was a common name in Late Antique Egypt and Chapa, the editor of these fragments, lists several saints with this name mentioned in passions. None of these saints, however, can be directly linked to the martyr in the Oxyrhynchus fragments. For a short discussion on Pamoun's identity see also G. Schenke in the Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity database (available online at http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk), no. E012665.

of Apater and Irai.[180] This passion tells us about the children of Diocletian's general Basilides, Apater and Irai, who wish to receive martyrdom and travel to Egypt for this purpose. They end up in a prison at Oxyrhynchus, where they meet priests from various Egyptian cities, among them the otherwise unknown Philotheus of Oxyrhynchus and characters that we will meet in chapter two and three: the physician saint of Antinoopolis, Colluthus, and the anchorite Paphnutius of Dendara.

The story of Apater and Irai as well as those of a considerable number of Oxyrhynchite martyrs have been preserved in the *Synaxarium*: a list of saints, with for each entry an abbreviated story about the saint connected to his or her feast day.[181] The stories recorded are often quotes from their known or unknown passions or *vitae*. Unfortunately, a good edition of the *Synaxarium* is lacking and questions as to who first compiled the *Synaxarium*, who made the final revision and where and when composition took place still remain uncertain.[182]

The *Synaxarium* includes the stories of the monk Dermatheus, Elias the eunuch, Epima from Pankoleus, the monk Harmina, Apa Absada, Isaac of Tiphre, James the Severed, Apa Kaou of the Faiyum, Apa Latsun and the martyr Shenoute of Oxyrhynchus.[183] Interestingly, these are all monks and martyrs who do not occur in the papy-

180 See above, pp. 33-4. The *Passion of Apater and Irai* has been preserved in Sahidic (ed. T. Orlandi, *Papyri copti di contenuto teologico* [Vienna, 1974] 149-54) and Bohairic (ed. H. Hyvernat, *Les actes des martyrs de l'Égypte tirés des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque Vaticane et du Musée Borgia* [Paris, 1886-1887] 78-113). About the names Apater and Irai see Horn, *Studien zu den Märtyrern*, 2.87-94.

181 *PO* 1, pp. 303-5 (28 Thoth = 25 September).

182 O.H.E. Burmeister, 'On the Date and Authorship of the Arabic Synaxarium of the Coptic Church', *JThS* 39 (1938) 249-53; R.-G. Coquin, 'Le synaxaire des coptes. Un nouveau témoin de la recension de Haute Égypte', *AB* 96 (1978) 351-65, 'Synaxarion, Copto-Arabic', in *Copt.Enc*. VII (1991) 2172-3 and 'Quelle est la date possible de la recension de Basse Égypte du Synaxaire des coptes?', in J.-M. Rosenstiehl (ed.), *Études coptes IV* (Leuven, 1995) 75-84 ; M.N. Swanson, 'The Copto-Arabic Synaxarion', in D. Thomas and A. Mallett (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, 4 vols. (Leiden, 2012) 4.937-45.

183 Dermatheus: *PO* 3, pp. 396-402 (7 Choiak = 3 December). Elias: *PO* 11, pp. 726-32 (28 Tybi = 23 January); the beginning of a story about a certain Elias, a rich citizen of Oxyrhynchus, found on a ninth- or tenth-century Coptic manuscript definitely refers to a different Elias, see W.E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library* (Manchester, 1909) 218-9 (no. 439). Epima: *PO* 17, pp. 637-9 (8 Epeiph = 2 July); additionally, two versions of the martyrdom of Epima survive: a Bohairic and a more extensive Sahidic version. For the Sahidic version, see T. Mina, *Le martyre d'Apa Epima* (Cairo, 1937) 1-38 (text) 39-85 (tr.), for the Bohairic version G. Balestri and H. Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 1960-1961^2) 1.78-98 (tr.), 2.120-56 (text). Harmina: *PO* 3, pp. 371-4 (2 Choiak = 28 November). Absada: *PO* 11, pp. 689-94 (24 Tybi = 19 January). Isaac of Tiphre: *PO* 16, pp. 356-8 (6 Pachon = 1 May). James the Severed: *PO* 3, pp. 342-4 (28 Hathyr = 23 November). The martyr story of James has been preserved various languages. For the three Greek martyrdoms, see P. Devos, 'Le dossier hagiographique de S. Jacques l'Intercis', *AB* 71 (1953) 157-210 and 72 (1954) 213-56. For the Bohairic text, see Balestri and Hyvernat, *Act martyrum I* 2, 24-61 and its English translation A. Alcock, 'James the Persian', published online at

rological record of Oxyrhynchus. Moreover, these characters are absent from papyri and inscriptions. A similar problem occurs in the Islamic period, when Coptic and Arabic references to a church of the Holy Family also cannot be confirmed by the occurrence of this church in the papyri.[184] Similar too, is the absence of monks of the Pachomian, Shenoutean, Antonian and Lower Egyptian monastic traditions on genealogical inscriptions found in monasteries, which list the names of other monks.[185] Although the *Synaxarium* seems to represent a tradition different from traditions existing within the city of Oxyrhynchus, it nevertheless gives some interesting insights in stories circulating about the martyrs of Oxyrhynchus.

In the *Synaxarium*, a shared memory of a Christian history was stored quite literally in the form of summaries of monks' *vitae* and martyrs' passions. Reading the entries about the Oxyrhynchite martyrs, three functions of martyr stories can be observed. A first function was not so much remembering the past, but connecting the community with the persecuted Church. It has been argued that in the seventh century, when Christians found themselves under Arab rule, they felt a need to identify themselves as the heirs of the martyrs of the Great Persecution: just as the martyrs would rather die than apostatize, the present generation would not convert to Islam.[186] It may not be surprising that the *Passion of Apater and Irai* describes Oxyrhynchus, the city referred to as the Christ-Loving City, as a city where the prison had once been filled with future martyrs.[187]

Secondly, martyr stories were meant to instruct and exhort.[188] For instance, listening to the martyrdom of Epima, the audience was told how communities had

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https://suciualin.files.wordpress.com/2015/12/james-the-persian.pdf. Kaou of the Faiyum: *PO* 11, pp. 736-752 (28 Tybi = 23 January). Latsun: *PO* 17, pp. 570-5 (16/17 Payni = 10 June). Shenoute of Oxyrhynchus: *PO* 16, pp. 228-9 (14 Phamenoth = 10 March).

184 D.W. Rathbone, 'Preface,' in E.R. O'Connell (ed.), *Egypt in the First Millennium AD: Perspectives from New Fieldwork* (London, 2014) xi-xiv at xiii. The church of the Holy Family is said to have been converted into a mosque in 934, as confirmed by an inscription found at a mosque in Oxyrhynchus. For the excavation report see G. Fehérvári, 'The Kuwaiti Excavations, 1985-87', in A.K. Bowman (ed.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (London, 2007) 109-28 at 112-4, who concludes that the sanctuary was not originally built as a mosque, but is not able to confirm that the building is located on the foundations of an earlier church.

185 Choat, 'Narratives', 419 concludes that 'these inscriptions are thus the best witnesses to an entire monastic tradition which has been marginalized within the grand narrative of Egyptian monasticism in favour of more enduring traditions, just as Shenoute – one of the most famous monks within Egypt in the late fourth and early fifth century – finds no place in any Greek or Latin text'.

186 Papaconstantinou, 'Historiography, Hagiography', 65-86.

187 *SB* VI 8987 (644/45). According to N. Gonis, 'Oxyrhynchus, the Christ-Loving City?', *ZPE* 129 (2000) 182, the use of the epithet for cities other than Alexandria appears to be rare.

188 P. Brown, 'The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity', *Representations* 2 (1983) 1-25. For examples from Aserius and John Chrysostom, see J. Leemans, 'Flexible Heiligkeit. Der Beitrag der Märtyrer zur Identitätskonstitution christlicher Gemeinden im griechischen Osten im 4. Jahrhundert', in P. Ge-

stood up for a beloved citizen. The *Synaxarium* tells us that Epima was a pious Christian from Pankoleus near Oxyrhynchus, who received a vision from Jesus and subsequently went to Culcianus in Oxyrhynchus to confess his Christian beliefs. Interestingly, the inhabitants of Pankoleus would not let Culcianus harm their beloved fellow-citizen: 'Great is the Lord, who gives power to his servants in glory. We will not allow you to execute this man in this city'.[189] Culcianus was therefore forced to send Epima to Alexandria for his trial.[190] Another example is the martyr story of Elias, which reminded the audience of the virtue of virginity. According to the *Synaxarium*, Elias used to be the gardener of Culcianus, whose daughter fell in love with him and tried to seduce him.[191] Therefore, Elias castrated himself and gave the organ to her, saying that she now had what she wanted and should leave him alone.

Thirdly, martyr stories functioned as cult aetiologies. Before the execution of Epima, God revealed to him that his body would be brought back to his uncle, who would dedicate a church to him where wonders and miracles would take place: 'I shall see to it that your name will be celebrated all over the world. I shall see to it that many people will come from all over to worship your holy remains'.[192] A church with miracles and wonders was also built for Absada, a rich citizen of an unnamed city in the Oxyrhynchite who was martyred under Diocletian.[193] The *Synaxarium* relates how the body of the martyr was brought back to Absada's mother, who took it to the monastery in their village, where the villagers built a church in Absada's honour. Presumably, the hagiographers meant the stories of Epima and Absada to be told during celebrations in their churches. At least, hagiographers were often well aware of the topography of the martyrdom that they were describing and used hagiographical literature as a means to legitimize and explain the Christian land-

meinhardt and K. Heyden (eds.) *Heilige, Heiliges und Heiligkeit in spätantiken Religionskulturen* (Berlin, 2012) 205-30 at 217-20.

189 Sahidic *Passion of Epima* (ed. Mina, *Martyre d'Apa Epima*, 10): ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲫⲧϭⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲫϩⲙ̀ϩⲁⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ. ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ. Bohairic *Passion of Epima* (ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 131): ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲱϯ ⲡⲉ ⲫϯ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲧϯⲭⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲭⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲁⲙⲏⲓ ϩⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ 'Great is the god of the Christians, who gives power to the holy ones. We will not allow you to execute this righteous man in our city'.

190 After having seen the miracles he performed and the tortures he endured, the Oxyrhynchites are also reported to have stood against the governor in the case of Isaac of Tiphre. Isaac was nonetheless martyred, see *PO* 16, pp. 356-8 (6 Pachon = 1 May).

191 *PO* 11, pp. 726-32 (28 Tybi = 23 January).

192 Bohairic *Passion of Epima* (ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 153): ϯⲛⲁⲑⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲥⲱⲓⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ϯⲛⲁⲑⲣⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲏⲱ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧ ⲉⲭⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲕⲗⲏⲙⲩⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ; Whereas in both versions Epima asks God a favour and God and Jesus respectively tell him that they will give him anything, the Sahidic version of *Passion of Epima* (ed. Mina, *Martyre d'Apa Epima*, 34) continues with the execution of Epima and does not include the final sentence of God as recorded in the Bohairic version.

193 *PO* 11, pp. 689-94 (28 Tybi = 23 January).

scape. The stories of most of the saints mentioned in the *Synaxarium*, however, are unknown from the papyri. Perhaps they were part of a different tradition, since three of these saints – Epima, Apater and Irai – do appear in martyrdoms dated to the seventh century and are thus contemporaneous with some of the papyri.[194]

To sum up what has been said so far, in the first three sections about literary evidence we have seen that knowledge of the historical truth was only of minor or even no importance in the context of our hagiographical heroes. Martyr stories were not necessarily told to preserve the past: they first and foremost served present purposes. The stories in the *Synaxarium* reveal how later generations of Christians used them to identify their local community with the persecuted Church, to instruct, exhort and entertain. These literary texts, however, seem to represent a different tradition than the documentary papyri. Although Justus is known both from the papyri and a possible manuscript in the Vatican and, as we will see in the following section, Apa Hor in the Coptic calendar of saints is equated with a man of similar name in the *Passion of Apa Epima*, most other stories in the manuscripts, the *Synaxarium* and the hagiographical literature from the Oxyrhynchus papyri do not feature martyrs known from the documentary record.[195] In order to get a more complete image of the remembrance of martyrs and the different roles they had in the daily life of the Oxyrhynchites, we shall now turn to these documentary sources.

2.5 Two Calendars

For an obvious starting point from which to establish the extent and shape of the martyr cult in Oxyrhynchus, we can turn to a Greek liturgical calendar from the city found on papyrus. This calendar, covering the period between October and February-March of 535/536, shows that the Oxyrhynchites celebrated the days of a wide variety of martyrs.[196] The festivities took place in various churches in the city.

194 Churches of Epima and Absada are not mentioned in medieval manuscripts, travelogues or lists of bishops. According to the *Synaxarium*, a church dedicated to Absada in Aswan is mentioned by Abu Salih. However, the distance between Oxyrhynchus and Aswan is almost seven hundred kilometres and a connection therefore seems unlikely. J. Padró, 'Recent Archaeological Work', in Bowman, *Oxyrhynchus*, 129-38 at 134 hypothesizes that the *tetrapylon* mentioned in the *Passion of Apa Epima* 'very probably corresponds to the lower part of the column drawn by Denon'.

195 E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering, 'Papyrus Documentation of Church and Community in Egypt to the Mid-Fourth Century', *JbAC* 20 (1997) 47-71 at 47, argue that whereas literary papyri give us valuable insights into the internal life of the churches, documentary papyri reveal more about the public life of the Christian community. According to them, literary papyri 'represent a largely self-contained tradition'.

196 *P.Oxy*. XI 1357.

Papaconstantinou has given us some insights as to what went on at the martyrs' feast days with the help of this Greek liturgical calendar.[197] In Oxyrhynchus, every martyr's feast was publicly celebrated in his or her own church – if there was one – under the patronage of the bishop. Instead of staying at one central church, the bishop of Oxyrhynchus thus visited the different sanctuaries of the city: even the Sunday sermon was not held in the same church.[198] The calendar shows that the bishop would visit the churches dedicated to the physician saint Cosmas, the soldier-saints Victor and Menas, and the virgin saint Euphemia.[199] The day of Epimachus, who did not have his own church, was celebrated in the Church of Phoibammon.[200] The calendar informs us that the bishop also visited the sanctuaries of the city's local martyrs: the *martyria*, that is, martyr shrines, of Serenus, Justus and Philoxenus.[201] Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine whether or not they were martyred during the Great Persecution: there are no fragments of their hagiographies among the Oxyrhynchus papyri and – possibly apart from Justus – their stories have not been preserved in later calendars or manuscripts.

Together, the names on the calendar sketch a collective history of the Christian community of Oxyrhynchus. Their shared history begins in a distant biblical past, remembered during festivals such as Christmas and Epiphany. The times of persecution, however, dominate the calendar. The Oxyrhynchites celebrated the feast days of foreign, Egyptian and local Egyptian martyrs. This diversity shows how they placed the heroes of their own local Christian community within the global history of a universal Church: the festivities of the two local martyrs Philoxenus and Serenus, for instance, were held during six days immediately preceding the Christmas celebrations.[202] The calendar also reveals that at least in some cases, martyrs' feasts took place around the time of traditional Egyptian holidays. For example, on the day on which the ancient festival of the Nile was traditionally celebrated, the feast of Epiphany took place. And the feasts of the Archangel Michael, the well-known martyr Menas and the local martyr Justus coincided with the end of the sowing and the return of the Nile to its riverbed.[203]

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197 Papaconstantinou, 'Liturgie stationale'.

198 For this system, known as 'stational liturgy', see J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome, 1987).

199 *P.Oxy*. XI 1357.20 (Victor), 11-2 (Menas) and 41, 51 (Euphemia).

200 *P.Oxy*. XI 1357.6.

201 *P.Oxy*. XI 1357.2, 28-9, 53 (Serenus), 10, 13 (Justus) and 24-7, 38, 58 and 64 (Philoxenus).

202 In a similar way, Choat, 'Narratives', 403-30, shows that monastic genealogies found in inscriptions in monasteries explicitly link the monk in whose name the text was created with his monastic predecessors, martyrs and biblical figures.

203 A well-known example of a calendar including traditional holidays and martyrs' feasts and numerous other Christian festivities is the calendar made for the wealthy Roman aristocrat Valentinus in 354. For the edition and commentary see J. Divjak and W. Wischmeyer (eds.), *Das Kalenderhandbuch von 354. Der Chronograph des Filocalus*, 2. Vols. (Vienna, 2014). For a detailed discussion

An entirely different perspective, however, is found in a fifth- or sixth-century Coptic calendar.[204] This calendar lists names of saints connected to a feast day, often mentioning several saints per day. Among them is a certain Apa Hor, followed by 'our father', which leads the editor to suggest that the calendar might have been monastic. This Apa Hor from Oxyrhynchus is buried in a grave in Beni Hasan, where a Coptic inscription on the wall of his tomb mentions him.[205] With Apa Hor, we seem to have found at least one saint who is known both in the documentary papyri and in the literary tradition: the *Passion of Epima* stars an Apa Hor of Toji of the Oxyrhynchite nome.[206]

Within the presumably monastic environment in which the Coptic calendar was used, a wide variety of saints and other holy men were remembered. The calendar, however, includes names of patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, apostles and ascetics who do not often occur elsewhere in the Oxyrhynchus papyri. There are unexpected biblical figures, such as Benjamin, Miriam and Manassa. Then the calendar mentions a number of well-known saints: the Egyptian martyr Eudaemon, who suffered under Diocletian in Antinoopolis, the anti-Chalcedonian martyr Macarius of Tkow and the fifth- or sixth-century hermit John of Pake. On a more local level, the well-known bishop Aphous of Oxyrhynchus is mentioned.[207] Finally, there are names

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of the social and political contexts in which this calendar was made and used see R.W. Burgess and M. Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time: The Latin Chronicle Traditions from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century AD. Volume I: A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre from Its Origins to the High Middle Ages*. (Turnhout, 2013). On the title of the work and its new edition see R.W. Burgess, 'The *Chronograph of 354*: Its Manuscripts, Contents and History', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 5 (2012) 345-96 and 'The New Edition of the *Chronograph of 354*: A Detailed Critique', *ZAC* (2017) 384-415.

204 According to the editor, Crum, 'Fragments', 23-4 nothing on the sheets indicates their provenance. However, he points out that considering that these Coptic documents were given to him by Grenfell and that among the sites that Grenfell and Hunt excavated only Oxyrhynchus yielded manuscripts of such a late date, it can be safely assumed that the calendar comes from this city.

205 Ed. and trans. W.E. Crum, 'The Greek and Coptic Graffiti', in P.C. Newberry (ed.), *Archaeological Survey of Egypt: Beni Hasan*, 4 vols. (London, 1893-1900) 2.65-8 at 68 = *SB Kopt*. IV 1996: ⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲱⲣ ⲡⲣⲙ ⲡⲉⲙⲭⲉ ⲁϥⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲱϊ̈ⲣ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲉϥⲙⲉⲩⲉ 'Apa Hor, the man from Oxyrhynchus, went to his rest on the tenth day of Mechir. In peace, amen. Be so kind to remember him'.

206 According to Crum, 'Fragments', 31 some names reappear in groups of subordinate martyrs who figure in later martyr stories. Crum refers to the martyrs mentioned in the passions of Anoup, Epima, Didymus and Pater, as mentioned by Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 111-2. However, on close observation only 'Apa Hor, our father' in the calendar can be identified with the Apa Hor of Todji of the Oxyrhynchite nome in the Bohairic *Passion of Epima* (ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 127).

207 The *Life of Aphous* is known from a seventh- or eighth-century manuscript from Thunis in Upper Egypt, first published by E. Revillout, 'La vie du bienheureux Aphou, évêque de Pemdje (Oxyrinque)', *RevEg* 3 (1883) 27-33. In this article, Revillout says to continue editing this text, which never happened. Instead, see the publication by F. Rossi, *Trascrizione di tre manoscritti copti del museo egizio di Torino* (Turin, 1885) 5-22. On Aphous, see most recently D.F. Bumazhnov, 'Zur Inter-

which are difficult to identify, among them Sirenus and Levi the renunciants, Apa Amoun of Tamma, Apa Maximinus of Piom, Apa Koui of Psammoou and the martyrs Kermane and Apa Hale. Interestingly, the Coptic calendar also remembers 'Constantine, the righteous emperor'.[208]

The names in this Coptic calendar provide an entirely different perspective upon a shared Christian past. Like the Greek liturgical calendar, the Coptic one too begins its history in a distant biblical past and mentions martyrs of the Diocletianic persecution, but then also remembers more recent figures such as the Emperor Constantine and a martyr who disagreed with the Council of Chalcedon, and includes names of desert fathers. Remarkably, with Apa Hor we seem to have at least one example where we can connect a saint from the calendar with both a documentary source and a saint from the literary tradition. Apart from Apa Hor, however, the Coptic calendar does not mention any of the martyrs known from the liturgical calendar or other documentary sources in Oxyrhynchus. Instead, it seems to focus on holy men. Whereas this would not be an illogical choice for a calendar that seems to have been used within a monastic environment, the citizens of Oxyrhynchus seem to have preferred martyrs over monks.[209] In any case, these calendars show that even within the same city, history could be remembered and represented in different ways.

2.6 The Martyrs in the Documentary Papyri

The papyrological record of Oxyrhynchus provides us with a wealth of information about the martyrs known and venerated in this city, though the picture remains inevitably incomplete. The papyri have been preserved by chance rather than purpose: names of martyrs appear rather randomly in private letters or on official correspondence that ended, as did the literary papyri discussed above, as waste paper on the city's rubbish heaps.[210] Which feasts were celebrated during the days that the fragmentary calendars do not include? And which martyrs were mentioned in papyri that have not been preserved? The hardly complete list of saints known in Oxyrhynchus includes the foreign martyrs Cosmas and Damian, Euphemia, George and

pretation der *Vita des seligen Aphu von Pemdje*', in L. Perrone (ed.), *Origeniana Octava: Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition* (Leuven, 2003) 987-93. For an approximate date of the episcopate of Aphous see Timm, *Christlich-koptische Ägypten* 1, 285, K.A. Worp, 'A Checklist of Bishops in Byzantine Egypt (A.D. 325-c.750)', *ZPE* 100 (1994) 283-318 at 304, A. Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'église d'Égypte au IV^e siècle (328-373)* (Rome, 1996) 721-2 and A. Papaconsantinou, 'Sur les évêques byzantins d'Oxyrhynchos', *ZPE* 111 (1996) 171-4 at 173. See also the discussions by T. Orlandi, 'Aphu', in *Copt.Enc.* I (1991) 154-5 and Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 58-9.

208 Ed. Crum, 'Fragments', 25: [ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁ]ⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣ̅ⲣⲟ ⲛ̅ⲧⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ.

209 This confirms the observation made by Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 245-7, that martyrs were more important in the everyday life of Egyptian Christians than other saints.

210 See above, pp. 43-4.

Thecla. Among the Egyptian martyrs are Anoup, Colluthus, Epimachus, Menas, Nilus, Pamouthius and Victor. Finally, there are the local martyrs Philoxenus, Serenus and Justus, whose names occur repeatedly in the papyri, but – apart from Justus – do not appear in sources outside Oxyrhynchus.[211] Despite the limitations of the papyri, however, these documents reveal the different roles of the martyrs in the daily lives of the Oxyrhynchites.

Previously, we have seen that at the anniversary of the martyr, the Oxyrhynchites would gather at his or her sanctuary and listen to the sermon by the bishop in which he remembered and praised the saint.[212] The celebrations could last a couple of days, during which people sang psalms, celebrated the Eucharist, enjoyed the food and drinks and generally had a good time.[213] Our focus has been on the hagiographical literature found in Oxyrhynchus, and later stories about Oxyrhynchite martyrs. In this section, we will continue with a description of the churches and *martyria* visible in the urban landscape, and analyse the different functions of these sanctuaries: we already mentioned the church as a place to celebrate the martyr's feast and will in this section continue with the church as a charitable institution and as a place to consult oracles.[214] Strolling through the streets of Late Antique Oxyrhynchus, we can see that the martyrs were not just figures from a long past persecution, but that this past had become a living reality.

By the first half of the sixth century, the evidence from Oxyrhynchus shows a city filled with churches, monasteries and other Christian buildings. Among the forty churches, thirty were dedicated to saints alone.[215] These saints included biblical figures such as Mary, the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, John the Baptist and the apostle Peter.[216] Other churches were built in commemoration of holy men, such as the church of Aphous, a late fourth-century bishop of Oxyrhynchus.[217] Then there was a church dedicated to Thecla, the young virgin who followed the apostle Paul

211 For a list of saints venerated in Oxyrhynchus, see Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 286-8.

212 See above, pp. 52-3.

213 Although the Church fathers complained that the feastgoers had too good a time, including dancing and drunkenness. See M. Harl, 'La dénonciation des festivités profanes dans le discours épiscopal et monastique, en orient chrétien, à la fin du IV siècle', in F. Dunand (ed.), *La fête, pratique et discours: d'Alexandrie hellénistique à la Mission de Besançon* (Paris, 1981) 123-47, S. Vyronis, 'The *Panegyris* of the Byzantine Saint: A Study in the Nature of a Medieval Institution, Its Origins and Fate,' in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint* (Crestwood NY, 2001) 196-226 at 210-3, D. Frankfurter, 'Beyond Magic and Superstition,' in V. Burrus (ed.), *A People's History of Christianity. Volume 2: Late Ancient Christianity* (Minneapolis MN, 2005) 255-66.

214 For the church as a place to celebrate the martyr's feast, see above, pp. 52-3.

215 See above, p. 39 (n. 143).

216 Saint Mary: *P.Oxy*. XI 1357.30, 45; XVIII 2197.11; LXVII 4617.15. Michael: *P.Oxy*. XI 1357.8-9, 39; XVI 1912.119; 1954.2; XVIII 2195.88; XIX 2243a.77. Gabriel: *P.Oxy*. XI 1357.54; LXVII 4617.16; 4618.9, 13. John the Baptist: *P.Oxy*. XI 1357.47; LXVII 4617.8; 4618.14. Peter: *P.Oxy*. XI 1357.33.

217 *P.Oxy*. XVI 1912.117 mentions a monastery of Aphous. For Aphous see above, p. 54 (n. 207).

and survived several attacks on her life.[218] Papyrological evidence further testifies to the importance of the martyrs of the Great Persecution: the Oxyrhynchites had dedicated churches to Colluthus, Cosmas and Damian, Euphemia, Menas, Nilus and Victor, and a shrine of Anoup is also mentioned.[219] Finally, there were the *martyria* of Philoxenus, Serenus and Justus.[220]

The liturgical calendar has shown that the Oxyrhynchites celebrated the feast days of these martyrs and that the festivities took place in churches dedicated to them. Churches or *martyria* were, indeed, more than just buildings where Christians would meet to pray or listen to sermons. Ann Marie Yasin has argued that Christians gathered in church buildings not only to commemorate a shared past, but also to thereby define a collective identity.[221] The collection of Christian buildings in Oxyrhynchus shows how the collective past of the Christian community was visible in the urban landscape. From figures from a distant biblical past, to martyrs of the persecutions in Roman times, to the late fourth-century local bishop Aphous, the churches presented a shared history of persecution and triumph.

Although archaeologically speaking we are on somewhat unstable ground owing to the lack of material evidence, the papyrological record gives an impression of how important the churches had become within Oxyrhynchus. Toponyms gave cognitive shape to the physical environment. Names of cities, quarters and streets do not generally change quickly, and the square where the city's Serapeum was once located continued to be called the Quarter of the Dromos of Sarapis long after the temple had fallen out of use.[222] But in the early fourth century, the North Church Street and the South Church Street indicate that these churches dominated the street view, and in the sixth century, the mentioning of the Street of Saint Euphemia

218 *P.Oxy*. XVI 1993.18-20; XXIV 2419.2; LXVII 4617.10.

219 Colluthus: *P.Oxy*. XVI 1934.4-5; LXVII 4618.10,16. Cosmas: *P.Oxy*. XI 1357.22; *PSI* VII 791.16; *P.Wisc*. II 64.1. Cosmas and Damian: *P.Oxy*. XVI 1955. Euphemia: *P.Oxy*. VII 1038.23; XI 1357.41, 51; LXVII 4617.11; *PSI* VIII 953.31; *SPP* X 35.6. Menas: *P.Oxy*. XI 1357.11-12; LXVII 4617.9; 4619.5. Nilus: *P.Oxy*. XVI 1898.20; LXVII 4617.12; 4618.2. Victor: *P.Oxy*. XI 1357.20; XVI 1956; LXVII 4617.13; 4618.1. Anoup: *P.Oxy*. XI 1357.56; LXVII 4619.3.

220 Philoxenus: *P.Oxy*. XI 1357.24-7, 38, 58, 64; XVI 1950.1; 2041; LXVII 4617.18; 4620.8; *PSI* VII 791.4-5, 12; *SPP* X 35.11. For a church probably dedicated to Philoxenus in the upper necropolis of Oxyrhynchus, see above, p. 39 (n. 146). Serenus: *P.Oxy*. VI 941.3-5; XI 1357.4, 28-9, 53; XVI 1911.92; LXVII 4619.2; 4620.10; LV 3804.164; *PSI* VII 791.7; VIII 953.10. Justus: *P.Oxy*. X 1311.1; XI 1357.10, 13; XXVII 2480.299; LXVII 4617.7; 4618.24; 4620.12; *PSI* VII 791.6.

221 A. Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult, and Community* (Cambridge, 2009).

222 See on this topic J. Westerfeld, 'Saints in the Caesareum: Remembering Temple-Conversion in Late Antique Hermopolis', in M. Bommas et al. (ed.), *Memory and Urban Religion in the Ancient World* (London, 2012) 59-86.

shows that this church was prominently present in this quarter.[223] The liturgical calendar reveals that the Oxyrhynchites would celebrate their Sunday services alternately in the Church of the Martyrs, the Church of the Evangelist, that of Anniane, Phoibammon or Serenus. Concerning feasts, the churches of Phoibammon and Philoxenus were most regularly visited. The Oxyrhynchites attended the former church for Sunday services and Epiphany, and the day of Epimachus – who did not have his own church – was celebrated here. The latter church seems to have been a prominent building as well. It was renovated and enlarged in the sixth century and seems to have had ample space to host the Christian community celebrating the four-day feast of Philoxenus and accommodate the oracle.[224] Recent excavations reveal that this church may have been located in the upper necropolis of Oxyrhynchus, where a five-nave *basilica* containing many sixth- and seventh-century graffiti referring to Philoxenus was found.[225]

When a church dedicated to a saint or a *martyrium* functions as a medium for representation of the past, it follows that the person who controls the sanctuary could use this medium to present his own image of or ideas about that past.[226] Some churches, such as those of Alexandra, Anniane and Phoibammon, were named after their founders.[227] Therefore, the Oxyrhynchite churches, like other churches in the Roman Empire, were not only commemorating the sacred past but probably also functioned as 'epigraphic monuments': at entranceways, pavements, walls or columns of churches one could read the names of those who contributed to their construction, renovation or decoration.[228] In the third century, the earliest known bishop of Oxyrhynchus, Sotas, already sent fundraising letters.[229] In the fourth or fifth century, a certain Didymos urged a man called Athanasios to finish the church: 'in name of your God in heaven, (...) before all else, with me as your debtor for this

223 For the North and South Church, see p. 38 (n. 141) above. For the church of Saint Euphemia, see *P.Oxy*. I 43v^{0} 1, 10 and 3.19 and VII 1038.24.

224 *P.Oxy*. XVI 2041. For a revised edition of and commentary on this papyrus see A. Papaconstantinou, 'La reconstruction de Saint-Philoxène à Oxyrhynchos: l'inventaire dressé par Philéas le tailleur de pierres', *T&MByz* 15 (2005) 183-92.

225 See p. 39 (n. 146) above.

226 For sanctuaries as bases of power see Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, 23-49, B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, and Event, 1000-1215* (Philadelphia, 1982) and Lifshitz, 'Martyr', 310-41.

227 As is apparent from the addition εἰς τὴν followed by the name in the genitive: Anniane: *P.Oxy*. XI 1357.21; Phoibammon: *P.Oxy*. XI 1357.3.6. See Papaconstantinou, 'Liturgie stationale', 153 and 155, where she suggests that the church of Phoibammon might be the same church as the Catholic Church, i.e. the cathedral church, which is absent in the calendar but attested in other Oxyrhynchus papyri. However, a bishop Phoibammon of Oxyrhynchus, after whom the church would have been named, is not known in other sources.

228 For church buildings as epigraphic monuments see Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces*, 101-50.

229 *P.Oxy*. XII 1492. See Luijendijk, *Greetings*, 125-36.

great favour, devote yourself to the church!'[230] Didymos had paid for the stones and their transportation, and expected the church to be finished soon. In a way similar to classical euergetism, wealthy Christians donating to the Church or supporting new ecclesiastical buildings expected status and honour in return: a church named after its founder would ensure that the donor was remembered and prayed for.[231]

In Oxyrhynchus, the wealthy Apion family not only generously donated to circus factions, the running of stables and the public baths, but also supported ecclesiastical institutions.[232] This euergetism could take the form of providing wine and bread: a papyrus documents the donation of more than 360 litres of wine and wine vinegar 'to the holy churches and *xenodocheia* and *martyria* of the city and in the country [of Oxyrhynchus]'.[233] As we have seen, euergetism could also involve the financing of the building of a church.[234] Among the churches from the Apion family was the *martyrium* of Serenus.[235] The appearance of this *martyrium* and other Apion churches in the Greek liturgical calendar demonstrates that the bishop of Oxyrhynchus did not treat these buildings as outside his spiritual jurisdiction.[236] Nevertheless, the generous donations of the Apion family do indicate certain wishes for their family members to be remembered by the Christian community during the liturgy,

230 *P.Oxy*. LIX 4003.2-11: τὸν ἐπωράνιόν σου θεόν (...) πρὸ πάντων χρεώστην με ἔχω(ν) τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης χάριστος, ἐπείθες σεαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (…). The letter continues on the back of the papyrus with instructions which are chiefly about the management of an estate, suggesting that Didymus was a landowner of considerable wealth.

231 See e.g. R. Haensch, 'Christlicher Euergetismus *ob honorem*? Die Einsetzung von Klerikern in ihre Ämter und die von diesen vorangetriebenen Bauprojekte', in J. Leemans, P. Van Nuffelen, S.W.J. Keough and C. Nicolaye (eds.), *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity* (Berlin, 2011) 167-81.

232 A list of donations made by the Apion family to ecclesiastical institutions in Oxyrhynchus is included in J.P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, 1987) 98-102 and T.M. Hickey, *A Public 'House' but Closed: 'Fiscal Participation' and Economic Decision Making on the Oxyrhynchite Estate of the Flavii Apiones* (Chicago, 2001) 218-24. See more generally, T.M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt: The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchus* (Ann Arbor, 2012).

233 *P.Oxy*. LVIII 3960.20-2: εἰς τὰς ἁγί(ας) ἐκκλησί(ας) καὶ ξενοδοχ(εῖα) καὶ μαρτύρ(ια) τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐν ἀγροῖς (...).

234 On church building in Egypt see E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte du IV^e^ au VIII^e^ siècle* (Brussels, 1972) 105-9.

235 *P.Oxy*. XVI 1911.72.

236 This would have been according to Justinian legislation, as the emperor ordered that private founders of charities had to secure episcopal approval and that, in turn, ecclesiastical authorities had to preside over liturgical rites at these places (*NJ* 67.1 [546] and *NJ* 131.7 [545]). On these laws see e.g. H.-R. Hagemann, *Die Stellung der Piae Causae nach justinianischem Rechte* (Basel, 1953) and 'Die rechtliche Stellung der christlichen Wohltätigkeitsanstalten in der östlichen Reichshälfte', *RIDA* 3 (1956) 265-83 at 272-3; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 42-3, 85-6.

as a donation of 416 artabas of grain 'for the holy [funeral] mass for our grandmother' suggests.[237]

Christians, however, would not just visit churches on Sundays or feast days. One could, for instance, turn to the saints as patrons of the poor. Churches often owned bakeries and the earliest reference to a *martyrium* in Oxyrhynchus suggests that the sanctuary provided the poor with bread: dated 14 August 398, the papyrus contains an order for enormous amounts of wheat and vegetable seeds.[238] In the late fifth or early sixth century, the widows of Oxyrhynchus would receive wine at the church of Michael the Archangel, the church of Ptoleminus and at the churches of the martyrs Victor and Cosmas and Damian.[239] The level of organization of almsgiving becomes even clearer through a papyrus dated to 27 January 480, when the cathedral of Oxyrhynchus ordered Peter, the *oikonomos* of (the church of) Saints Cosmas and Damian, to give the widow Sophia a coat.[240]

In Late Antique Egypt, as in the rest of the Roman Empire, the bishop was responsible for charity in his diocese.[241] In late fourth-century Oxyrhynchus, the well-

237 *P.Oxy*. LXVII 4620.2-4: εἰς τὴν ἁγί(αν) προσφορ(ὰν) τῆς μάμμης (ἀρταβαι) υις. The editor, J.D. Thomas, notes that the term προσφορά can refer to any sort of pious donation, although it is sometimes used specifically for donations made for funeral masses and for the mass itself. See for discussions of this term E.R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York, 1931) 143 and Wipszycka, *Ressources*, 65, 69-70.

238 *P.Haun* III 67. A certain Phileas orders to supply the *martyrium* of Apa T[--] with eight artabas of grain and two artabas of vegetable seeds, together around 270 litres. Therefore, I would suggest that this 'offering from a well-off layperson', as the editor of the papyrus writes, was used to make bread.

239 The wine for the churches of Michael, Victor and Cosmas and Damian was ordered from the wine merchant Viktor on August 9 in an unknown year during the late fifth or early sixth century, perhaps in honour of the Feast of the Assumption (Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 280). The papyri containing the orders were published in 1924, in the 'Minor Documents' section of *P.Oxy*. XVI 1954-6 = *SB* XXII 15528-30. Ptoleminos' church is mentioned in *P.Oxy*. LXVII 4621.

240 *P.Wisc*. II 64 was first published by R. Rémondon, 'L'Église dans la société égyptienne à l'époque byzantine', *CdE* 47 (1972) 254-77 to illustrate the charity of a church. Several other instructions given by the church have been preserved. See e.g. *P.Oxy*. XVI 1950 and 1951, in which 'the holy church' orders an *oikonomos* from the church of Philoxenus to deliver wine for a feast and instructs a wine steward to provide wine to a στρώτης, which could refer to a servant. For the meaning of this term see A. Serfass, 'On the Meaning of *strotes* in *P.Oxy*. XVI 1951', *ZPE* 161 (2007) 253-9. See also *P.Oxy*. VI 993 for an order of the 'holy church' for the payment of two jars of wine for a feast. For other papyrological evidence for charity in Late Antique Egypt see A. Serfass, 'Wine for Widows: Papyrological Evidence for Christian Charity in Late Antique Egypt', in S. Holman (ed.), *Wealth and Poverty in Early Church and Society* (Grand Rapids, 2008) 88-102.

241 See e.g. A. Martin, 'L'image de l'évêque à travers les "Canons d'Athanase": devoirs et réalités', in É. Rebillard and C. Sotinel (eds.), *L'Évêque dans la cité du IV^e^ au V^e^ siècle: image et authorité* (Rome, 1998) 59-70, E. Wipszycka, 'L'attività caritativa dei vesecovi egiziani', 71-80 in the same volume and J-U. Krause, 'La prise en charge des veuves par l'église dans l'antiquité tardive', in C. Lepelley (ed.), *La fin de la cité antique et le début de la cité médiévale de la fin du III^e^ siècle à l'avènement de Charlemagne* (Bari, 1996) 115-26 at 117-8.

known bishop Aphous gave the surplus of the service to the poor, whom he visited on Saturdays and Sundays when they received alms in the church.[242] The papyrological record reveals that widows were associated with a particular church: 'give to the widows of Saints Cosmas and Damian,' reads a sixth-century papyrus, thereby placing the widows not only under the protection of the ecclesiastical organization, but also indirectly giving them these saints as patrons.[243] Nevertheless, Jens-Uwe Krause points out that the help offered was limited and that the introduction of Christian charity generally had little effect on the social situation of the widows.[244]

So far, we have discussed papyri referring to charitable services. A problem could arise if the congregation accepted the martyr as its hero, but not in his role as protector of the poor. In the fourth or fifth century, a certain Philoxenos – who carried the name of the local Oxyrhynchite martyr – ended a letter to his parents and uncle in Oxyrhynchus with the request to pray to several saints venerated in the city: 'Pray on behalf of me [...] through Saint John, Saint Euphemia, Saint Menas, Saint Peter and Saint Julianus'.[245] In a similar way, a certain Ioannes carved a graffito dated to 27 March 520 in the church at the upper necropolis of Oxyrhynchus, in which he asked the '[+ God?] of Saint Philoxenus, guard your servant Ioannes against every evil thing and help me, who does everything according to your will'.[246]

Philoxenus and Ioannes would pray to the martyrs as intermediaries on their behalf before God, but the power of the saints was, in a quite similar way, also used differently in everyday life. 'Magic' was both widespread among non-Christians and Christians alike, even though it was officially condemned by the Church fathers.[247] In Oxyrhynchus, the papyrological record shows Christians turning to the saints to find healing or ask oracular questions. For instance, a Christian woman named Ioannia asked Christ, the archangels, the apostle John, the well-known martyr Vic-

242 Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie*, 721-2.

243 *P.Oxy*. XVI 1955.2-3: δὸς ταῖς χήρ(αις) τοῦ ἁγί(ου) Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ.

244 J-U. Krause, *Witwen und Waisen im römischen Reich* (Stuttgart, 1995) and 'Prise en charge des veuves', 115-26.

245 *P.Oxy*. LVI 3862.25-8: εὔξεστε περὶ μ[.. ....] τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Εὐφημίας καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μηνᾶ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰουλιανοῦ.

246 Delattre, Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, 'Christian Inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia 7', in press (no. 10)': [+ Θ(ὲο)ς (?) τοῦ] ἁγίου Φιλ̣ο̣ξέ̣[νου φύλαξ]ο̣ν̣ τὸν δοῦλόν̣ σ̣ο̣υ̣ Ἰωάννην ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ πράγματος καὶ σύνελθέ μοι πάντα καταθυμίως πράτ'τοντι'. For an image of the inscription see Padró, Martínez and Piedrafita, 'Historia de un edificio religioso', 711 (Fig 9). For the church, see above, pp. 000 (n. 000) and 000.

247 Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt*, 103. In Egypt, the hard stances of Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, and Shenoute, the leader of the Shenoute monastery, towards the cult of the saints are well-known. See above, pp. 8-9, 20.

tor, and the local martyrs Justus, Serenus and Philoxenus for protection against fever.[248]

Tradition recommended the use of amulets for the protection of the home and restoring health. For centuries, the Oxyrhynchites had asked Egyptian or Graeco-Roman gods and goddesses for help. Now, they invoked a certain Saint Phocas to prevent scorpions and other reptiles from entering a house. 'The door, Aphrodite, phrodite, rodite, odite, dite, ite, te. Oror, Phorphor, Iao, Sabaoth, Adonai, Artemisian Scorpion: deliver this house from every evil crawler and thing, quickly, quickly. Saint Phocas is here'.[249] In another amulet, a Christian woman named Aria asked for protection against agues and invoked the father of Jesus, the son, the mother of Christ, the Holy Spirit and Abrasax.[250] As these amulets show, the methods were still the same: magical elements used for healing purposes and magical powers – be they Christian, Jewish, Egyptian or Greek – were told to do something and to do it quickly. Alongside these traditional invocations, the use of passages from Scripture or sentences reflecting the liturgy shows the influence of the Christian Church. Ioannia, for instance, referred to healing acts of Jesus recounted in the Gospel of John and the Gospel of Matthew. Another amulet has the heading 'healing Gospel according to Saint Matthew' and is followed by verses recalling, among other things, how Jesus had healed diseases when preaching in Galilee.[251]

The invocation of the power of Christ, the archangels and the saints in amulets made their works not only recognized in the past, but also felt in the present. When appealing to the power of the martyrs in everyday life, Christians acknowledged that those who had died for their faith so long ago were still relevant in the contemporary world. 'Save me now and in the time to come through our Lord and Saviour

248 *P.Oxy*. VIII 1151. For a discussion of this papyrus see A. Luijendijk, 'A Gospel Amulet for Joannia (*P. Oxy*. VIII 1151)', in K.B. Stratton and D.S. Kalleres (eds.), *Daughters of Hecate: Women and Magic in the Ancient World* (Oxford, 2014) 418-44. According to Luijendijk, the standard phraseology, the neat handwriting, the use of *nomina sacra* and the crosses indicate – but do not prove – that Joannia went to a religious expert from among the clergy.

249 *P.Oxy*. VII 1060.1-9: + Τὴν θύραν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην φροδιτην ροδιτην οδιτην διτην ιτην την ην. ωρωρ φωρφωρ Ἰαὼ σαβαὼθ ἀδονὲ δενοσε σκορπίε αρτερησιε, ἀπάλλαξον τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ ἑρπετοῦ (καὶ) πράγματος ταχὺ ταχύ. ὁ ἅγιος Φωκᾶς ὧδε ἐστιν. According to the editor, Phocas must have been the martyr of Antioch on the Orontes, who had died during the Great Persecution and was known to heal snake bikes. See also G. Schenke in the Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity database (available online at http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk), E02277, who notes that the date mentioned in l. 10 of the papyrus (13 Phamenoth = 9 March) is around the martyr's feast day.

250 *P.Oxy*. VI 924.

251 *P.Oxy*. VIII 1077.1: Ἰαματικὸν εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον. The citation of Matt. 4:23-4 often occurs in amulets, see T.S. de Bruyn, *Making Amulets Christian: Artefacts, Scribes, and Contexts* (Oxford, 2017) 147. For the amulet as an artifact see J.H.F. Dijkstra, 'The Interplay between Image and Text on Greek Amulets Containing Christian Elements from Late Antique Egypt', in D. Boschung and J.N. Bremmer (eds.), *The Materiality of Magic* (Paderborn, 2015) 271-92 at 285-6.

Jesus Christ, through whom the glory and the power for ever and ever, amen,' wrote someone in the late third or early fourth century.[252] Far from being figures from a collective history, biblical figures as well as martyrs from times of persecutions were still able to influence the present.

One of these influential martyrs was Philoxenus. Whereas in the Graeco-Roman period the Oxyrhynchites had put their problems before Sarapis or Thoeris, in the sixth century we find them asking similar questions to this local martyr, the 'God of Saint Philoxenus' or both: '+ My Lord God Almighty and Saint Philoxenus my patron, I ask you by the great name of the Lord God, if it is not your will that I speak either about the bank or the weighing-office, I ask you to teach me this, in order that I may not speak +'.[253] As Sarapis had been in previous times, Philoxenus would now be consulted about all the big and small problems of everyday life, ranging from banking business to health and travel. Even the way of posing questions was the same: '+ God of our protector Saint Philoxenus, if you tell us to bring Anoup into your hospital, show your power and let this message come out'.[254] Visitors of the sanctuary of Philoxenus could simply write their question in both a positively and negatively phrased sentence on two different pieces of papyrus and they would receive the ticket containing the divine answer.[255] For instance, a monk called Paulos consulted the oracle in Lykopolis before undertaking a journey:

252 *P.Oxy*. III 407.4-7: (...) σῶσον με ἐν τῷ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι διὰ τοῦ κυρίου κα[ὶ] σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χρειστοῦ δι' οὗ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνω[ν] ἀμήν.

253 *P.Oxy*. XVI 1926: + Δέσποτά μου θεὲ παντοκράτωρ, καὶ ἅγι(ε) Φιλόξενε πρόστατά μου, παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς διὰ τὸ μέγα ὄνομ(α) τοῦ δεσπότου θεοῦ, ἐὰν οὐκ ἔστιν θέλημα ὑμῶν λαλῆσαί με μηδὲ περὶ τραπέζ(ης?) μηδὲ περὶ ζυγοστασίας, παρακελεῦσαί με μαθεῖν, ἵνα μὴ λαλήσω. + Its positive counterpart is *P.Harr*. I 54.

254 *P.Oxy*. VIII 1150: + Ὁ θεὸς τοῦ προστάτου ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλοξένου, ἐὰν κελεύεις εἰσενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸ νοσοκομῖόν σου Ἀνούπ· δεῖξον τὴν δύναμ[ίν σου] καὶ ἐξέλθῃ τὸ πιττ[ά]κ[ιον].

255 A. Delattre, 'Nouveaux textes coptes d'Antinoé,' in T. Gagos (ed.), *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology* (Ann Arbor, 2010) 171-5 at 173 reports that at the sanctuary of Colluthus in Antinoopolis, a ticket only containing the word συμφέρον 'useful' was found. He states that oracle tickets asking for a συμφέρον were found as well, but in his article 'L'oracle de Kollouthos à Antinoé', *SMSR* 79 (2013) 123-33 at 129 he suggests that this ticket and a ticket with only a cross were the result of questions asked orally. On ticket oracles see A. Papaconstantinou, 'Oracles chrétiens dans l'Égypte byzantine: Le témoignage des papyrus', *ZPE* 104 (1994) 281-66 at 281-6 and *Culte des saints* 336-9, G. Husson, 'Les questions oraculaires chrétiennes d'Égypte: Continuités et changements', in B. Kramer, W. Luppe and H. Maehler (eds.), *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart, 1997) 482-9, Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, 193-5 and 'Voices, Books, and Dreams: The Diversification of Divination Media in Late Antique Egypt', in S.I. Johnston and P.T. Struck (eds.), *Mantikê: Studies in Ancient Divination* (Leiden, 2005) 233-54.

> Almighty God, if you command me, your servant Paulos, to go to Antinoopolis and remain there, order me through this ticket.[256]
>
> Almighty God, if you command me, your servant Paulos, to remain under the roof of the monastery of Apa Thomas, order me through this ticket.[257]

When Paulos received back one of the tickets, he knew whether he would go to Antinoopolis or stay in his monastery. The sanctuaries in Oxyrhynchus and Lykopolis are two of the six known Christian oracular sites where ticket divination was offered in Late Antique Egypt. There was a sanctuary of Saint Colluthus in Antinoopolis, to which we will turn in the next chapter, a shrine in Krokodilopolis and other sites at unknown locations where Saint Leontius, the Saints Cosmas and Damian, and Saint Severus could be consulted.[258] Probably, there was an oracle of Saint Apollo in Bawit as well.[259]

To conclude, as we have seen by looking at the various functions of their sanctuaries, martyrs were there to rely on, whether you prayed through them to God, received bread and wine or other charitable services at their sanctuaries, invoked them in amulets or went to their sanctuaries for oracular advice. They were vividly present in Oxyrhynchite society, in similar ways as the non-Christian divine had once been, or, in the slowly changing religious environment, still was. Day-to-day life had not changed much and neither had the ways in which the Oxyrhynchites solved their problems or searched for protection, albeit now in a Christian context.

2.7 Conclusion

By exploring the memories of the martyrs in the documentary and literary records of Oxyrhynchus, in this chapter we have gained a general overview of the role the Great Persecution played in the everyday life of an Egyptian city in Late Antiquity. The Oxyrhynchites commemorated a wide variety of martyrs who had died during the Persecution. Nevertheless, given the gradual integration of Christianity into Egyptian society in Late Antiquity, it is not surprising that the commemoration and,

256 Ed. H. de Nie, 'Een Koptisch-Christelijke Orakelvraag', *JVEG* 8 (1942) 615-8 at 616: ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲟⲣ ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲉⲥⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲁⲥⲱ ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓ ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲓⲡⲓⲧⲁⲩⲛ.

257 Ed. De Nie, 'Koptisch-Christelijke Orakelvraag', 615-8 at 616: ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲧⲟⲣ ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲉⲥⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲃⲱ ϩⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲥⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲑⲱⲙⲁⲥ ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓ ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲓⲡⲓⲧⲧⲁⲩⲛ.

258 For papyrological evidence of oracles in Late Antique Egypt see Papaconstantinou, 'Oracles chrétiens'. For Severus see G. Schenke, 'Das Orakel des Heiligen Severus', *APF* 57 (2011) 65-72.

259 *P.Louvre.Bawit* 66 is a fragmentary texts that seems to have been an oracle question. Whom it addresses remains unknown: ⲛ̣ⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲫⲁ̣ⲓ̣ⲟⲩ̣ⲥ̣ . . . . […] ⲉⲱⲱⲛ̣ⲉ 'God of Saint...[...], if...'.

later, the cult of the martyrs must have evolved gradually in the course of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries.

In the introduction, we noted that with the increasing organization of the Church and Christianity's gradual integration into Egyptian society, the cognitive ecology in which the Great Persecution was remembered changed. One of the central elements in any cognitive ecology is the social setting within which it operates. In Oxyrhynchus, the bishop would visit the sanctuary of the martyr at his or her anniversary, and remember and praise the saint in a sermon. He would recount the story of the martyr's trial and execution, or even tell extended stories including a biography of his or her life before the martyrdom and the miracles that happened there. Ideally, this public sermon would align with the experiences of the individual believer: he or she would admire the pious practices that the martyr performed during his life and suffer with the saint during his martyrdom. At the same time, listening to the martyr story identified the local Christian community with the persecuted Church. From a cognitive perspective, then, one may say that the bishop – or, more broadly speaking, the Church – formulated and promulgated the cultural memories of its listening audience. At the same time, however, the bishop was also responding to the recollections of the past of his listeners. It follows that memories of the Great Persecution were shaped in constant dialogue between clergy and flock.

To make the experience even more affective, the martyr story was not just preached and written: the audience would commemorate their collective past and was presented with a Christian role-model to follow in the present while standing at the shrine of the martyr. This brings us to the second aspect of the changing cognitive ecology, the environment. In this chapter, we have seen how the urban landscape of Oxyrhynchus became filled with churches, monasteries and other Christian buildings. Together, these buildings shaped an understanding of the past. The many churches named after biblical figures show that the Oxyrhynchites were aware of their place in a Christian tradition, with roots stretching back well beyond the origins of their local community. Moreover, they considered their community as part of a universal Church: churches were dedicated to the local heroes of Oxyrhynchus as well as to other Egyptian and foreign martyrs.

Finally, memories were formed through a whole range of means or cognitive artefacts. Martyr stories had presumably been told since the immediate aftermath of the Great Persecution. As for Oxyrhynchus, an account of the trial of the city councillor Dioscorus from Upper Kynopolis was entrusted to papyrus in the fourth century, which makes the document the earliest known martyrdom story found in the city. Nevertheless, most martyrs known from stories circulating in Oxyrhynchus were not necessarily subject of a martyr cult, as their names do not occur in the documentary papyri. In a similar way, the Oxyrhynchite martyrs appearing in the *Synaxarium* and the *Passions of Epima* and *Apater and Irai* seem to stem from a different tradition, as these martyrs do not appear in the Oxyrhynchus papyri.

Whereas the literary tradition gives us valuable insights into the written memories of the martyrs, the documentary papyri reveal more about the roles of the martyrs in everyday life. The martyrs were clearly not just memories from a long past persecution: from the middle of the fifth century literary and documentary evidence becomes frequent and we can see how the past had become a living reality. The martyrs of Oxyrhynchus were key parts of the cognitive environment of the Oxyrhynchites: they were embedded in each layer of everyday life. The Oxyrhynchites would pray to them and go to their churches to receive charitable help. Additionally, they called upon them in their amulets and visited the oracle to ask for advice about their everyday concerns. In the next chapter, we will see that around the same time, in the Egyptian city of Antinoopolis, they were as omnipresent and popular. Through miracle stories and 'magic', the power of the martyrs could be felt in the present. Although they had died long ago, the martyrs had become essential parts of social and religious life.

3 Physician, Martyr, Miracle Worker. Remembering the Great Persecution at the Sanctuary of Saint Colluthus

3.1 Introduction

> '+ God of my lord Saint Colluthus, the true physician, if you order that your servant Rouphos washes in the healing bath today, bring out for me the appropriate piece! +'[260]

In the sixth or seventh century, a certain Rouphos visited the sanctuary of Saint Colluthus in the North Necropolis of Antinoopolis. His oracular ticket reveals that he seems to have worried about his health and hoped that a visit to Colluthus' sanctuary would solve his problems.[261] According to legend, Colluthus was a physician, martyred during the Great Persecution in Antinoopolis. Among the stories circulating about him were miracles about a lame man being able to walk again, a blind woman regaining sight, a childless couple wishing for a child and even repentant robbers spending the rest of their lives in the service of his sanctuary. There can be miracles, a bishop of Antinoopolis told his flock, when you sincerely believe.[262] At the sanctuary of Colluthus, visitors like Rouphos indeed seem to have hoped for wonders, as the many votive objects and oracular tickets found at the site attest.

In the previous chapter, the rich papyrological record of Oxyrhynchus gave us a general overview of the cult of the martyrs in this city. The present chapter allows us to zoom in on details regarding a particular saint that remained largely invisible in the previous chapter. Concerning Colluthus, hagiographical, archaeological and papyrological sources offer a multifaceted picture of the martyr: alongside the different versions of his passion, two *encomia* on Colluthus and various miracle stories, documentary papyri furnish our most direct access to the rituals and practices at his

260 A. Delattre, 'Textes coptes et grecs d'Antinoé', in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinoupolis I* (Florence, 2008) 132-62 at 152-3 (no. 9): + ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲑⲉⲟⲥ ⲡⲥⲁⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲙⲉ ⲉⲱⲡⲡⲉ ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲡ̅ϫ̅ⲙ̅ϩⲁⲗ ⲣⲟⲩⲫⲟⲥ ϫⲱⲕⲙ̄ ⲉⲡⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲓ ⲧⲓⲥⲓⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲕ̣ⲁⲛⲓ ⲡ̣ⲥⲩⲙ̣ⲫⲩⲣⲟⲛ ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ +. Translation (slightly modified) by A. Luijendijk, '"If You Order That I Wash My Feet, Then Bring Me This Ticket". Encountering Saint Colluthus at Antinoë', in M. Ahuvia and A. Kocar (eds.), *Placing Ancient Texts. The Ritual and Rhetorical Use of Space* (Tübingen, 2018) 197-225 at 211.

261 A second ticket, written in Greek, from a certain Rouphos has been edited by L. Papini, 'Due biglietti oracolari cristiani', in M. Manfredi (ed.), *Trenta testi greci da papiri letterari e documentari* (Florence, 1983) 68-70 at 68-9 (no. 20). If the two tickets were issued by the same person, Rouphos probably asked questions at two different occasions.

262 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. S. Thompson, 'Encomium on St. Coluthus, Attributed to Isaac of Antinoe', in L. Depuydt [ed.], *Encomiastica from the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 2 vols. [Leuven, 1993] 1.46-83 at 70-2).

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110689686-003

site of pilgrimage and healing.[263] As we shall see, the sanctuary of Colluthus had become an essential part of social and religious life in Antinoopolis.

What we will discover about Colluthus comes from a contextualization of this martyr in his Late Antique, local Egyptian context. This contextualization begins at the place where his martyrdom occurred. As the capital of the Thebaid, Antinoopolis remained an important regional centre throughout the Late Antique period.[264] The first bishop of the city is attested in 325 CE, and the bishopric was thus created not long after the Great Persecution, if not before.[265] Although the papyrological evidence from Antinoopolis is relatively scarce, the organization and integration of Christianity in the city seems to have occurred as gradually as in the rest of Egypt. It follows that the cognitive ecology in which Colluthus was remembered changed accordingly.

In the General Introduction, we have discussed how we employ the three different elements of the cognitive ecology – the physical environment, cognitive artefacts and the social setting – to remember. In the previous chapter, we have seen how these three elements shaped and affected the memories of the Great Persecution in Oxyrhynchus. The particular rich array of sources concerning Colluthus allows us to look at these elements of the cognitive ecology from various perspectives: we can follow Rouphos to the sanctuary, celebrate the feast day of Colluthus with Bishop Isaac in Antinoopolis or listen to a sermon on Colluthus in a newly opened sanctuary in Pneuit. In doing so, we will be able to address an issue that has been problematic ever since Halbwachs introduced the term 'collective memory': the difference between individual versus collective memories.

The first element of the cognitive ecology, the physical environment, was the same for everyone. For a quick impression we could walk through narrow streets, across squares and along remarkable buildings and see how stories from the past and present mingle. In the previous chapter, we have seen that the names of Christian buildings shaped a perception of time. Churches, chapels and monasteries dedicated to martyrs and holy men, ranging from biblical figures to persons from

263 Instances where a hagiographical dossier includes both martyr and miracle stories are rare, as Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 197 remarks. Furthermore, the papyrological and archaeological material from Antinoopolis is, as Delattre, 'Nouveaux textes', 171 notes, 'particulièrement abundant et varié; il comprend des textes littéraires, documentaires et épigraphiques, ainsi qu'un grand nombre de billets oraculaires'.

264 For a general overview of the sources, see Timm, *Christlich-koptische Ägypten* 1, 111-28.

265 The first sign of a Christian community in Antinoopolis is found in Eusebius (*h.e.* 6.11.3), who mentions that Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem (220-250) wrote letters to this community. A bishopric must have existed before 325, when Arsenius Hypselites (Arsen. Hyps. *ep.* 2) reports about a bishop Tyrannus of Antinoopolis present at the Council of Nicaea. For a list of bishops, see G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis II: Patriarchatus Alexandriae, Antiochae, Hierosolymitanae* (Padova, 1988) 639, Timm, *Christlich-koptische Ägypten* 1, 111-2, Worp, 'Checklist', 29 and Martin, *Athanase*, 71-2.

the more recent past, gave the contemporary community an understanding of its place in history. In Antinoopolis, the earliest evidence for a sanctuary of Colluthus can be found in Palladius' *Lausiac History* (*c*. 420). He speaks about several remarkable monks and nuns in Antinoopolis before he relates about an ascetic woman who 'went to the martyr in that *topos*, named Colluthus', had breakfast there and received comforting words from the martyr on the day before she died.[266] Apparently, at the beginning of the fifth century, the local saint Colluthus had a sanctuary people could turn to in times of need.[267] If this date is correct, this would make this sanctuary a rather early example of a saint's cult. Nevertheless, archaeological traces of a sanctuary of Colluthus indeed appear as early as the fifth century.[268] In the sixth century, various churches and monasteries are mentioned in the papyri and the archaeological record reveals the ruins of many churches and chapels. By this century, the sanctuary of Colluthus had become famous, receiving many, mainly local, visitors of the lower or middle classes.[269]

People made the journey for manifold purposes and this brings us to the second aspect of the cognitive ecology, the cognitive artefacts. In the previous chapter, we have seen that the churches of the martyrs of Oxyrhynchus functioned as places to celebrate the martyr's feast, as charitable institutions and as places to receive oracles. In this chapter, we will see how the martyr Colluthus not only reminded the community of their shared history, but also how his oracle and healing centre fulfilled an important role in their present-day lives. Saints like Colluthus were, in the words of Ann Marie Yasin, 'tacitly acknowledged as patrons to whom thanks was owed for past and presumably future intervention'.[270]

266 Pall. *h. Laus*. 60.8-9: καὶ παραστὰς αὐτῇ ὁ μάρτυς ὁ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, Κόλλουθου ὀνόματι.

267 For discussions of the word *topos* see É. Bernand, 'Τόπος dans les inscriptions grecques d'Égypte', *ZPE* 98 (1993) 103-10 and Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 269-70. The latter concludes that the word *topos* could be alternated with words such as οἶκος, ἐκκλησία and εὐκτήριον. It thus seems to have served as term with a wide variety of meanings. At her 'Cult of Saints', 354 she settles on the translation of ὁ μάρτυς ὁ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ as 'the local martyr'.

268 M. Manfredi, 'Notizie sugli scavi recenti ad Antinoe', in M. Gigante (ed.), *Atti del 17 congresso internazionale di papirologia*, 3 vols. (Napels, 1983) 2.85-96 at 91.

269 Papaconstantinou, 'Haven of Continuity', 362 refutes hagiography's claim that large-scale pilgrimage to saints' sanctuaries took place by showing that according to the documentary evidence most visitors were locals and the pilgrim from afar was the exception rather than the rule. The only two martyrs' shrines with an international reputation were the sanctuaries of Cyrus and John at Menouthis and Menas at Abu Mina. As for the sanctuary of Colluthus, most of the visitors were indeed locals. U. Zanetti, 'Note textologique sur S. Colluthus', *AB* 114 (1996) 10-24 at 10-1 remarks that Colluthus does not seem to have been known outside Egypt, with the exception of the Ethiopian *Synaxarium*. Luijendijk, '"If You Order"', 218 points out that the simple bronze votive objects indicate a clientele of the lower or middle classes.

270 Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces*, 226.

This leads us to the last element of the cognitive ecology, the social surroundings. How the social situation of every individual bridges the gap between individual and collective memory becomes clearer when we differentiate between 'personal memory', 'habit memory' and 'factual memory', terms that were explained in the General Introduction.[271] Visitors brought their own fears and worries, their 'personal memories', with them to the sanctuary of Colluthus. Their 'habit memories' told them to use certain divination techniques to receive answers on pressing questions from the oracle and to employ certain healing rituals to restore health at the healing centre. Furthermore, they must have had certain expectations of the physician saint, based on their general knowledge or 'factual memories' of Colluthus. In short, these three kinds of memory all cooperate in the process of remembering.

In this chapter, the literary and documentary records of Colluthus of Antinoopolis give us a fuller and more close-up picture of the cult of the martyrs as it was lived in time and space. As in the previous chapter, we turn to consider the memories of Colluthus from the cognitive perspectives on memory. In doing so, it allows us to glimpse in action the 'physician', the 'martyr' and the 'miracle worker' – the three terms that form the title of this chapter. These labels, although they occur in bitter opposition in the writings of Church fathers, show the different roles a martyr could play simultaneously. Together, they reveal the main characteristics of the memories of Colluthus in Late Antique Antinoopolis. We will first get to know the physician saint by discussing the three versions of the *Passion of Colluthus*. Next, an analysis of two *encomia* on Colluthus in their local, Egyptian context will allow us to view the cult of the martyrs from the viewpoints of local bishops and show their struggle with the orchestration of the commemoration of the 'very special dead'. In contrast to the mainly literary sources in the first two sections of the chapter, the third section will focus on the papyrological and archaeological evidence for the cult of Colluthus. The archaeological evidence for a healing centre and the many oracular tickets found at the North Necropolis provide us with an image of the cult of the martyrs as practiced in Antinoopolis. By bringing the literary and documentary records of Colluthus together, I aim to provide a more complete understanding of the development of his commemoration in Late Antique Antinoopolis.

3.2 The *Passion of Colluthus*

Looking more generally at memories of Colluthus, we can turn to the three different versions of his passion for a first introduction to the martyr. In the *Passion of Colluthus* as found in a manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library, the listeners are taken back to the twentieth year of the reign 'of the lawless Emperors Diocletian and Max-

271 See above, pp. 19-22.

imian' and the third year of Constantine, whose name does not carry the adjective 'lawless'.[272] On 19 May of that year, that is, 304, Colluthus stands trial in Antinoopolis. On the judgement seat sits Satrius Arianus, governor of the Thebaid, known from many other Christian martyr stories, including the *Passion of Paphnutius*, as we will see in the next chapter.[273] In these martyr stories he is cast in the role of the villain, the notorious persecutor who tortures the Christians brought to trial but who, according to legend, is eventually converted himself. In the *Passion of Colluthus*, however, he tries his best to persuade this otherwise respectable citizen of Antinoopolis to sacrifice.[274] Equally un-martyr-like, Colluthus remarks about the 'kindness' of his interrogator and does not say much during the trial.[275] When Arianus asks him why he does not speak, Colluthus answers that it is not appropriate for him to give long speeches in front of a judge.[276] When he does speak, it is obvious that he has made up his mind and Arianus' attempts to change it are to no avail. He refuses time to reconsider his decision and is burned alive on the same day.

From Arianus' repeated appeals to Colluthus' common sense and wisdom, it occurs once again that in the mind of a Roman magistrate, it was simply inconceivable that a well-educated person could fail to observe the Roman rituals. The courtroom was a place for 'murderers, temple robbers, violators of graves, adulterers and villains' – not for a well-educated citizen who would not pay his respects to the gods.[277] In the mind of a Christian, however, refusing to sacrifice would mean breaking a worldly law while agreeing to sacrifice would make him an apostate for eternity. As

272 *Passion of Colluthus* (ed. Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 40): ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲙⲁϫⲓⲙⲓⲛⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ.

273 See below, p. 99.

274 See also P.Duke inv. 438, the short account of the martyrdom of Stephen, a priest from the village of Lenaios in the Thebaid, published by P. van Minnen, 'The Earliest Account of a Martyrdom in Coptic', *AB* 113 (1995) 13-38. In this account, Arianus urges Stephen to sacrifice and only condemns him to death after the priest has repeatedly refused to perform the sacrifice. A patient Arianus is also observable in the *Passion of Psote* (ed. T. Orlandi, *Il dossier copto del martire Psote* [Milan, 1978] 24-41, specifically the scenes at pp. 30-7) and many other texts.

275 *Passion of Colluthus* (ed. Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 52): ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁϊⲣⲱⲙⲉ.

276 Though strictly speaking, as Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 187 notes, Colluthus has not been given any time to speak during Arianus' long monologue.

277 *Passion of Colluthus* (ed. Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 42): ⲉⲛⲉϥⲟⲛⲉ̣ⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲱⲗⲗⲣ̄ⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲃⲉⲣⲃⲉⲣⲕⲱⲱⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲟⲣⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲱⲗϥⲧⲉ. In the Greek *Passion of Paphnutius* 21 (ed. Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 335 = Appendix 1, pp. 162-3), which we will discuss in more detail in the third chapter, Arianus gives the Christian Nestorius a similar reply: Ἀριανὸς δὲ ἀναβλέψας καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν Νεστόριον λέγει αὐτῷ· 'Νεστόριε, ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς πηγῆς τῆς μανίας ἐποτίσθητε· ἢ οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι οἱ λῃσταὶ κ(αὶ) οἱ ἱερόσυλοι κρίνονται ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματός μου; 'When he looked up and saw Nestorius, Arianus said to him: 'Nestorius, have you all drunk from the same spring of madness? Or do you not know that robbers and temple-plunderers are judged before my tribunal?'. Note that when referring to passages from the *Passion of Paphnutius*, I give the paragraph numbers used in the Appendices.

Colluthus explains shortly later, the temporal anger of the emperor was by far preferable to the eternal anger of God. Arianus does not understand this worldview and, interestingly, points out that not all Christians think in the same way as Colluthus. He mentions that Apollonius, bishop of Lykopolis, voluntarily sacrificed and is now honoured by his community because he did not have himself executed. Plutarchus, bishop of Apollinopolis Parva, also sacrificed voluntarily and is still a bishop. The latter bishop is otherwise unknown, but the former is known from an angry letter allegedly written by Peter, the bishop of Alexandria:

> I am grieved indeed for this sheep who has strayed – or rather for this shepherd whom the evil hunter has [caught] and has caused [him] to stray to him [...] and has brought him low through the awakening of evil thoughts and the idolatry of <those whom> I consider to fall away through a fateful misstep (?) and to have betrayed their own selves. (...) I wonder about you, that you should join in debate with the enemies of Him in whose name you were baptized. Who has put this beast's heart in you?[278]

'Peter' answers this question himself, writing that he suspects that Apollinarius has put these ideas in the mind of the bishop of Lykopolis. This anachronistic element, Bishop Apollinarius of Laodicea was born in 310 and would thus have been only a year old when Peter died, reveals that this document is a memory rather than an authentic letter.[279] In the ninth or tenth century, to which the letter is palaeographically dated, a scribe remembered Bishop Apollonius of Lykopolis as a heretic who had to be reprimanded by Peter of Alexandria. In the *Passion of Colluthus*, Apollonius is also depicted as a lapsed bishop. According to its composer, Arianus had heard of or perhaps even presided over a trial in which Bishop Apollonius had apostatized, with approval of his community, and is now asking why Colluthus would not do the same.

The *Passion of Colluthus* consists of the basic elements present in other martyrdoms: the interrogation of the martyr, his confession of Christianity and his persistence in faith. It lacks, however, almost all the other ingredients found in other Cop-

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278 *Letter to Apollonius of Lykopolis* (ed. and trans. J.W.B. Barns and H. Chadwick, 'A Letter Ascribed to Peter of Alexandria', *JThS* 24 [1973] 443-55 at 451-2, 454): ⲁⲩⲡⲉⲓ ⲧⲱⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲉⲓⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥⲥⲱⲣⲙ̄· ⲙⲁⲗ[ⲗⲟ]ⲛ̣ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲥ· [ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ]ⲡⲟⲉⲣⲥ̣ ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ· [ⲥⲟⲡ]ⲭ̄· ⲁϥⲥⲱⲣⲉ̣ⲙ […] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥ[ⲧ]ⲁⲩⲟϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⳿ⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲉ̣⳿ⲩⲡⲓⲁ̣ⲥⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙ[ⲉⲉ]ⲩ̣ ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉϥⲱⲙⲱ[ⲉ]ⲉⲓⲁ̣ⲱⲁⲟⲛ̣ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ· ⲭⲉ ⲥⲉ⳿[ⲉ ⲉ]ⲃⲟ[ⲗ ⳿]ⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ̈… ⲱⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁ̣ⲁⲓⲁⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲛ· ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ. (…) ⲧⲣⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̣ⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲕⲥⲩⲛ̣ⲏⲧⲉⲓ ⲙ̣ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲭ[ⲓ]ⲡⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲙⲁ ⲉⲡⲉ̣ⲣⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ⳿ [ⲛⲁⲕ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲏⲧ ⲛ̄[ⲑⲏ]ⲣⲓⲟⲛ̣.

279 Due to the rather self-justifying tone of the letter, Barns and Chadwick, 'A Letter', 449 deem it possible that the letter has authentic elements or even is an authentic document from Peter's pen. However, not only the anachronistic elements in the letter itself, but also the context in which it was found does not convince one that it is a fourth-century document: the letter was transmitted together with other texts about Peter that were clearly inspired by his martyrdom account and include anachronistic references to e.g. the Sunday observance.

tic hagiographies.[280] There is no long, theological discussion between Arianus and Colluthus, there are no detailed descriptions of gruesome tortures – Colluthus is only hung on the so-called *hermetarion* at the very end – or miracle stories to impress bystanders, nor are there comforting visions from either Christ or the archangels.[281] Instead, the account relates about the trial of Colluthus in a rather simple and sober way, apart from a few exceptions in which one could see the hand of an editor.[282] First, when Arianus orders a fire to be made, he briefly addresses the fire not to harm Colluthus yet. Second, when Colluthus mentions the kindness of his interrogator and Arianus thinks that he has finally talked some sense into the Christian, this impression is immediately destroyed as Colluthus continues by saying that he will not be tempted by kind words. This moment, when the martyr lets the elated judge miss the mark, often occurs in Coptic martyr stories.[283] A third example of editing is visible when Arianus finally loses his patience with Colluthus and tells him to act wisely, to which Colluthus ironically answers that he has been acting wisely the entire time. This reply, too, frequently features in Coptic hagiographical literature.[284]

The elaborations in the *Passion of Colluthus* as preserved in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript become even more visible when comparing this text with a fragment from Berlin, which contains only the end of the passion. In the Berlin fragment, Arianus gives his sentence in a much more neutral way and Colluthus receives it without emotionally thanking Christ. Even the joyous arrival of the soul of the martyr in heaven is not described. This fragment thus gives a soberer retelling of the trial of Colluthus than the version in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript. On the other side of the spectrum a fragment from Paris is found, which stands in sharp contrast

280 The standardization of scenes in Coptic hagiography was first described by Amélineau, *Actes des martyrs*, 210. See also Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 138-48, Zandee, 'Patroon der martyria', 1-28 and Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 95.

281 The *hermetarion* was a stake to which prisoners were tied to be flogged, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. ἑρμητάριον, with J. Vergote, 'Eculeus, Rad- und Pressefolter in den ägyptischen Märtyrerakten', *ZNTW* 37 (1938) 239-50, 'Les principaux modes de supplice chez les Anciens et dans les textes chrétiens', *BIBR* 20 (1939) 141-63 and 'Folterwerkzeuge', in *RAC* VIII (1972) 112-41 at 135-6.

282 See the commentary by Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 66, 72-3, 75.

283 In the Greek *Passion of Paphnutius* 27 (ed. Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 337-8 = Appendix 1, pp. 169-70), a boy asks the governor to see the edict of the emperors, only to throw it into the fire. In a similar way, in the Sahidic *Passion of George* (ed. E.A.W. Budge, *The Martyrdom and Miracles of Saint George of Cappadocia* [London, 1888] 33) and the *Passion of Philotheus of Antioch* (unpublished, see T. Orlandi, 'Il dossier copto di S. Filoteo di Antiochia', *AB* 96 [1978] 117-20), the martyr pretends to agree to make a sacrifice while in reality only finding himself a better place to destroy idols.

284 See e.g. the *Passion of Victor Stratelates* (ed. E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* [London, 1914] 38), in which the judge urges Victor to be wise and perform the sacrifice, to which the latter answers ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲛⲅ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲃⲉ 'I have been wise the entire time' (Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 75).

with both the Pierpont Morgan manuscript and the Berlin palimpsest. In this version of the *Passion of Colluthus*, the Great Persecution is presented as the time in which 'Diocletian and Maximian, the lawless emperors, persecuted the Christians'.[285] Colluthus insults Arianus, the emperors and the gods immediately after the first order to sacrifice. The martyr uses his extended knowledge of the Bible in elaborate replies and generally acts with more self-awareness than the Colluthus known from the Pierpont Morgan manuscript and the Berlin fragment.[286] Arianus in turn reacts in a furious and violent way and torture instruments are brought out straightaway. The first miracle occurs just before the end of the fragment, when Colluthus is hung on the *hermetarion*, crosses himself and the *hermetarion* breaks in two.

The three versions of the *Passion of Colluthus* that we have discussed paint different pictures of the past, both in the way in which they present Colluthus and the manner in which they speak about the Persecution. In the previous chapter, we already noted that the reading of the martyr story by the bishop at the anniversary of the martyr would both create and constitute a collective memory.[287] This memory would change with the passage of time, with the persecutions no longer being living memories but stories belonging to the past. The wide variety of literary styles in the hagiographical papyri from Oxyrhynchus, however, also showed that different kinds of memories existed alongside each other and chronological reconstructions of the development of a martyr story are thus not without difficulties.[288] Therefore, before we conclude that we can chart a path leading from a simple and short martyrdom account of Colluthus (the Berlin fragment) to a more elaborate story (the Pierpont Morgan manuscript) and finally the Coptic consensus (the Paris fragment), we need to pause for a moment and take a closer look at the validity of such a reconstruction.[289]

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285 *Passion of Colluthus* (ed. Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 86): ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗⲏⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙⲁⲝⲙⲓⲛⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲇⲓⲱⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲛⲉⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ.

286 The way in which such scriptural allusions have been put to use in the *Passion of Collluthus* are well explored by Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 22-32, who points out that by quoting the Bible, the humble martyr confesses to the almighty God and follows the example of Christ and the apostles. The centrality of Scripture in martyr stories has been noted by several scholars, who observe that the many citations form a biblical canvas upon which the martyr's death is painted. On the use of biblical quotations and allusions in early hagiography, see e.g. M. Van Uytfanghe, 'L'empreinte biblique sur la plus ancienne hagiographie occidentale', in J. Fontaine and C. Pietri (eds.), *Le monde latin antique et la Bible* (Paris, 1985) 565-611.

287 See above, pp. 52-3, 64-5.

288 See above, pp. 43-8.

289 For the editions and German translations of the Pierpont Morgan manuscript, the Berlin palimpsest and the Paris fragment see Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier* 33-103. In addition to these three texts, two small fragments containing the beginning of the martyrdom have been preserved. See for editions and discussions of these fragments P. Devos, 'Un étrange miracle copte de saint Kolouthos: le paralytique et la prostituée', *AB* 98 (1980) 363-79 and 'Autres miracles coptes de

When in 1974 Eve Reymond and John Barns dated the *Passion of Colluthus* as preserved in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript to the early fourth century, they compared the text with the *Passion of Phileas*.[290] According to Eusebius, Phileas was the bishop of Thmuis, martyred during the Great Persecution.[291] Until 1964, however, the *Passion of Phileas* was extant only in Latin versions and its authenticity was seriously doubted.[292] This changed when the first fourth-century papyrus fragment containing an interrogation of Phileas was published.[293] Impressed by the account of the fifth hearing of Phileas, with theological and philosophical questions but without the usual tortures or miracles, scholars almost thought that they had found a literal transcription of the actual court proceedings. Reymond and Barns published their edition of the *Passion of Colluthus* before scholarly consensus changed again in 1984, when another fragmentary fourth-century papyrus was published.[294] This fragment contains similar questions and answers, but the account is written without the emphasis on the nobility and goodness of Phileas and the replies of the bishop are given without the touch of arrogance found in the other fragment. Apparently, two different versions of the *Passion of Phileas* – the one written in a simpler fashion than the other – were circulating in the fourth century.[295] So also the *Passion of Colluthus* in the Berlin palimpsest and the Pierpont Morgan manuscript – both lacking the tortures and miracle-scenes from the Paris fragment – may have been told around the same time.

Today, scholars disagree with Reymond and Barns' suggestion that the account in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript may be a copy of the original court proceedings or an account of a Christian eyewitness. Instead, it seems to preserve an early Chris-

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saint Kolouthos', *AB* 99 (1981) 285-301, and E. Lucchesi, 'Encore un débris de feuillet du codex "kolouthien" du Monastère Blanc', in U. Zanetti and E. Lucchesi (eds.), *Aegyptus christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire de P. Paul Devos bollandiste* (Geneva, 2004) 110.

290 Reymond and Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 8-10.

291 Eus. *h.e.*, 8.9.7-10.1, 11.

292 For a recent overview of the scholarship on Phileas, see A. Bausi, 'Dalla documentazione papiracea (*P.Bodm*. XX e *P.Chester Beatty* XV) alle raccolte agiografiche: la lunga storia degli *Acta Phileae* in versione etiopica', *Adamantius* 21 (2015) 155-70 at 155-8.

293 *P.Bod*. XX (ed. V. Martin, *Apologie de Philéas, Evêque de Thmouis* [Cologny-Geneva, 1964]).

294 *P.Chester Beatty* XV (ed. A. Pietersma, *The Acts of Phileas Bishop of Thmuis* [Geneva, 1984]).

295 For another, sixth-century papyrus in Coptic (*P.Köln* XII 492), see G. Schenke, 'Ein koptischer Textzeuge der Acta Phileae', in H. Knuf, C. Leitz and D. von Recklinghausen (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen* (Leuven, 2010) 609-15 and '*P.Köln* 492: Das Martyrium des Phileas von Thmuis', in C. Armoni et al. (ed.), *Kölner Papyri. Band 12* (Paderborn, 2010) 209-13. See also the corrections by A. Bausi, 'The Coptic Version of the *Acta Phileae*', *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter* 8 (2014) 11-3. For Phileas' rich hagiographical record in Ethiopic, see A. Bausi, *La versione etiopica degli* Acta Phileae *nel* Gadla sama'tat (Napels, 2002) and 'Dalla documentazione papiracea', 155-70.

tian memoir of Colluthus' martyrdom. Summing up present knowledge we can say the following: elements typical of court proceedings have been changed, in the dialogue between martyr and judge the former is more prominently present than the latter and the introductory and ending remarks frame the account as a hagiographical text. Based on this literary style, the story is dated to the fourth or fifth century.[296]

Scholars furthermore agree that the Paris fragment, considered the second redaction of Colluthus' martyr story, is a good example of the way in which simple and short martyr acts were turned into epic passions.[297] The Paris fragment, written in the style of Coptic consensus, would according to Orlandi's scheme be dated after the Council of Chalcedon or even later. However, Baumeister reports that even concerning the more sober accounts of the trial and the dramatic retelling of the martyrdom in the Paris fragment, one cannot determine which version is older.[298] In order to decide the dates of composition of these texts, one would need clues such as anachronistic nomenclature or correct or incorrect references to contemporary events.[299] Since such clues are lacking for the *Passion of Colluthus*, we might even think of the three different versions as belonging to three different communities

296 A. Pietersma and S.T. Comstock, 'Cephalon. A New Coptic Martyr,' in G.E. Kadish and G.E. Freeman (eds.), *Studies in Philology in Honour of R.J. Williams* (Toronto, 1982) 113-26 at 118; Orlandi, 'Hagiography, Coptic'; T. Baumeister, 'Fortschritte in der ägyptischen Hagiographie', in C. Fluck et al. (eds.), *Divitae Aegypti: Koptologische und verwandte Studien zu Ehren von Martin Krause* (Wiesbaden, 1995) 9-14 and Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 35-6.

297 In his overview of manuscripts of Colluthus, Zanetti, 'Note textologique', 12-3 places the martyrdom accounts in the Berlin fragment and Pierpont Morgan manuscript under the heading 'first passion of Colluthus'. Under this heading, he also lists two Arabic manuscripts. Under the heading 'second passion', he places the Paris fragment and an additional Arabic manuscript, on the grounds that in these manuscripts the trial of Colluthus takes place in Hermopolis instead of Antinoopolis. In agreement with Zanetti, Reymond and Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 11, Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 109 and Orlandi, 'Coptic Literature', 73 all take the Berlin fragment and the Pierpont Morgan codex together as 'Colluthus I' and the Paris fragment as 'Colluthus II'. Their argumentation, however, is not based on the different locations of the trial, but on the style in which the passions are written: they argue that the martyrdom account in the Berlin fragment belongs to the same type as the account in the Pierpont Morgan codex.

298 Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 109.

299 For the *Passion of Perpetua*, for instance, the mention of the birthday of Geta shows that an editor composed the passion at the beginning of the third century (see T.D. Barnes, *Tertullian* [Oxford, 1985] 263-5 and *Hagiography*, 67-8). Another example is the *Passion of Pionius*, in which the writer gives correct information about the cults, the civic organisation, the culture and many other elements of Roman Smyrna in the middle of the third century (see the edition by L. Robert, *Le martyre de Pionios, prêtre de Smyrne*, revised and completed by G.W. Bowersock and C.P.Jones [Washington, 1994] and the comments by Barnes, *Hagiography*, 74-6).

remembering the martyr.[300] After all, memories do not just change with the passage of time, but are different each time when they are called up in new contexts and adapted to new situations. Augustine, who had access to the original court proceedings as well as epic passions, preferred the former.[301] And whereas Symeon Metaphrastes became the most copied hagiographer of Byzantium, his well-read collection of revised, simpler and more logical hagiographical texts did not manage to replace or eradicate the earlier, more elaborate versions.[302] Even within the same culture memories are thus, in the words of Karl Galinsky, 'pluralistic and always a work in progress'.[303]

Finally, and most importantly, we have to take the material context of these manuscripts into account. All these stories were transmitted into the ninth century: both the Paris and the Berlin fragment are paleographically dated to the ninth century and the scribe who copied the *Passion of Colluthus* in the Pierpont Morgan codex dated his codex to 15 February 861.[304] Moreover, the Pierpont Morgan codex also includes an *encomium* on Colluthus, which gives a short description of the martyrdom that reflects the aggressive style of the Paris fragment rather than the more sober version in the same codex: the two different versions were apparently read alongside each other. It follows that different styles coexisted. The fourth- or fifth-century martyrdom account of Colluthus was transmitted for centuries with remarkable faithfulness and even collected in the same codex as an elaborate *encomium*. The three different versions of the *Passion of Colluthus* thus demonstrate both the fluidity and consistency of the memories of Colluthus.

300 C.R. Moss, *The Other Christs: Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian Ideologies of Martyrdom* (New York, 2010) viii remarks that 'just as we speak of ancient Christianities, we should speak of ancient ideologies of martyrdom'.

301 For a discussion of Augustine's opinion about hagiographical literature see C. Lepelley, 'Les réticences de saint Augustin face aux légendes hagiographiques d'après la lettre Divjak 29', in P. Rousseau and M. Papoutsakis (eds.), *Transformations of Late Antiquity. Essays for Peter Brown* (Farnham, 2009) 147-58.

302 See C. Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes: Rewriting and Canonization* (Copenhagen, 2002), esp. p. 9. I would like to thank Christodoulos Papavarnavas for the reference. For Byzantine hagiographers turning epic martyr stories into more logical and believable texts, see above, p. 14 (n. 60).

303 Galinsky, 'Introduction', 1.

304 The colophon reveals that the manuscript was made for a certain monk named Khael of the monastery of Saint Michael near today's Hamuli in the Faiyum, where the manuscript was also discovered. For a description of the codex see L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 1993) 1.301-5.

3.3 Praising the Physician Saint

The public reading of the martyrdom account at the sanctuary of the martyr endowed the stories with authority and power. Hagiographers producing and editing them were well aware of the potential for disseminating their own views of the past and ideas for the present through these stories.[305] In the previous chapter, we have indeed seen that martyr stories were first and foremost meant to tell the Christian community about the history they shared, not only with their neighbours who had come to listen to the story in the local church, but with all their fellow Christians of the universal church.[306] This collective past shaped their present identity: the martyr and the loyal members of his Christian community, who defended him, took care of him while in prison and eventually buried him, functioned as Christian role-models. Hagiographical literature indeed paints pictures of ideal Christian communities, as, in the words of Papaconstantinou, 'the ecclesiastical circles in which these texts were written wanted to give the Christian community a model of behaviour and an ideal image of itself'.[307] But in order to give an ideal image, the author needed to paint a realistic portrait as well. He had to give information about the communities to whose recollections of the past and ideas about the present he was responding. This dialogue, and the different functions of a martyr story, can be seen in two *encomia* written in honour of Colluthus.

Let us turn to Antinoopolis at the time of Bishop Isaac, when the martyr cult of Colluthus was flourishing. At Colluthus' anniversary, the Antinoopolites gathered at his sanctuary and listened to the sermon by Isaac, in which he remembered and praised the saint. The service ended with a festive evening meal, when Isaac invited the congregation to go 'to the holy offering, which is the body and the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ'.[308] In the previous chapter, we have seen that the celebrations of a martyr's anniversary could last a couple of days.[309] In line with this observation, Schenke proposes that Isaac presumably read his long *encomium* (which fills more than 54 folia of a codex!) over the course of a few days.[310] His *encomium* reveals how a local Christian community pictured their city at the time of the Persecution and what they imagined the martyrdom of one of their members to have been like. To-

305 Hagiographies are indeed, in the words of A. Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire* (Berkeley, 1991) 146, 'full of meaning, signs by which Christians taught one another how to interpret the present and past and how to live in the future'.

306 See above, pp. 53, 65.

307 Papaconstantinou, 'Historiography, Hagiography', 85. See also Rapp, 'Storytelling', 431-8, who has coined the discourse between the hagiographer and his audience 'spiritual communication'.

308 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Thompson, 'Encomium', in Depuydt, *Encomiastica* 1, 83): ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅.

309 See above, p. 53.

310 Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 107.

day, however, not much is known about Bishop Isaac and even the time in which he lived is contested.[311] Therefore, before we start looking at the *encomium* in more detail, it is necessary to consider the different suggestions made about the time in which Isaac wrote it.

A first option is given by Giorgio Fedalto, who states that Isaac was bishop of Antinoopolis around 1086, so that the *encomium* thus must have been written in the eleventh century.[312] Secondly, the editors of the *encomium* argue that Isaac composed his *encomium* in the seventh century.[313] A third proposal is made by Stefan Timm and Klaas Worp, who posit, albeit without explanation, that Isaac was bishop of Antinoopolis between the fifth and seventh century.[314]

Fedalto's statement can be refuted by looking at the manuscript evidence. The only complete version of the *encomium* is preserved in the same Pierpont Morgan codex that also contains the only complete version of the *Passion of Colluthus*.[315] This codex was copied on 14 February 861, which proves that the manuscript is older than the eleventh century.[316] Currently, the *terminus ante quem* thus lies in 861.

The editor of the *encomium* argues for an earlier date of composition in the seventh century, pointing out that the work belongs to a cycle: Isaac mentions a Bishop Pinoution of Antinoopolis and his son Philip, who also died during the Persecution. A tendency towards the creation of cycles, however, was already apparent in the fourth and fifth centuries and evolved in the sixth to eighth centuries.[317] The *Encomium on Colluthus* may thus stand at the beginning of this development, whereas the creation of a full-blown cycle around Colluthus seems to stem from a later date,

311 See S. Emmel and K.H. South, 'Isaac of Antinoopolis' *Encomium on Colluthus* for 24 Pashons (19 May). A Newly Identified Coptic Witness', *AB* 114 (1996) 5-9. Apart from this *encomium*, Isaac's name occurs in another *Encomium on Colluthus* by his hand, in which he speaks about the discovery of the martyr's body and the construction of a church in his honour. For a short discussion of this *encomium* see Zanetti, 'Note textologique', 18.

312 Fedalto, *Hierarchia*, 639.

313 L. Depuydt, 'Texts', in Depuydt, *Encomiastica* 1, ix-xiii at xiii and S.A. Harvey, 'Introduction', in Dupuydt, *Encomiastica* 2, v-xvii at v.

314 Timm, *Christlich-koptische Ägypten* 1, 113 and Worp, 'Checklist', 296.

315 See the discussion of the manuscript by Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 113-38. In addition, four Arabic manuscripts have been preserved. Possibly, as Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 16 suggests, Isaac's *encomium* was considered to be a masterpiece and was thus preserved as an exemplary speech alongside the martyr story.

316 Apart from the Pierpont Morgan manuscript, there is a ninth- or tenth-century manuscript containing a description of the lives of the parents of Colluthus and a seventh- or eighth-century manuscript containing the prediction of the martyrdom of Colluthus by the Archangel Gabriel. For the editions and German translations of these manuscripts see Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 138-91.

317 Orlandi, 'Hagiography, Coptic', 1194. See also Papaconstantinou, 'Hagiography in Coptic', 329-30.

when the *Synaxarium* has renamed the bishop Abadion.[318] Abadion's martyrdom was followed by a massacre of Christians in Antinoopolis, in the course of which 58,000 Christians are said to have been executed. As De Lacey O'Leary notes, the story of Bishop Abadion belongs to a cycle of other stories around Colluthus found in the *Synaxarium*, among them the martyr stories of the siblings Banina and Naou, Bishop Callinicus and Psate, who used to herd goats together with a boy named Agrippidus, the later Emperor Diocletian.[319]

As the appearance of Pinoution and Philip does not provide us with sufficient proof, we need to take a closer look at the contents of the *encomium* for a possible date of composition. As we will see below, the focus of the *encomium* is on the life and miracles of Colluthus, presenting him as a heroic martyr and holy man. At least by the end of the fourth century, martyrdom accounts influenced monastic literature and in their turn, monks' *vitae* inspired thematic extensions in martyr stories and *encomia*.[320] It seems, however, unlikely that the *Encomium on Colluthus* was first composed in say, the 380s, when the Persecution was still in the domain of living memories. The artificial character of the *encomium* – filled with features typical of hagiography, from the pious childhood of Colluthus to the prediction of his martyrdom by Gabriel – suggests that the story is a later 'invention of tradition'. A composition date between the fifth or seventh century, when the cult of Colluthus was flourishing, seems likely and I therefore agree with Timm and Worp that Isaac must have lived in this period.

The *Encomium on Colluthus* attributed to the bishop of Antinoopolis tells the story of the hero of his village during the Persecution. As hagiographers commonly do, Isaac gives information about the martyr's hometown, his family and the beginning of the persecution.[321] He gives Colluthus strong roots in Antinoopolis, presenting him as the child of a wealthy family from that city. The bishop reminds his audience that until today, peasants are known as 'properties of Heraclammon the

318 *PO* 3, pp. 543-5 (30 Choiak = 26 December) and 11, pp. 759-64 (1 Mecheir = 26 January), (27 Choiak = 23 December) and 78, p. 451 (1 Mecheir = 26 January). W.E. Crum, 'Colluthus, the Martyr and His Name', *ByzZ* 30 (1929-30) 323-7 at 327 already notes that the Coptic name Pinoution changed to Abadion in the Arabic tradition. About the spelling of the name Abadion, see Horn, *Studien zu den Märtyrern* 2, 61 (n. 247). The bishop also occurs in the Pierpont Morgan manuscript, where Reymond and Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 14 (n. 74) suggest the reading 'Apa Dion'.

319 O'Leary, *Saints of Egypt*, 61.

320 See e.g. Bremmer, 'Heroes to Saints', 62-3.

321 Sometimes, the hagiographer gives a rich biography about the martyr's life before the persecution, as is the case with Menas (ed. J. Drescher, *Apa Mena: A Selection of Coptic Texts Relating to St. Menas* [Cairo, 1949] 39-47) and the martyrs Panine and Paneu (ed. W.C. Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyerlegenden: Texte, Übersetzungen und Indices*, 2 vols. [Rome, 1935-1936] 1.55), and sometimes only a comment about the pious parents is made, such as in the *Encomium on Macrobius* (ed. Hyvernat, *Actes des martyrs*, 227). See further Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 92.

governor', Heraclammon being the father of Colluthus.[322] The physician martyr is said to have lived his entire life in Antinoopolis. Isaac only tells about a visit to Hermopolis, where Colluthus accidentally heals a blind man and subsequently does not want to return to that city since he fears that he will become famous there. After his trial and martyrdom in Antinoopolis, the martyr is – as most martyrs were – buried in his hometown. Isaac mentions that at the site of his burial many miracles occurred.

Naturally, Colluthus' attempts not to become famous were in vain. Although most of the miracles that Isaac mentions happened to inhabitants from Antinoopolis, the bishop stresses that the saint is well known in the whole province, and indeed in all of Egypt. The Colluthus of Isaac is not just a local martyr who belonged to the universally persecuted Church, but a member of the local Christian community at Antinoopolis who had become a famous saint: 'For we know this, that the entire land of Egypt rejoices today, celebrating the feast of the Saint Colluthus'.[323] The idea that the local saint could or did benefit the whole country is found in several other stories, most notably the *Passion of Paphnutius*. In this passion, which we will discuss in more detail in chapter three, the protagonist converts all the inhabitants of his city and if not for his martyrdom would have continued converting citizens of other Egyptian cities.[324]

Colluthus, begins Isaac, suffered with the people as Moses did before and trusted in God like David did. Apart from telling the story of a heroic martyr, the bishop thus also presents the story of Colluthus' life as the biography of a holy man. As a faithful martyr and a wise holy man, Colluthus is presented as the ultimate Christian role-model. The audience would have been familiar with the story of Abraham and Sarah, and indeed many other parents of Christian saints, who, like Colluthus' parents, miraculously bore a child late in life. Furthermore, Colluthus' extremely sober diet, his many prayers, almsgiving to the poor, dressing in rags out of fear for God, refusal to marry and threat to withdraw to the desert are typical features in the lives

322 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Thompson, 'Encomium', in Depuydt, *Encomiastica* 1, 58): ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ϩⲏⲣⲁⲕⲗⲁⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲁⲟⲩ̈.

323 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Thompson, 'Encomium', in Depuydt, *Encomiastica* 1, 50): ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲉϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲣⲁⲱⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲣ ⲱⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲟⲗⲟⲑⲟⲥ.

324 Greek *Passion of Paphnutius* 41 (ed. Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 342 = Appendix 1. pp. 178-9): Δέσποτα, μὴ ἐάσωμεν τὸν ἄν(θρωπ)ον τοῦτον παρακολουθεῖν ἡμῖν, εἰ δὲ μή γε καταδύσει τὰς πόλεις ταῖς μαγείαις αὐτοῦ 'Master, let us not allow this man to follow us, so that he does not make the cities sink with his magical tricks'. For a later example see e.g. *Life of Pesynthius* (ed. É. Amélineau, *Étude sur le christianisme en Égypte au septième siècle* [Paris, 1888-1895] 84) about the monk, bishop and Saint Pesynthius of Koptos: ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲡⲓⲥⲉⲛⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲭⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ ⲃⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲑⲟⲱ ⲛ̄ⲃⲏⲕⲓ ⲙⲁⲗⲗⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲭⲱⲟⲩⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲱϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲭⲱⲣⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ 'Our father, the holy Abba Pesynthius, who illuminated our poor nome, and what is more, was the protector of our whole country'.

of holy men. In a similar way, the prediction of his future martyrdom by the Archangel Gabriel would not have come unexpected for those listening to the *encomium*.[325]

When the Great Persecution breaks out, Isaac is no different from other hagiographers in describing it as an effort to expunge Christianity from the Roman Empire.[326] He paints a picture of a Persecution disrupting the peaceful lives of Christians and dividing their families. According to the bishop, Diocletian ordered that idols should be worshipped and Christians killed and the infamous Arianus was overjoyed with the news. He destroyed churches, burnt Scriptures, built 'pagan' temples and brought out the idols. Among his Christian victims were Bishop Pinoution of Antinoopolis and Colluthus. In the short passage about the trial, Colluthus immediately curses Arianus, who reacts by sending Colluthus to prison in Hermopolis. Bishop Isaac also brings a family-tragedy to the story, as his Arianus is married to a cousin of Colluthus, a girl the physician had refused to marry earlier in the *encomium*. When Arianus sends Colluthus to prison, Colluthus' aunt is angry with her son-in-law and does not let her daughter see her husband.[327]

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325 The martyr would commonly receive a prediction of his future martyrdom from an archangel or receive a vision from Jesus or God. See e.g. the *Passion of Anoup* (ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 26-7), in which the Archangel Michael predicts Anoup's martyrdom, the *Passion of Heraklides* (ed. O. von Lemm, *Bruchstücke koptischer Märtyrerakten I-V* [St. Petersburg, 1913] 21-8), in which Heraklides receives a vision from Jesus and the *Passion of Apatil* (ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 92), in which Apatil receives a vision from God, who urges him to suffer martyrdom. In the *Passion of Didymus* (ed. Hyvernat, *Actes des martyrs*, 288), however, the martyr receives the prediction from ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ 'a man of light'.

326 Cf. the *Passion of Menas* (ed. Drescher, *Apa Mena*, 1): ⲁ[ⲩ]ⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ ⲛ̄[ⲧⲟⲓ]ⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲥⲓ[ⲧⲛ] ⲛⲉⲩⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ ⲉⲁⲩⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩϥ ⲉⲛⲉⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲁ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲏⲥ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲕ ⲥⲁⲧⲛ ⲛⲉⲃⲟⲟⲱ 'they threw the whole world into confusion with their edicts that they sent to all the cities under their rule, as far south as Philae near the Nubians' and the *Passion of Apatil* (ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 89), which begins with a beautiful scene about the outbreak of ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲱϥ† ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲱⲣⲙⲟⲥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲭⲣⲏⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲡ ϧⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ †ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲏ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ 'a great persecution against all Christians everywhere in the inhabited world'. The *Passion of Apatil* describes how Diocletian wrote his edict, how this edict was sent to Egypt and how terrible the consequences were before the actual martyrdom account begins. Another fascinating beginning is found in the *Passion of Didymus* (ed. Hyvernat, *Actes des martyrs*, 284-7), in which Diocletian listens to a report about the destruction of churches, burning of Scriptures and arrest and executions of Christians in Egypt, and then writes yet another edict. See Orlandi, 'Cycle', 668 for the passions belonging to the so-called 'cycle of Basilides', which famously tell how the once Christian Diocletian fell from his faith and initiated the persecution. Among the martyrs in this cycle are his former general Basilides and his family.

327 The *Synaxarium* offers an even more dramatic version of this episode, relating about Arianus' first visit to Antinoopolis. When the governor met Colluthus, he was so impressed by the physician's beauty and personality that he decided to marry a family member and thus became Colluthus' brother-in-law. Not long afterwards, the Persecution began and Colluthus was arrested and imprisoned. Protected by Arianus, however, he remained safely in prison. Only when Arianus was re-

Throughout the *encomium*, Isaac praises the piety of Colluthus, who 'fought well' and 'guarded the faith' during the Great Persecution.[328] Colluthus, however, was not just a heroic martyr of the Great Persecution and a holy man from the past. For Isaac's audience, the martyr also provided a powerful source of divine power for a wide range of believers. The *encomium* by Isaac illustrates that, however self-consciously Church fathers like Athanasius or monastic leaders like Shenoute condemned these aspects of the cult of the martyrs, it was the Church itself which became the driving force behind them. Just like Christian clergy had adjusted traditional 'magical' practices to new purposes, Christian churches and *martyria* adapted sanctuaries' once traditional functions such as incubation centres and oracles to a new reality.[329] Therefore, apart from introducing Colluthus as a Christian role-model, Isaac also promotes the miracles that were to prove the holiness of the physician saint. The bishop specifies:

> Chief physician of souls and bodies, you heal the bodily deceased through the energy that exists in your holy sanctuary. And you take away the spiritual sicknesses, that is, our sins, through prayers.[330]

> Saint Colluthus, the Devil deceives a multitude of men all the time while they remain in their sins, but when they enter your holy sanctuary and experience your miracles which occur in it, they renounce their sins and are under the shadow of your holy martyr's shrine until the day of their death.[331]

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placed by another governor was Colluthus brought out, tried, tortured and beheaded. For the story, see *PO* 16, pp. 412-3 (25 Pachon = 20 May).

328 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Thompson, 'Encomium', in Depuydt, *Encomiastica* 1, 48): ⲁϥⲙⲓⲱϵ ⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ […] ⲁϥⲉⲁⲣⲉ ⲉⲡⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ.

329 Recently, G.H. Renberg, *Where Dreams May Come*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2017) 2.745-807 has argued that the use of the word 'incubation', which does not appear in Late Antique evidence, is misleading. I agree that sleeping in cemeteries should not be confused with 'familiar and long-standing incubation practices' (Cf. Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt*, 141-2). As F. Graf, *Roman Festivals in the Greek East: From the Early Empire to the Middle Byzantine Era* (Cambridge, 2015) 241-67 ('Incubation in a Christian World', 2013[1]) and R. Wiśniewski, 'Looking for Dreams and Talking with Martyrs: The Internal Roots of Christian Incubation', in M. Vinzent (ed.), *Studia Patristica LXIX. Papers Presented at the Sixteenth International Conference of Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2011* (Leuven, 2013) 203-8 and *Beginnings*, 76-7 have demonstrated, Christians only started sleeping at sanctuaries decades or centuries after they had functioned as temples and although influence from the traditional cults and practices cannot be denied, this custom had clear roots in specifically Christian sources. Like Wiśniewski, however, I use the term because it conveniently covers these practices.

330 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Thompson, 'Encomium', in Depuydt, *Encomiastica* 1, 49): ⲱ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲁⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲙⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟ(ⲛ) ⲕⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲥⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲕⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲓⲕⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲕϥⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲗϩⲏ. Tr. based on S. Thompson, 'Encomium on St. Coluthus', in Depuydt, *Encomiastica* 2, 38-9.

331 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Thompson, 'Encomium', in Depuydt, *Encomiastica* 1, 49-50): ⲱ ⲡⲥⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲟⲗⲟⲩⲑⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲏⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲣ ⲥⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉⲩⲙⲏⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲛ

As authors of miracle stories commonly do, Isaac too makes a connection between faithfulness and physical health.[332] This connection is also apparent from the miracles stories that he recounts at the end of the *encomium*. For instance, Colluthus heals a man with a broken foot while at the same time urging him to sin no more.[333] And a cripple who has spent an entire month in the sanctuary of Colluthus without being healed finally gives up and wants to go home, when Colluthus appears and tells him that if he had believed, he would have been healed a long time ago.[334] By presenting Colluthus as a doctor for the body as well as the soul, Isaac presents the saint as both a wonder worker and a Christian teacher, thereby bridging the gap between cult and faith as found in the writings of so many Church fathers: Christians go to the sanctuary to find healing, but in the end it is their restored faith that leads to their restored health. The function of martyr stories to instruct and exhort is also obvious in the miracles stories that tell us not to lie and swear false oaths, certainly not to the saint himself: the man who swore a false oath to Colluthus and realized he had sinned, died at the spot.[335]

By reading his *encomium*, we can see how Isaac presented the shared past of the Christian Antinoopolites, how he used the image of Colluthus as a martyr and holy man to present them with a Christian role model and how he used the miracle stories as instructions on how they should behave. Martyr stories also functioned as cult aetiologies and Isaac indeed tells his audience about these miracles happening in a church built in Colluthus' honour. The sanctuary of Colluthus in Antinoopolis, which will be discussed below, was flourishing in Late Antiquity.[336]

The popularity of the physician saint throughout Egypt resulted in the building of churches dedicated to him in Antinoopolis as well as in other places. The second speech that we will discuss was given at the occasion of the festive opening of a new

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ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲙ ⲡⲧⲣⲉⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲓ ⲡⲓⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧϥ ⲱⲁⲩⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱⲙⲡⲉ ⲥⲁ ⲑⲁⲓⲃⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲁⲣⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲟⲩ. Tr. based on Thompson, 'Encomium on St. Coluthus, Attributed to Isaac of Antinoe', in Depuydt, *Encomiastica* 2, 35-64 at 38-9.

332 N.M. Takla, 'Healing and Salvation in Early Egyptian Christianity', *Coptica* 1 (2002) 161-8 argues that ⲧⲁⲗⲥⲟ 'healing' and ⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ 'salvation' were intricately linked through a discourse of good versus evil, as the physical healing from illness and the spiritual healing from sin were synonymous with the defeat of evil. Interesting in this respect is also the sixth-century Coptic letter *P.Clackson* 44. In this letter, the writer wishes the recipient physical and spiritual health and sends him 'oil of the holy altar' (r^0 33: ⲡⲛⲉϩ ⲙⲡⲑⲩⲥⲓⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ), a small piece of the cloak of Apa Severus, possibly Severus of Antioch (512-518), and a small cross. According to the editor, the language and orthography of the writer indicate that he was a high-ranking Christian official, probably a monastic leader.

333 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Thompson, 'Encomium', in Depuydt, *Encomiastica* 1, 67-9).

334 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Thompson, 'Encomium', in Depuydt, *Encomiastica* 1, 70-2).

335 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Thompson, 'Encomium', in Depuydt, *Encomiastica* 1, 82).

336 See below, pp. 87-96.

martyrium for Colluthus in Pneuit, a town about twenty kilometres from Panopolis.[337] Of this exceptionally long sermon, delivered by Bishop Phoibammon of Panopolis, only eight pages of parchment are extant, palaeographically dated to the ninth or tenth centuries.[338] Currently, the *terminus ante quem* thus lies in the tenth century. In the introduction to the *encomium*, the author notes that Phoibammon will tell something about the hardships that he endured as he accompanied Theodosius, the bishop of Alexandria (535-566), on his exile to Nubia in 535, giving us this year as the *terminus post quem*.[339] There is, however, no evidence that Theodosius was ever banished to Nubia. Instead, literary sources inform us that Theodosius and his clergy were summoned to the court of the Emperor Justinian (527-565) in Constantinople, banned to Derkos in Thrace, and returned to Constantinople when Theodora was empress.[340] For the author of the *encomium*, these historical facts were of minor importance. He might not have known the precise locations where Theodosius had lived, but instead wanted to show his audience that Phoibammon had been there with the miaphysite bishop. With this reference, the miaphysite author reveals that he probably lived at a time when Theodosius' reign was no longer in the domain of living memories.

The *encomium* by Phoibammon aptly illustrates the expertise of Late Antique hagiographers to link the present landscape to past historical or legendary events: when Phoibammon retells the story of the trial of Colluthus, he states that during the tortures, servants of Colluthus collected his blood and dropped it 'in this holy

337 For Pneuit see Timm, *Christlich-koptische Ägypten* 4, 1987-90 and, more recently, A.G. Lopez, *Shenoute of Atripe and the Uses of Poverty: Rural Patronage, Religious Conflict, and Monasticism in Late Antique Egypt* (Berkeley, 2013) 120.

338 The parchments contain page numbers, allowing for a reconstruction of the *encomium* and revealing at the same time its exceptional length. The introduction to the *encomium* and the beginning of Phoibammon's actual speech have been preserved in fragments from Paris. Then there follow twenty missing pages that probably described the birth and childhood of Colluthus. The first fragments from Vienna contain Colluthus' confession of Christianity before Arianus and are in turn followed by 43 missing pages presumably containing his stay in prison and execution. The last fragments from Vienna tell the miracle story about the childless couple praying for a child. See also Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 152 and in the Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity database (available online at http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk), no. E012665. E00667, and Zanetti, 'Note textologique', 20, who mentions that a complete but unedited Arabic manuscript of Phoibammon's *encomium* survives. As stated in the text, this is the second *encomium* Phoibammon presented.

339 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 162). P. Grossmann, 'Phoibammon von Panopolis und das Kolluthos Martyrium in Pnewit', *Journal of Coptic Studies* 12 (2010) 19-31, reasons that since Phoibammon became bishop of Panopolis after his return, the *terminus post quem* of his *encomium* is 536. According to G. Schenke in the Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity database (available online at http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk), no. E00667, the reference to Theodosios also suggests a sixth century date for the composition of the *encomium*.

340 E. Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie anterieure au VI^e siècle* (Leuven, 1951) 158-9. For Phoibammon see also Timm, *Christlich-koptische Ägypten* 1, 83 and Worp, 'Checklist', 304.

well'.[341] At the site of the new sanctuary, probably within view of the well, the audience was told that 'everyone who is ill may be healed when he washes himself in it'.[342] Phoibammon, however, presents the new sanctuary of Colluthus in Pneuit not simply as a new healing centre, but as a rival sanctuary to the one in Antinoopolis. This becomes evident later in his *encomium*, when he relates about a childless couple travelling to the sanctuary of Colluthus in Antinoopolis. There, the martyr tells them that he is no longer active in Antinoopolis, but that Jesus has personally sent him to Pneuit. If the couple wishes to find healing, they should travel to the newly opened sanctuary there.[343] After their arrival in Pneuit, the couple sleeps in the *topos* of Colluthus and at night the martyr tells them to drink 'the water, in which he [= the *oikonomos*] washes the table and the chalice' and their prayers will come true.[344]

One may indeed wonder what the people in Phoibammon's audience thought of this rival sanctuary, as among the feast-goers were not only the governor of the Thebaid and most of the elite of Panopolis, but also Bishop Kosma of Antinoopolis.[345] In any case, the public opening of the sanctuary generated the necessary common knowledge to acknowledge a new holy place: everyone in the audience was aware of their fellow Christians venerating the same martyr, hearing the same martyr story and learning about the same 'invention of tradition' Phoibammon had created about this new *martyrium*.[346]

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341 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 176): ⲉⲡⲉⲩϣⲏⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ.

342 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 176): ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲫⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧϣⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛϫⲱⲕⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̄.

343 Grossmann, 'Phoibammon von Panopolis', 19-31 speculates that during this festive opening the remains of Saint Colluthus were transported from Antinoopolis to Pneuit.

344 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 188): ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲫⲛⲁⲉⲓⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲣⲁⲡⲉⲍⲁ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲡⲟⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ. For these meanings of τράπεζα and ποτήριον see J. Drescher, 'Graeco-Coptica', *Múseon* 82 (1969) 85-100 at 97-100.

345 Lopez, *Shenoute of Atripe*, 126 hypothesizes that when Phoibammon spoke about this new *martyrium* in a 'Sodom' of Upper Egypt full of 'lawless men', the audience would have thought about the temple destructions by Shenoute a century earlier. Timm, *Christlich-koptische Ägypten* 4, 1988 notes that this art of rivalry between two sanctuaries is unique in Coptic literature. Another case of rivalry can be found, however, in Sophr. H. *mir. Cyr. et Jo.* (ed. Fernandez Marcos, *'Thaumata' de Sofronio*, 269-71). In this miracle story, a certain Elias leaves the sanctuary of Saints John and Cyrus for the *martyrium* of Saint Metras, after the former saints had failed to cure him. John and Cyrus then follow Elias to Saint Metras to tell him to go back to their sanctuary to receive healing. Cf. the legend about the sanctuary of the Three Hebrew Youths in Alexandria (*Life of John the Little*, ed. É. Amélineau, *Monuments pour server à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne aux IV^e^, V^e^, VI^e^ et VII^e^ siècles*, 2 vols. [Paris, 1888] 316-413), in which this holy man travels on a cloud to Babylon, where the youths promise him to visit their sanctuary in Alexandria every year. Their remains, however, will stay in Babylon.

346 For the theory explaining the 'rational ritual' that Bishop Phoibammon staged with the opening of the new sanctuary, see p. 21 (n. 82) above.

In his *encomium*, Phoibammon retells the martyr story of Colluthus. This colourful story – with a heroic Colluthus travelling to Arianus to voluntarily confess his faith, and an angry and embarrassed Arianus who cannot make the martyr sacrifice in front of his colleagues and horribly tortures Colluthus before throwing him into prison – is written in the first person, that is, from the perspective of Colluthus. Phoibammon seems to have written an *encomium* in the style of the epic passions, but instead of introducing a narrator telling the story he presents the tale as told by the legendary Colluthus himself: it is Colluthus who tells about his wish to confess his faith. He describes the blood flowing from his mouth during the tortures and states that his servants collected his blood and threw it into the well in Pneuit. Phoibammon presented a new tradition through the very eyes of the martyr, adapting the martyr story of Colluthus to give the village of Pneuit a glorious role in it.

3.4 Visiting the Sanctuary of Colluthus

According to Bishop Isaac, Colluthus' death was a glorious end to a piously lived life and it was remembered by the construction of a church in Colluthus' honour. In hagiographical literature, we find evidence of the importance of the presence of the martyr in the form of his remains, from Bishop Isaac telling his flock that many miracles occurred in the sanctuary where Colluthus had been buried to a miracle story relating about visitors who were not so sure that this was 'the place where the body was' and who were only convinced 'that this was the place of the bones of Saint Colluthus' when someone broke open a wall in order to show them the remains.[347]

Today, scholars have mentioned several sites in their quest to find the location of this church. The arguments for the three possible locations of the *martyrium* of Colluthus are based on translations of a passage from the *Encomium on Colluthus* by Phoibammon. Phoibammon locates the *martyrium* ϩⲙ ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲫⲛⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲟⲩ, which can be translated in three ways: '1) on the mountain, 2) in the necropolis, or 3) in the monastery of his city Antinoopolis'.[348] The first translation, 'on the mountain of his city Antinoopolis', is proposed by Walter Till.[349] Following this translation, Peter Grossmann suggests that the *martyrium* could well have been located in a cave tomb and deems it possible that this tomb was located in the hills to the north or east of Antinoopolis, where several Late Antique tombs have been identified.[350]

347 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 216): ϩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϥ̄ (...) ⲭⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲉⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲟⲗⲟⲩⲑⲟⲥ.

348 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 186).

349 Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyerlegenden* 1, 179.

350 P. Grossmann, 'Antinoopolis. The Area of St. Colluthos in the North Necropolis', in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinoupolis II* (Florence, 2014) 241-300 at 272.

There is, however, no evidence locating Colluthus in this area and a translation with 'on the mountain' can therefore be rejected.

A second possible translation, 'in the necropolis of his city', is preferred by Schenke.[351] In 1965-1966, a team of Italian archaeologists indeed unearthed the remains of a Christian cemetery and a small church at the North Necropolis.[352] During later excavations at this site, they found a papyrus fragment referring to a sanctuary of Colluthus.[353] The discovery of this papyrus led to further excavations in the North Necropolis, where archaeologists discovered baths, incubation rooms and various votive objects, such as eyes, chests and a woman's breast.[354] Furthermore, a large number of papyrus fragments was found, ranging from papyri containing Scripture to school exercises to over two hundred oracular tickets dating from the sixth to seventh centuries.[355] The votive objects and these latter texts, referring to the physi-

351 Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 187. Luijendijk, 'Encountering Saint Colluthus at Antinoë', 203 also assumes that the shrine of Colluthus was located in the necropolis of Antinoopolis.

352 For the excavation report see M. Manfredi, 'Scavi in Egitto II', *A&R* 11 (1966) 188-91. For overviews of the Italian excavations see e.g. M. Manfredi, 'Gli scavi italiani ad Antinoe (1935-1993)', in L. del Francia Barocas (ed.), *Antinoe cett'anni dopo* (Florence, 1998) 23-8 and R. Pintaudi, 'Gli scavi dell'istituto papirologico "G. Vitelli" di Firenze ad Antinoe (2000-2007) – prime notizie', in Pintaudi, *Antinoupolis I*, 1-40.

353 PSI inv. Ant. N 82.3-4. The papyrus was first mentioned by Manfredi, 'Notizie sugli scavi', 85.

354 For the votive objects, see L. Papini, 'L'oracolo di San Colluto', in Del Francia Barocas, *Antinoe*, 100-1, Manfredi, 'Gli scavi italiani', in the same volume, and Pintaudi, 'Gli scavi', 10. A tenth-century miracle story confirms that visitors would leave votive objects: after her breasts had been healed, a woman brought two silver breasts to the entrance of the sanctuary (ed. Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 216-9). Concerning incubation rooms, Renberg, *Where Dreams May Come*, 773-5 points out that these archaeological remains alone provide insufficient evidence to conclude that incubation took place at the sanctuary of Colluthus. Renberg follows H. von Ehrenheim, 'Identifying Incubation Areas in Pagan and Early Christian Times', *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 6 (2009) 237-76 at 267-8, in stressing that the presence of beds or small rooms does not necessarily mean that institutionalized incubation took place. Miracle stories set at the sanctuary, however, do indicate that incubation was practiced here, see below, p. 90 (n. 364). For the use of the term incubation, see above p. 83 (n. 329).

355 The excavators speak about 'una sorta di "bibioteca"' of Colluthus' sanctuary (R. Pintaudi, 'Introduzione', in R. Pintaudi [ed.], *Antinoupolis III* [Florence, 2017] 521-5 at 524). For recent lists of literary texts found at the North Necropolis see Delattre, 'Nouveaux textes' and 'Textes coptes'. Delattre, 'Nouveaux textes', 171-4 and 'Trois billets oraculaires', in Pintaudi, *Antinoupolis III*, 651-4 at 651 (n. 1) also reports that around 200 oracular tickets, most of them written in Coptic, will be published in a volume in the series 'Scavi e materiali'. For publications of and studies on these tickets see S. Donadoni, 'Una domanda oracolare cristiana da Antinoe', *RSO* 29 (1954) 183-6 and 'Due testi oracolari copti', in A. Guarino and L. Labruna (eds.), *Synteleia V. Arangio Ruiz* (Naples, 1964) 286-9; Papini, 'Due biglietti', 68-70, 'Biglietti oracolari in copto dalla Necropoli Nord di Antinoe', in T. Orlandi and F. Wisse (eds.), *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies* (Rome, 1985) 245-56, 'Osservazioni sulla terminologia delle domande oracolari in greco', in Capasso, Messeri Savorelli and Pintaudi, *Miscellanea papyrologica* 2, 463-9, 'Struttura e prassi delle domanda

cian saint Colluthus, express the belief that contact with Colluthus was thought to be possible at the necropolis.[356] This indeed makes the site a probable location for Colluthus' grave.[357]

The third translation – 'in the monastery of his city' – has been adopted by Papaconstantinou.[358] She argues that the body of Colluthus was still there in the twelfth century, when the *History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* mentions it.[359] Recent research on the papyrus fragment mentioning the sanctuary of Saint Colluthus at the North Necropolis indeed confirms that it may have been connected to a monastery. In this papyrus, a certain 'Aurelius Theophilos, the most pious *oikonomos* of the holy and illustrious martyr Abba Colluthus' is mentioned.[360] Its new edition confirms the argument made by Jean-Luc Fournet, who already sus-

oracolari in greco su papiro', *APapyrol* 2 (1990) 11-20 and 'Domande oracolari'; Delattre, 'Textes coptes', 152-4, 'Oracle de Kollouthos à Antinoé' and 'Trois billets oraculaires'. Most recently, Luijendijk, 'Encountering Saint Colluthus', 207-20 has analysed the oracular tickets.

356 In a similar way, the Oxyrhynchites visited the upper necropolis of their city to ask the local martyr Philoxenus for help. See below, p. 58.

357 Pintaudi, 'Introduzione', 523 describes the small church at the North Necropolis as the *martyrium* of Colluthus, albeit without further explanation. According to Wiśniewski, *Beginnings*, 75, the fact the oracle tickets from Philoxenus of Oxyrhynchus and Colluthus of Antinoopolis have been found in sanctuaries indicates that they were used at places that guaranteed the presence of the saints: probably close to their bones.

358 Papaconstantinou, 'Haven of Continuity', 357.

359 *History of the Churches and Monasteries in Egypt* (tr. B.T.A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of* Egypt [Oxford, 1895] 244). The authorship of this work is disputed, for a discussion see U. Zanetti, 'Abû l-Makârim et Abû Sâlih', *BSAC* 34 (1995) 85-138. Other suggestions for a removal of Colluthus' relics to a different place have been proposed by Grossmann. His first hypothesis, in 'Area of St. Colluthos', 273, is that the relics of Colluthus were at some point removed to a more representative place, for instance the *basilica* in the southern part of Antinoopolis. His second suggestion, made in 'Phoibammon von Panopolis', 21, 26, is that Colluthus' relics were secretly removed to Pneuit. His third guess, in 'Phoibammon von Panopolis', 21 is that a memorial chapel may have been built on the location of Colluthus' former *iatreion*. Another hypothesis is given by O.F.A. Meinandus, *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity* (Cairo, 2002) 211 who states that in the seventeenth century, the relics of Colluthus were located in a church at el-Fant, a place about hundred fifty kilometres north of Antinoopolis. Meinardus bases himself on the accounts of the German scholar Johann Michael Wansleben (1635-1679), who travelled extensively in Egypt in the seventeenth century. Wansleben, however, recorded a church dedicated to a certain Apa Klog. Horn, *Studien zu den Märtyrern* 2, 107 rightly points out that Apa Klog was a namesake of Colluthus, but that his martyr story (preserved in the Ethiopian *Synaxarium*, tr. E.A.W. Budge, *The Book of Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, 4 vols. [Cambridge, 1928] 2.518-523) tells the story of a local priest from el-Fant.

360 PSI inv. Ant. N 82.3-4 (ed. G. Bastianini and R. Pintaudi, 'Due documenti con Aurelio Teofilo economo del *martyrium* di San Colluto', in Pintaudi, *Antinoupolis III*, 593-622 at 607): Αὐρηλίοις Θεοφίλῳ τῷ εὐλαβεστάτῳ οἰκονόμῳ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδ[ό]ξου μάρ[τυ]ρος Ἀββᾶ Κολλούθου. Aurelius Theophilos appears again in *P.Turner* 54, in which he agrees to provide a given daily supply of water to the monastery of John the Stylite. For a reedition see Bastianini and Pintaudi, 'Due documenti', 593-8.

pected that the genitive 'of Colluthus' at the place where the witnesses would have signed the document does not belong to a patronymic but refers to an eponymous monastery of Colluthus.[361] The editors now agree with Fournet that this papyrus and the archaeological remains in the North Necropolis may connect a monastery of Colluthus with his sanctuary there. Possibly, ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ 'the monastery', later developed in the vicinity of Colluthus' grave.[362]

For our purposes, however, it is not relevant to know where Colluthus was actually buried. Instead of digging for an actual grave, we are looking for a so-called *lieu de mémoire*: where and how Colluthus was remembered. As we have seen in the previous chapter, sanctuaries dedicated to martyrs had a range of often overlapping functions, with the church functioning as the place where the anniversary of the martyr was celebrated and as a charitable institution.[363] In this section, we will zoom in on the sanctuary of Colluthus and discuss its function as oracle and healing centre. The rich archaeological and documentary sources, however, not only allow us to focus on these particular religious practices, but also to analyze the process of community construction taking place in the sanctuary. For when visitors went for a ritual bath, consulted the oracle or even stayed the night to receive healing from Colluthus in their dreams, their personal memories and expectations were influenced by new impressions and experiences.[364] In the following, we will therefore

361 J.-L. Fournet, 'Il papiri di Antinooupolis', in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds), *100 anni di istituzioni fiorentine per la papirologia* (Florence, 2009) 115-32 at 120-1 and 129.

362 According to G. Schenke in the Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity database (available online at http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk), no. E01148, it might be possible to assume that a monastery was responsible for the hospital and shrine of Colluthus mentioned in *CPR* IV 198.16-7, for which see further p. 96 (n. 393) below. For monasteries later developing near martyrs' graves, see also G. Schenke, 'Places and Modes of Cult in Egypt', in B. Ward-Perkins (ed.), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, forthcoming).

363 See above, pp. 52-3, 60-1.

364 See Devos, 'Un étrange miracle', 363-80 and Schenke, *Koptisch hagiographische Dossier*, 246-67 for a miracle story about a paralyzed man discussing his dream with a priest after waking up in the sanctuary of Colluthus and the same priest visiting the prostitute Maria to urge her to come to the sanctuary to receive a vision. Cf. Renberg, *Where Dreams May Come*, 774-5, who is not convinced that this miracle refers to incubation practices at the sanctuary of Colluthus. According to Renberg, the man does not specifically request a dream and the miracle does not include a part in which the woman actually consults the priest. Although in some miracle stories people indeed do not practice incubation but unintentionally receive visions, in the story about the paralyzed man and the prostitute as well as in other miracle stories people purposefully visit the sanctuary of Colluthus to receive a dream. See e.g. the miracle stories Phoibammon mentions in his *encomium* on Colluthus, published by U. Zanetti, 'Les miracles arabes de saint Kolouthos (ms. St-Macaire, hagiog. 35)', in Zanetti and Lucchesi, *Aegyptus christiana*, 43-109. At p. 49, a woman is carried to the sanctuary of Colluthus after her incubation practices at the temple of Apollo have remained without results. Colluthus then promises to heal her if she converts to Christianity. At pp. 49-50, a certain Maria is healed from stomach pains after she follows the instructions she received from Colluthus while sleeping in the

visit Colluthus' cult site to see how it shaped the individual and collective memories of the visitors.

From the fifth century on, the shrine of Colluthus became a well-visited sanctuary. On their way to the shrine in the North Necropolis, visitors first encountered the saint in funerary stelae: 'God of Saint Colluthus, the physician who heals souls and bodies, pray to God for the soul of the blessed Kolthe'.[365] Like Bishop Isaac, Kolthe, whose name is a shortened form of Colluthus, saw the saint as a physician for the body as well as the soul and hoped to still have his protection after his death.[366] A fresco found in a small funerary chapel, depicting the deceased, Saint Th[eodos]ia, Saint Colluthus and Saint Mary, gives a glimpse of how these spaces could be decorated.[367]

Hagiographical literature has it that the shrines the visitors would arrive at were splendid sanctuaries well known for their treasures. In the sixth century, Bishop Constantine of Lykopolis told his audience about three 'pagan' partners in theft who went from sanctuary to sanctuary, taking away silver altar tablets, linen cloths and

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sanctuary. At p. 105, a third miracle story tells about a woman who is healed after her father followed the instructions he was given by Colluthus during a vision when sleeping in his sanctuary.

365 Ed. S. Donadoni and H. Munier, 'Stèles chrétiennes d'Antinoé', *Aegyptus* 29 (1949) 126-36 at 130 (no. 3): ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲑⲟⲥ ⲡⲥⲁⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲩⲑⲉⲣⲁⲡⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉ̀ⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲕⲉⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ(ⲕⲁ)ⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲟⲗⲑⲉ. For other funerary stelae from the North Necropolis see G. Lefebvre, 'Stèles chrétiennes du musée du Caire', *BIFAO* 3 (1903) 69-95, G. Nachtergael and R. Pintaudi, 'Inscriptions funéraires grecques d'Antinoé', in Pintaudi, *Antinoupolis I*, 163-73 and 'Inscriptions funéraires grecques d'Antinoé. II', in Pintaudi, *Antinoupolis III*, 675-14, and A. Delattre, 'Deux inscriptions funéraires coptes', in Pintaudi, *Antinoupolis III*, 715-7, who at p. 715 also notes that the words 'God of Saint Colluthus' appear frequently in the epigraphical material from Antinoopolis.

366 Crum, 'Colluthus', 323 remarks that 'few native names are commoner in Christian Egypt than Colluthus'.

367 E. Breccia and S. Donadoni, 'Le prime richerche italiane ad Antinoe', *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 285-310 date the chapel to the fourth century. More likely, however, is the sixth-century date assigned by M. Salmi, 'I dipinti paleochristiani di Antinoe', in M. Salmi (ed.), *Scritti dedicati alla memoria di Ippolito Rosellini. Nel primo centenario della morte* (Florence, 1945) 159-69 and A. Grabar, *Martyrium: Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique* (Paris, 1949) 34. See also M. Vassilaki, 'A Painting of Saint Kollouthos', in C. Entwistle (ed.), *Through a Glass Brightly: Studies in Byzantine and Medieval Art and Archaeology Presented to David Buckton* (Oxford, 2016) 5-43, who discusses a few other possible depictions of Colluthus. Apart from the fresco in the funeral chapel, she mentions an icon found in Antinoopolis depicting a saint with short white hair and a white beard, a depiction from Bawit of an 'Apa Kolluthios' in the company of Mary, eleven apostles, the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, Apa Patermoute and Apa Macarius, and a painting of an 'Apa Kollouthos' on white linen from a private collection which she hypothesizes 'must have decorated the very church of St Kollouthos, where his *martyrium* also stood' (p. 41). However, the image of an old man with white hair and a white beard does not necessarily depict Colluthus, but could belong to any saint. Furthermore, since Colluthus is a common name, the identification with the healing saint from Antinoopolis can in the latter two cases not be verified.

silk garments, golden chalices and silver necklaces. When the burglars were finally caught and brought before the governor, Saint Claudius intervened. The three thieves converted to Christianity and remained in the service of the sanctuary of Colluthus, which they had robbed at the beginning of the story.[368] In reality, as AnneMarie Luijendijk points out, the simple bronze votive objects found in the North Necropolis of Antinoopolis are more fitting for this small sanctuary and indicate that its visitors were mostly of the lower or middle classes.[369]

The simple *martyrium* of Colluthus was already present at the beginning of the fifth century and was expanded at an unknown, later date. By then, this still small sanctuary covered some sixty square metres and housed, among other activities, the oracle of Colluthus and a number of small rooms, perhaps for incubation.[370] Physicians apparently did work at the sanctuary, bringing their medical books with them – among the papyri a fragment of Galen was found – and tweezers and scalpels indicate that surgeries were performed.[371] An uncertain physician even asked the oracle if he should continue to oil the feet of a certain Soterichos.[372]

The landscape around the sanctuary was an important element in the making of memories. It reminded Christians of their shared Christian past:[373] '+ The choir of martyrs and the spirit is right because the Lord is glorified. Sing a song of praise

368 J. Drescher, 'Apa Claudius and the Thieves', *BSAC* 8 (1942) 63-86. The story is told in an *encomium* on Claudius given on his anniversary by Bishop Constantine of Lykopolis.

369 Luijendijk, 'Encountering Saint Colluthus', 218.

370 Judging from the size of churches, the number of visitors to saints' sanctuaries seems to have increased considerably in the course of Late Antiquity, see Papaconstantinou, 'Haven of Continuity', 361-2 for examples from Oxyrhynchus and Abu Mina. For the dating of Colluthus' sanctuary, see the excavation report by Manfredi, 'Scavi in Egitto II', 191-2, who assigns the church to the fourth century based on the papyri found nearby. See also P. Grossmann, 'Zur christlichen Baukunst in Ägypten', *Enchoria* 8 (1978) 135-46 at 135-6 and *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten* (Leiden, 2002) 443-4, who emphasizes that this small three-naved sanctuary is not a typical fourth-century church.

371 Delattre, 'Oracle de Kollouthos', 313. The evidence of physicians present at the sanctuary stands in sharp contrast with the observation made by Graf, *Roman Festivals*, 263-4 about hagiographical literature that regular doctors were not present or even welcome at the shrine of Cyrus and John in Menouthis.

372 P.Ant. inv. 83, see Delattre, 'Oracle de Kollouthos', 131. PSI inv. Ant. 495 (ed. Delattre, 'Trois billets', 653) contains an oracular ticket from a visitor who wonders whether he should take on a study in medicine. For the large collection of medical papyri from Antinoopolis see H.-M. Marganne, 'La "collection médicale" d'Antinoopolis', *ZPE* 56 (1984) 117-21.

373 Although non-Christians may also have visited the site and consulted Christian oracles: Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 339 mentions an oracle ticket addressed to 'Colluthus, Christian martyr' and a ticket addressed to the 'god of the Christians' and remarks that a Christian would probably not add these *epitheta*.

exalt him exceedingly for ever and ever!'[374] In the fifth or sixth century, these words were written on an ostracon found in the necropolis. As visitors entered the cemetery, gazed upon the small church, handed in their oracular tickets or encountered other thankful or hopeful worshippers leaving their votive objects behind, their personal memories intermingled with reminders of the heroic past of the persecuted and victorious martyr.[375]

Unsurprisingly, most of the oracular tickets concern health issues, asking the God of the physician saint about eye diseases or whether to take a ritual bath.[376] For instance, an anonymous visitor asked, '+ God of my lord Saint Colluthus, the true physician, if you order that I wash my feet, then bring out for me this ticket +'.[377] Another person worried about his daughter and asked: 'God of Saint Colluthus, if it is your command that I place my daughter in your sanctuary (and) your mercy reach her, answer me +'.[378] Major events in the lives of the visitors, from the wish for a child to death and burial, were in this way set in and attached to the sanctuary of Colluthus.[379] Visitors would, however, not only ask the physician saint about their medical treatments or difficult life choices. A fascinating ticket dated to the sixth or seventh century asks the 'God of all saints, if you command to bury the two martyrs next to each other, bring it (the ticket) out!'[380]

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374 Ed. Delattre, 'Textes coptes et grecs', 149-51 (no. 8): + χόρος μαρτύρων καὶ πνεῦμα δίκαιον ὅτι δο⟨ξα⟩ζόμενος Κύριε. Ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. The hymn continues with praise of John the Baptist.

375 For the influence of the landscape on personal memory see also Sutton, 'Place and Memory'.

376 Papini, 'Oracolo', 100 reports that after health issues, most questions concern travel and marriage. Delattre, 'Oracle de Kollouthos', 128 (n. 38) confirms that about eighty percent of the tickets contain medical questions, often about taking a ritual bath at the sanctuary, anointing with oil or drinking water. Most tickets address the 'God of Saint Colluthus', although one oracular ticket poses its question to 'the God of the Theotokos Mary'. See for the edition of this ticket Papini, 'Due biglietti', 69-70 (no. 21) and for the typology 'Struttura'.

377 Ed. Donadoni, 'Due testi oracolari copti', 286-9: + ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲑⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲙⲉ ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲕⲕ<ⲉ>ⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲧⲁϫⲱⲕⲙ̄ ⲉⲣⲁⲧ ⲉⲓ ⲁⲛⲓ ⲧⲓⲡⲓⲧⲧⲁⲕⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ +. Translating by Luijendijk, 'Encountering Saint Colluthus', 213 (slightly modified).

378 PSI inv. Ant. N66/110A (ed. Papini, 'Biglietti oracoli', 250): ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲑⲟⲥ ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲧⲱϣ ⲧⲁⲕⲁ ⲧⲁϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲡⲉⲕⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲧⲁϩⲟⲥ ⲉⲕⲁⲟⲩⲟϣϥⲉⲧ +. As Luijendijk, 'Encountering Saint Colluthus', 217 remarks, it is unclear why the father wanted to place his daughter in the sanctuary. Other tickets, however, point to healing through incubation, bathing or another treatment.

379 Hagiographical literature often speaks about women making the journey to a saint's sanctuary to ask for a pregnancy. See on this theme H. Behlmer, 'Women and the Holy in Coptic Hagiography', in. N. Bosson and A. Boud'hors (eds.), *Actes du huitième congrès international d'études coptes*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 2007) 2.405-16.

380 Ed. Donadoni, 'Una domanda oracolare', 183-6: + ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲕⲱⲱⲥ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲉⲣⲏⲩ ⲁⲛⲓⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ. It is tempting – but cannot be proven – to link this question to the human remains found in the burial chamber in the church at the North Necropolis.

Oracular questions could be asked in the form of an oracular ticket, but visitors could also consult a diviner, who would find the answer in a book of lots. Among the various text fragments found in the North Necropolis of Antinoopolis are two fragments from a parchment codex containing passages from the *Sortes Sanctorum* in Coptic.[381] Just like Isaac, and the authors of many other miracle stories, would remind their audience that a miracle can only happen when you are a faithful Christian, this fragment and other lot books would tell the client to be faithful because God is the one who will take care of the situation:

> Do not give up the faith which is in your heart. Your God is the one who helps you, and He will guide you along the way in which you will walk.[382]

Recently, Luijendijk has noted that the contents of these fragments resemble – even verbatim in certain passages – a fifth- or sixth-century divinatory book of unknown provenance entitled the *Gospel of the Lots of Mary*.[383] She concludes that this lot book belongs to the same genre as the fragments of the lot book found in Antinoopolis. The *Gospel of the Lots of Mary* once again reminds clients that faith and a safe life go hand in hand, as can be illustrated by the answer that 'without the fear of God, you would not be saved from the wrath that has come upon you'.[384]

The archaeological evidence from the North Necropolis has given us some ideas as to what made up the greater landscape of the cult site of Colluthus: baths, votive objects and papyri revealing the presence of an oracle. In the Late Antique period, however, we find several other churches and monasteries in the papyrological record of Antinoopolis.[385] In order to see how Colluthus' sanctuary fitted in the urban

381 L. Papini, 'Fragments of the *Sortes Sanctorum* from the Shrine of St. Colluthus', in Frankfurter, *Pilgrimage*, 393-401.

382 Ed. and tr. Papini, 'Fragments', 399: ⲧⲓⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲣ̅ⲡⲉⲕⲣ̅ⲏⲧ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲕ̅ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̅ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁ̅ⲣ̅ⲩⲙⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲕ ⲣ̅ⲛ̅ ⲧⲉⲣ̅ⲓⲏ ⲉⲧⲣ̅[ⲛ]ⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲛ̅ⲣ̅ⲏⲧⲥ.

383 A. Luijendijk, *Forbidden Oracles? The Gospel of the Lots of Mary* (Tübingen, 2014) 49. At pp. 116-7, she shows that oracle 12 in *The Gospel of the Lots of Mary* resembles the oracle quoted above almost verbatim, adding a reference to Matt. 19:26: ⲙⲟⲛⲟⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲣ̅ ⲁⲓⲥⲁⲁⲍⲉ ϫⲉ ⲙⲛ̅ⲣ̅ⲱⲃ ⲛⲁⲧⲟⲟⲙ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁ̅ⲣⲙ̅ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'at all events, do not doubt because nothing is impossible before God'. According to G. Schenke in the Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity database (available online at http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk), no. E01365, the small size of the lot book suggests that it was portable and therefore intended for private use.

384 *The Gospel of the Lots of Mary*, Oracle 23 (ed. and tr. Luijendijk, *Forbidden Oracles*, 129): ⲛ̅ⲥⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲉⲑⲟⲧⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲓ̅ⲛⲁⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ̈ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲟⲣⲓⲧ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲥⲧⲁⲣⲟⲕ.

385 Unfortunately, Antinoopolis is not very visible in the papyrological record. Based on the papyrological record, Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 289, finds only five churches and monasteries in the city: a church of Colluthus – discussed above –, a church of Saint Theodoros, a *topos* of Apa Kerakos, a *topos* of the three saints of the fiery furnace and a church of Mark the Evangelist. To this list of churches and monasteries in the papyrological record, Timm, *Christlich-koptische Ägypten* 1, 116-7 adds several other sanctuaries mentioned in the hagiographical record.

landscape of the city, in the last part of this section we therefore leave the North Necropolis to take a walk through Antinoopolis and its immediate environment.

The archaeological remains show that martyrs and holy men were remembered in a variety of settings (Fig. 2).[386] One possibility was the martyr's 'own' dedicated church: the architecture of the church built above a crypt and belonging to a monastery near the Eastern Gate 'speaks for the fact that the church was devoted to an important saint'.[387] We also know of an impressive *basilica* in the southern part of the city, called church D3. Visitors to this *basilica* could rest or sleep in beds in the *naos* and perhaps in one of the many small rooms in the *atrium*, and the building has thus been identified as a healing centre.[388] Recently, a cathedral, named church D2, and a bishop's house have been recognized in a cruciformed church and a chapel closely connected to a smaller building.[389]

Outside the city, the monks living in the mountains remembered the city's patron saint as well. In the church of the monastery of Deir Abu Hennes, located just a few kilometres south of Antinoopolis, a medaillon with a bust of Colluthus – identi-

386 For church buildings in the city centre, thus far not excavated but probably belonging to the sixth century or later, see E. Mitchell, 'Osservazioni topografische preliminari sull'impianto urbanistico di Antinoe', *EVO* 5 (1982) 171-9 at 177-9. For a somewhat larger number of church buildings that have been found in the southern suburb of Antinoopolis, see S. Clarke, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley* (Oxford, 1912) 187 and P. Grossmann, 'Die von Somers Clark in Ober-Ansina entdeckten Kirchenbauten', *MDAIK* 24 (1969) 144-68.

387 G. Uggeri, 'La chiesa paleocristiana presso la porta orientale', in S. Donadoni et al. (ed.), *Missione archaeologica in Egitto dell'Università di Roma, Antinoe* (Rome, 1974) 37-67 deems it possible that, since the church was built above a crypt, the monastery to which the church belonged was dedicated to Colluthus. There are, however, no written sources to confirm this hypothesis and I would rather agree with the quoted statement by P. Grossmann, 'Antinoopolis October 2010: On the Church beside the Eastern Gate', *Aegyptus* 90 (2010) 165-81 at 169. According to H.G. Severin, 'Zur Bauskulptur und zur Datierung zweier Kirchenbauten in Antinoupolis', in Pintaudi, *Antinoupolis II*, 379-414, the architecture of the church suggests a date in the sixth century.

388 For the excavation reports see P. Grossmann, 'Antinoopolis Januar/Februar 2010. Arbeiten in der Kirche D3', *Aegyptus* 90 (2010) 147-63 and 'Antinoopolis January/February and October 2011. Work in the Church D3 and in the Court Buildings of Dayr Sumbat', *Aegyptus* 90 (2010) 183-205. In one of the other rooms, a niche broad enough for a sarcophagus has been found. According to Grossmann, it is possible that this sarcophagus contained relics and was used to obtain holy oil. Moreover, he argues that this centre could only have been associated with the healing saint of Antinoopolis, the martyr Colluthus. Cf. Pintaudi, 'Introduzione', 524 and 'Graffiti e iscrizioni sulle colonne e i capitelli della chiesa D3 ad Antinoupolis', in Pintaudi, *Antinoupolis III*, 459-88 at 469, who also speaks of a church of Colluthus. On the basis of the architectural material, Severin, 'Bauskulptur', 387 dates the church to the first half of the sixth century.

389 See esp. P. Grossmann, 'Kirche und mutmassliches Bischofshaus in Antinoopolis', *Aegyptus* 86 (2006) 207-15, and 'Antinoopolis Januar/Februar 2008. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Arbeiten im Frühjahr 2007', *Aegyptus* 88 (2008) 227-55 at 227-38.

fied by the inscription – is depicted on the wall.[390] The monks of Deir Abu Hennes were familiar with Colluthus' martyr story, and they might have inspired miracle stories about the saint. For when Bishop Isaac told his audience a miracle story about a certain rich Christian from Isauria, he and his listeners must have remembered the monumental bilingual inscription dedicated to the Isaurian Papias that was carved in the large liturgical room of the monastery.[391] With Papias, we seem to have found a person known in both the hagiographical tradition and the archaeological record.

By the sixth century, the sanctuaries of Colluthus and other saints in Antinoopolis had reached their full potential. At that time, other cities had dedicated churches to Colluthus as well.[392] In the previous section, we have seen that a new *martyrium* for Colluthus was built in Pneuit. In the neighbouring city of Hermopolis, the papyrological record reports about a shrine and a place of 'Saint Colluthus at the Gate'.[393] Other churches dedicated to Colluthus are found in papyri from Aphrodite, Arsinoe, Jeme, Panopolis and Oxyrhynchus.[394] An inhabitant of the latter city kept an icon of the martyr, an inscription in Thebes mentions the saint and a Coptic graffito from Abydos reveals an ill woman invoking Colluthus.[395] The martyrdom and the miracles of the physician saint had indeed become famous all over Egypt.[396]

390 See A. Delattre, 'Les rapports entre la ville d'Antinoé et le monastère du Deir Abou Hennis en Moyenne-Égypte', in B. Astrua (ed.), *Itinerari mediterranei fra IV e IX secolo. Città-capitale e deserto-monastico* (Turin, 2013) 39-54 at 44. The medaillon is depicted at p. 74.

391 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Thompson, 'Encomium', in Depuydt, *Encomiastica* 1, 79. For the inscription see M. de Fenoyl, 'Une inscription funéraire bilingue', *BSAC* 17 (1963-64) 57-61 and Delattre, 'Rapports', 48-9, where the inscription is depicted at p. 53 (Fig. 5).

392 For a complete overview see Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 122-5.

393 For the shrine, see *P.Sorb*.II 69, 48.A6: τοῦ ἁγί(ου) Κολλ(ούθου) μικρ(οῦ) εὐκτ(ηρίου) and *CPR* IV 198.16-7: ⲙⲡⲇⲓⲕⲇⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲥⲟⲕⲟⲙⲓⲟⲛ [--- ⲉⲩ]ⲕⲧⲏⲣ[ⲓ]ⲟⲛ ⲉ[ⲧⲟⲩⲁ]ⲇⲃ ⲙⲫⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲡⲩⲗⲏ 'to the deacon of the hospital [...] holy shrine of Saint Colluthus by the gate'. Translation by G. Schenke in the Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity database (available online at http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk), no. E01148. As Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 123 reports, the hospital does not seem to have been located near the shrine, but to have belonged to Saint Leontius. For the sanctuary near the gate, see *P.Lond.Copt*. 1100.5, 1077.3: τοῦ ἁγίου Κολλούθου τῆς πύλ(ης) and *P.Sorb* II 69, 81.C11: τοῦ ἁγί(ου) Κολλ(ούθου) ἐν πύλῃ.

394 *P.Cair.Masp*. I 67058 iv 2; *BGU* II 688.2; *SB* VI 9461.5-6; *P.KRU* 67.73-4; *P.Paris*. XX.31; *P.Oxy*. XVI 1934.4-5.

395 *P.Oxy*. XVI 1925.6-8; *SEG* XLIV 1501; W.E. Crum, 'Coptic Graffiti', in M.A. Murray (ed.), *The Osireion at Abydos* (London, 1904) 38-43 at 42 mentions the graffito although he gives only a facsimile.

396 According to C. Cannuyer, 'Des dieux aux saints guérisseurs dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte', in A. Degrève and R. Lebrun (eds.), *Deus medicus: acts du colloque organisé à Louvain-la-Neuve les 15 et 16 juin 2012 par le Centre d'histoire des religions Cardinal Julien Ries* (Turnhout, 2014) 21-48 at 33, Colluthus is 'sans doute le plus populaire et le plus sollicité des saints guérisseurs de l'Égypte copte'.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have encountered memories of the martyr Colluthus in and around Antinoopolis. Although we have focussed on a specific martyr in his local and regional context, the case of Colluthus does reveal some basic elements of the remembrance of the martyrs in the cities and villages of Late Antique Egypt. Among these elements are the ways in which his martyr stories helped to create and constitute memories of the saint and how local bishops influenced these collective memories in their *encomia* on Colluthus. Furthermore, the visitors of Colluthus' sanctuary in Antinoopolis, whom we detected in the documentary sources, have given us an impression of the rituals and practices that could take place at the site of a martyr's sanctuary. All in all, the literary and documentary sources surveyed in this chapter have indicated that this local physician, martyred during the Great Persecution, provided Christians with an image of a shared past while Colluthus had at the same time a steady position in the present. Being a physician *and* a martyr, he was famous for his past miracles as well as present healings.

Over the course of the centuries, the cognitive ecology in which Colluthus was remembered changed. In Antinoopolis, as in the rest of the Roman Empire, the social setting changed as Christianity became institutionalized, new or old cognitive artefacts were (re)employed as cults of the martyrs developed and the physical environment changed as Christian sanctuaries became more prominent in the urban environment. The notion that the visitors of the sanctuary of Colluthus all experienced this changing cognitive ecology forms the bridge between their individual memories versus the collective memory of Colluthus.

In order to make the connection between the individual and collective clearer, we have differentiated between 'personal memory', 'habit memory' and 'factual memory'. In the introduction, we met Rouphos, who brought his worries about his health with him to the sanctuary of Colluthus. His 'habit memories' told him to ask his pressing question to the oracle and subsequently decide whether or not to wash himself in the healing bath. Furthermore, Rouphos must have had some general knowledge or 'factual memories' of Colluthus on which his expectations of the physician saint were based. During his stay at the sanctuary, his old expectations were influenced by new, 'personal memories'. When speaking to other visitors about shared past experiences and walking through the sanctuary, 'personal memories' mingled with 'habit memories' and 'factual memories' and resulted in a more impressive memory.

The influence of factual memories becomes especially visible when looking at the speeches given by Bishop Isaac of Antinoopolis and Bishop Phoibammon of Panopolis. Their audiences would have known what to expect from a martyr story about a noble physician from Antinoopolis who refused to sacrifice to the gods. They would have been familiar with the trial of the martyr leading towards its inevitable conclusion. The three different versions of the *Passion of Colluthus* examined

at the beginning of this chapter reveal that certain central themes – the confession, trial and execution – would always be present whereas the way in which they were presented could differ. These martyr stories, moreover, have shown that an early audience would not necessarily have heard a simple and short account whereas a few centuries later they could expect a more elaborate version. Whereas the three versions of the *Passion of Colluthus* could have been made at different times, they were all still available in the ninth century.

Although the audience would have had at least some minimal knowledge about the martyr, the composer of a martyr story could add different flavours depending on the situation or the message that he wanted to get across. Bishop Isaac presented Colluthus as a heroic martyr, who had lived and died in the same town as the Christian community that he was addressing. Colluthus was their local hero, whose past in Antinoopolis was still visible and who still performed miracles in their city.

According to Bishop Phoibammon, these miracles should be found at the sanctuary of Colluthus in Pneuit. When he retold the martyr story of Colluthus at the opening of this new *martyrium* for the physician saint, he invented a new tradition when he told his audience that some blood of Colluthus was thrown into a well near the new sanctuary in Pneuit. The saint, said Phoibammon, had left Antinoopolis and was now performing his healing miracles in Pneuit. With his sermon, Phoibammon provided his audience with new factual memories of the presence of Colluthus in Pneuit that was essential to the acknowledgement of the sanctuary as a healing centre. In a similar way, the public speech by Isaac about the miracles of Colluthus was crucial for grounding the belief that a strong faith could restore one's health.

In the next chapter, we will further explore how speeches such as those given by Isaac and Phoibammon worked as cognitive artefacts. For now, it suffices to bear in mind that the material environment also has a profound influence on the way in which we form our memories. The well near the sanctuary of Colluthus in Pneuit was a visible reminder of the martyr's blood that was once thrown into it and the sanctuary at the North Necropolis of Antinoopolis reminded the visitors of the death and burial of the saint. The landscape told part of the story about the past, about the martyrdom and miracles that had once taken place there. It was, however, also part of the present, as nervous visitors wished to receive advice about ambiguous life situations from the oracle or hoped to restore their health at the sanctuary of the physician saint. Colluthus thus provided a link between the past and the present: far from being a memory of a past persecution, the martyr, physician and miracle worker was part of a living reality.

4 Paphnutius of Dendara. A Monastic Martyr and the Memories of the Great Persecution

4.1 Introduction

Coptic martyr stories usually feature courageous soldiers, faithful priests, wonder-working physicians and fearless virgins. The story of Paphnutius of Dendara is the story of another archetype: the anchorite. The plot begins at a day during the reign of the Emperor Diocletian, when the notorious governor Arianus – we met him previously in the *Passion of Colluthus* – is searching for Christians to make them sacrifice to the idols.[397] Upon his arrival in Dendara, he hears about an anchorite living a quiet, peaceful life in the desert near the city. This anchorite, aptly named Paphnutius, 'he-who-belongs-to-God', soon appears before Arianus' court to confess his faith. After his confession, Paphnutius performs a series of miracles so that one by one, deeply impressed by the anchorite, the citizens of Dendara convert to Christianity. By the end of the story, when Paphnutius is crucified on a palm tree by Diocletian himself, 546 newly converted inhabitants of Dendara have been martyred.

Paphnutius seems to have been a fairly popular martyr in Late Antique Egypt. His rich hagiographical record, including the *Passion of Paphnutius* that circulated in Greek, Sahidic, Bohairic and Syriac versions and the appearance of his name in monk cells in Esna and the monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes attest to his importance in people's memories. However, among the soldiers, priests, physicians and virgins who were remembered as martyrs of the Great Persecution, the anchorite Paphnutius stands out. For whereas martyrs were often depicted as living ascetic lives, as we have seen in the previous chapter about Colluthus, and while monastic literature was obviously inspired by martyrdom accounts, the *Passion of Paphnutius* tells the story of an actual monk who dies during the Great Persecution.[398] Moreover, Paphnutius is the last Christian to be executed after having converted a large number of the inhabitants of Dendara to Christianity and thereby having led them into martyrdom. The present chapter examines the role that Paphnutius played in the construction of memories of the Great Persecution, and how him being a monk made a difference.

In the General Introduction, we have seen that the Persecution was presented as a turning point in the history of Christianity already in its immediate aftermath. The organization and integration of Christianity into Egyptian society, however, must have evolved gradually over the course of the fourth and fifth centuries. When Christianity became institutionalized and developed its own customs and traditions,

397 See above, pp. 71-4.

398 See above, pp. 80-2.

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the cognitive ecology in which the Great Persecution was remembered changed. In the first chapter, we have seen how the three elements of the cognitive ecology – the social settings, cognitive artefacts and the physical environment – influenced these memories. For instance, the number of churches in Oxyrhynchus, like in other cities in the Roman Empire, increased from two to forty. Of those forty churches, thirty were dedicated to martyrs. These martyrs were given prominent places on the liturgical calendar and people went to their churches to receive charity, ask pressing questions and find healing. These latter two aspects could be more closely observed in the sanctuary of the physician saint Colluthus in Antinoopolis, which we visited in the second chapter.

In this chapter, we will explore another aspect of the changing cognitive ecology when we meet the martyr Paphnutius in the Egyptian desert near Dendara. Whereas in earlier centuries the desert had been a place of refuge for the persecuted, the prosecuted or those who avoided taxes, in Christian times holy men went to live a quiet, peaceful and ascetic life in the desert.[399] Traditionally, the famous anchorite Antony is credited with making the innovative move from the edges of a village to the desert shortly after the Great Persecution.[400] In the *Life of Antony* (*c.* 356), his biographer Athanasius writes that when Antony had not been given his desired crown of martyrdom, 'and there, every day he was a martyr in his conscience and a contender in the contests of the faith' in his cell in the desert.[401] When, in the words of Athanasius, the desert was made a city, or Christians chose a more communal life in monasteries founded after the example of Pachomius (*c.* 292-346), the cognitive ecology in which the Persecution was remembered shifted.[402] With the

399 E.g. Markus, *End of Ancient Christianity*, 165.

400 For the current state of research of the *Life of Antony*, see D. Wyrwa, 'Literarische und theologische Gestaltungselemente in der *Vita Antonii* des Athanasius', in J. van Oort and D. Wyrwa (eds.), *Autobiographie und Hagiographie in der christlichen Antike* (Leuven, 2009) 12-62 and P. Gemeinhardt, *Athanasius: Vita Antonii – Leben des Antonius* (Freiburg, 2018) 22-100.

401 Ath. *v. Anton.* 47: καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ καθ' ἡμέραν μαρτυρῶν τῇ συνειδήσει, καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενος τοῖς τῆς πίστεως ἄθλοις.

402 Ath. v. *Anton.* 14, *ep. fest.* 10.6. For monasticism in Late Antique Egypt see e.g. D.J. Chitty, *The Desert a City* (Oxford, 1966); E.A. Judge, 'The Earliest Use of Monachos for "Monk" (*P.Coll.Youtie* 77) and the Origins of Monasticism', *JbAC* 20 (1977) 72-89; P. van Minnen, 'The Roots of Egyptian Christianity', *AfP* 40 (1994) 71-85 at 78-80; E. Wipszycka, *Études sur le christianisme*, 281-336 ('Le monachisme égyptien et les villes', 1994[1]); P. Brown, 'Asceticism: Pagan and Christian', in *CAH2* XIII (1997) 601-31; J.E. Goehring, *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert. Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism* (Harrisburg, 1999); P. Rousseau, *Pachomius. The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* (Berkeley, 1999[2]) and 'Monasticism', in *CAH*[2] XIV (2001) 745-80; M. Choat, 'The Development and Usage of Terms for "Monk" in Late Antique Egypt', *JbAC* 45 (2002) 5-23; W. Harmless, *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism* (Oxford, 2004); D.L. Brooks Hedstrom, 'Divine Architects: Designing the Monastic Dwelling Place', in Bagnall, *Egypt in the Byzantine World*, 368-89; E. Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IV*[e]*-VIII*[e] *siècles)* (Warsaw,

Life of Antony, we see the beginnings of a stock motif of the monk as the successor of the martyr.[403] By leaving property, marriage, friends and family behind and becoming the daughters or sons of desert fathers, choosing a new life filled with prayer, fasts, miracles and fights with demons in the desert or a monastery, the identity of the monk was brought closer to that of the martyr.[404]

The martyr, in his turn, was also brought closer to the monk. In the previous chapter, we have already seen how *Lives* of monks and desert fathers influenced the memories of the Great Persecution: the *Passion of Colluthus* came to include the biography of the martyr and, just as a monk's *vita*, related about the miraculous birth and the pious childhood of the physician saint.[405] When Colluthus reached adulthood and his parents found him a bride, the ascetic influences become visible: the martyr cries out that he will withdraw to the desert if he has to marry.[406] Martyr stories, the cognitive artefacts by which memories of the Persecution were transmitted, thus changed under the influence of this new cognitive ecology. In their turn, martyr stories can also change memories. In the previous chapter, we already noted their importance in the formation of 'factual memories' or general knowledge.[407] The present chapter, which focuses on new factual memories of the monk as the successor of the martyr, allows us to take a closer look at how this process took place.

Therefore, before we start reading the *Passion of Paphnutius*, let us first make a few remarks about martyr stories as cognitive artefacts. Each cognitive artefact has

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2009); D.L. Brooks Hedstrom, *The Monastic Landscape of Late Antique Egypt. An Archaeological Reconstruction* (Cambridge, 2017).

403 The *Life of Antony* had an enormous impact, especially in the Latin-speaking part of the Roman Empire, see e.g. Bremmer, 'Heroes to Saints', 63. Surprisingly, M. Choat, 'The *Life of Antony* in Egypt', in B. Leyerle and R.D. Young (eds.), *Ascetic Culture. Essays in Honor of Philip Rousseau* (Notre Dame IN, 2013) 50-74 observes that in Egypt itself its influence was rather limited. On this topic, see also J.N. Bremmer, 'Athanasius' *Life of Antony*: Marginality, Spatiality and Mediality', in L. Feldt and J.N. Bremmer (eds.), *Marginality, Media, and Mutations of Religious Authority in the History of Christianity* (Leuven, 2019) 23-45 at 38-40.

404 This theme is omnipresent in monastic literature and has been the subject of numerous studies. The classical study is still E.E. Malone, *The Monk and the Martyr: The Monk as the Successor of the Martyr* (Washington DC, 1950). See also P.-A. Février, 'Martyre et sainteté', in J-Y. Tilliette (ed.), *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III^{e}-XIII^{e} siècle)* (Rome, 1991) 51-80, G. Flood, *The Ascetic Self: Subjectivity, Memory and Tradition* (Cambridge, 2004) 146-7, and D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, 2006) 23-47.

405 See above, pp. 80-2. In addition, Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 115, 123, 142, 143, 145 mentions the passions of Isaac of Tiphre, Paese and Thecla, John and Simon, Panine and Paneu, and Ptolemy of Dendara (to be discussed below) as examples of martyr stories influenced by monks' *vitae*.

406 *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Thompson, 'Encomium', in Depuydt, *Encomiastica* 1, 61 [text], 2, 47 [tr.]): ⲱ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲩ ⲱⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲁⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲁⲓ †ⲛⲁⲁⲛⲁϫⲱⲣⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲛ 'My father and mother, by your health, if you force me concerning this matter, I will withdraw myself into the desert, and you will not see me again'.

407 See above, pp. 86, 97-8.

its own characteristics. Nevertheless, cultural historian Peter Burke notes that all of them make use of metaphors to represent and remember a given event or person in terms of another.[408] In other words, when we write history, build a monument or celebrate a feast day, we use the categories of our own culture. For instance, ascetics were said to withdraw to the desert following in the footprints of John the Baptist and Jesus Christ, and their stories were usually recorded after the example of Antony. In neurological terms, the simultaneous activation of an already known stereotype with a new person strengthens the connections in the neuronal networks and makes it easier to remember this person.[409]

Exploring this theme a little further, in the previous chapter we have already discussed that new 'factual memories' were formed when Christians listened to sermons in their local church, celebrated feast days together and would thus have had a significant body of shared knowledge of Scripture, doctrine and practice. When gathering in a church to commemorate a martyr, they could place his or her history within this tradition. John Miles Foley has introduced the term 'traditional referentiality' to the ways in which an audience is fully aware of the larger traditions in which an author is working.[410] The public knew how martyrdom accounts were narrated and how the various scenes in each story would be depicted. The typical sequence of accusation, trial and execution worked in a similar way as contemporary folklore and fairy tales, when the audience knows what will happen between 'once upon a time' and 'they lived happily ever after'.

As ancient historians have emphasized and as has been confirmed by cognitive psychologists and neurologists, these literary models function as narrative frameworks that the brain uses to think with.[411] The Late Antique author thus only needed

408 Burke, 'History as Social Memory', 102.

409 About ten years before Burke published his 'History as Social Memory', the cognitive psychologists G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, 1980) developed the so-called 'conceptual metaphor theory', arguing that metaphors shape the way we think and act. Building on this idea, G. Fauconnier and M. Turner, *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities* (New York, 2002) examined how new metaphors come into being. Their work led to the hypothesis that particular metaphors are connected with particular neuronal networks, e.g. R. Kurzweil, *How to Create a Mind* (New York, 2012). These theories were first applied to the humanities by H. Lundhaug, *Image of Rebirth: Cognitive Poetics and Transformational Soteriology in the* Gospel of Philip *and the* Exegesis on the Soul (Leiden, 2010).

410 J.M. Foley, *Immanent Art: From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic* (Bloomington, 1991) 7.

411 In the words of Av. Cameron, *Christianity*, 93: 'the better these stories were constructed, the better they functioned as structure-maintaining narratives and the more audiences were disposed to accept them as true'. See also Grig, *Making Martyrs*, 39, who notes that much of the effectiveness of martyr stories lies in their repetitions. For the cognitive perspective, see Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, who see metaphors as a mode of thinking rather than as a manner of speaking, and Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 40, who argue that we construct these metaphors when we are thinking and speaking in order to make ourselves understandable. Additionally, Suk-Young Chwe,

to mention that 'it happened in the reign of Diocletian' and he could rely on his audience to already have a clear idea of the storyline. In a similar vein, repetitive formulae, such as 'the blessed Paphnutius', 'the athlete of Christ' or 'Arianus the governor' are used to introduce the main characters.[412] By adding these epithets, the hagiographer is able to situate the protagonists in their literary history. Not unlike a modern audience listening to a fairy tale about a 'big, bad wolf' or a 'wicked witch', the ancient audience knew what to expect from a lawless emperor and a blessed martyr. As cognitive psychologists have stressed, metaphors do not only allow people to understand each other, but are also powerful cognitive devices.[413] When a politician speaks of the state as a 'father' or when a hagiographer refers to a martyr as an 'athlete', they tacitly influence the ways in which their audiences look at the government and the Persecution respectively. In other words, they may reinforce the way that listeners or readers experience or remember them.[414]

In line with observations made by neuroscientists and cognitive psychologists, Burke argues that the most important requirement for a person to be remembered is to be familiar with an already known stereotype.[415] The martyrs who are the most prominent in the documentary records indeed fulfil this role.[416] Victor, Theodore, Menas and Phoibammon were soldiers who became heroes by throwing down their weapons and refusing to fight in a 'pagan' army. George was the son of a governor, who could have had the same powerful position but refused it when he found him-

Rational Ritual, 4 observes that repetition does not only result in the individual better remembering the information, but also in these individuals knowing that others are more likely to remember it too, thereby increasing the effectiveness of the narrative.

412 This metaphor of the martyr as an athlete and the ascetic life as an athletic contest already appears in Ath. *v. Anton.* 10: τῆς ἀθλήσεως Ἀντωνίου. See further M. Sheridan, *From the Nile to the Rhone and beyond. Studies in Early Monastic Literature and Scriptural Interpretation* (Rome, 2012) 47-87 at 74 ('The Spiritual and Intellectual World of Early Egyptian Monasticism', 2002[1]).

413 See the collections of articles in F. Ervas and E. Gola (eds.), *Metaphor in Focus: Philosophical Perspectives on Metaphor Use* (Newcastle, 2013) and *Metaphor and Communication* (Amsterdam, 2016), and F. Ervas, E. Gola and M.G. Rossi (eds.), *Metaphor in Communication, Science and Education* (Berlin, 2017). See also F. Ervas, E. Gola and M.G. Rossi, 'Metaphors and Emotions as Framing Strategies in Argumentation', in G. Airenti, B. Bara and G. Sandini (eds.), *Proceedings of the EuroAsianPacific Joint Conference of Cognitive Science* (Turin, 2015) 645-50.

414 G. Lakoff, *The Political Mind: Why You Can't Understand 21st-Century Politics With an 18th-Century Brain* (New York, 2008) even hypothesizes that the Republicans win and keep power by planting metaphors in the brains of voters. For a critical review of his book see W. Saletan, 'Neuro-Liberalism', *New York Times* (22 June 2008) available online at http://www.nytimes.com-/2008/06/22/books/review/Saletan-t.html.

415 Burke, 'History as Social Memory', 104-5. His argument is in line with the theory developed by Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, esp. pp. 17-73, where they argue that when a new idea is introduced, the brain searches for already familiar metaphors.

416 Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 264, has shown that the martyrs Victor, George, Theodore, Colluthus, Menas and Phoibammon were more prominent than others from the beginning.

self confronted with a government that was persecuting Christians. Being a physician, Colluthus would help his patients by nature of his profession. As a physician saint, however, he would perform the miracles that were to prove his holiness – the healings – without taking money.[417]

However, cognitive artefacts are only a part of the cognitive ecology and describing their strengths and weaknesses is only a part of the explanation. As Burke notes, the existence of schemata does not explain why they attach themselves to particular individuals, why some people are, in his words, more 'mythogenic' than others.[418] Why were some saints more prominent than others? Much influenced by Peter Brown's 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', recent publications study the holy man as a product of the society around him.[419] Martyr stories were told within a certain social system, for a particular audience for whom the story was relevant. As we have seen in the first chapter, martyrdom accounts functioned as cult aetiologies, to instruct and exhort and to connect the community with the persecuted Church.[420] Written words and visible monuments helped to construct a Christian identity in an increasingly Christian world.

In this chapter, we will explore the role which Paphnutius of Dendara played in the construction of a Christian past. Despite the rich fund of source material, Paphnutius has not yet received a full scholarly discussion and the different versions of his passion have not yet been translated into English. We will therefore start by introducing the *Passion of Paphnutius*. A summary and discussion of the passion in the first section will serve as the basis for its interpretation in the second (translations of the Greek and Bohairic versions of his passion can be found in the appendices). We will focus on the two remarkable features of the passion: an anchorite as

417 Colluthus is given the epitaph ⲁⲛⲁⲣⲅⲩⲣⲟⲥ 'moneyless' in the *Encomium on Colluthus* (ed. Thompson, 'Encomium', in Depuydt, *Encomiastica*, 1, 50 [text], 2, 39 [tr.]): ⲱ ⲡⲥⲁⲉⲓⲛ ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣ ⲡⲁϩⲣⲉ ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲥ ⲃⲉⲕⲉ 'physician in truth, who heals without a fee'. For the contrast between the ⲁⲛⲁⲣⲅⲩⲣⲟⲥ and physicians who do ask for fees, see B. Caseau, 'Ordinary Objects in Christian Healing Sanctuaries', in L. Lavan, E. Swift and T. Putzeys (eds.), *Objects in Contexts, Objects in Use: Material Spatiality in Late Antiquity* (Boston, 2007) 625-54 at 627. For the term ἀνάργυρος, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. ἀνάργυρος a.

418 Burke, 'History as Social Memory', 104.

419 Brown, 'Rise and Function' and his 1988-rejoinder 'Rise and Function'. See also the articles in Howard-Johnston and Hayward, *Cult of the Saints*.

420 See above, pp. 50-2. When Lapidge, *Roman Martyrs*, 4-7 asks himself the same question as Burke, namely why an author would choose to write a passion about a particular martyr, he notes that the answer seems to be that passions were only composed to commemorate those Roman martyrs who were commemorated in well-known and accessible Roman churches or sanctuaries. Thus there was no passion for the Roman martyr Ignatius, who was executed at Rome in the second century, nor was there one for Pope Fabian (236-250), who was executed as a result of the edict of Decius in 249/250. But for the Saints Caecilia, to whom a church was dedicated in Trastevere, and Agnes, who was commemorated in the great basilica on the Via Nomentana, passions were made.

the protagonist of a martyr story, who successfully converts the inhabitants of his city during the Great Persecution. In the final section of this chapter, we will discuss Paphnutius' *Nachleben* by discussing the martyr story of another citizen of Dendara who suffers martyrdom after meeting Paphnutius. In the *Passion of Ptolemy*, the influence of the monastic world is again omnipresent.

4.2 The *Passion of Paphnutius*

By looking at the *Passion of Paphnutius* in more detail, we can see more clearly how our monastic martyr makes his way to martyrdom. Before we start reading the story, however, we should note that the passion has a long genealogy. It has been well preserved in three tenth-century manuscripts in Greek, Bohairic and Syriac.[421] Additionally, fragments of it have been preserved in a fifth-century Greek papyrus from Oxyrhynchus and a sixth- or seventh-century Sahidic parchment.[422] This whole group of documents records basically the same passion. It follows that this passion was transmitted with remarkable faithfulness from about the fifth to the tenth century. As Coptic is pre-eminently a 'living literature', the fact that all preserved manuscripts are almost identical is surprising.[423] That being said, the Greek version and later calendars show that there have indeed been some elaborations.

421 The Greek *Passion of Paphnutius*, *BHG* 1419, catalogued under Catal. Gr. Vatic. 1660, was written in Constantinople and dates to 916. It has been edited by Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 328-43. Since this version has not yet been translated, a first English translation of the Greek version is included in appendix one. The Bohairic *Passion of Paphnutius*, *BHO* 840, catalogued under Codex Vat. copt. 59, dates to 918 and originates from the bishop of Arsinoe and former professor of Coptic Language and Church Rite, Raphael Tuki (1701-1787), who made copies of original Coptic codices. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* have used these copies to make their critical edition at vol. 2, pp. 110-9 and a Latin translation at vol 1., pp. 72-7. Since this is the only translation available, I have made a first translation of the text into English, which is included in appendix two. The Syriac passion, *BHO* 839, has been edited by P. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1890-1897) 5.514-42 but remains without translation. This latter passion is not included in the discussion of this chapter.

422 *PSI* I 26 is written on the *recto* of a fragmentary papyrus sheet, with on the *verso* a scene from the *Passion of Christine of Tyre*, published as *PSI* I 27. Since neither the complete *Passion of Paphnutius* nor the *Passion of Christine* would fit on these pages, the editor suggests that the papyrus belonged to a *volumen* of 'Hagiographica' rather than to a book. Penned in an uncial, calligraphic hand, slightly tilted to the right, he assigns it to the fifth century. The Sahidic parchment has been edited and translated by P.E. Kahle, *Bala'izah. Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt*, 2 vols. (London, 1954) 1.446-7 (no. 43). The parchment, which consists of two pages forming a single leaf, is written in small square uncials which Kahle assigns to the sixth or seventh century. Due to its fragmentary state, it was not immediately recognized as the *Passion of Paphnutius* and first identified as such by P. Devos, review of Kahle, *Bala'izah*, in *AB* 74 (1956) 256-9 at 258.

423 For the term 'living literature' see S. Emmel, 'Coptic Literature in the Byzantine and Early Islamic World', in Bagnall, *Egypt in the Byzantine World*, 83-102 at 94. For an example of a Coptic

The first deviations can be detected when comparing the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, which contains the episode in the house of Nestor and his family, with the complete Greek manuscript. Content-wise the texts are similar to each other. As Delehaye observes, the scribe in Constantinople – or his template – made only some minor alterations to the text, improving the style and adding clarifications for a non-Egyptian readership. An Egyptian editor, for instance, would not speak about the Nile as 'the river of Egypt called the Nile'.[424] Therefore, Delehaye concludes that we should not refer to the Greek version as the original passion but can safely assume that its contents would not have been too different from the now lost Greek *Vorlage*.[425]

A similar conclusion can be reached when comparing the Bohairic version of the *Passion of Paphnutius* with other texts from Paphnutius' hagiographical record. The Bohairic version contains the passion from the beginning until about halfway, ending with Paphnutius' visit to the house of Nestor. This version corresponds with the Sahidic parchment, which describes the conversion of the soldiers Dionysius and Callimachus, and the Oxyrhynchus papyrus. It furthermore follows the contents of the complete Greek manuscript from Constantinople quite closely, although the Greek text does show major reformulations.[426] Interestingly, the Bohairic and Greek versions also carry slightly different titles. The Bohairic introduces the passion as:

> The martyrdom of the martyred athlete of Christ, the holy Abba Paphnutius, who completed it on the 20th day of the month Parmoute (15 April) in the peace of God, amen.[427]

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hagiography as living literature see J.H.F. Dijkstra and J. van der Vliet, *The Coptic* Life of Aaron*: Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden, 2020) 11, who compare sixth- and seventh-century papyrus fragments with the complete tenth-century manuscript and conclude that whereas the contents of the *Life of Aaron* generally remained unchanged, some textual engineering has taken place in a liturgical context.

424 *Passion of Paphnutius* 3 (ed. Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 329 = Appendix 1, pp. 148-9): τὸν ποταμὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Νεῖλον.

425 Rather than speaking about 'the Greek original' (Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 125) or tracing the Bohairic version back to the Greek (Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 165), I would keep the possibility open that the Greek and the Bohairic versions developed independently from a lost *Vorlage* or, in Delehaye's words, *Urtext* (Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 328). See also J.-M. Sauget, 'Pafnuzio di Denderdah', in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 13 vols. (1961-1970) 10.29-35 at 29, who confirms that the Greek passion corresponds content-wise perfectly with the Greek papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, as well as with the Bohairic and Syriac manuscripts.

426 See below, pp. 113-4 (n. 453) for a comparison. Cf. Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 125, who concludes that the Bohairic passion follows not only the contents, but also the wording of the Greek passion 'ziemlich getreu'.

427 *Passion of Paphnutius* 1 (ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 110 = Appendix 2, pp. 184-5): ⲧⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲱⲓⲭ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲧⲁϩⲭⲟⲕⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲩ ⲕ̀ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲁⲃⲟⲧ ϥⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲑⲓ ⲇⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲫⲧ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ.

In contrast, the title of the Greek passion focuses on the more peculiar aspects of the martyrdom, and names it 'the martyrdom of Saint Paphnutius the anchorite and his 546 fellow holy martyrs'.[428] Like the Greek passion, the *Synaxarium* from Constantinople introduces Paphnutius as a monk, stressing that not only laity but also monks were martyred during the persecution.[429]

Other differences can be found when looking at later material. The Coptic *Synaxarium*, as is expected, transmits a condensed version of the story of the martyred anchorite.[430] It differs from the other texts in Paphnutius' hagiographical *corpus* in that it contains the new information that the palm tree on which Paphnutius was crucified can still be seen in Dendara and in that it reduces the numerous citizens that Paphnutius converted to only Nestor and his family – now called Cyril, his wife, daughter and two sons. The memory of the martyred citizens of Dendara is found elsewhere in the *Synaxarium*: the commemoration of four hundred martyrs of Dendara is mentioned at 15 Pashons (10 May).[431] All in all, the passion has thus been edited for different audiences, although these different editions transmit basically the same passion.

Despite the richness of his hagiographical record, Paphnutius has not yet received much scholarly interest. The first editions of the *Passion of Paphnutius* appeared around the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. Since then short discussions of the text have been published, but the passion has not been given full consideration.[432] Yet the prominence of Paphnutius in the literary evidence as well as his occurrence in the documentary record make it worthwhile to put the spotlight on this understudied but apparently fairly popular martyr. Before we provide an analysis of the *Passion of Paphnutius*, we will first briefly summarize the work, following the Greek version of the passion but including the Bohairic one where the texts overlap.

The story begins, as it so often does, in the reign of the Emperor Diocletian, when the notorious governor Arianus is searching for Christians to make them sacri-

428 *Passion of Paphnutius* 1 (ed. Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 328 = Appendix 1, pp. 146-7): Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Παφνουτίου τοῦ ἀναχωρητοῦ καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ φμς ἁγίων μαρτύρων.

429 The *Synaxarium* of Constantinople (ed. H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* [Brussels, 1902] 615-8) agrees with the other versions that Paphnutius was crucified on a palm tree and led 547 Christians into martyrdom. It commemorates Paphnutius on 6 September.

430 *PO* 16, pp. 316-7 (20 Pharmouthi = 15 April).

431 *PO* 16, pp. 360, 386 (20 Pharmouthi = 15 April). The edition from Upper Egypt mentions Paphnutius at 6 Pashons (1 May). Additionally, the Coptic calendar edited by Crum, 'Fragments', 26 celebrates a Paphnutius on 2 Pashons (27 April). Which Paphnutius the calendar celebrates, however, remains unspecified.

432 Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 134-6; O'Leary, *Saints of Egypt*, 217-8; Sauget, 'Pafnuzio di Denderdah' and Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 124-6, who also includes a comparison with the *Passion of George* and the *Passion of Anoup* at pp. 161-72. For papyrological and epigraphical material see Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, 165-6.

fice to the idols. Upon his arrival in Dendara, some people report about a certain Paphnutius, who, as they say, despises the gods and rejects the edicts of the emperors. Therefore, Arianus sends two centurions to arrest Paphnutius. The anchorite, unaware of what has happened in the city, has an uneventful morning until an angel appears. The angel – the Archangel Michael in the Bohairic passion – has come to tell Paphnutius that he will soon receive the crown upon his lifetime's efforts. He informs the anchorite about the charges pressed against him and the soldiers searching for him, and promises to help him on his way to martyrdom. Paphnutius is delighted, gets dressed and makes his way to the harbour, where the governor has just arrived.

In the meantime, Arianus indeed has the two centurions with their accompanying two hundred soldiers – the eighty in the Bohairic passion might be a corruption in the Coptic text – searching for Paphnutius. When the anchorite arrives at the harbour, he calls out that there is no need to trouble these soldiers anymore. He is there, he says, and sees that Arianus has soldiers searching for Christians to execute them, whereas in reality the angels of God are gathering them to send them to Heaven. With these words, the tone of the dialogue is set already before Arianus asks whether the newcomer is Paphnutius the Apostate, who despises the law of the emperors. Paphnutius replies affirmatively and points out that not he but Arianus is the atheist. The governor responds by binding the anchorite between two robbers – a powerful reference to the crucifixion of Christ.

When everyone has returned to the city and Paphnutius appears before the tribunal, the iron chains miraculously fall off his hands and feet. Arianus, seemingly ignoring this miracle, threatens him with torture when Paphnutius refuses to sacrifice. But Paphnutius tells the governor that he is prepared, or rather trained, to die and that these tortures are really no different from the ones he has exposed himself to before. Arianus, however, is not impressed by Paphnutius' statement that he is prepared for torture. The anchorite is hung on the *hermetarion*, and while his intestines pour on the ground he prays to God to put the governor to shame before he dies.[433] Immediately, an angel of God appears and puts Paphnutius' organs back in his belly. After the healing, Paphnutius stands as if no torture ever happened and the astonished soldiers Dionysius and Callimachus call out that they are Christians. They are the first converts who are martyred in the passion.

While his first two converts die a martyr's death, Paphnutius is locked up in prison, where he is soon joined by forty officials who are imprisoned because of tax debts. Impressed by the anchorite, they convert to Christianity and in the morning Paphnutius leads them to court to let them confess their new faith: 'Tribunal, tribu-

433 For the *hermetarion*, see p. 73 (n. 281) above.

nal, I have come to you! You with your Apollo and I with my Lord Jesus Christ!'[434] These sentences – which either inspired or were inspired by the *Passion of George*, as we will see – come back as some sort of refrain in each episode: Paphnutius converts citizens of Dendara, leads them to court, and as they confess their faith and are martyred, Paphnutius miraculously escapes the threat of persecution.[435] At this point, the Bohairic version breaks off. The Greek version, however, informs us that after the imprisoned officials, Paphnutius converts a rich magistrate named Nestor and his wife and daughter, sixteen schoolboys whose fathers were among the officials martyred earlier and eighty fishermen who had gathered by the harbour. From magistrate to fisherman, the whole city seems to be involved.

The martyrdoms of the citizens of Dendara are again emphasized in the second resurrection scene. Arianus has Paphnutius hung on an iron wheel on the temple of the city, with which no doubt the well-known temple of Hathor is meant. It is Christ himself, accompanied by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, who brings Paphnutius back to life and restores his tortured body. The reappearance of the anchorite at Arianus' court causes the conversion and martyrdom of Eusebius and his four hundred soldiers. At this point, Arianus' colleagues give up: 'Master, do not let us stay in this city. For look, the whole city has been destroyed by the magical tricks of Paphnutius'.[436]

Arianus tries to execute Paphnutius one last time: he binds a millstone around the martyr's neck and throws him in the Nile. However, instead of sinking to the bottom of the river, the millstone floats up to the surface and is blown back to shore. Paphnutius triumphantly returns to Arianus. The governor then sends the public records of the anchorite to Diocletian, who finally crucifies him on a palm tree. The passion ends when the soldiers who crucified Paphnutius convert to Christianity and receive martyrdom as well, bringing the total of martyrs to 546.

Having summarized the contents of the *Passion of Paphnutius*, we shall now place the work in the broader context of Coptic literature. The passion remains in essence a typical martyr story. Paphnutius uses the same arguments as martyrs in so many other martyr stories to express the same opinions, he suffers the same tortures

434 Greek *Passion of Paphnutius* 21 (ed. Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 333 = Appendix 1, pp. 162-3): Βῆμα, βῆμα, κατὰ σοῦ ἦλθον· σὺ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, κἀγὼ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κυρίου μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Although the story of the forty officials is not preserved, this typical exclamation can also be found the Bohairic *Passion of Paphnutius* 13 (Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 117 = Appendix 2, pp. 194-5): ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲁⲓⲓ ⲉⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⲟⲛ. ⲱ ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲱ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲑ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ 'Tribunal, tribunal, I have come to you again! Arianus, you with your Apollo of stone and I with my Lord Jesus Christ!'

435 See below, pp. 110-2.

436 Greek *Passion of Paphnutius* 41 (ed. Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 341 = Appendix 1, pp. 178-9): Δέσποτα, μὴ μείνωμεν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ πόλις πᾶσα κατελύθη διὰ τὰς μαγείας Παφνουτίου.

and works similar miracles until he eventually receives the crown of martyrdom.[437] Paphnutius, furthermore, is not the only martyr who inspires onlookers to convert and receive martyrdom. Sometimes, the miracles performed by martyrs would even cause mass conversions. For instance, when George and Didymus were brought back to life, these miracles caused the conversions and subsequent martyrdoms of more than three thousand people in the *Passion of George*, and a thousand citizens and five hundred soldiers in the *Passion of Didymus*.[438] The miracles performed by Anoup and Julius of Aqfahs, taking place in different cities on their road to martyrdom, led to the martyrdoms of 19,084 respectively 10,977 newly converted Christians.[439] Conversions and even mass conversions leading to the martyrdom of thousands of new Christians were thus not unusual in martyr stories, although the local context in which Paphnutius operates is exceptional.

We must leave a complete comparison of the themes and motifs of the *Passion of Paphnutius* with other martyr stories to another study. However, in order to place the work within Coptic literature, we will take a closer look at the *Passion of George*. In his *Martyr invictus*, Baumeister compares the *Passion of George* with the *Passion of Paphnutius*, and in doing so argues that the story of the former inspired the composer of the latter.[440] George, the Arian opponent of Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria, was murdered in 361 and his passion must have been written between 363-500.[441] In the passion, the character of George is nevertheless far removed from the

437 To mention just a few examples, scenes similar to the episode with the millstone occur in the *Passion of Nahrow* (ed. Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyerlegenden* 1, 3, 11) and the *Passion of Isidore* (ed. H. Munier, 'Les actes du martyre de Saint Isidore', *BIFAO* 14 [1918] 97-190 at 141), with the latter protagonist being rescued by Michael after a prayer to Jonah. Cf. the *Passion of Christine of Tyre* (ed. M. Norsa, 'Martirio di Santa Cristina nel cod. Messin. 29', *SIFC* 19 [1912] 316-27 at 321), in which Christine is thrown into the sea with a stone around her neck. The appearance of Christ and the archangels after torture scenes also features in the *Passion of Anoup* (ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 216). In the *Passion of Pirow and Athom* (ed. Hyvernat, *Actes des martyrs*, 144-5), Christ and the archangels appear in a vision. Christ and the archangels appear after the resurrection of George Sahidic *Passion of George*, [ed. Budge, *Martyrdom and Miracles*, 12]; Bohairic *Passion of George* [ed. G. Balestri and H. Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum II* (Paris, 1953^2) 281] and after the resurrection of Sarapammon (ed. Hyvernat, *Actes des martyrs*, 304). In both cases, the Saviour compares his resurrection with the creation of Adam. For summaries of these stories see Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 122-3, 133-5, 151-2 and 98-101, 127-8, 128-9.

438 Sahidic *Passion of George* (ed. Budge, *Saint George*, 13); Bohairic *Passion of George* (ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum II*, 282); *Passion of Didymus* (ed. Hyvernat, *Actes des martyrs*, 286).

439 See the *Passion of Anoup* (ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 241) and the *Passion of Julius of Aqfahs* (ed. E. Cerulli, *Atti di Giulio di Aqfahs* [Leuven, 1959] 40).

440 Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 153, 161-72.

441 Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 157 dates the passion to 400. For a more detailed discussion of the date see D. Woods, 'The Origin of the Cult of St George', in Humphries and Twomey, *Great Persecution*, 141-58 at 144-5. For discussions of the historical George the Cappadocian see J. Hahn, *Gewalt und religiöser Konflikt. Studien zu den Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Christen, Heiden und Juden im*

Arian Bishop George. It tells the legendary tale of the son of a governor, who after his father's death travelled to the emperor's court to claim his father's position.[442] At court, however, he discovered that the authorities were persecuting Christians. The emperor, in earlier versions named Dadianus but later called Diocletian, told the shocked Christian that if he were to renounce his faith, he would be made governor. George declined the offer and a series of tortures, miracles and conversions of onlookers followed.

In the *Passion of George*, the theme of the many healings and multiple resurrections of the saint performed by archangels already play an important role. Baumeister points out that the first healing and resurrection scene in the martyrdom of George and the *Passion of Paphnutius* are similar to each other in structure as well as choice of words.[443] In this scene, George and Paphnutius are both tortured on the *hermetarion*. The second resurrection scene contains similarities too, although George's body is left behind on a mountain for the birds to eat and Paphnutius is hung on the temple of Dendara. Another striking parallel is the sentence that George uses when he comes back to court after his resurrections, and that Paphnutius repeats when he brings in newly converted Christians: 'Tribunal, tribunal, I have come to you! You with your Apollo and I with my Lord Jesus Christ!'[444] Arguing that the author of Paphnutius' passion added elements to the scenes taken from the martyr story of George, Baumeister concludes that the author of the *Passion of Paphnutius* used the martyrdom of George as its model.[445]

Although Baumeister convincingly shows that the two passions are strikingly similar, he does not consider the possibility that the author of the *Passion of George*

Osten des Römischen Reiches (von Konstantin bis Theodosius II.) (Berlin, 2004) 55-70 and H.C. Teitler, *The Last Pagan Emperor. Julian the Apostate and the War against Christianity* (New York, 2017) 35-40.

442 For a martyr story about a governor of Egypt who later became a saint, see the discussion of the *Passion of Artemius* by Teitler, *Last Pagan Emperor*, 41-8. Flavius Artemius is known as the governor who helped Bishop George the Cappadocian when he demanded the occupation of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria. In his passion, however, these events are not mentioned and instead, Artemius is presented as an able governor who is martyred by the stereotypical 'pagan' emperor, Julian.

443 For a word-for-word analysis see also G. Fischhaber, *Mumifizierung im koptischen Ägypten: Eine Untersuchung zur Körperlichkeit im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1997) 49-50, who reaches the same conclusion.

444 Greek *Passion of George* (ed. K. Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung* [Munich, 1911] 8): βῆμα, βῆμα, κατὰ σοῦ ἦλθον· σὺ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐγὼ μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; Sahidic *Passion of George* (ed. Budge, *Saint George*, 7): ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲁⲓⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲫⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲕ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ ⲛⲱⲛⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ 'Tribunal, tribunal, I have come to you again today! You with your Apollo of stone and I with my Lord Jesus Christ!'; Bohairic *Passion of George* (ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum II*, 276) ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲁⲓⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲫⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲕ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ ⲛⲱⲛⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ 'Tribunal, tribunal, I have come to you again today! You with your Apollo of stone and I with my Lord Jesus Christ!'

445 Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 161-72.

may equally have been inspired by the martyrdom of Paphnutius. In order to define which story was told after the example of the other, however, one would need more exact dates of composition than either of these texts allow for.[446] Nevertheless, George's or Paphnutius' passion also inspired composers of other martyr stories. In the *Passion of Sarapammon* and the *Passion of Anoup*, as Baumeister points out, Anoup and Sarapammon use a similar 'tribunal, tribunal' sentence when they reappear in court.[447] Familiar sentences also occur elsewhere in these passions, for instance when Sarapammon converts officials who have been imprisoned because they failed to pay the public taxes. Unlike Paphnutius, Sarapammon does not attract the attention of the officials by miraculously producing light in a dark prison, but speaks with other imprisoned Christians before he meets the magistrates. He asks, however, the same rhetorical question when the magistrates tell him why they have been imprisoned: 'if you had paid this time, will they not take from you another time?'[448] Paphnutius himself occurs in the seventh-century *Passion of Apater and Irai*, where the siblings meet him in the prison of Oxyrhynchus.[449]

Paphnutius is not one of the stock characters that usually feature in Coptic hagiographies. Instead of having a soldier, priest, physician or virgin as the protagonist, he is introduced as an anchorite wandering around in the desert. At least by the end of the fourth century, ascetics and martyrs had become closely connected: martyrs are often depicted as living ascetic lives and monastic literature was obviously inspired by martyrdom accounts.[450] As we have previously seen, the *Life of Antony* and the *Passion of George* – in which anchorites play an important role – were written in *c.* 356 and between 363-500 respectively. It seems, however, unlikely that the *Passion of Paphnutius* was first composed in say, the 380s, when the persecutions were

446 For the date of composition of the *Passion of Paphnutius*, see below, pp. 112-3.

447 Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 166 (n. 84): *Passion of Sarapammon* (ed. Hyvernat, *Actes des martyrs*, 306): ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲁⲓⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲟⲕ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϩⲱ ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲁⲥ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ 'Tribunal, tribunal, I have come to you again! You with your Apollo and I with my Lord Jesus Christ!'; the *Passion of Anoup* uses a slightly different version, leaving out Apollo and referring to the power of Christ instead (ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 228): ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲁⲓⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲫⲟⲟⲩ ⲃⲉⲛ ⲧϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ̄ 'Tribunal, tribunal, I have come to you again today with the power of my Lord Jesus Christ!'

448 *Passion of Sarapammon* (ed. Hyvernat, *Actes des martyrs*, 306): ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲁⲛⲙⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲟⲛ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣⲁϣ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲛ; Cf. Bohairic *Passion of Paphnutius* 12 (ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 116 = Appendix 2, pp. 192-3): ⲛⲁϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲉϣⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲇⲏⲙⲟⲥⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲟⲛ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲡ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲛ 'my sons, if you had paid these taxes this time, will they not take from you another time?'; the *Passion of Lacaron* (ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 6-7) contains a short scene about the baptism of one imprisoned magistrate, who afterwards receives martyrdom by jumping into a burning fire.

449 See above, pp. 48-9. Sahidic *Passion of Apater and Irai* (ed. Orlandi, *Papyri copti*, 149-54); Bohairic *Passion of Apater and Irai* (ed. Hyvernat, *Actes des martyrs*, 99-100). Ptolemy, the son of the Nestor, is also among the prisoners.

450 See e.g. Bremmer, 'Heroes to Saints', 62-3.

still the domain of living memories. The artificial character of the passion – an ascetic life ending in the martyrdom of not just the anchorite but of 546 inhabitants of Dendara – suggests that the story is a later 'invention of tradition'.

Whereas a *terminus post quem* remains hard to define, a closer look at paragraph 36 of the *Passion of Paphnutius* gives us a *terminus ante quem*. In this paragraph, Arianus tells the *praepositus* Eusebius that he does not have the authority to judge him and that Eusebius should go to the *dux* instead. The *dux* had been responsible for the military in the Thebaid from Diocletian onwards, and only in 539 were the separate offices of governor and military leader joined in the single function *dux et augustalis*.[451] This fact means that the *Passion of Paphnutius* was written before 539. The Oxyrhynchus papyrus gives an even earlier *terminus ante quem*: probably, the origins of the passion do not go back much further than this earliest surviving fragment from the fifth century.[452]

4.3 An Anchorite in the Desert of Dendara

Now that we have discussed some of the basic features of the *Passion of Paphnutius*, such as date of composition, contents and similarities to other martyr stories, we will examine the two most striking aspects of the work: an anchorite successfully converting and thereby leading the inhabitants of his city with him to martyrdom during the Great Persecution. Let us first read how Paphnutius speaks about himself. Whereas from Antony onwards, saints' lives usually depict monks as the successors of the martyrs, Paphnutius takes this motif one step further by presenting himself as an anchorite who is well-trained to become a martyr:

> The practices of us monks are much stronger than tortures, for we have been tried in many ascetic practices. Our Saviour has given us strength, so that we will not be weak in the hidden combats of Satan, and he shall strengthen us again to overcome your powerless persecution against us.[453]

451 For the thirteenth edict of Justinian, in which he created the office of *dux et augustalis*, see R. Rémondon, 'L'Édit XIII de Justinien a-t-il promulgé en 539?', *CdE* 30 (1955) 112-21, J.-M. Carrié, 'Séparation ou cumul? Pouvoir civil et autorité militaire dans les provinces d'Égypte de Gallien à la conquête arabe', in J.-M. Carrié and N. Duval (eds.), *Les gouverneurs de province dans l'Antiquité Tardive* (Paris, 1998) 105-21 at 115-8, J. Gascou, 'L'Égypte byzantine (284-641)', in C. Morrisson (ed.), *Le monde byzantin. Tombe I: L'Empire romain d'Orient, 330-641* (Paris, 2004) 403-36 at 416-7, C. Zuckerman, *Du village à l'Empire. Autour du registre fiscal d'Aphroditô (525/526)* (Paris, 2004) 149-50.

452 This conclusion also confirms the dating of the *Passion of George* before 500.

453 Greek *Passion of Paphnutius* 7 (ed. Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 330-1 = Appendix 1, pp. 150-1): αἱ ἡμέτεραι τῶν μοναχῶν πολιτεῖαι πολὺ πλέον ἔχουσι τῶν βασάνων· ἐν πολλαῖς γὰρ ἀσκήσεσι πεπειραμένοι ἐσμέν· καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ἐνεδυνάμωσεν ἡμᾶς, ἕως οὐ ἡττήσωμεν τοὺς ἀποκρύφους πολέμους τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ ἐνδυναμώσει πάλιν ἡμᾶς ἡττῆσαι τὸν οὐ δυνάμενον καθ' ἡμῶν σου

The picture painted is that of an anchorite prepared to die during the Great Persecution.[454] Paphnutius uses typical monastic terminology to describe his training, referring to ἄσκησις 'ascetic practice', πόλεμος 'war' and διωγμός 'persecution', in the sense of everyday tortures and the fight against demons that characterized ascetic life.[455] His martyrdom would thus only be the crown upon his lifelong work or, to use the words of the Archangel Michael in the Bohairic version, the gable upon his house.[456]

The perception of the monk as the successor of the martyr may indeed, as Baumeister suggests, have inspired hagiographers to write stories about anchorites who suffer martyrdom but then die a natural death or actually die a martyr's

διωγμόν. Bohairic *Passion of Paphnutius* 7 (ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 113-4 = Appendix 2, 188-9): ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲃⲓⲥⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲑⲟⲛⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲧⲏⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲓⲥⲭⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲧⲁⲗⲟⲩ. ⲓⲥⲭⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲡϫⲟⲙ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲱⲁⲧⲉⲛⲑⲣⲟ ⲉⲛⲓⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲱⲅⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ. ⲭⲛⲁⲡϫⲟⲙ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲟⲛ ⲱⲧⲉⲛⲑⲣⲟ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲇⲓⲱⲅⲙⲟⲥ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲟⲛⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛⲟⲩ 'These tortures are no different from the sufferings that we tried on ourselves and the ascetic practices that we exposed ourselves to by killing our body since our childhood. Therefore, then, our Saviour has given us strength, until we have become victorious in wars and hidden persecutions. He will give us strength again, until we have become victorious in your persecution, which is manifest now'. One may note that although the idea is the same as in the Bohairic version, the Greek text shows a significant rephrasing of the passage.

454 M.A. Tilley, 'The Ascetic Body and the (Un)Making of the World of the Martyr', *JAAR* 59 (1991) 467-78 argues that reading about asceticism as well as living an ascetic life prepared Christians for martyrdom already since the end of the second century. On the *askesis* of those preparing for martyrdom see also O. Nicholson, 'Preparation for Martyrdom in the Early Church', in Humphries and Twomey, *Great Persecution*, 61-90, in which he examines the prescriptions of Origen, Tertullian and Lactantius.

455 For ἄσκησις see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. ἄσκησις 5. For πόλεμος see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. πόλεμος II.3. For διωγμός see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. διωγμός 1. For the Coptic translation of ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲧⲓⲁ, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. πολιτεία G and W.-P. Funk, 'Πόλις, πολίτης und πολιτεία im Koptischen. Zu einigen Fragen des einschlägigen koptischen Lehnwortschatzes', in E.C. Welskopf (ed.), *Das Fortleben altgriechischer sozialer Typenbegriffe in den Sprachen der Welt*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1982) 1.283-320 at 308-9.

456 Greek *Passion of Paphnutius* 2 (ed. Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 329 = Appendix 1, pp. 146-7): ἀκολούθει μοι, ἵνα στεφανώσω τὸν οἶκον, ὃν ἀπὸ νηπιόθεν ᾠκοδόμησας 'follow me in order that I may crown the house, which you have built from childhood'. Bohairic *Passion of Paphnutius* 2 (ed. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 110 = Appendix 2, pp. 184-5): ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲕⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲓⲥⲭⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲧⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲱⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲑⲣⲉⲕϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲗⲱⲃⲱ 'walk with me and I will give your house, which you are building from childhood, its gable'. The reference is to 1. Cor. 3:10, in which Paul uses the metaphor of the foundation upon which others can build a house to describe how he founded the community at Corinth. The metaphor of the house and its roof is also used in *Life of Aaron* 60 (ed. Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Coptic* Life of Aaron, 98), where it refers to the Christian community at Philae, and the *Homily of Severus of Antioch on Michael the Archangel* (ed. E.A.W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* [London, 1915] 177), where the reference is to the building of a church. ⲡⲗⲱⲃⲱ means both 'gable' and 'crown' (Crum, *Dict*. 138a). A Coptic speaker would thus have immediately understood the wordplay between the highest part of a house and the martyr's crown.

death.[457] In fact, memories about monks who died as martyrs during the Great Persecution are not particularly rare. The earliest record of a martyr who seems to have led an ascetic life is found in Eusebius' *Martyrs of Palestine* (*c.* 311).[458] In the eleventh chapter, Eusebius narrates about a certain Pamphilus, who was born into a wealthy family, but gave all this possessions to the poor and lived his life like a prophet, 'and he proved himself a true martyr of God, even before the final close of his life'.[459] In the Syriac translation of the *Martyrs of Palestine*, a similar story is told, with the addition that Pamphilus left his hometown of Beirut and attached himself to men seeking perfection.[460] The ascetic life that Pamphilus lived certainly increased his status as a martyr, giving him 'a different triumph' than the other martyrs.[461]

The idea of a monk becoming a martyr was not unique in Egypt either. The earliest memory of a monastic martyr in Egypt is found in the *History of the Monks in Egypt* (*c.* 400), where the author writes about an Egyptian monk telling him and his companions about 'a monk called Apollonius' who 'in every virtue surpassed even the most highly esteemed people'.[462] Interestingly, the story of Apollonius contains two striking elements that we also find in the *Passion of Paphnutius*. First, Apollonius, like Paphnutius, is an anchorite who is sentenced to death. Second, although he does not convert them, Apollonius successfully encourages others to become martyrs, including the governor Arianus, before he himself is arrested, imprisoned and martyred. In his travelogue, the author reports that he visited the sanctuary of Apollonius and his fellow martyrs, where, as he writes, miracles still happen. The Greek *Passion of Apollonius* explicitly mentions that Apollonius was martyred in Antinoopolis during the Great Persecution.[463] Interestingly, the main difference is that in this version Apollonius is not portrayed as a monk, but as an ἀναγνώστης, a reader. Baumeister suggests that the two stories developed independently from each

457 T. Baumeister, review of H. Bröcker, *Der heilige Thalelaios, Texte und Untersuchungen* (Münster, 1976), in *JbAC* 22 (1979) 218-20 at 218.

458 For the date see Barnes, *Hagiography*, 389-92, who argues that the account must have been written between Galerius' edict of toleration in April 311 and Maximinus' resumption of persecution towards the end of that year.

459 Eus. *m.P.* 11.3: καὶ θεοῦ μάρτυρα ἀληθῆ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ὑστάτης τελευτῆς τοῦ βίον παρίστη.

460 Barnes, *Hagiography*, 390 (n. 10) concludes that only a few small verbal changes and additions have been made. For the English translation of the Syriac version see W. Cureton, *History of the Martyrs in Palestine* (London, 1861) 39-43.

461 Cureton, *History*, 39. Eus. *m.P.* 11.2 recounts in a similar way that compared to the other martyrs their leader Pamphilus would rightly be called blessed.

462 *Hist.mon.* 19.1: μοναχὸς ὀνόματι Ἀπολλώνιος (...) ὑπερβάλλων δὲ πάσαις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ τοὺς πώποτε εὐδοκιμήσαντας.

463 Greek *Passion of Apollonius* (ed. J. Bolland, G. Henschen and D. Papebroch, *Acta sanctorum: Martii, tomus primus* [Paris, 1865] 887-90). For an analysis of the martyrdom of Apollonius and Phileas see Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 105-8 and '*Historia Monachorum*'.

other, the former originating in a late fourth-century monastic milieu while the latter was written in a later, local tradition.[464]

The few remaining stories about monks who confessed or actually died a martyr's death are elaborate legends. The passions of Nabraha and Pamin, for instance, tell about two confessors who were released from prison when the reign of Constantine made an end to the persecution. Nabraha then began his life as a monk and Pamin returned to his monastery.[465] In contrast, the *Passion of Krajon and Amoun* does end in actual martyrdom. After having tried to rob a bishop, the robbers Krajon and Amoun converted and became monks in Scetis, one of the most important monastic settlements in Egypt.[466] A similar theme is found in a Coptic fragment, which relates about a certain Pamoun and his brother Sarmata, two monks who had gone to live with Apa Mouses and were later martyred by Armenius, governor of Alexandria.[467] As in the case of Paphnutius, their eventual martyrdom enhanced their status.

Finally, the story of Panine and Paneu starts when they are schoolchildren, describes their monastic life and accounts their later appointment as priest and deacon, respectively. Although their eventual martyrdom is predicted in their incompletely preserved passion, it is only described in the *Synaxarium*, which concludes that the swords containing the blood of the martyrs were washed in a nearby pond. From that moment on, all who washed themselves in this water were healed from

464 Baumeister, '*Historia Monachorum*', 274.

465 The *Passion of Nabraha* has all the characteristics of a martyrdom account. The story begins with the edict of Diocletian and Nabraha confesses his faith, suffers tortures, sees visions and works miracles, but is not martyred. Instead, Arianus sends him into exile and the story ends with the death of Diocletian and Maximian, and accession of Constantine to the throne. Nabraha is then released from prison and begins his ascetic life. The legend of Nabraha has been preserved in a damaged ninth-century Coptic codex, which has been edited and translated by H. Munier, 'Un nouveau martyre copte, saint Nabraha', *BIFAO* 15 (1918) 227-59. In the *Synaxarium* (*PO* 3, pp. 412-5 [9 Choiak = 5 December]), we find a similar story about a monk named Pamin, who is about to be martyred in Antinoopolis when the reign of Constantine makes an end to the persecution. Constantine orders the release of the prisoners, and Pamin withdraws to a monastery. According to R.-G. Coquin, 'Pamin, Saint', in *Copt.Enc*. VI (1991) 1878, a Coptic hagiography of Pamin exists. However, the Coptic fragments published by Amélineau, *Monuments* 2, 511, 737-40 and E. Lucchesi, 'Un fragment inédit de la vie copte de Pamin', *AB* 98 (1980) 422 seem to refer to the successor of Matthew the Poor, not Pamin the anchorite. On this topic see the comments by H.I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (London, 1914) 41 (n. 8).

466 Bohairic *Passion of Krajon and Amoun* (ed. H.G. Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn. New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*, 3 vols. [New York, 1926-1933] 1.105-13). This fascinating tale about two robbers becoming monks and eventually martyrs is also recorded in the *Synaxarium* (*PO* 17, pp. 687-90 [25 Epeiph = 19 July]).

467 *P.Lond.Copt*. I 344. The brothers mentioned in his fragment are otherwise unknown, although Crum, *Catalogue*, 161 refers to features they have in common with Amoun of Terenouthis, who is commemorated on 27 Epeiph (*PO* 17, pp. 692-3).

their illnesses. Just like the stories of Nabraha and the robbers Krajon and Amoun, for whom churches were built, the passion thus ends with a cult aetiology.[468]

Despite these cult aetiologies, none of the above-mentioned martyrs occur in the papyrological and epigraphical record of Late Antique Egypt.[469] Nevertheless, all the monastic martyrs, except Nabraha, have entries in the *Synaxarium*. This further confirms the conclusions drawn in the first chapter, when we noted that the Oxyrhynchite martyrs recorded in the *Synaxarium* do not occur in the papyri and inscriptions from Oxyrhynchus: the *Synaxarium* indeed seems to represent a tradition different from traditions existing in the cities and villages of Late Antique Egypt.[470]

In contrast to the stories of the monastic martyrs mentioned above and other martyrdom accounts, but following the customs of hagiography from monastic milieus, the *Passion of Paphnutius* does not end with a cult aetiology to explain the existence of a shrine or cult.[471] Instead of reading about the citizens of Dendara burying the body of Paphnutius and building a church around it, we find our martyr crucified on a palm tree and read about two last soldiers converting to Christianity. Interestingly, the *Synaxarium* does not refer to a *topos* of the martyr either. Although the fact that a sanctuary is not mentioned does not necessarily mean that it did not exist, it is telling that all the composer of the *Synaxarium* has to say is that the palm tree on which Paphnutius was crucified can still be seen in Dendara, where one can assume a cult site. It is remarkable that although the narrative reads like a typical martyr story and the primary focus is on the martyrdom of Paphnutius, his conversion of the population of Dendara evidently plays a major role. Thus, I suggest that the *Passion of Paphnutius* probably functioned as a foundation narrative for the Christian community of Dendara rather than as supporting a cult and/or sanctuary.

Paphnutius was not the first protagonist to found a new Christian community. Just as monastic literature may have inspired hagiographers to write about anchorites who died during the Persecution, stories of monks and bishops Christianizing the Roman Empire seem to have influenced this story about a monastic martyr who converts large numbers of unbelievers. For after the Great Persecution and during

468 For other monastic martyrs, see the *Passion of Anoup* (ed. Migne, *PG* 65, cols. 129-30), in which the monk Anoup from Upper Egypt goes into exile until the end of the Great Persecution; the *Passion of Apaiule and Ptolemy* (ed. Reymond and Barns, *Four Martyrdoms*, 129-37), in which the monk Apaiule visits the Christian soldier Ptolemy in prison, after which they are both martyred; and the *Passion of Sarapammon* (ed. Hyvernat, *Actes des martyrs*, 304-31). The *Synaxarium* (*PO* 3, pp. 349-53 [28 Hathyr = 24 November]) informs us that Sarapammon had been a monk before he was appointed bishop and died a martyr's death.

469 Coquin, 'Pamin, Saint', 1878 states that 'numerous inscriptions prove that Pamin was celebrated in Egypt'. Pamin, however, is absent in the catalogue by Papaconstantinou, *Culte des saints*, and I have been unable to find his name among the more recently published papyri and inscriptions.

470 See above, pp. 49-50.

471 Van der Vliet, 'Bringing Home the Homeless', 44-8.

the reigns of Constantine and his successors, Christians not only looked back upon this last Persecution but also wrote about how the Empire came to embrace their religion. In Late Antique literature, we do not find stories about a slow and gradual integration of Christianity. Instead, we read about monks marching into 'pagan' temples and converting large numbers of worshippers by destroying idols and about bishops transforming a 'pagan' city into a Christian community by performing miracles.[472] The *Passion of Paphnutius*, although it remains in essence a typical martyr story, resembles monks' *vitae* in that it describes how Paphnutius, miracle by miracle, converts the citizens of Dendara.

The remarkable story of the conversions of the inhabitants of Dendara reminds of the stories of the apostles John, Peter and Paul.[473] In the apocryphal acts, written around 160-200, it is told how they spread Christianity across the world.[474] Peter is in Rome, Paul probably started his journey in Damascus and John first arrives in Ephesus, where at the gate of the city he is approached by a man who has received a vision about his arrival. The man, as well as most of the other people in the apocryphal acts, converts after a miracle. The apostles make the blind see, the lame walk and even raise the dead to life. Interestingly, the texts emphasize that although these miracles caused sudden changes of hearts by the onlookers, the newly converted Christians still needed to be further educated in the faith.[475]

In contrast, in Coptic martyr stories, newly converted Christians do not need catechisation. After having witnessed a miracle, onlookers are immediately able to quote from the Scriptures and are more than prepared to die for their new faith.[476] In a comparable way, in monks' *vitae* miracles can be enough to convert whole cities or areas to Christianity. For instance, in his *Church History* Rufinus of Aquileia tells

472 For this theme, see e.g. J.H.F. Dijkstra, 'Religious Violence in Late Antique Egypt Reconsidered: The Cases of Alexandria, Panopolis and Philae', in W. Mayer and C.L. de Wet (eds.), *Reconceiving Religious Conflict: New Views from the Formative Centuries of Christianity* (London, 2018) 211-33 ('Religious Violence in Late Antique Egypt Reconsidered', 2015[1]).

473 Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs*, 181-96 ('Conversion in the Oldest Apocryphal Acts', 2014[1]).

474 According to I. Czachesz, 'Eroticism and Epistemology in the Apocryphal *Acts of John*', *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 60 (2006) 59-72, the preserved version is a second, revised edition, written in Alexandria at the beginning of the third century. K. Sier, 'Zum Text der Martyrien von Petrus und Paulus', *ZPE* 173 (2010) 35-44 at 39 argues that this revised edition was inspired by the *Acts of Peter*.

475 Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs*, 195.

476 In the Greek *Passion of Paphnutius* 9 (ed. Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 331 = Appendix 1, pp. 152-3), the newly converted soldiers Callimachus and Dionysus reply to the governor with a well-placed quote from Matt. 7.6: Μὴ δότε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσὶ μηδὲ βάλητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων 'do not give what is holy to dogs and do not throw your pearls before swine'; cf. the Bohairic *Passion of Paphnutius* (Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 115 = Appendix 2, pp. 190-1) reads: ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲙⲏⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉϣⲁⲩ 'do not give what is holy to you to dogs and do not throw your pearls before swine'.

how the Emperor Constantine set out to complete the task of the apostles in the spreading Christianity throughout the Roman Empire. He writes how Athanasius made Frumentius bishop of Aksum and how the new bishop, by performing miracles like those of the apostles, converted the Ethiopians to Christianity.[477] However, the *Passion of Paphnutius* has more similarities in common with the story of the first bishop of Gaza, Porphyry. The sixth-century *Life of Porphyry* tells how the new bishop, miracle by miracle, converts the city to Christianity.[478]

In *vitae* from Egypt, conversions seem to be mostly connected with idol destructions. In the *History of the Monks in Egypt*, the monk Apollo of Hermopolis ends idol veneration in his region by freezing a procession of worshippers to the ground. After all attempts to move the statue have failed, the people convert to Christianity.[479] Likewise, in the *Life of Aaron* one miracle suffices to convert the whole island of Philae to Christianity. According to the *Life*, the first bishop of Philae, Macedonius, kills the city's sacred falcon and takes the two sons of the temple's priest as his novices. When one of the novices then miraculously heals the leg of a camel, the amazed priest wishes to be baptized by Macedonius. With the priest, all citizens of Philae convert to Christianity.[480]

The stories of the Apostles, Frumentius, Porphyry and Aaron are similar to many martyr stories as well as to each other in that all of them tell about the metamorphosis of a predominantly 'pagan' society into a Christian community. The difference with the *Passion of Paphnutius* is that the converts of Paphnutius do not continue their lives as Christians, but that they die a martyr's death.[481] The *Passion of Paphnutius*, then, probably addresses the question of how Dendara viewed its early history. The dramatic story of Paphnutius and his fellow martyrs and monks founding new Christian communities may give the impression of a violent past. However, it is clear that these are ideological images that far from always reflect reality. For a more balanced picture of religious transformation of Dendara, let us

477 Rufin. *hist*. 10.9-10 (*GCS* NF 6.2, pp. 971-3). See J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion* (Leuven, 2008) 256-7 for further references.

478 Marc. Diac. *v. Porph*. For the date, see Barnes, *Hagiography*, 260-83. See Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 264-6 for further references.

479 *Hist.Mon*. 47, 56-8.

480 For a discussion of the date of composition of the *Life of Aaron*, which lies between 491 and 700 and probably in the sixth century see Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 225-69 and Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Coptic* Life of Aaron, 56-60. See also J.H.F. Dijkstra, '"I Wish to Offer a Sacrifice to God Today": The Discourse of Idol Destruction in the Coptic *Life of Aaron*', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 8 (2015) 61-75, including examples of idol destruction leading to conversions in other Coptic saints' lives at pp. 65-9.

481 In contrast to the *Life of Paul of Tamma* (ed. T. Orlandi, *Paolo di Tamma. Opere* [Rome, 1988] 126-33), in which the anchorite Paul resurrects six hundred men and 54 women, whom Jesus himself then baptizes and gives Communion.

thus spend the last part of this section with a short walk through Dendara to examine its early history and see how the city became Christian.[482]

In order to get an image of the city, we can start by noticing that Dendara, like most nome capitals, had an episcopal see. The first bishop is attested in 325, the same year in which the first bishop of Antinoopolis is also mentioned, and Dendara remains present in lists of bishops down to the fourteenth century.[483] According to Athanasius, after the Great Persecution and the following Melitian schism Dendara too had an orthodox and a Melitian community: he mentions a certain bishop named Pachymes as the Melitian bishop of Dendara around 325 and an orthodox bishop named Sarapion around the same time.[484] Accoring to the *Life of Pachomius*, this Sarapion is said to have requested Athanasius to make Pachomius head of the monks in the diocese of Dendara when he founded one of the first monasteries not far from the city.[485] Nevertheless, apart from references to Pachomius and his circle, and to Paphnutius, there is not much literature about Dendara in the fifth and sixth centuries.

The well-known temple of Hathor was a monumental building and remained an impressive feature in the urban landscape of Dendara.[486] There is no evidence that the temple or parts of the temple were converted into a Christian church, although Michel Jullien – a Jesuit priest who wrote about Christian sanctuaries he saw in Egypt from 1880 to 1911 – mentions a small church in the vestibule of this temple.[487] Graffiti engraved on the walls of the temple terrain show boats, floral motives, ani-

482 See F. Daumas, 'Dendara', in *LÄ* I (1975) 1060-3, Timm, *Christlich-koptische Ägypten* 2, 543-8, A. Calderini and S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, 5 vols. And 2 suppls. (Cairo-Madrid-Milan-Bonn, 1935-1996) 4.391, P. Grossmann, 'Dandarah', in *Copt.Enc.* V (1991) 690-1, Bagnall and Rathbone, *Egypt*, 209-14 and most recently, J.H.F. Dijkstra, 'Dendera/Tentyra (Graeco-Roman/Late Antique)', in R.S. Bagnall et.al (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History. Online Additions*, available online at http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/book/10.1002/-9781444338386 (2015), 2 pp.

483 See above, p. 68. However, according to Grossmann, 'Dandarah', 690, the city might have already been abandoned in the thirteenth century and the last bishops would thus have only been titular bishops. For an overview of bishops of Dendara see Timm, *Christlich-koptische Ägypten* 2, 543-8; Fedalto, *Hierarchia*, 655; Worp, 'Checklist', 307; Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie*, 782.

484 Ath. *apol. sec.* 71.1 and *ep. Serap.*

485 Bohairic *Life of Pachomius* (ed. L.-T. Lefort, *Sancti Pachomii vita bohairice scripta* [Leuven, 1953] 19). Additionally, according to the *Synaxarium* (*PO* 11, p. 785; 13 Mecheir = 28 January), a certain Apa Juda founded a monastery near Dendara.

486 See P. Zignani and D. Laisney, 'Cartographie de Dendara, remarques sur l'urbanisme du site', *BIFAO* 101 (2001) 415-47 at 416-7 for a plan of the site and at 428-31 for a description of the temple.

487 H. Munier, 'Les monuments coptes d'après les explorations du Père Michel Jullien', *BSAC* 6 (1940) 141-68 at 162-3. R. Boutros, 'The Christian Remains inside the Temple of Dendara', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 1 (2010) 47-68 at 54 (n. 50) reports that if this church really existed, its traces were no longer visible when he worked at the site.

mals, crosses and praying men (*orantes*).[488] North of the temple, a sixth-century triconch church is situated. The church was built from reused sandstone blocks from the Roman Birthhouse directly beside the church: a drawing of the floor plan of the church on the pavement of the Birthhouse reminds of the building project.[489] In the city, a stela depicting Saint Macarius was found and Coptic funerary stelae reminded the passers-by that no-one except God is immortal.[490] Finally, the papyrological record gives us a Greek papyrus dated to 565/582 in which the cathedral church of Dendara is mentioned.[491] All in all, the documentary and literary evidence provide us some glimpses of a city that from the fourth century onwards gradually integrated Christianity in its society, although the presence of the temple must still have been felt two centuries later. A similar situation can be found at Philae, where we find a town that was thoroughly Christianized by the sixth century, but the temple – although no longer used – remained an impressive sight.[492]

The *Passion of Paphnutius*, however, is not overly regional in outlook. The only concrete reference to the landscape of Dendara is indeed to the temple, on which Paphnutius was hung. Other than this reference, the local environment of Dendara does not play a significant role in the martyr story. Given the general absence of references to locations within the region, the intended audience of the *Passion of Paphnutius* does not necessarily have had to be regional. In this sense, the passion has more in common with the widely read *Life of Onnophrius*, which vaguely refers to three monastic cells in caves and a well in the desert, than with the local *Life of Aaron*, which contains detailed information on the First Cataract region and the island of Philae. Unsurprisingly, the *Life of Aaron* has been preserved in only one complete Sahidic manuscript, whereas the *Life of Onnophrius* as well as the *Passion of Paphnutius* were transmitted in several languages.[493]

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488 Boutros, 'Christian Remains'.

489 The church was first mentioned by S. Clarke, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley* (Oxford, 1912) 140 and analysed by U. Monneret de Villard, *Les couvents près de Sohag* (Milan, 1925) 47-9. See also Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur*, 443-6 and J. McKenzie, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, c. 300 B.C. to A.D. 700* (New Haven, 2007) 282-4.

490 J. Jarry, 'Ensemble de stèles coptes', *BIFAO* 67 (1969) 233-41 at 234-5 and 238 = *SB Kopt*. IV 1848.

491 *P.Cair.Masp*. III 67298.18-9: ⳉ̣ῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκ̣κ̣λ̣[ησ]ί[ας τῆς Τεντυριτῶν πόλεως] 'of the most holy church of the city of the Denderites'. Cf. 1-2: τῆς Τεντυριτῶν ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας 'of the most holy church of the Denderites' and 37: τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας τῆς Τηντεριτῶ[ν] πόλεως 'of the most holy church of the city of the Denderites'.

492 Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 306-15.

493 The *Life of Onnophrius* has been preserved in Coptic, Latin, Greek, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopic and Syriac. For an overview, see M. Malevez, 'La mission de Paphnuce. Premières recherches en vue de la constitution du dossier hagiographique des abba Onuphre, Paphnuce et Timothée', in C. Cannuyer (ed.), *Études coptes VIII* (Lille, 2003) 225-36 at 225-7 and 'Essai de datation relative des différentes versions de la *Mission de Paphnuce* / Vie d'Onuphre et des Apophthegmes qui en sont à l'origine', in Buzi, Camplani and Contardi, *Coptic Society* 2, 1137-47. For the manuscript

The local anchorite Paphnutius must have been a fairly popular martyr in Late Antique Egypt. Having lived near the city of Dendara, graffiti mentioning his name in the monk cells of Esna and the monastery of Epiphanius on the west bank of the Nile at Thebes attest to his importance in people's memories.[494] The fact that his story was not only told in his hometown also occurs from his rich hagiographical record, which, as we have seen, circulated in Greek, Sahidic, Bohairic, and Syriac versions. Paphnutius' martyrdom was eventually not only included in the Copto-Arabic *Synaxarium*, but also appears in the *Synaxarium* of Constantinople, the Palestinian-Georgian Calendar of Sinaiticus and the Calendar of Napels.[495]

4.4 *Nachleben*: Ptolemy of Dendara

'There once was an ascetic anchorite in the desert of Dendara, whose name was Apa Paphnutius'.[496] With these words, the *Passion of Ptolemy* opens. This fascinating martyr story is about another citizen of Dendara, Ptolemy, the son of the rich Nestor who already featured in the *Passion of Paphnutius*. The story, however, does not start with the passion's protagonist, but first turns its attention to Dendara's most famous martyr. In the final section of this chapter, we will discuss how the *Passion of Ptolemy* reflects on Paphnutius in particular and the Great Persecution in general. Before we address this question, however, we will first summarize the story, which has been preserved in two Sahidic codices. The *editio princeps* of the first, fragmentary codex contains only the martyrdom of Ptolemy. In the re-edition, Walter Till added fragments describing the first meeting of Ptolemy and Paphnutius.[497] The

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evidence and regional character of the *Life of Aaron*, see Dijkstra, *Philae and the End*, 248-51 and Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Coptic* Life of Aaron, 44-6.

494 The inscriptions published by S. Sauneron and J. Jacquet, *Les ermitages chrétiens du désert d'Esna* (Cairo, 1972) 1.4 and 47 specifically mention an ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲓⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉ ⲙ(ⲁ)ⲣ(ⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ) 'Apa Paphnutius of Dendara, martyr' and ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉ, 'Apa Paphnutius of Dendara. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 698 (= *SB* IV 7510) reads Ἐγὼ Μωυσαι ὁ υἱὼ(ς?) Ζὴθ υἱοῦ (?) τοῦ ἀββᾶ Παπνουθ[ί]ου μαρτύρ(ου) 'I, Moses (?) the son of Zeth, son of Apa Papnuthius the martyr'. The latter graffito was found in a cell at the seventh-century or later site of the monastery of Epiphanius, along with several other graffiti addressing the saints, Jesus Christ and the Lord.

495 *PO* 16, pp. 316-7 (20 Pharmouthi = 15 April); Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, 615-8; G. Garitte, *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (X^e siècle)* (Brussels, 1958) 30; H. Delehaye, 'Hagiographie napolitaine', *AB* 57 (1939) 5-64.

496 I would like to thank Carol Downer for providing me with her unpublished dissertation containing the edition of the *Passion of Ptolemy* (ed. C. Downer, *The Martyrdom of St. Pteleme (Pierpont Morgan Coptic Manuscript M581). Edition, Translation, and Commentary* [unpublished doctoral thesis; London, 2004] 32): ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲉⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲕⲓⲧⲏⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲓⲕⲉⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ. Translations are Downer's, with adaptations.

497 F. Rossi, 'Frammenti del martirio di Ptolomeo, da una copia dello Schwartze', *Memorie della Reale accademia delle scienze di Torino* 38 (1888) 279-81, 301-3 and an Italian translation in 'Martirio

second, complete codex has been edited by Carol Downer and shows that both versions record basically the same passion, although they differ in wording and detail and the second passion seems shorter.[498]

Paphnutius first meets Ptolemy when he is on his way to fill his water flask and hears the voice of Christ, who reveals to him that Ptolemy is destined to become a martyr. Depicted in a monastic habit in the illustration accompanying the second codex, the anchorite is clearly represented as one of the desert fathers.[499] In his simple monastic clothes, Paphnutius feels ashamed to approach the rich young man, who is inspecting the walls of his estate. Christ, however, encourages him to address Ptolemy. When Paphnutius finally does so and tells Ptolemy that his lifetime will not be long, Ptolemy panics. He is unsure what to do, and asks Paphnutius if perhaps he wants to make him a monk. The anchorite refuses: if he were to take Ptolemy with him, he says, Ptolemy's father Nestor would certainly end all ascetic practices of the monks in the desert. Therefore, Paphnutius sends him to Dorotheus in Antinoopolis instead.

Before Ptolemy embarks on his journey, Paphnutius tells him what will happen along the road. Ptolemy is first to encounter a certain Apa John in Abydos and then travel on to Antaeopolis. During this journey, Paphnutius foretells him, the Devil will try to bring him from the right path, will send a woman to seduce him and a whirlwind to cause his ship to sink. Eventually, however, Ptolemy arrives safely in Antinoopolis. But when he asks Dorotheus to make him a monk, he tells Ptolemy that the life of a monk is a hard life, and even he himself has not been able to become a real monk. Instead, Dorotheus encourages him to confess his faith before Arianus. He reveals that God has already sealed Ptolemy as his martyr, so why would he choose for the enduring struggles of monastic life when he has his crown already waiting for him?

In the knowledge that he is destined to become a martyr, Ptolemy travels to Hermopolis and then further into the Hermopolite nome to find the governor. Before the trial, he spends a night in prison and receives a vision of Christ. However, unlike other visions of Christ in hagiographical literature, Christ is not accompanied by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, but appears together with – the apparently still alive – Dorotheus and Paphnutius. The latter tells Ptolemy that his father Nestor already celebrates his birthday with the saints in heaven, seemingly explaining Ptolemy's special link to the saints.[500]

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di Ptolomeo, frammenti,' in F. Rossi and E. Loescher (eds), *I papiri copti del Museo egizio di Torino: trascritti e tradotti* (Turin, 1887) 70-3; Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyerlegenden* 2, 27-38.

498 For a description of the manuscript see Depuydt, *Catalogue* 1, 272-4.

499 Depuydt, *Catalogue* 1, 273-4. See also C. Downer, 'A Ban on Unicorns? Decorative Motif and Illumination in M581', in Immerzeel and Van der Vliet, *Coptic Studies* 2, 1205-20 at 1206-7.

500 The two versions disagree at this point. Cf. *Passion of Ptolemy* (ed. Till, *Heiligen- und Märtyerlegenden* 2, 30): ϣⲁⲣⲉⲡⲉⲕⲉⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲱⲣⲓ̈ⲟⲥ ⲉⲣ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲟⲩⲙⲓ̈ⲥⲉ ϩⲁⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲉ 'your father Nesto-

The remainder of the passion records the, at times atypical, martyr story. Ptolemy tells the governor that Paphnutius made him come to court, he corrects him in that he is actually not a peasant but a tribune, then he refuses the honours offered to him and chooses martyrdom instead. A series of tortures and miracles follow, but the first onlookers to be martyred do not need to be converted. They are already Christians, aptly named Menas, John, Paul, Leo, Amasia and Mary. During the following scenes, Ptolemy's body is torn apart and resurrected, is boiled in a cauldron and then uses the steaming water to heal the eye of his torturer, and amazes the crowd by breaking a marble statue of Apollo – Artemis falls to pieces of her own accord.[501] Eventually, our protagonist is hung upside-down onto a tree. There, a certain Horion finds him, and he promises to write down his martyr story and send it to Ptolemy's parents after the completion of his martyrdom.

This short summary of the *Passion of Ptolemy* has shown us a fascinating story. Almost as some sort of appendix to Paphnutius' passion, the author tells how Paphnutius sends yet another citizen of Dendara on his way to martyrdom. He notes that Paphnutius led an admirable ascetic life and even remarks that all the other monks in the desert obeyed him for his kindness. When the anchorite hears the voice of Christ ordering him to speak to the young Ptolemy, a remarkable passion follows. In a story that fuses the genres of *historia monachorum*, martyr stories and monks' *vitae*, Ptolemy wishes to become a monk, encounters demons, destroys idols and finally suffers martyrdom. A complete discussion of themes and motives is beyond the scope of this study. We shall, however, take a closer look at the three genres present in the passion and the date of composition.

The artificial character of this martyrdom suggests that is was written at a rather late date.[502] There is no doubt that the *Passion of Ptolemy* was inspired by the *Pas-*

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rius celebrates your birthday with the saints in Heaven', with *Passion of Ptolemy* (ed. Downer, *Martyrdom of Pteleme*, 48-9): ϣⲁⲣⲉⲡⲇⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲱⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϩⲟⲩⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲓⲉⲃⲟⲧ ϩⲛ̄ ⲥⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ. ϣⲁϥϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲥⲥⲛϩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲡϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲏⲙⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛϩⲟⲩⲙⲓ ⲥⲉⲛ ⲓⲱⲥⲏϕ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲏⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲟⲩ ⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'my father Nestorius celebrates my birthday this month on the first day of Pharmouthi. For he says that I found it written in the book of the kings of Egypt that the birthday of Joseph, the Pharaoh of Egypt, was on the first day of Pharmouthi'.

501 The destruction of idols appears in several Coptic martyr stories. E.g. in the *Passion of Thomas* (ed. Evelyn-White, *Monasteries* 1, 96), the statue of Apollo destroys the other statues and strangles the governor. Cf. the *Passion of Isidore* (ed. Munier, 'Actes du martyre', 130-1), where the statues tell that the arrested men are innocent and kill the 'pagan' priests. Baumeister, *Martyr invictus*, 135 notes that this last scene was probably inspired by similar episodes in the *Passion of George* and the *Passion of Philotheus*.

502 T. Orlandi, 'Tolemaus', in *Copt.Enc.* VII (1991) 2271 does not give a specific date, but suggests that the original passion probably belonged to the stories in the cycle around Arianus. However, although Arianus is the persecutor in this passion, the story is not written around him but focuses on Paphnutius. Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyerlegenden* 1, ix states that there is no reliable evidence to date the text.

sion of Paphnutius. The composer takes Paphnutius as the point of departure, gives more background information about Nestor and his family and in narrated time, the *Passion of Paphnutius* thus takes place later: when Ptolemy suffers martyrdom, his parents are still alive. The composition of the *Passion of Paphnutius* (363-500), thus, gives us the *terminus post quem* for the *Passion of Ptolemy*. The *terminus ante quem* is the composition date of the *Passion of Apater and Irai*, which mentions Ptolemy and Paphnutius among the prisoners in the prison of Oxyrhynchus.[503] We can therefore safely conclude that the composition date of the *Passion of Ptolemy* lies between the fifth and the seventh centuries.[504]

Unlike the typical martyr story, the *Passion of Ptolemy* does not start with a vision of an angel but with the meeting between Paphnutius and Ptolemy that leads the latter to travel to the place of his martyrdom. Ptolemy's travels remind of the journeys recounted in the genre of *historia monachorum*. Nevertheless, his journey from Dendara to Abydos, Antaeopolis, Antinoopolis and Hermopolis does not reveal detailed knowledge about the environment. The cities Ptolemy visits appear in a logical order, upriver from south to north, but there are no elaborations about how long Ptolemy travelled or – except for the rather general 'boat' – which modes of transportation he used. When he takes the 'ferry' from Antinoopolis to Hermopolis, however, the topographical references become more detailed.[505] Interestingly, the village of Psahershebbe in the Hermopolite nome is only mentioned in the text by its Arabic name.[506] In a similar vein, the palace where the governor is staying is only known by its Coptic name Tohennehtoor and its Arabic equivalent Tuh el-Hel.[507] The absence of Greek names for these places again indicates that the passion was written at a later date, possibly by an author from the Hermopolite nome.

503 See above, pp. 48-9.

504 Cf. Downer, *Martyrdom of Pteleme*, 25, 243, who suggests 'an early date' for the *Passion of Ptolemy*, not long after the reign of the Emperor Julian (360-363). Cf. also 'Parthenope Revisited: Coptic Hagiography and the Hellenistic Novel,' in Bosson and Boud'hors, *Actes du huitième congrès* 2, 439–52 at 441, in which she notes that the passion strikes her as an account of an actual journey and connects the characters of Paphnutius and John of Abydos in the passion to the fourth-century correspondence between an Apa Paphnutius and an Apa John.

505 *Passion of Ptolemy* (ed. Downer, *Martyrdom of Pteleme*, 45): ϫⲓⲟⲟⲣ 'ferry'. See Crum, *Dict*. 82b.

506 *Passion of Ptolemy* (ed. Downer, *Martyrdom of Pteleme*, 46): ⲡⲥⲁϩⲉⲣⲱⲃ̄ⲃⲉ. According to Timm, *Christlich-koptische Ägypten* 4, 2018, the village of Psahershbbe is also mentioned in miracle stories about Phoibammon, but is otherwise unknown.

507 *Passion of Ptolemy* (ed. Downer, *Martyrdom of Pteleme*, 50): ⲉϥϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲡⲡⲁⲗⲗⲁ†ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱϩⲉⲛⲛⲉϩⲧⲱⲱⲣ 'while he was staying in the palace of Tohennehtoor'. Timm, *Christlich-koptische Ägypten* 6, 2867 points out that the city is still mentioned by later Muslim authors, although the *Synaxarium* states that the place has been destroyed. Interestingly, Paphnutius mentions Tohennehtoor as his place of origin in the *Passion of Ptolemy* (ed. Downer, *Martyrdom of St. Pteleme*, 38).

After the journey, the trial begins. The martyrdom of Ptolemy contains the familiar repetition of stock images, motives and incidents that are characteristic of martyr stories. We read about the interrogation of the martyr, his confession of Christianity, his persistence in faith, the gruesome tortures that impress bystanders, a resurrection after these tortures, and a comforting vision – although not from Christ and the archangels but from Paphnutius and Dorotheus. The story ends with the promise to write down his passion, but a cult aetiology is not given at this point. Like Paphnutius, Ptolemy has left no traces in the documentary record. His story was eventually recorded in the *Synaxarium*, which describes him – in line with his passion – as a soldier from Dendara, who was converted by Paphnutius, sent to Antinoopolis to confess his faith and martyred in Tuh el-Hel.[508] The *Synaxarium* informs us that a church was dedicated to Ptolemy there and that the honey dripping from the tree on which Ptolemy was hung healed all who ate it.[509] Other miracle stories in Ptolemy's hagiographical record also speak of a church dedicated to him.[510] We may therefore conclude that if a martyr cult developed around Ptolemy, it did not leave any evidence in the documentary record but is visible in an independent literary tradition, as we have seen before in Oxyrhynchus.[511]

Apart from elements known from the *historia monachorum* and martyr stories, the influence of monks' *vitae* is obvious throughout the *Passion of Ptolemy*. Like other monks, Ptolemy meets desert fathers, destroys idols and struggles with demons. Among these many interesting episodes in the story, the passage where Ptolemy asks to become a monk and is then advised to become a martyr instead is particularly illustrative of the purpose of the work. In the most famous story among monks' *vitae*, the *Life of Antony*, the protagonist withdraws to the desert after he has not been given his desired martyr's crown. In an interesting inversion, Ptolemy initially wishes to become a monk but then becomes a martyr.[512] Dorotheus, however, replies that a life of continuous martyrdom is a continuous struggle. This seems to have been a familiar scene in monastic literature. In the Bohairic *Life of Pachomius*, when the founding father of coenobite monasticism first meets his teacher Palemon, the latter answers Pachomius that life as a monk is not an easy way of liv-

508 *Synaxarium* (ed. *CSCO* 47.325-7 [text] and 78.207-10 [tr.] [11 Choiak = 26 December]). Cf. Y.N. Youssef, 'La christianisation des fêtes d'Osiris', *BSAC* 19 (1990) 147-52 at 147, who speculates that the commemoration of Ptolemy on 11 Choiak was a Christianized festival, replacing the Choiak mysteries.

509 *Synaxarium* (ed. *CSCO* 47.325-7 [text] and 78.207-10 [tr.] [11 Choiak = 26 December]).

510 L. Leroy, 'Les miracles de saint Ptolémée', *PO* 5 (1910) 779-803. Although the miracle stories speak about a church in Isnin, Timm, *Christlich-koptische Ägypten* 6, 2868 uses other topographical references in the stories to argue that Tuh el-Hel is a more likely location.

511 See above, pp. 49-50.

512 *Passion of Ptolemy* (ed. Downer, *Martyrdom of Pteleme*, 37): ϵϣⲱⲡϵ ϵⲓⲛⲁⲕ ⲡϵⲡⲁϵⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲱⲥ ⲭⲁⲓⲧⲏⲕ 'If it is pleasing to you, my father, make me a monk with you'.

ing.[513] A similar dialogue takes place in the *Life of Aaron*, when Isaac first encounters Aaron in the desert, and when Hilaria meets the anchorite Pambo in the *Life of Hilaria*.[514] The clear difference is that whereas Pachomius, Isaac and Hilaria are eventually initiated into monasticism, Ptolemy is advised to become a martyr. His fate, after all, had been sealed by God already. Like Paphnutius, who had lived an ascetic life before, Ptolemy was destined to receive the martyr's crown.

4.5 Conclusion

By discussing the *Passion of Paphnutius*, in this chapter I have put the spotlight on an understudied, but fairly popular martyr from Late Antique Egypt. Monks in Esna and Thebes would inscribe Paphnutius' name on the walls of their cells, his story circulated in Greek, Sahidic, Bohairic and Syriac versions and was eventually included in the *Synaxarium*. It is noteworthy that the manuscript tradition – beginning with a fifth-century papyrus from Oxyrhynchus and ending with a ninth-century manuscript from Constantinople – transmits basically the same passion. For a literary genre so prone to editing, altering and changing as hagiography this is remarkable. Whereas other stories would be adapted and adjusted to contemporary times, the memories of early Christianity and the Great Persecution in Dendara as preserved in the *Passion of Paphnutius* remained relatively constant throughout the centuries.

In the General Introduction, we have noted that in the centuries after the Great Persecution the cognitive ecology of Christian communities changed.[515] Christianity became institutionalized, developed its own customs and traditions, and filled the landscape of Late Antique Egypt with churches and monasteries. In this chapter, we focussed on how the monastic world was inspired by as well as influenced the memories of the Persecution. This becomes especially visible in the hagiographical tradition. In their *vitae*, monks were portrayed as the successors of the martyrs while the martyrs led similar lives to monks. In other words, the cognitive artefacts by which new 'factual' memories or general knowledge of the Persecution were trans-

513 Bohairic *Life of Pachomius* (ed. Lefort, *Sancti Pachomii vita*, 8): ⲓⲱⲱ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕϫⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲉⲣⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲫⲁⲧⲟⲧ̄ⲕ̄ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ 'I would like you to let me be a monk with you, my father' and the parallel Greek *Life of Pachomius* (ed. F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii vitae graecae* [Brussels, 1932] 4): Ἐρωτῶ σε, πάτερ, ποίησόν με μοναχόν 'I ask you, father, make me a monk'. For the dating see Rousseau, *Pachomius*, 39, 53-4.

514 *Life of Aaron* 91 (ed. Dijkstra and Van der Vliet, *Coptic Life of Aaron*, 118): ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱ ϩⲱⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛⲟϫⲟⲥ ϩⲁϩⲧⲏⲕ 'I would like you to let me be a monk with you'; *Life of Hilaria* (ed. Drescher, *Three Coptic Legends*, 5): ⲧⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲃⲱ ϩⲁⲑⲏⲕ 'I would like you, my father, to make me a monk and to stay with you'. For the date see M. van Esbroeck, 'Hilaria, Saint', in *Copt.Enc.* IV (1991) 1230-2.

515 See above, p. 30.

mitted and a Christian identity was formed changed under the influence of the monastic environment.

The *Passion of Paphnutius* is a fascinating mix between a martyr's act and a saint's life. On the one hand, it relates about a martyr who, like any other martyr in Coptic hagiography, receives a vision from an angel, confesses his faith before the persecutor, is tortured and eventually executed. These recurring scenes showing the persistence of the martyr in his faith are useful technical devices. By starting the story in the reign of Diocletian, the hagiographer provides his audience with a useful narrative framework. They knew what to expect from this emperor and the governors who carried out his edicts.

Nevertheless, in the *Passion of Paphnutius* the hagiographer goes against these expectations or varies on them. Instead of a soldier, a priest or a virgin, our main protagonist is an anchorite. Paphnutius lives in the desert near the city and declares that he has prepared himself for martyrdom by living an ascetic life. This 'warrior of Christ', as the Archangel Michael greets him at the beginning of the passion, will now receive the crown upon his lifetime efforts. Throughout the story, metaphors known from both martyr stories and monastic literature are used. Paphnutius is called an 'athlete of Christ' and referred to as 'the man of God', 'my holy father' or simply 'Apa Paphnutius'. These metaphors capture, quickly and intuitively, more than Paphnutius can say in his speech about his ascetic life in preparation for his martyrdom. Apa Paphnutius' presentation as a martyr *and* an anchorite no doubt was a conscious choice to enhance his status as much as possible.

Following the more common storylines of bishops and monks Christianizing the Roman Empire, Paphnutius is not martyred before he has converted many of Dendara's inhabitants. When the colleagues of Arianus fear that the entire city will be martyred and Paphnutius could continue his mission in other places, the governor sends the dossier of the anchorite to the Emperor Diocletian. Diocletian then sentences Paphnutius to death by crucifixion on a palm tree and the story closes with the conversion of the soldiers who take the martyr's body from the tree. At the end of the passion, the composer of the *Passion of Paphnutius* thus chose to focus on the conversions of the citizens of Dendara. Therefore, we may conclude that the *Passion of Paphnutius* does not aim to explain the origins of a sanctuary and/or cult. Instead, the passion seems like a typical way in which a later generation of Christians – presumably the Christian community of Dendara – gave its early history a glorious beginning.

In the *Passion of Ptolemy*, we read how Paphnutius meets yet another citizen of Dendara. Ptolemy's passion almost reads as a prequel to the *Passion of Paphnutius*. We learn that Ptolemy's father Nestor, whom we know as the rich man from Paphnutius' passion, is a wealthy landowner. Paphnutius himself is depicted as the most admired anchorite living in the desert near Dendara. He is dressed in sheepskin and the signs of his ascetic lifestyle are clearly visible on his body, but also on his mind: he speaks with Christ and foretells Ptolemy his future. Upon hearing that his

lifespan is short, Ptolemy initially wishes to become a monk, but eventually follows his destiny and becomes a martyr instead. His journey from Dendara to the Hermopolite nome reminds of travels in the genre of *historia monachorum* and includes adventures usually seen in monks' *vitae*, such as travels to holy men, confrontations with the Devil and the destruction of idols, but also episodes that are more characteristic of martyr stories: the tortures, miracles and visions while in prison. All in all, the *Passion of Ptolemy* and the *Passion of Paphnutius* both remain in essence typical passions, but make use of elements characteristic of monks' *vitae*: old memories of the Great Persecution had become mixed with new monastic experiences.

5 General Conclusion

One of the most imposing memories of Christians in Late Antique Egypt was the Great Persecution, begun by the Emperor Diocletian and his Tetrarchic colleagues in 303 and ended in 313 CE. Although the precise historical circumstances of the Persecution remain unknown, most scholars agree that the Roman authorities considered Christians as impious and therefore a threat to the wellbeing of the Roman Empire. With among other things an imperial edict ordering a sacrifice to the gods, they tried to bring Christians back to Roman customs. Christians would have to choose whether they would obey the emperors and thereby become apostates or refuse to sacrifice and be executed. The fact that this last imperial attempt to remove Christian presence from the Empire was followed so soon by the reign of Constantine, who was obviously sympathetic towards Christianity, meant that the Great Persecution became a symbol.

The history of the Great Persecution is notoriously difficult to unravel. History became legend, and thus this study has not asked how much information about the historical Persecution can be excavated from stories of Christians about their past, but what it might mean that they told them. If Christians wrote about evil persecutors and heroic martyrs, if they built sanctuaries dedicated to the martyrs and celebrated their anniversaries, if they prayed and turned to the saints to find healing or ask pressing questions, then what can we learn about their concerns, their preoccupations and their beliefs? In other words, how did Christians remember the Great Persecution?

The rich archaeological, epigraphical, papyrological and hagiographical material from Late Antique Egypt makes this province a particularly compelling case for answering these questions. Much of the papyrological material, mentioning martyr shrines and feast days in honour of martyrs' anniversaries, has been collected by Arietta Papaconstantinou in her ground-breaking 2001 monograph. However, an analysis about what this source material says about how the Great Persecution was remembered had not yet been made. Furthermore, Coptic hagiographical literature is no longer dismissed as unreliable historical evidence and meagre literature, but has been reappraised as a literary genre and acknowledged as a rich fund of source material for political, social and cultural life in Late Antique Egypt. Nevertheless, a synthesis about what this literature says about the perceptions of the Great Persecution had not yet been written. This study has attempted to fill this lacuna in scholarship and examined how Egyptian Christians remembered the Great Persecution throughout Late Antiquity.

My 'Late Antiquity' begins with the reign of Diocletian in 284, when Christianity became organized and gradually spread throughout Egypt. It ends with the Arabic conquest of Egypt in 641/642, when the majority of the Egyptians were Christians. For analyzing how the memories of the Great Persecution changed over the course

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of these three centuries, I have proposed to use both traditional memory studies and modern cognitive science. The resulting methodological framework, the 'cognitive ecology', systematically studies how Christian memories changed as Christianity gradually integrated into Egyptian society. In short, the history of remembering and forgetting leads through several 1) social settings, 2) physical environments and uses different 3) cognitive artefacts to help people to construct their memories.

In three representative case studies, each focusing on a different city along the Nile river, we have seen how these three elements shaped and affected memories of the Great Persecution. In Oxyrhynchus, one of the best documented cities in the ancient world, an analysis of these three aspects provided us with a vivid image of the place of the Persecution and its martyrs in the daily lives of the Oxyrhynchites.

In Antinoopolis, the hagiographical, papyrological, epigraphical and archaeological records allowed us to zoom in on the cult of the physician saint Colluthus and thereby add details to the general picture painted with the Oxyrhynchite sources. Moreover, the particular rich material concerning Colluthus has given us the opportunity to look at the elements of the cognitive ecology from the perspectives of various individuals. The notion, however, that everyone lived through the same changing cognitive ecology forms the bridge between their individual memories and the collective memory of the Persecution. In order to clarify this further, we have zoomed in on three different kinds of memory: 'factual memories' (memories of the facts that form our general knowledge of the world), 'habit memories' (memories about how to do certain things) and 'personal memories' (memories of events we personally experienced in the past).

Finally, in the chapter about the anchorite and martyr Paphnutius of Dendara, we have seen how the growing monastic movement came to influence the memories of the Great Persecution. His rich hagiographical record, which centres on new memories of the monk as the successor of the martyr, has enabled us to take a closer look at the process of making new factual memories and the role of the martyr story as a cognitive artefact in this process. In the following concluding pages, it remains to summarize our findings in the form of a final walk through the changing cognitive ecology of Late Antique Egypt.

The first element of the cognitive ecology, the social surroundings, changed with the expansion of institutionalized Christianity. Oxyrhynchus, Antinoopolis and Dendara received – as most *nome* capitals did – an episcopal see. The bishops, as Peter Brown has argued, took over the responsibility for the organization of the commemoration and cult of the martyrs. In Oxyrhynchus, a Greek liturgical calendar shows that the bishop would visit the sanctuary of the martyr at his or her anniversary. He would remember and praise the saint, recount the story of his martyrdom and perhaps include a biography of his life or an account of his posthumous miracles. While preaching his sermon, the bishop could indelibly inscribe the past into the present. Stories about the martyrs of the Great Persecution told Christian communities about the courageousness of those Christians. They told them that

they were the heirs of this heroic past, 'the righteous offspring of the Church', as a hymn found in Oxyrhynchus put it. In his sermon about the martyr Colluthus, Bishop Isaac of Antinoopolis tells his audience that they belong to the same community to which their local martyr had once belonged. Going one step further, the *Passion of Paphnutius* tells its audience – probably the citizens of Dendara – that their very history began with the anchorite Paphnutius, who converted many citizens to Christianity and gloriously led them to martyrdom.

When Christian communities gathered to celebrate the anniversary of a martyr, it was thus the bishop – or, more broadly speaking, the Church – who generated their general knowledge or factual memories. Martyr stories, often patterned and repetitive, were structured to consolidate these memories. Listeners to a martyr act would have had an idea of what a story about a Christian who refused to sacrifice to the Roman gods and was summarily executed would be like. They would have been familiar with the core ingredients – the trial, the confession, the execution – and metaphors such as 'blessed' martyr or 'lawless' emperor were employed to structure the way they thought about the main protagonists.

Nevertheless, the bishop could add different flavours depending on the situation or the message he wanted his flock to take home. Apart from giving his audience an understanding of their present as heirs of the universal, persecuted Church, he could use the martyr as a Christian role-model to instruct and exhort the congregation: the martyr's life before his martyrdom showed his piety, his confession before the judge revealed his courage, the torture scenes tested his patience and endurance, and the miracles after his death proved his lasting power. Moreover, many a martyr story would end with a cult aetiology. Bishop Isaac, for instance, told his audience that Colluthus was buried in his hometown and a church was dedicated to him. In a rare case of rivalry, however, Bishop Phoibammon claimed that Colluthus was not performing his miracles in Antinoopolis anymore but had moved to his new sanctuary in Pneuit.

Nevertheless, Phoibammon's 'invented tradition' would only become an actual tradition when at least the majority of his listeners agreed with his story. In other words, new memories were always shaped in dialogue between priest and flock, and a martyr story would thus have a different shape depending on the personality of the hagiographer, the local history of the community and the purpose of the gathering. For instance, the Coptic calendar found in Oxyrhynchus and probably used in a monastic context focuses on holy men from later centuries, whereas the Greek liturgical calendar found in the same city reveals that the citizens of Oxyrhynchus seem to have preferred martyrs over monks. In the same way, the hagiographical literature found in Oxyrhynchus reveals a wide variety of literary styles and the hagiographical record of Colluthus preserves different versions of his martyrdom. In the *Passion of Paphnutius*, monastic influences resulted in a martyr story about an anchorite converting the citizens and in the *Passion of Ptolemy* our protagonist is –

much like the heroes in monks' *vitae* – travelling to holy men, confronting the Devil and destructing idols.

Martyr stories were written to create a view of the past for these later generations of Christians and they can give clues about the worldviews that formed them. After the Persecution and during the reigns of Constantine and his successors, Christians – in Egypt as well as in the rest of the Roman Empire – did not look back upon a devastating Persecution. In Late Antique hagiography, we do not normally read about Christians lapsing from faith or about those who did not see how sacrificing to the gods was contradictory to their Christian beliefs. Instead, we read about heroic martyrs defying capture, torture and execution, and converting bystanders in the process. The martyr Philemon even converted the notorious persecutor Arianus to Christianity. As this last martyr act indicates, we do not find stories about a slow and gradual integration of Christianity into Late Antique society. Martyr stories give us protagonists like Paphnutius, who converted his entire city – from magistrate to fisherman – and would have continued to convert all of Egypt if he had not received his martyr's crown before.

Martyr stories are the earliest known cognitive artefacts, which form the second aspect of the cognitive ecology. They had presumably been told since the Great Persecution. The earliest known martyrdom story found in Oxyrhynchus was entrusted to papyrus in the fourth century, in line with the development of martyr cults. In a clear protocol style, it reports about the trial of the city councillor Dioscorus. Over the course of Late Antiquity, new stories were created and eventually the epic genre developed. Nevertheless, we have seen that that these changes in Late Antique Egyptian hagiography did not necessarily follow a 'literary evolution' from simple martyr stories based on court proceedings to fictional 'epic' martyr acts. The hagiographical literature found in Oxyrhynchus shows that stories were written in a wide variety of literary styles, from a simple martyr act written in a luxury codex to an elegant hymn written on the back of a papyrus. In the chapter about Colluthus we have seen that short and sober martyr stories were preserved alongside more elaborate versions, showing that whereas a story might have grown more complicated with the passage of time, both versions remained available.

Documentary sources give us a more complete image of the role of martyrs in the daily life of Egyptian Christians in Late Antiquity. As we have seen, the martyrs of Oxyrhynchus were significant in the cognitive ecology of the Oxyrhynchites: they were embedded in each layer of everyday life. The Oxyrhynchites would not only go to their churches to celebrate the martyr's feast, but also to receive charitable help. Moreover, their habit memories told them to consult their oracles and to find healing in their sanctuaries. Although Church fathers considered these habits 'pagan', visitors saw their stays at the sanctuary of Colluthus as socially acceptable and local bishops like Isaac shared their opinion. If you were a good Christian, so stressed Isaac, Colluthus would work miracles for you at his sanctuary. The many votive objects and oracular tickets found at the North Necropolis in Antinoopolis reveal

that visitors indeed seem to have hoped for wonders. People turned to the saints for manifold purposes, ranging from wishes for a healthy baby to prayers for the soul of the deceased. Important moments in their lives were thus set in and attached to the martyr's sanctuary. As we have seen in the General Introduction, the chance that a memory remains increases when emotions are involved.[516] The hopes and fears, or the 'personal memories', that visitors had when they approached a healing centre or an oracle thus influenced their 'factual memories' or understanding of the saint.

This brings us to the third element of the cognitive ecology, the environment. From the reign of Constantine onwards, Christianity gradually became visible in the cities and villages of the Roman Empire. Toponyms attest to the slowly changing cognitive shape of the physical environment. Whereas in Late Antique Oxyrhynchus the memory of the city's Serapeum was still present in references to the Quarter of the Dromos of Sarapis, there were also references to a street named after the martyr Euphemia. Churches dedicated to figures from a distant biblical past, to martyrs of the persecutions in Roman times and to holy men and women from Late Antiquity were physical reminders of the collective past of the community, presenting a shared history of persecution and triumph. They not only told the stories of the local heroes of Oxyrhynchus, but also reminded of other Egyptian and foreign martyrs. The Church enduring persecution in Oxyrhynchus, then, had not suffered alone: their fellow Christians in Antinoopolis had endured these hard times as well. Yet, as we have seen, hagiographers tended to portray their particular martyr or church as especially virtuous. Isaac, for instance, preached that Colluthus was remembered all over Egypt and Paphnutius would have converted the whole of Egypt if he had not been martyred before.

But do we really need places to remember? The question whether memory can operate without any support, in an entirely non-distributed way, can be aptly illustrated by the tirades of Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria. Athanasius strongly criticized the visiting of martyrs' sanctuaries to find healing or ask oracular questions. When Christians focus on the tombs of the martyrs, Athanasius argued, they are distracted from the search for Christ. And since Christ is everywhere, there was no need for sacred space to remember either him or the martyrs.

Debates like the one triggered by Athanasius are noteworthy in demonstrating that our minds are incapable of remembering without external support, a point ultimately acknowledged by the suspicious Church leaders themselves. For despite their polemics, sacred space played a central role in the remembrance of the martyrs. Whereas the Antony in Athanasius' *Life of Antony* wishes his burial place to remain secret so as to avoid worshippers, the *Life of Pachomius* explains that the monastic leader did not want a sanctuary to be build around his holy body and

516 See above, p. 26.

Shenoute loudly criticized the keeping of relics in churches, their protests were directed against what obviously were widespread practices.

Furthermore, in martyr and miracle stories, hagiographers did their best to connect the martyr to their contemporary landscapes. When Bishop Isaac, for instance, told his audience in Antinoopolis about their local hero, he situated Colluthus firmly in their own neighbourhoods. In a similar way, when standing at the martyr's shrine or seeing Bishop Phoibammon pointing to the well in which the blood of Colluthus had been thrown, the experience of the past became even more vivid. The sounds and smells of the sanctuary were all elements of the extended mind with which worshippers remembered the past. It is, however, worth noting that the cult aetiologies with which martyr stories usually ended do not normally feature in early monastic sources and monks' lives. The *Passion of Paphnutius*, as a martyr story inspired by monastic literature, is also silent about posthumous cults or miracles. Nevertheless, the *Synaxarium* provided its readers with a palm tree as a visual reminder of the crucifixion of Paphnutius.

The landscape reminded Christians of their collective past – whether it was a palm tree on which a martyr was crucified or a chapel built over his tomb. Topographical references have long been considered the only reliable historical information in hagiography: whether or not the martyr actually lived and died in the way his martyr act proclaimed, his sanctuary must have existed. For those who visited the site, however, the power of the saints was visibly present in their everyday lives and the past persecution was still very relevant. In short, the three elements of the cognitive ecology all influenced their factual, habit and personal memories.

According to Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886), the task of a historian is to demonstrate how things essentially happened. The Great Persecution is not the only event for which we will never be able to fulfil this task. Once we have acknowledged the myths and missing information that have come between us and an understanding of the ancient world, however, our attention should go to the sources we do have and the questions we might reasonably ask them. We will probably never know, for example, what the exact motives were of the imperial government to persecute Christians. But the ancient sources do give us much other information: how, for example, hagiographers imagine imperial figures like Diocletian and created images of heroic martyrs; how Christians commemorated the martyrs with feast days; how Church fathers wanted their flock to remember the martyrs and how their communities actually remembered them.

Collective memory is a fascinating and fast-growing topic of research. To understand the collective memories of certain societies is to grasp something essential about their identity, about the way they think about themselves, the world and its history. In this study, we have seen that the Great Persecution had become an important moment in the history of early Christianity. As for Christian Egyptians in the early Islamic period, the numbering of the years according to the 'Era of the Martyrs' aptly illustrates how they presented themselves and their history. Although other

provinces did not adapt their time reckonings and included different saints in their calendars, legends like *George and the Dragon* and saints like Perpetua and Felicitas were remembered all over the Roman Empire and can still be found in churches today.

For other groups, other collective memories were important. In ancient Greece, local versions of myths became the standard way of raising the profile of a particular place and in imperial Rome, the myth of Romulus and Remus symbolized how a small village had become the capital of the world. The study of these collective memories might be used to understand the different perspectives of people upon their history, prevent us from looking back at this history with the bird's eye view of the historian and thus avoid anachronistic interpretations of past events. We now no longer believe, for instance, that those who lived in Late Antiquity actually experienced this time as the 'decline and fall of the Roman Empire' or that the Middle Ages were really 'dark'.

Further research may reveal more about how ancient societies commemorated their ancestors and how they themselves wanted to be remembered. In this study, we have analyzed the 'cognitive ecologies' of three cities in Late Antique Egypt and measured which effects the new social systems, cognitive artefacts and environments of these cities had on the memories of the Great Persecution. When one of these three components changes, the way we remember changes as well. The debate about the influence of this 'distributed cognition' goes at least as far back as Plato's Socrates, who feared that the written word would weaken our memories.[517] He thought that those who use writing would become forgetful, that they would not remember the information anymore because they could always look it up again. Similar concerns were raised when the printing press changed our access to literature, the first newspapers began circulating, and the gramophone was invented. Today, we worry how social media like Facebook or search engines like Google affect our memories.

Although future studies are not likely to end a debate that has been going on for millennia, they could create an awareness that such a complex phenomenon as memory must be understood across the entire system. The key issue with collective memories is to think about how they operate, by which groups they are constructed, which cognitive artefacts are available to transmit them and how the physical environment influences them. The sources themselves – the original texts, grave decorations, statues or paintings and indeed buildings – can tell us something about the mindsets that created them. They also form our pictures of the past, for studying the ancient world is not just listening to stories from or about a long distant past. When we talk about the Athenian democracy or the pursuit of happiness by Aristotle, we speak as much about the ancient Greeks as we are thinking about the modern world.

517 Pl. *Phdr*. 275a.

In this study, we have seen that the Coptic Church referred to the 'Era of the Martyrs' when they described the hostile circumstances in which Coptic Christians lived in the 1980s. The recent discussions about the ethnicity of Alexander the Great – with FYROM (the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, now the Republic of North Macedonia) claiming that he was a Slav – is another example of the continuing relevance of the ancient world for our modern societies.

The significance of the past thus lies not so much in the knowledge of the historical truth, but in our experiences of the present. Those who formulated the memories of the Great Persecution not only reflected upon this past period in the light of the contemporary world, but also painted a picture of a time in which martyrs were heroes and Christians were delivered to the power of an evil emperor. Today as well as in the ancient world, societies continue to create heroes and villains, winners and losers. Whether through martyr stories, historical novels or modern propaganda, the task of a historian is to demonstrate how these memories are constructed.

Appendix 1. The Greek *Passion of Paphnutius*

Introduction

The following Greek text of the *Passion of Paphnutius* is based on the edition published by Hippolyte Delehaye in 1922.[518] In the almost hundred years after the first edition, however, editorial practices have changed. Therefore, this appendix presents a modernized text of the 1922-edition. In this updated version, the *sigla* of the so-called Leiden system have been followed, accents have been standardized and the punctuation of the *editio princeps* has been adapted wherever necessary. Finally, the paragraph division has been changed in order to make the long paragraphs shorter and to be able to better follow the logic of the story.

In translating the Greek into English, I have attempted to follow the original closely. Moreover, since an extensive commentary would exceed the scope of this study, I have chosen to only provide footnotes where passages are ambiguous or require explanation.

518 Delehaye, 'Martyrs d'Égypte', 328-43 with a summary at pp. 134-6.

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Text

Το Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Παφνουτίου τοῦ ἀναχωρητοῦ καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ φμς' ἁγίων μαρτύρων.

1. Ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Διοκλητιανοῦ Ἀριανός τις ἡγεμών. κ(αὶ) ἀνῆλθεν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀναζητῶν τοὺς Χριστιανούς, ἵνα θύσωσιν, ἐπέστη δὲ τῇ Γεντυρίᾳ[519] πόλει· κ(αὶ) ἦν τις ἀναχωρητὴς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχων ἀββᾶς Παφνούτιος, ἄν(θρωπ)ος δίκαιος ἐπίσημος ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ χώρᾳ, ὅστις ὑπεβλήθη Ἀριανῷ τῷ ἡγεμόνι[520], κ(αὶ) κατηγορεῖτο τὰ μέγιστα, ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀτιμάζων τοὺς θεοὺς κ(αὶ) ἀπαγορεύων τὸ πρόσταγμα τῶν βασιλέων. Ἀριανὸς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν πάνυ ἠγανάκτησεν κατ' αὐτου κ(αὶ) συνέταξεν δυσὶν ἑκατοντάρχοις, ἵνα τὸν μακάριον Παφνούτιον δέσμιον πρὸ τῆς διαφαύσεως ἐνέγκωσιν.

2. ὁ δὲ ἀββᾶς Παφνούτιος οὐ συνῄδει οὐδὲν τούτων, ἀλλὰ διεπορεύετο ἐν τῷ ὄρει διανυκτερεύων κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ· ἄγγελος δὲ Κ(υρίο)υ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ λέγων· Χαῖρε, Παφνούτιε, ἀθλητὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ὁ δὲ Παφνούτιος λέγει αὐτῷ· Χαίροις κ(αὶ) αὐτός, Κύριε. Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἄγγελος· Παφνούτιε, ἀκολούθει μοι, ἵνα στεφανώσω τὸν οἶκον, ὃν ἀπὸ νηπιόθεν ᾠκοδόμησας· εἴσελθε εἰς τὸ κελλίον σου, καθόπλισον σεαυτὸν τῷ θώρακι τῆς δικαιοσύνης κ(αὶ) ἔνδυσαι τοὺς ἐπενδύτας σου· ἐν οὐ(ρα)νοῖς ἀναφέρεις τὴν προσφοράν, διότι ἦλθον σήμερον καλέσαι σε εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα τοῦ Κυρίου σου, ἵνα ἀπολαύσῃς[521] ἐν ἀμεριμνίᾳ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ σου· ἤδη γὰρ διαβέβλησαι Ἀριανῷ τῷ ἡγεμόνι· κ(αὶ) ἐπέταξεν διακοσίοις στρατιώταις, ὅπως πρὸ τῆς διαφαύσεως δέσμιόν σε ἀπενέγκωσιν εἰς τὸ βῆμα αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ θάρσει καὶ μὴ φοβοῦ· ἐγὼ γὰρ εἶμι ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ γενόμενος μετὰ τῶν πα(τέρ)ων σου· κ(αὶ) νῦν μετὰ σοῦ εἰμι· ὁ δὲ Κ(ύριο)ς ἐνδυναμώσει σε κ(αὶ) παρασκευάσει Ἀριανὸν ἀσχημονῆσαι.

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519 Gentyra (or Tentyra) is the Greek name for the city of Dendara, see Timm, *Christlich-koptische Ägypten* 2, 543.

520 ἡγεμόνει ms.

521 ἀπολαύσεις ms.

Translation

The martyrdom of Saint Paphnutius the anchorite and his 546 fellow holy martyrs.

1. In the reign of Diocletian a certain Arianus became governor. He came to Egypt, searching for Christians in order to make them sacrifice, and he stopped in the city of Dendara. There was a certain anchorite in the desert, a righteous man known in the whole country, whose name was Abba Paphnutius and who was eyed suspiciously by the governor Arianus. He was accused with serious charges, on the grounds of dishonouring the gods and rejecting the edict of the emperors. The governor Arianus became very angry with him and ordered two centurions to bring back the blessed Paphnutius bound before dawn.

2. Abba Paphnutius knew nothing about these affairs, but wandered in the desert, spending the night according to his custom. An angel of the Lord appeared to him and said: 'Greetings, Paphnutius, athlete of Christ'. Paphnutius said to him: 'Greetings to you too, Lord'. The angel said to him: 'Paphnutius, follow me in order that I may crown the house, which you have built from childhood. Go to your cell, arm yourself with the armour of righteousness and put on your robe. You offer your sacrifice in heaven, for I have come today to invite you to the bridal chamber of your Lord, in order that you may enjoy in the serenity of your God. For you have already been accused by the governor Arianus. He has commanded two hundred soldiers to bring you bound to his tribunal before dawn.[522] But be of good courage and do not be afraid, for I am the angel who was with your fathers; and now I am with you. The Lord will give you strength and he will prepare you to put Arianus to shame'.

522 The angel knows beforehand about the two hundred soldiers that Arianus is going to send in **4**. Apparently, these soldiers accompanied the two centurions that Arianus sent to arrest Paphnutius in **1**.

3. Ὅτε οὖν ὁ ἄγγελος εἶπεν ταῦτα αὐτῷ, ὁ μακάριος Παφνούτιος εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ ἐνεδύσατο αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐπενδύτας κ(αὶ) λέντιον. κ(αὶ) ἐξῆλθεν εὐφραινόμενος, ὥσπερ δείπνου τις ὀρεγόμενος· ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος ἐπελάβετο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔμεινεν ὁμιλῶν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς μυστηρίων. Κ(αὶ) ὅτε ἔφθασαν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου, τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Νεῖλον, διηγήσατο αὐτῷ ὁ ἄγγελος τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ συμβαίνειν· κ(αὶ) ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οὐ(ρα)νόν.

4. Ἀριανὸς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πλοίου κ(αὶ) ἐκάθισεν ἐν θρόνῳ παρὰ τῷ ὅρμῳ· ὅλον δὲ τὸ ἀρχοντικὸν ἑκάστης πόλεως προσεδόκα τιμᾶν αὐτόν· ἐκαθέσθη δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην φροντίδα ποιούμενος εἰ μὴ[523] περὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Παφνουτίου· καὶ ἐκέλευσεν τοῖς διακοσίοις στρατιώταις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν.

5. Προφθάσας δὲ ὁ μακάριος Παφνούτιος ἔστη ἔμπροσθεν Ἀριανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, κράζων παρρησίᾳ κ(αὶ) λέγων· Χριστιανός εἰμι κ(αὶ)· ἐγώ εἰμι Παφνούτιος ὁ ζητούμενος· μὴ οὖν σκυλῇς τοὺς στρατιώτας σου ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐλθεῖν· σὺ μὲν ἔχεις τὰ στρατεύματά σου ἐπὶ τὸ συνάγειν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς εἰς τὸ ἐκχέειν αὐτῶν τὸ αἷμα· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔχομεν τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐπισυνάπτοντας ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ. Ἀριανὸς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐπιβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸν εἶπεν· Σὺ εἶ Παφνούτιος ὁ ἀποστάτης καὶ ἄθεος, ὁ καταλύων τοὺς νόμους καὶ τοὺς δικαίους θεοὺς ἀτιμάζων; Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παφνούτιος λέγει αὐτῷ· Οὔκ εἰμι ἄθεος, ἀλλὰ λατρεύω Θ(ε)ῷ ζῶντι ἐκ παιδόθεν· σὺ δὲ ὁ λέγων πολλοὺς θεοὺς ἔχ⟨ειν, ἀλ⟩ηθῶς ἄθεος εἶ. Ὅτε δὲ ἤκουσαι[524] ὁ ἡγεμὼν Ἀριανός, ἔβρυξεν τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτοῦ λέγων· Μὰ τοὺς ζῶντας θεοὺς Ἀπόλλωνά τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν, κακίσταις σε τιμωρίαις ἀμύνομαι. Κ(αὶ) εὐθέως ἐκέλευσεν σιδηρωθῆναι τὸν δίκαιον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ κ(αὶ) εἰς τοὺς πόδας κ(αὶ) συναριθμηθῆναι τοῖς δεσμίοις πᾶσιν ἐμ μέῳ[525] τῶν κλεπτῶν κ(αὶ) κακούργων γενόμενον. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἡγεμὼν ἀπῄει εἰς τὴν πόλιν· Παφνούτιος δὲ ὁ μακάριος κατ' ὀλίγον ἀπέστη διὰ τὰς συνεχούσας αὐτὸν πέδας· ἐκίνησεν δὲ ἑαυτὸν ὁ μακάριος Παφνούτιος λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ· Παφνούτιε, Παφνούτιε, νόει τὸν κατειληφότα σε κλῆρον· μνήσθητι ὅτι ὁ Κ(ύριο)ς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν δύο λῃστῶν ἐγένετο.

523 εἰμὶ ms.
524 Read ἤκουσεν.
525 Read ἐν μέσῳ.

3. When the angel said these things to him, the blessed Paphnutius went into his cell, and put on his robe and linen garb. He went out joyfully, like someone who is going to a banquet. The angel took his hand and continued to talk to him about the mysteries in heaven. When they arrived at the river of Egypt called the Nile, the angel told him everything that would happen to him. And he embraced him and went up to heaven.

4. The governor Arianus descended from his private ship and took his seat at the harbour.[526] All the magistrates from every city were waiting to honour him. As he was seated, he had no other thought about any other case except for that of the blessed Paphnutius. He ordered the two hundred soldiers to go after him.[527]

5. Anticipating this, the blessed Paphnutius stood before the governor Arianus, shouting openly and saying: 'I am a Christian!', and: 'I am Paphnutius, whom you are looking for. Do not trouble your soldiers to come after me. You have your armies to collect Christians in order to pour their blood, but we have the angels who guide us to the kingdom of God'. The governor Arianus looked at him and said: 'Are you Paphnutius, the apostate and impious, the one who annuls the laws and dishonours the true gods?' The blessed Paphnutius said to him: 'I am not impious, but I worship the living God from my youth. You are the one who says that there are many gods, you are the real impious one'. When the governor Arianus heard this, he ground his teeth and said: 'By the living gods, Apollo and Artemis, I will repay you with the worst penalties'. He immediately ordered to put the hands and feet of the righteous man in iron and cast him entirely enchained in the middle of thieves and criminals. Then the governor went into the city. Little by little, the blessed Paphnutius went away because of his constraining shackles. The blessed Paphnutius consoled himself, saying: 'Paphnutius, Paphnutius, know the lot that has befallen you. Remember that the Lord was also put in the midst of two robbers'.[528]

526 This sentence serves to pick up the background story described in **1**.

527 As Michael had predicated to Paphnutius in **2**. Apparently, the governor has only just ordered the two centurions and their two hundred soldiers to arrest Paphnutius when the anchorite himself arrives on the scene.

528 Cf. Matt. 27:38; Mark 15:27; Luke 23:33; John 19:18.

6. Ὅτε οὖν ὁ ἡγεμὼν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐκαθέσθη πρὸ τοῦ βήματος κ(αὶ) παραχρῆμα τὴν ἀναζήτησιν τοῦ μακαρίου Παφνουτίου ἐποιεῖτο. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παφνούτιος, ἐλαυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῆς ἀδικίας, ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναβαθμίδα τοῦ βήματος κ(αὶ) ἐδόξαζεν τὸν Θ(εό)ν· καὶ εὐθέως ὁ σίδηρος ἐλύθη ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ κ(αὶ) τῶν ποδῶν ὥσπερ ὕδωρ. Καὶ ἔστη ἔμπροσθεν Ἀριανοῦ κ(αὶ) λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἡγεμών· Παφνούτιε, τίς ἡ συνέχουσά σε μανία; διὰ τί δὲ οὐ θυσιάζεις τοῖς δικαίοις θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἀποθανεῖν κακῶς προῄρησαι; Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ μακάριος Παφνούτιος· Ὁ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θάνατος οὐκ ἔστιν θάνατος, ἀλλὰ ζωὴ αἰώνιός ἐστιν· ὥστε οὖν οὐ θύω οὐδενὶ εἰ μὴ τῷ παντοκράτορι Θ(ε)ῷ μου τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων.

7. Ἀριανὸς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι κλιβάνους κ(αὶ) τοὺς σιδηροῦς καταπέλτας καὶ τήγανα ἐλαίου ζέοντα, κ(αὶ) περιστοιχίζεσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν μακάριον Παφνούτιον, λέγων αὐτῷ· Παφνούτιε, ἐὰν μὴ ὑπακούσῃς μου, βασανισθῆναι ἔχεις ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις. Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Παφνούτιος μειδιάσας εἶπεν· Ἀριανέ, νομίζεις ὅτι εὐλαβοῦμαι τὰ βασανιστήριά σου καὶ ὀρνοῦμαι τὸν Θ(εό)ν μου; μὴ γένοιτο· τοῦτο δέ σοι λέγω, ὅτι αἱ ἡμέτεραι τῶν μοναχῶν πολιτεῖαι πολὺ πλέον ἔχουσι τῶν βασάνων, ἐν πολλαῖς γὰρ ἀσκήσεσι πεπειραμένοι ἐσμέν· κ(αὶ) ὁ Σ(ω)τ(ὴ)ρ ἡμῶν ἐνεδυνάμωσεν ἡμᾶς, ἕως οὐ ἡτήσωμεν[529] τοὺς ἀποκρύφους πολέμους τοῦ Σατανᾶ, κ(αὶ) ἐνδυναμώσει πάλιν ἡμᾶς ἡττῆσαι τὸν οὐ δυνάμενον καθ' ἡμῶν σου διωγμόν.

8. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριανὸς λέγει αὐτῷ· Μακρολογεῖς, Παφνούτιε, κ(αὶ) τὸ δικαστήριόν μου οὐκ ἀνέχεταί σου. Ἐκέλευσεν δὲ τὸν μακάριον Παφνούτιον παραχρῆμα ἀναρτηθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἁρμαμεντάριον κ(αὶ) ξέεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Παφνούτιος ἀνηρτήθη καὶ ἐξέετο ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ἕως οὗ τὰ ἔντερα αὐτοῦ χαμαὶ ἐρρίφησαν κ(αὶ) ὅλον τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐμολύνθη τῷ αἵματι. Κ(αὶ) ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπεκαλέσατο τὸν Θ(εὸ)ν λέγων· Κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ, οὐκ ἀποφεύγω τὴν οἰκονομίαν σου· κατηρτισμένος γάρ εἰμι ἀποθανεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι· ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶ σου τὴν χρηστότητα· μὴ ἐπιτρέψῃς με ἀποθανεῖν, ἕως οὗ καταισχύνω Ἀριανὸν κ(αὶ) τὰ χειροποίητα αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος Κ(υρίο)υ ἔστη ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Παφνουτίου κ(αὶ) λαβὼν τὰ ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν αὐτοῦ· κ(αὶ) σφραγίσας αὐτὸν ἀπεκατέστησεν ὑγιῆ σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι καὶ ἦν ὥσπερ μηδὲ βασανισθείς.

529 Read ἡττήσωμεν.

6. When the governor went into the city, he sat on the tribunal and immediately addressed the case of the blessed Paphnutius. As the soldiers of injustice beat him, the blessed Paphnutius climbed the steps of the tribunal and praised God. Immediately the iron was loosened from his hands and feet like water. He stood before Arianus and the governor said to him: 'Paphnutius, what is this madness? Why do you not sacrifice to the true gods, but prefer to die badly?' The blessed Paphnutius said to him: 'The death of the Christians is not death but eternal life. Therefore, I do not sacrifice to anyone except for my almighty God, the king of eternity'.

7. The governor Arianus ordered to bring ovens, iron racks and frying pans boiling with oil, and to place them around the blessed Paphnutius, as he said to him: 'Paphnutius, if you do not listen to me, you will be tortured with all these things'. The blessed Paphnutius said smiling: 'Arianus, do you think that I will be afraid of your instruments of torture and deny my God? It shall not happen! This I tell you, that the practices of us monks are much stronger than tortures, for we have been tried in many ascetic practices. Our Saviour has given us strength, so that we will not be weak in the hidden combats of Satan, and he shall strengthen us again to overcome your powerless persecution against us'.

8. The governor said to him: 'You use many words, Paphnutius, and my court is not patient with you'. He immediately ordered to hang the blessed Paphnutius on the *hermetarion* and flog (him). The holy Paphnutius was hung and flogged so long that his intestines fell on the ground and his whole body was drenched in blood. But he lifted his eyes towards heaven and prayed to God, saying: 'Lord Jesus Christ, I am not running away from your dispensation,[530] for I am prepared to die in your name. But I beseech your goodness, do not let me die, until I have put Arianus and his handmade things to shame'.[531] The angel of the Lord stood on the right side of the holy Paphnutius and taking his intestines, he put them back in his abdomen. He made the sign of the cross over him and restored health to his whole body, and he was in such a state as if he had not been tortured.

530 For this meaning of οἰκονομία, see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. οἰκονομία C.

531 I.e. idols. Paphnutius refers back to the speech of the angel in **2**.

9. Οἱ δὲ ξέοντες στρατιῶται Διονύσιος καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἰδόντες τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἐμβάλλουσαν ἔσω τὰ ἔντερα τοῦ μακαρίου Παφνουτίου, παραχρῆμα ἐπίστευσαν τῷ κ(υρί)ῳ καὶ τὰς ζώνας αὐτῶν διέρρηξαν κ(αὶ) σταθέντες ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος Ἀριανοῦ εἶπον· Κ(αὶ) ἡμεῖς Χριστιανοί ἐσμεν. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀριανός· Τί εἴδετε, ὅτι εἰς μανίαν τοιαύτην περιτραπέντες περιφρονεῖτε τοῦ δικαστηρίου κ(αὶ) τολμᾶτε τῶν δικαίων θεῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔξαρνοι γενέσθαι; Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ στρατιῶται μιᾷ φωνῇ· Ὃ εἴδαμεν οὐ δυνάμεθά σοι διηγήσασθαι· γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ τῶν Χριστιανῶν· Μὴ δότε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσὶ μηδὲ βάλητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων. Λέγει αὐτοῖς Ἀριανός· Οὐκοῦν καταδικάζετέ με ὅμοιον εἶναι τῶν χοίρων; Εἶπαν δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ στρατιῶται· Δεδικαίωνται ὑπὲρ σὲ οἱ χοῖροι κ(αὶ) οἱ κύνες· πᾶν γὰρ ζῷον ἄλογον ὑποτάσσεται τῷ νεύματι αὐτοῦ καὶ δοξάζε῾ι᾽ αὐτὸν φωναῖς ἀλαλήτοις· σὺ δὲ τὸν κ(ύριο)ν ἀτιμάζεις κ(αὶ) ἀπαρνῇ. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριανὸς ἀγανακτήσας σφόδρα, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀποκεφαλισθῆναι· κ(αὶ) ἀπηνέχθησαν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἀπεκεφαλίσθησαν κ(αὶ) ἐτέλεσαν αὐτῶν τὴν μαρτυρίαν καὶ παρεγένοντο ἐν δόξῃ εἰς τοὺς οὐ(ρα)νούς.

10. Ἀριανὸς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀνέστη ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος πορευθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἄριστον· ἐκέλευσεν δὲ τὸν μακάριον Παφνούτιον παραδοθῆναι τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἁρπάσαντες αὐτὸν συνέκλεισαν ἐν σκοτεινῷ κελλίῳ. Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ὁ ἡγεμὼν τὴν ἀναζήτησιν τοῦ μακαρίου οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο, ἀλλὰ προσέσχεν τοῖς δημοσίοις, καταναγκάζων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἡγουμένους πληροῦν τὰ δημόσια. Μὴ πληρώσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν βληθῆναι εἰς φυλακήν· ἦσαν δὲ πάντες τεσσαράκοντα.

9. When he soldiers who had beaten him, Dionysius and Callimachus, saw the hand of the angel putting the intestines of the blessed Paphnutius back in, they immediately believed in the Lord and broke their belts.[532] Stepping before the governor Arianus they said: 'We too are Christians'. Arianus said to them: 'What have you seen, that diverting to this madness you despise the court and dare to deny the just gods of the emperor?' The soldiers told him in a single voice: 'We are not able to tell you what we know. For it is written in the Holy Scripture of the Christians: "Do not give what is holy to the dogs and do not throw your pearls before swine".[533] Arianus said to them: 'So you judge me to be similar to swine?' The soldiers said to him: 'Swine and dogs are more righteous than you. For every speechless creature is obedient to his command and praises him with wordless voices. But you despise and deny the Lord'. Arianus became very angry and ordered them to be beheaded. And they were taken outside the city and beheaded. They completed their martyrdom and went to heaven in glory.

10. Arianus the governor stood up from the tribunal to have lunch. He ordered to take the blessed Paphnutius to prison. The soldiers took him and shut him up in a dark cell. In the morning, the governor did not make an investigation of the blessed one, but turned his attention to taxes, pressing the magistrates and officials to fulfill the taxes.[534] Since they were unable to pay them in full, he ordered them to be thrown in prison. They were forty in total.

532 The breaking of the belts means that the soldiers are quitting their military service.

533 Matt. 7:6.

534 Cf. the scene in **4** where the magistrates arrive in the city and the governor gives precedence to Paphnutius.

11. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ κατεκλείσθησαν ἐν τῷ σκοτεινῷ οἴκῳ, εἶδον φῶς μέγα ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, ὥστε τὸν τόπον ὅλον φωτισθῆναι δίκην ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος ἐν καιρῷ θέρους. Καλέσαντες δὲ οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἐγκεκλεισμένοι τὸν δεσμοφύλακα εἶπον αὐτῷ· Τίς αὕτη ἡ τόλμη, ὅτι εἰσήγαγες πῦρ εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον βουλόμενος καῦσαι αὐτὸ κ(αὶ) φυγῇ χρήσασθαι τοὺς δεσμώτας, ἡμᾶς δὲ κινδυνεῦσαι; Λέγει αὐτοις· Ἀδελφοί, οὐδέποτε πῦρ εἰσηνέχθη ἐνταῦθα· οὐ μικρῶς δὲ κἀγὼ θαυμάζω· ἰδοὺ γὰρ δύο νύκτας λάμπει οὕτως, ἀφ’οὗ εἰσηνέχθη ὁ Χριστιανὸς Παφνούτιος, καὶ οὐδὲ ὅλως σκότος ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, ἀλλὰ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἁπλοῦντος ὅλην τὴν νύκτα ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος. Οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα παρεγένοντο ὅπου ἐγκεκλεισμένος ἦν ὁ μακάριος Παφνούτιος καὶ σταθέντες ἤκουον αὐτοῦ εὐχόμενον ὑπὲρ σ(ωτη)ρίας τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης. Ἀνοίξαντες δὲ τὸ ταμιεῖον εἰσῆλθον κ(αὶ) εἶδον αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτεταμένας καὶ λαμπούσας ὥσπερ λαμπάδας καιομένας κ(αὶ) κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ἦν εὐωδία πολλή. Οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἄρχοντες προσελθόντες προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ κ(αὶ) διανυκτερεύοντες μετ’ αὐτοῦ διῆγον ὅλην τὴν νύκτα.

12. Πρῳίας δὲ γενομένης ἠσπάσαντο αὐτόν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην λέγων· Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, τέκνα· τίς δέ ἐστε; Οἱ δὲ ἔφησαν ὅτι· Ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἠπείλησεν ἡμῖν κ(αὶ) ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν διὰ τὰ δημόσια. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ ἅγιος Παφνούτιος· Σήμερον ἐνδοχὴν ἔχετε· τί δὲ ὑμῖν ἔσται μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνάγκη πάλιν ὑμᾶς ὀχλεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦτο; ἀκούσατέ μου κ(αὶ) πιστεύσατε τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ μου καὶ ὁμολογήσαντες τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐλευθερωθήσεσθε τῶν ἀνομιῶν ὑμῶν· καὶ ἐξαλειφθήσεται τὸ χειρόγραφον τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὑμῶν κ(αὶ), πολίταις γενομένοις ὑμῖν τῆς ἐπου(ρα)νίου Ἰε(ρουσαλ)ήμ, γραφήσεται τὰ ὀνόματα ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ζώντων εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἄρχοντες ἀπεκρίναντο μιᾷ φώνῃ[535] λέγοντες· Ἐξ ὅλης ψυχῆς ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν τὸν Θ(εό)ν σου· τάχα γὰρ ἡ τῆς εἰρκτῆς παρεμπεσοῦσα πρόφασις εἰς αἰωνίαν ἐλευθερίαν ἄγει ἡμᾶς. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παφνούτιος λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἐγείρεσθε, ἄγωμεν, τέκνα, ἤδη γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα ὑμῶν γέγραπται ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν ζώντων.

535 γνώνῃ ms.

11. It happened in that night when they were locked up in the dark cell that they saw a great light in the prison, so that the whole place was alight just like the dawning sunrise in the summer season. The imprisoned magistrates called the gaoler and said to him: 'What is this recklessness, that you have taken fire into the prison, because you want to burn it and the prisoners to flee, but we are endangered?' He said to them: 'Brothers, fire has never been brought in here, but I too am not a little amazed. Look, for two nights since the Christian Paphnutius was brought in, it has been shining like this and it has not been dark at all in the prison, but his single light shines the entire night for us, like the sunrise'. When the magistrates heard these things, they went to where the blessed Paphnutius was imprisoned. They stood and listened to him while he prayed for the well-being of the city and the whole world. After they had opened the room, they came in and saw him with his arms stretched out, shining like burning torches, and all around him was a sweet smell. And the forty magistrates went to him, paid homage to him and spent the whole night keeping vigil with him.

12. When morning came, they greeted him. He blessed them, saying: 'Peace to you, children, who are you?'[536] They said: 'The governor has threatened us and ordered to throw us in prison because of the taxes'. The holy Paphnutius said to them: 'Today you are in here. What need will there be in the future to trouble you again because of this? Listen to me and believe in my God and by confessing his name, free yourselves from your lawlessness. The record of your sins will be wiped out and, as citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, he will write your names in the book of the saints, who live for eternity'. The forty magistrates responded in a single voice, saying: 'With our whole heart we confess your God, for perhaps the occasion that presents itself in prison brings us eternal freedom'. The blessed Paphnutius said to them: 'Arise, let us go, children, for your names are already written in the book of the living'.

536 After spending the entire night with them in vigil, Paphnutius only now asks the magistrates why they are in prison.

13. Ἐξῆλθεν δὲ τῆς φυλακῆς ὁ μακάριος Παφνούτιος ἀναζητηθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀριανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κ(αὶ) οἱ ἄρχοντες ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ· καὶ φθάσας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα λέγει· Βῆμα, βῆμα, κατὰ σοῦ ἦλθον· σὺ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, κἀγὼ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ μου Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντα οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτόν, καὶ εὐθέως ἀόρατος ἐγένετο ὁ μακάριος Παφνούτιος.

14. Οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἄρχοντες εὐθέως ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα κράζοντες καὶ λέγοντες· Χριστιανοί ἐσμεν. Ἀριανὸς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν θεασάμενος αὐτοὺς ἠγανάκτησεν λέγων· Τί ὑμῖν ἐγένετο, ἢ τί ἔχετε; μή τι ἠγανακτήσατε ὅτι ἠτίμασα ὑμᾶς κ(αὶ) διὰ τοῦτο ἀπειρήκατε τῆς ὑμετέρας ζωῆς; Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄρχοντες μιᾷ φωνῇ· Ἡμεῖς οὐ προσέχομεν τοῖς σοῖς μύθοις, ἀλλὰ προῃρημένοι ἐλπίδα οὐράνιον ἔχειν, κατελείπαμεν τὰ πρόσκαιρα, τῶν αἰωνίων τὴν ἐκδοχὴν ποιούμενοι· ἵνα δὲ μάθῃς ἀληθῶς, ὅλα ἡμῶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐξεπίτηδες παρεχωρήσαμέν σοι, καὶ τῶν προσόδων κ(αὶ) τῶν κτημάτων ἡμῶν πάντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν εἰ προῄρηνται ἀκολουθήτωσαν ἡμῖν. Ἀριανὸς ὁ ἡγεμὼν λέγει· Τίς ἡ μανία ὑμῶν αὕτη; ὡς ὁρῶ, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλου εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς μαγείας τοῦ ἀποστάτου Παφνουτίου. Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ ἅγιοι· Ἐπιστοματίσθητι, διότι ἐβλασφήμησας κατὰ τοῦ ἀν(θρώπ)ου τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ. Ἀριανὸς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀκούσας ταῦτα, κατηγανάκτησεν κ(αὶ) ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς εἰς κόλασιν παραδοθῆναι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν βασανιστήρια ὑπέμειναν διὰ τὸν Θ(εό)ν· ἤλασαν δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ ὑπηρέται τῆς ἀδικίας εἰς ἔρημον τόπον κ(αὶ) ὤρυξαν βόθρους καὶ ἐμπλήσαντες πυρὸς κατέκαυσαν τοὺς μακαρίους ἐκεῖ.

15. Ἦν δὲ ὁ ἅγιος Παφνούτιος ἑστὼς ἐπάνω ἑκάστης πυρᾶς ἀποβλέπων εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους κ(αὶ) τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ποιούμενος τῶν ψυχῶν διὰ τῶν ἰδίων χειρῶν· ἐκάησαν δὲ οἱ τεσσαράκοντα ἄρχοντες ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ κ(αὶ) ἐτελειώθη αὐτῶν ἡ μαρτυρία ἀπειληφότων τὸ αἰώνιον βραβεῖον.

13. The blessed Paphnutius went out of prison, because he had been summoned by the governor Arianus, and the magistrates followed him. When he came to the tribunal, he said: 'Tribunal, tribunal, I have come to you! You with your Apollo, and I with my Lord Jesus Christ![537] When the soldiers of the governor heard these words, they encircled him, and the blessed Paphnutius immediately became invisible.

14. The forty magistrates immediately climbed up the tribunal, shouting and saying: 'We are Christians!' When the governor Arianus saw them, he became angry and said: 'What has happened to you, what do you know? Are you angry because I have humbled you and do you give up your life because of that?' The magistrates said to him in a single voice: 'We do not pay attention to your words but have chosen heavenly hope. We have left the temporary things and received the eternal ones. So that you may truly know, we have purposefully given all our possessions to you, and you have all our property and money in your possession. But, if our wives and children choose to do so, they are to follow us'. The governor Arianus said: 'What is this madness of yours? As far as I see, it is nothing but this magic of the apostate Paphnutius'. The holy ones said to him: 'Be quiet, for you have spoken blasphemy against the man of God'. When he heard this, the governor Arianus became very angry and ordered them to be given retribution. Thus they endured the instruments of torture on account of God. The servants of injustice took them to a deserted place, dug holes, filled them with fire and burned the blessed ones there.

15. The holy Paphnutius stood over every single pyre, watching the holy ones and received their souls with his own hands. Thus the forty magistrates were burned on a single day and their martyrdom was fulfilled as they received the eternal prize.

537 Paphnutius refers to his first meeting with Arianus in **5**, when the governor swore by the gods Apollo and Artemis.

16. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παφνούτιος περιήει εἰς τὴν πόλιν κ(αὶ) ἀναβλέψας εἶδεν θύραν ἀνεῳγμένην ἀν(θρώπ)ου τινὸς παμπλούτου ὀνόματι Νεστορίου· κ(αὶ) ἀπελθὼν εἶπεν τῇ θυρωρῷ· θυγάτριον, πότισόν με ὕδωρ ὀλίγον. Λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ θεραπαινίς· Εἴσελθε, π(άτ)ερ. Ἦν γὰρ ἐπιγινώσκουσα αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ περιβόητος ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἀναχωρηταῖς διὰ πολλῶν καλῶν φημιζόμενος· θεασαμένη δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον ἥδιστα ὑπεδέξατο αὐτόν· εἰσελθοῦσα δὲ ἔκραξεν τὴν δέσποιναν αὐτῆς λέγουσα· Ἔξελθε ταχέως, ἵνα ἴδῃς τὸν μακάριον Παφνούτιον, δι' οὗ πολλὰ τεκμήρια γεγόνασιν ἐπὶ Ἀριανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος.

17. Παραχρῆμα δὲ ἡ δέσποινα αὐτῆς δραμοῦσα ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ θεασαμένη τὸν μακάριον Παφνούτιον ἑστῶτα ὡς ἄγγελον Κ(υρίο)υ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ λέγουσα· Ἀληθῶς πᾶς ὁ βίος μου οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντάξιος τῆς σῆς παρουσίας· μεγαλυνθείην δὲ τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ μου· διότι κατηξίωσας ὑπὸ τὸν ὄροφόν μου γενέσθαι. Ἐπιλαβομένη δὲ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον καὶ ἐν θρόνῳ ἀργυρῷ ἐκάθισεν αὐτόν. Μειδιάσας δὲ ὁ μακάριος λέγει αὐτῇ· Ἐστί ὑμῖν ὁ πολὺς χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ ἄσημος· ἐπὶ ματαίᾳ ἐλπίδι καυχώμενοί ἐστε· ἐπάκουσόν μου οὖν, τέκνον, κ(αὶ) ἐπίλεξαι σεαυτῇ τὸν ἀγγελικὸν βίον καὶ τὴν ἀθάνατον πολιτείαν τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν.

18. Ὅτε οὖν ἤκουσεν ταῦτα ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς, ἔνδον οὖσα εἰς τὸν κοιτῶνα, εὐθὺς κ(αὶ) παραχρῆμα ἐξῆλθεν πολύτιμον ἔνδυμα φοροῦσα. Ὁ μὲν οὖν μακάριος Παφνούτιος χαμαὶ ἐκάθισεν, ἐκάθισαν δὲ καὶ αἱ δύο παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, καὶ λέγει αὐταῖς ὁ μακάριος· Ἐγκαταλείψατε τὸν κενὸν τοῦτον πλοῦτον, διότι ὁ ἰὸς ἐπιλαμβάνεται τὸν χρυσὸν κ(αὶ) οἱ σῆτες τὰ ἱμάτια κατέδονται καὶ ἡ εὐμορφία τοῦ προσώπου εἰς δυσμορφίαν τραπήσεται ἐν τάφοις· μόνον δὲ ἡ δόξα τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ κ(αὶ) ἡ βασιλεία διαμένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

16. The blessed Paphnutius went to the city and looking up he saw the open door of a certain eminently rich man called Nestorius. He went there and said to the doorkeepster: 'Little daughter, give me a little water to drink'. The slave girl said to him: 'Come in, father'. For she had recognized him, since he was famous among the anchorites and known for his many good deeds.[538] Gazing at his face, she welcomed him excitedly. After he had gone inside, she called her mistress and said to her: 'Come quickly, so you can see the blessed Paphnutius, through whom many miracles were performed before the governor Arianus'.[539]

17. Her mistress immediately came running into the courtyard of the house. Seeing the blessed Paphnutius standing like an angel of the Lord, she fell down in front of him and said: 'Truly, my whole life is not worthy of your presence. I have been honoured much by my God, because you have deemed it worthy to come under my roof'. Taking his hand, she led him into her own house and seated him in a silver chair. Smiling, the blessed one said to her: 'You have much gold and silver. You are boasting in idle hope. Now listen to me, child, and choose for yourself the angelic life and immortal citizenship of the eternal good'.

18. When her daughter heard these things – she was inside in the bedroom – she directly and immediately came out, carrying a very costly garment. The blessed Paphnutius sat down on the ground,[540] with the two women sitting at his feet, and the blessed one said to them: 'Leave this empty wealth behind, because poison lays hold of gold, moths eat up clothes and beauty of the face turns to ugliness in graves. Only the glory and the kingdom of God last forever'.

538 Refers to what is told about Paphnutius in **1**.

539 Apparently, word has spread quickly and the girl knows that the chains that had bound Paphnutius had loosened in **6**, that an angel had resurrected him after he had been tortured in **8** and that he had produced light in prison in **11** and had become invisible in **13**.

540 Paphnutius preferred sitting on the ground over the silver chair offered to him in **17**.

19. Ἔτι αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λαλούντος ταῖς τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ δούλαις, ἰδοὺ Νεστόριος ὁ ἀνὴρ τῆς γυμαικὸς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ· προδραμοῦσα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ, ἵνα γνωρίσῃ αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παφνουτίου· προφθάσας δὲ ὁ Νεστόριος εἶπεν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ· Διὰ τί οὐκ ἐγενόμην ἄξιος τοῦ τοιούτου καλοῦ, ἵνα συναφθῶ μετὰ τῶν συμβουλευτῶν μου, οἵτινες διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἔτυχον τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς; ὡς εἴθε εὕροιμι ἐκεῖνον τὸν δίκαιον Παφνούτιον, κ(αὶ) εἰσήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν καὶ ηὔχετο ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἵνα κληθῶμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ καὶ ἄξιοι γενώμεθα τῆς ἐνδόξου αὐτοῦ βασιλείας.

20. Λέγει αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ· Τάχιστα τετέλεσται ἡ πληροφορία σου· εἴσελθε καὶ ἰδὲ τὸν ἅγιον Παφνούτιον, τὸν κεκοσμημένον πάσῃ ἀρετῇ. Καὶ εἰσελθὼν κ(αὶ) εὑρὼν τὸν ἅγιον, πεσὼν προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν, κ(αὶ) λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ μακάριος Παφνούτιος· Ἀνάστα· ὁ γὰρ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ὁ΄ Χ(ριστό)ς μου ἐπέτρεψεν ἐκκλῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· φύσει γὰρ ἔχει ὑμᾶς σκεύη ἀναγκαῖα· νυνὶ δὲ μὴ ἀμελήσητε· ἐγείρεσθε, ἄγωμεν, κ(αὶ) ὁμολογήσατε τὸν Κ(ύριο)ν ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ)ν Χ(ριστὸ)ν ἔμπροσθεν Ἀριανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος· οὐ γὰρ συνεχῶς πρόκειται ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀγὼν οὔτε τὰ βραβεῖα πάντοτε· ἴωμεν, ἴωμεν, ὦ τέκνα, ὅπως τάχιον τοὺς στεφάνους δεξώμεθα. Ὁ μὲν οὖν μακάριος Παφνούτιος ἀναστὰς προέπορεύετο αὐτῶν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὄπισθεν ἠκολούθουν. Ἐξελθοῦσα δὲ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς τῆς οἰκίας [αὐτῆς] λέγει· Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ, ἰδοὺ τὴν θύραν μου ἀνεῳγμένην εἶασα κ(αὶ) οὐκ ἔκλεισα αὐτήν· σὺ δέ, Κ(ύρι)ε, ἄνοιξον ἡμῖν τὰς πύλας τοῦ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ.

19. While he was still talking of these things to the slaves of God, the husband of the woman, Nestorius, entered his house. His wife ran forward to meet him in order to introduce him to the holy Paphnutius. Anticipating her, Nestorius said to his wife: 'Why have I not been worthy of such beauty, that I was taken prisoner with my fellow councilors, who for this reason have attained eternal life?[541] Would that I might find the righteous Paphnutius and I would have brought him into our house and he would pray for us, so we may be summoned by God and become worthy of his glorious kingdom!'

20. His wife said to him: 'Your wish has been fulfilled very quickly. Go inside and behold the holy Paphnutius, who is adorned with all virtue'. He went inside, found the holy one, threw himself down and paid homage to him. The blessed Paphnutius said to him: 'Rise, for Jesus Christ has commanded me to visit you. For naturally you are his necessary vessels, so do not neglect this now. Awake, let us go and confess the Lord, our Jesus Christ, before the governor Arianus. For such a contest and prizes are not always offered. Let us go, let us go, children, so that we may receive the crowns quickly!' Then the blessed Paphnutius stood up and went before them, the others following behind. When the mother went out of her house, she said: 'Jesus Christ, I have left my door open and I have not closed it. Now you, Lord, open the gates of heaven for us!'

541 Apparently, the magistrates who were imprisoned in **10** were Nestorius' colleagues. The wealthy Nestorius must have been able to pay the taxes and was therefore not imprisoned. As a result, he did not meet Paphnutius in prison (**11-2**) nor did he receive martyrdom (**14**).

21. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παφνούτιος δραμὼν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἔστη ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος λέγων· Βῆμα, βῆμα, κατὰ σοῦ πάλιν ἦλθον· σὺ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος κἀγὼ μετὰ τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ μου Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριανὸς ἦν δίκην λύων· καὶ στραφεὶς ἠβουλήθη κρατῆσαι τὸν ἅγιον Παφνούτιον ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσίν· κ(αὶ) ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος Κ(υρίο)υ ἀπέσπασεν αὐτὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· κ(αὶ)) ἰδοὺ Νεστόριος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ ἀνεβόησαν παρρησίᾳ λέγοντες· Χριστιανοί ἐσμεν. Ἀριανὸς δὲ ἀναβλέψας καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν Νεστόριον λέγει αὐτῷ· Νεστόριε, ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς πηγῆς τῆς μανίας ἐποτίσθητε· ἢ οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι οἱ λῃσταὶ κ(αὶ) οἱ ἱερόσυλοι κρίνονται ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματός μου; προσκύνησον οὖν τοὺς δικαίους θεοὺς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἄπελθε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου τιμώμενος σὺν τῇ γαμετῇ σου καὶ τῇ θυγατρί. Ἀπεκρίθη Νεστόριος κ(αὶ) εἶπεν· Μηδέν σοι μελήσει περὶ τούτων· οὐκ εἰμὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτος, ἵνα δελεασθῶ διὰ κοιλίαν ἢ ἀπατηθῶ ταῖς παρακλήσεσι τοῦ π(ατ)ρός σου τοῦ διαβόλου ἢ ἐν ταῖς κολακείαις τῆς μ(ητ)ρός σου τῆς ἀνομίας.

22. Στραφεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἀριανὸς λέγει τῷ κορασίῳ. Τίς λέγῃ[542] τὸ ὄνομά σου; Ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· Στεφανίς.[543] Λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ ἡγεμών· Θῦσον, Στεφανή, τοῖς θεοῖς κ(αὶ) λήψῃ παρ' ἐμοῦ τιμὰς πολλάς. Ἀπεκρίθη Στεφανὴ κ(αὶ) εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Οὐ μή ποτε θύσω τοῖς βεβήλοις σου θεοῖς καὶ ἀκαθάρτοις δαιμονίοις, ἀλλὰ προσφέρω τὸ σῶμά μου θυσίαν ζῶσαν, εὐάρεστον τῷ ἐπουρανίῳ Θ(ε)ῷ μου. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀριανὸς, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴν ἀναρτηθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἁρμαμεντάριον ἐνώπιον τῶν γονέων αὐτῆς.

542 λέγει ms.

543 Read Στεφανή.

21. The blessed Paphnutius, running before them, stood at the tribunal and said: 'Tribunal, tribunal, I have come to you again![544] You with your Apollo and I with my Lord Jesus Christ!' Arianus was releasing the court. Turning around, he wanted to seize the holy Paphnutius with his own hands, but an angel of the Lord dragged him away from him. Nestorius, his wife and his daughter cried openly, saying: 'We are Christians!' When he looked up and saw Nestorius, Arianus said to him: 'Nestorius, how is it that you have (all) been given to drink from the same spring of madness?[545] Or do you not know that robbers and temple-plunderers are judged before my tribunal? Worship, then, the just gods of the emperors and go home as an honourable man, with your wife and daughter'. Nestorius answered and said: 'You will not trouble me at all with these things. For I am not such a man, that I may be deluded by the stomach or deceived by exhortations of your father, the Devil, or the flatteries of your mother, Lawlessness'.

22. Turning around, Arianus said to the little girl: 'What is your name?' She said: 'Stephane'. The governor said to her: 'Stephane, sacrifice to the gods and you will receive many honours from me'. Stephane answered and said to him: 'I will never sacrifice to your profane gods and impure demons, but I offer my body as a living sacrifice, wellpleasing to my heavenly God'. When Arianus heard these things, he ordered to hang her on the *hermetarion* in front of her parents.

544 Paphnutius refers to the first time he came to the tribunal, in **13**, when he brought the magistrates to court.

545 Arianus refers to the similar scenes in **9** and **14**, when he asked the soldiers Dionysius and Callimachus and the forty magistrates what this madness was about.

23. Ἁρπαγεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κυεστιοναρίων, ἀνηρτήθη καὶ ἐξέετο· ἦν δὲ ἐτῶν δέκα ὀκτὼ εὐειδὴς σφόδρα. Οἱ μὴν οὖν στρατιῶται διέρρηξαν τὰς πλευρὰς αὐτῆς καὶ ὅλον αὐτῆς τὸ σῶμα αἱμόφυρτον γέγονεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ἀριστερὰ αὐτῆς μέρη ἔστη ἡ μ(ήτ)ηρ αὐτῆς κ(αὶ) παρεθάρρυνεν αὐτὴν λέγουσα· Ὑπόμεινον, θύγατερ. ἔτι μικρὸν καὶ τὸ βραβεῖόν σου λήψῃ· οἶδας ὅτι κατεσκεύασά σοι προῖκαν ἀνυπέρβλητον, οἵαν οὐδεὶς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν κατεσκεύασεν, βουλομένη σε τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν δωρήσασθαι· νυνὶ δέ, τέκνον, τὴν αἰωνίαν κ(αὶ) ἀληθῆ κληρονομίαν κληρονομήσεις· ὁ γὰρ σὸς νύμφιος ἀθάνατός ἐστιν, Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ὁ Χ(ριστό)ς, πρὸς ὃν νῦν ἀπέρχῃ εἰς νυμφῶνα οὐράνιον. Ταῦτα λεγούσης τῆς μ(ητ)ρ(ὸ)ς αὐτῆς, καὶ ὁ π(ατ)ὴρ αὐτῆς ὁμοίως παρεθάρρυνεν αὐτὴν λέγων· Ἀνδρίζου, θύγατερ· σήμερον γὰρ ἔγνων, ὅτι κατηξιώθην τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ· χαίρω δὲ καὶ ἀγαλλιῶ ὅτι πρὸ ἐμοῦ πέμπω σε δῶρον τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ γενέσθαι. Ἔτι οὖν τῶν γονέων αὐτῆς ταῦτα λεγόντων, οἱ ξέοντες αὐτὴν στρατιῶται ἔφθασαν εἰς τὸ ἦπαρ αὐτῆς κ(αὶ) εὐθέως παρέδωκεν αὐτὴ τὸ π(νεῦ)μα. Οἱ δὲ γονεῖς ταῖς ἰδιαις αὐτῶν χερσὶν κατέθεντο αὐτὴν ἐν μνημείῳ κ(αὶ) ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Ἀριανοῦ γενόμενοι ἐνύβρισαν τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοῦ. Ὀργισθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀποκεφαλισθῆναι· καὶ οὕτως ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ ἐπλήρωσαν αὐτῶν τὴν μαρτυρίαν κ(αὶ) παρεγένοντο ἐνδόξως εἰς τὸν οὐ(ρα)νόν.

24. Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Παφνούτιος διεπορεύετο {τὴν πορεύετο} τὴν πόλιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιζητῶν τοὺς ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὸ βραβεῖον· τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἦν εὐχόμενος· ἐξῆλθεν δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ εὗρεν δεκαὲξ παῖδας παραγινομένους εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον, οἵτινες ἦσαν υἱοὶ τῶν μαρτυρησάντων ἀρχόντων· ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παφνούτιος ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν γενόμενος ἠσπάσατο αὐτοὺς λέγων· Τέκνα, θαυμάζω ὅτι ἀπαλλοτριωθῆναι θέλετε των γονέων ὑμῶν, οἵτινες ἐπελέξαντο ἑαυτοῖς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἐν τοῖς οὐ(ρα)νοῖς καὶ ἀπολαύουσι νῦν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ. Ὑπακούσατε οὖν μοι, τέκνα, κ(αὶ) πιστεύσατε τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ μου, εἰς ὃν κ(αὶ) οἱ γονεῖς ὑμῶν ἐπίστευσαν· καὶ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι ἀπέλθωμεν πρὸς Ἀριανὸν τὸν ἡγεμόνα κ(αὶ) ὁμολογήσατε Ἰ(ησοῦ)ν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν αἰώνων, ἵνα ὁμοθυμαδὸν παραγένησθε ἐν τοῖς οὐ(ρα)νοῖς πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον τῆς ἀληθείας, κ(αὶ) παιδευθῆτε τὴν ἀληθῆ παιδείαν.

23. She was carried off by the executioners, hung up and flogged. She was eighteen years old and very beautiful. The soldiers broke her ribs and her whole body became blood-stained. By her left side stood her mother, who encouraged her saying: 'Stand firm, daughter. A little longer and you will receive your prize. Know that I had arranged an unsurpassable dowry for you, such as no one in our city had arranged, wishing to give you to the best man of the city in marriage. But now, child, you will obtain the eternal and true inheritance. For your bridegroom, Jesus Christ, is immortal, to whom you go now for the heavenly bridal chamber'. When her mother had said these things, her father equally encouraged her saying: 'Be a man, daughter. For today I have realized that I have been deemed worthy of God. I am happy and glad that I am sending you as an offering to God for me'. While her parents were still saying these things, the soldiers who were flogging her reached her liver and she immediately gave up her spirit. With their own hands, her parents laid her in a tomb and coming before Arianus they insulted his gods. Angered, the governor ordered them to be beheaded. And so they fulfilled their martyrdom in Christ and entered heaven in glory.

24. By day, the holy Paphnutius wandered through the city looking for people who were going to the prize: by night he prayed. He left the city and found sixteen children going to school, who were the sons of the magistrates who had been martyred. The blessed Paphnutius went to them and greeted them, saying: 'Children, I wonder that you wish to be separated from your parents, who have chosen for themselves the kingdom of Christ, rule in heaven and now enjoy eternal life in the metropolis of the holy ones of God with his angels. Now listen to me, children, and trust in my God, in whom your parents also trusted. Guided by me, let us go to the governor Arianus and confess Jesus, the eternal king, in order that you arrive with one accord in heaven before the teacher of truth and be taught a true education'.

25. Παραχρῆμα δὲ ἐστερεώθη ἡ διάνοια τῶν νηπίων εἰς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ μακαρίου Παφνουτίου κ(αὶ) ἐπίστευσαν ὁμοῦ τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ λεγοντες αὐτῷ· Ἴωμεν, ἴωμεν, π(άτ)ερ Παφνούτιε, μηδὲν ἐμπόδιον γένηται τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ προθυμίᾳ· ἤδη γὰρ ἀπηλλοτριώθημεν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου· αἱ δὲ καρδίαι ἡμῶν παρεγένοντο ἐν τοῖς οὐ(ρα)νοῖς, ὅπου τὸ ἐφέστιον τῶν γονέων ἡμῶν. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παφνούτιος ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν προέδραμεν, ὥσπερ τις ποιμὴν προπομπευόμενος τοῦ ποιμνίου· καὶ φθάσας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἔκραξεν λέγων· Βῆμα, βῆμα, κατὰ σοῦ πάλιν ἦλθον· ὦ Ἀριανὲ τύραννε, σὺ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ μου Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ.

26. Ἀριανὸς δὲ ἐκέλευσεν τοῖς στρατιώταις σπάσασθαι ἑαυτῶν τὰ ξίφη κ(αὶ) περιτειχίσαι τὸν μακάριον Παφνούτιον· κ(αὶ) εὐθέως ἡρπάγη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ δεκαὲξ παῖδες ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα κράζοντες· Χριστιανοὶ ἐσμέν· ἰδοὺ παρρησίᾳ λέγομεν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριανὸς λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ γονεῖς ὑμῶν ἢ ὡς νήπιοι στρηνιᾶτε; Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ παῖδες· Ἰδὲ ἡλικίαν ἔχομεν ἀπολογήσασθαί σοι· ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν οἱ παῖδες τῶν μαρτυρησάντων κ(αὶ) ὄντων παρὰ τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ. Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ ἡγεμών· Θύσατε, ἵνα μὴ ἀφανισθῇ τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς βασάνοις. Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ παῖδες· Βασάνισον ἡμᾶς ὡς θέλεις· ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὐ θύομεν.

25. Immediately, the attention of the children was captured by the words of the blessed Paphnutius and together they believed in God saying to him: 'Let us go, let us go, father Paphnutius, and let no obstacle be in the way of our desire. For we have already been separated from this world. Our hearts are in heaven, where our parents have their home'. The blessed Paphnutius ran before them, like a shepherd going before his herd. When he reached the tribunal, he cried and said: 'Tribunal, tribunal, I have come to you again![546] Tyrant Arianus, you with your Apollo, and I with my Lord Jesus Christ!'

26. Arianus ordered the soldiers to draw their swords and surround the blessed Paphnutius. And he was immediately carried off by the Holy Spirit. When they saw this, the sixteen children climbed up the tribunal and shouted: 'We are Christians! We openly say so!' Arianus said to them: 'Where are your parents or why are children running riot?'[547] The children said to him: 'We are old enough to speak in defense against you. We are the children of those who have been martyred and are with God'. The governor said to them: 'Sacrifice, in order that your bodies may not be destroyed by tortures'. The children said to him: 'Torture us however you want, for we do not sacrifice'.

546 This is the third time Paphnutius brings newly converted Christians to court, after the magistrates in **13** and Nestorius' family in **21**.

547 A painful moment of dramatic irony when Arianus does not realize that the parents of the children are the magistrates he has sentenced to death in **14**.

27. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριανὸς ἀποβλέψας εἰς αὐτοὺς εἶδέν τινα νηπιώτατον αὐτῶν ὄντα ὡς ἐτῶν δεκατριῶν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Τέκνον, τί κερδαίνεις, ἐὰν ἀποθάνῃς κακῷ θανάτῳ; μᾶλλον ἐπάκουσόν μου, τέκνον μου, ἵνα ἔχω σε παρ' ἐμαυτῷ καὶ χαρίσωμαί σοι πάμπολλα χρήματα· καὶ γράψω τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ χαρίσονταί σοι ἀξίωμα· μόνον τοῖς δικαίοις θυσίασον θεοῖς, Ἀπόλλωνί τε κ(αὶ) τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, περὶ ὧν κ(αὶ) τὸ θεῖον κράτος γεγράφηκεν ὅτι οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ζῶντες θεοί. Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ παῖς· Ποῦ ἐστι τὸ πρόσταγμα τῶν βασιλέων τῶν οὕτω γραψάντων περὶ αὐτῶν; Ἀριανὸς δὲ ἐκέλευσεν τοῖς ἐκσκέπτωρσι κ(αὶ) ἤνεγκαν τὸ πρόσταγμα· οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς λαβόντες προσεκύνησαν αὐτό. Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀναστὰς κ(αὶ) ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸ δέδωκεν τῷ παιδί· ὁ δὲ παῖς λαβὼν καὶ ἀναγνοὺς τὸ πρόσταγμα εὗρεν ἑβδομήκοντα θεοὺς ἐγγεγραμμένους ἐν αὐτῷ, περὶ ὧν Διοκλητιανὸς γεγραφήκει τοῦ προσκυνεῖν κ(αὶ) σπένδειν αὐτοῖς. Ἐκέλευσεν δὲ ὁ Ἀριανὸς ἐκκαυθῆναι βωμὸν κ(αὶ) λαβὼν λίβανον ἔβαλεν εἰς τὸ πῦρ, ὡσαύτως δὲ κ(αὶ) οἱ λοιποί. Ὁ δὲ παῖς ἔβαλεν κ(αὶ) αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἀντὶ λιβάνου τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως κ(αὶ) εἶπεν· Εἷς ἐστι Θ(εὸ)ς ὁ π(ατ)ὴρ τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ· οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ προστάγματι τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐλεγχθήσονται.

28. Οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς θεασάμενοι τὸ βιβλίον τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν καιόμενον ἔτιλλον τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν καὶ κατέκοπτον ἑαυτοὺς μαχαίραις εἰς μανίαν τραπέντες. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριανὸς ἀγανακτήσας ἐκέλευσεν τὸν παῖδα ἀναβιβασθῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ καῆναι ζῶντα· ἁρπάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ καιομένου πυρός. Ἔκραζον δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ συνηλικιῶται παῖδες· Ἀδελφὲ κ(αὶ) συναθλητά, μνήσθητι ἡμῶν παρὰ τῷ ὑψίστῳ Θ(ε)ῷ· διὰ γὰρ τῆς φρονήσεώς σου ἀπαρχὴ ἡμῶν γέγονας τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ, προσαχθεὶς αὐτῷ θῦμα· κ(αὶ) ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐξεπλάγη ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ τολμῇ· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐξέστησαν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ φρονήσει. Ταῦτα αὐτῶν λεγόντων, ὁ παῖς ἀπέδωκεν τὸ πν(εῦμ)α αὐτοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ πυρός. ἦν δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀγανακτῶν διὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅτι ἑκάη, κ(αὶ) σημειωσάμενος τὰ ὀνόματα ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς λογχισθῆναι. Εὐθέως δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται περικυκλώσαντες αὐτοὺς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως κ(αὶ) ἐλόγχισαν τοὺς δεκαπέντε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Ἐτελειώθη δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ μαρτυρία καὶ ἐκληρονόμησαν κ(αὶ) αὐτοὶ τὴν ἄφθαρτον τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ βασιλείαν.

27. When Arianus looked at them, he saw that the youngest one of them was thirteen years old and said to him: 'Child, what will you gain if you die a bad death? Better listen to me, my child, in order that I may keep you with me and give you numerous possessions. I will write to the emperors and they will bestow honours on you. Just sacrifice to the just gods, Apollo and Artemis, about whom the divine power has also written that they are living gods'. The child said to him: 'Where is the edict of the emperors who have written in this manner about them?' Arianus ordered the secretaries and they brought the edict. The priests took and worshipped it. Likewise, the governor stood up, greeted it and gave it to the child. The child took the impious edict and found seventy gods written in it, about whom Diocletian had written that they should be worshipped and offered libations. Arianus ordered the altar to be inflamed and taking incense he threw it into the fire, and the rest did likewise. But instead of incense, the child himself threw the edict of the emperor into the fire and said: 'There is one God, the father of our Lord Jesus Christ! Those in the edict of the emperor will be refuted by the fire!'

28. When the priests saw the book of their idols burning, they tore the hairs out of their heads and, turned to madness, cut themselves with knives. Angry, Arianus ordered the child to be thrown on the altar and burnt alive. The soldiers carried him off and threw him in the middle of the burning fire. The children of the same age cried to him: 'Brother and fellow athlete, remember us before the highest God! For because of your wisdom you have become our first-fruit to God, offered as a sacrifice to him. Even the governor has been astonished by your courage. The pagans are amazed by your wisdom'. When they said these things, the child gave up his spirit in the middle of the fire. The governor was angry because the edict of the emperor had been burned. Having noted down their names, he ordered to pierce them with spears. Immediately, the soldiers surrounded them outside the city and pierced the fifteen on the same day. Their martyrdom was fulfilled and they inherited the eternal kingdom of God.

29. Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Παφνούτιος διεπορεύετο ἐρευνῶν ὡς ποιμὴν πρόβατα πεπλανημένα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. Ἐξελθὼν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ διαπορευόμενος ἕως τοῦ ὅρμου τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀποβλέψας εἶδεν ἀν(θρώπ)ους παρὰ τῷ ὅρμῳ, κ(αὶ) γὰρ πλείστη συνάθροισις ἦν ἐκεῖ ὡσεὶ ὀνομάτων ὀγδοήκοντα·[548] καὶ προσῆλθεν ὁ μακάριος Παφνούτιος πρὸς αὐτούς. Λέγουσιν δὲ οἱ ἄν(θρωπ)οι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· Ἀληθῶς οὗτός ἐστι Παφνούτιος, ὁ ἐπίσημος ἀναχωρητής. Καὶ παραχρῆμα θέντες τὰς ἑαυτῶν βακτηρίας ἔδραμον εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῦ· κ(αὶ) κλίναντες τὰς κεφαλὰς προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παφνούτιος εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς λέγων· Χαίρετε, τέκνα, νῦν ἐπιλέγομαι ἕκαστον ὑμῶν ἕως οὗ οἰκήσω τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν, ἤτοι τὸν οἶκον τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὸ σκήνωμα τῶν ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ ἀδελφῶν μου. Διὰ τί δὲ οὕτως ἀργῶς συνάγεσθε ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν; διὰ τί καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἤλθετε ἐργάσασθαι εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ μου; διὰ τί δὲ οὕτως ἀργεῖτε, τοῦ ἀγῶνος τελουμένου κ(αὶ) τοῦ βραβείου προκειμένου; ὑπακούσατέ μου καὶ πιστεύσατε τῷ Κ(υρί)ῳ μου Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ῷ, τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων κ(αὶ) σ(ωτῆ)ρι τῶν χριστιανῶν· κ(αὶ) ὁμολογήσατε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μίαν ὥραν καὶ χαρίζεται ὑμῖν τὴν αἰώνιον ζωήν, ἵνα ἔμπροσθεν ὑμῶν ἔλθωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀπαγάγωσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν ζώντων ἀθλητὰς ἀληθινοὺς γενομένους.

30. Ὅτε οὖν ἤκουσαν οἱ ἄν(θρωπ)οι παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Παφνουτίου ταῦτα, πλησθέντες Πν(εύματο)ς Ἁγίου ἐπίστευσαν παραχρῆμα κ(αὶ) ἔδραμον εἰς τὴν πόλιν· ἦσαν δὲ ὀνόματα ὀγδοήκοντα ὅλοι ἁλιεῖς Ἀριανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ἑτοιμάζοντες αὐτῷ τὴν τροφὴν τῆς τραπέζης. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παφνούτιος δραμὼν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ βῆμα κράζων· Βῆμα, βῆμα, κατὰ σοῦ πάλιν ἦλθον· ὦ Ἀριανέ, σὺ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ μου Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ. Ἀριανὸς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐκέλευσεν τοῖς στρατιώταις περικυκλῶσαι αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται κρατήσαντες αὐτὸν ἐδέσμευσαν.

548 περὶ τῶν π' ἁλιέων, 'about the eighty fishermen', is written in the lower left corner of this page.

29. The holy Paphnutius walked along, searching like a shepherd for sheep wandering in the desert. Leaving the city and travelling to the habour of the river, he looked and saw people by the harbour, for there was a very large gathering of about eighty people there. The blessed Paphunutius approached them. The people said to each other: 'Truly, it is Paphnutius, the famous anchorite'. And they immediately put down their staffs and ran to meet him. Bowing their heads, they paid homage to him. The blessed Paphnutius blessed them and said: 'Greetings, children, now I choose each of you until I will settle in the holy city, that is, the house of our father in heaven and the temple of my brothers in Christ. Why do you spend your whole day so idly? Why do you not go to work in the vineyard of my Lord, too? Why are you not doing anything in this manner, even if the contest is being completed and the price lies before you? Listen to me and trust in my Lord Jesus Christ, the eternal king and saviour of the Christians. Confess his name for a single hour and he will give you eternal life, in order that the angels of light may go before you and lead you to the land of the living as true champions'.

30. When the people heard these things from the blessed Paphnutius, filled with the holy spirit, they believed immediately and ran to the city. All eighty people were fishermen of the governor Arianus, who prepared for him the food of his table. The blessed Papnuthius, running before them, climbed up the tribunal and shouted: 'Tribunal, tribunal, I have come to you yet again![549] Arianus, you with your Apollo, and I with my Lord Jesus Christ!' The governor Arianus ordered the soldiers to surround him. The soldiers seized him and they tied him up.

549 After Paphnutius has brought the forty magistrates to court in **13**, Nestorius and his family in **21** and the children of the magistrates in **25**, he now comes to the tribunal for the fourth time.

31. Οἱ δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα ἄνδρες ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ὥσπερ λέοντες πηδῶντες ἐν δρυμῷ κ(αὶ) ἔκραζον παρρησίᾳ λέγοντες· Χριστιανοί ἐσμεν κ(αὶ) ἡμεῖς. Ἀριανὸς ὁ ἡγεμὼν λέγει αὐτοῖς· Τίς ἐξηπάτησεν ὑμᾶς ἵνα κακῶς ἀποθάνητε; Λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν μιᾷ φωνῇ· Ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐληλύθαμεν ἐνταῦθα ἀσχήμονά σε καταστῆσαι. Ἀριανὸς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ὦ κακοῦργοι, καλῶς ὑμῖν ὁμιλῶ καὶ ἀτιμάζετέ με. Κ(αὶ) ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς μαστιγωθῆναι. Ὁμοθυμαδὸν δὲ οἱ ὀγδοήκοντα ἄνδρες προσελθόντες κατέστρεψαν τὸν θρόνον τοῦ ἡγεμόνος· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται σπασάμενοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν σπάθας ἔπληξαν τοὺς ἀν(θρώπ)ους· κ(αὶ) εὐθέως ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν εἰς κόλασιν αὐτοὺς παραδοθῆναι· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τῆς ἀδικίας ἤλασαν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἔρημον τόπον κ(αὶ) κατέκοψαν αὐτοὺς τοῖς πέλυξιν· καὶ οὕτως καὶ τούτων ἐτελειώθη ἡ μαρτυρία κ(αὶ) ἀπέλαβον τὸν στέφανον τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ Ἰ(ησο)ῦ τῷ Κ(υρί)ῳ ἡμῶν· ἀμήν.

32. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριανὸς προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν μακάριον Παφνούτιον ἔφη αὐτῷ· Ἀποστάτα καὶ φάρμακε, ἰδοὺ πάντες τοὺς ἑστῶτας ποιῶ γνῶναι ἄρτι ὅτι οὐ ῥύσεταί σε ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ὃν ὀνομάζεις. Καὶ εὐθέως ἐκέλευσεν ἀναβιβασθῆναι τὸν ἅγιον Παφνούτιον εἰς σιδηρὸν[550] τροχόν· ὁ δὲ τροχὸς οὕτω κατεσκευασμένος ἦν ὡς τεκτονικὸς πρίων, ὑπεράνω μὲν ξίφους στόμα ἔχων, ὑποκάτω δὲ πρίονος. Μεγάλως δὲ πιασθεὶς ἐν τῷ τροχῷ ὁ ἅγιος Παφνούτιος εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη διερράγη. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριανὸς ἰδὼν ὕψωσεν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· Ποῦ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς Παφνουτίου; διὰ τί οὐκ ἦλθεν, ἵνα ῥύσεται[551] αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου; ἐγνώκατε κἂν νῦν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος θ(εὸ)ς εἰ μὴ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἄρτεμις καὶ Ἀθηνά· οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ζῶντες, οἵτινες ἐνεχείρισαν τὸ κράτος τῷ βασιλεῖ. Κ(αὶ) ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἀσεβέστατος τεθῆναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μακαρίου Παφνουτίου ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς πόλεως, ὑπολαμβάνων τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ ἔρχεσθαι καὶ κατέδεσθαι αὐτοῦ τὰς σάρκας. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τὰ κελευόμενα ἐποίησαν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀριανὸς ἀνέστη ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ πραιτώριον αὐτοῦ· ἤδη γὰρ ὥρα ἦν τοῦ ἀρίστου.

550 Read σιδηροῦ.

551 Read ῥύσηται.

31. The eighty men climbed up the tribunal like lions leaping in a thicket[552] and shouting openly they said: 'We are Christians too!' The governor Arianus said to them: 'Who has deceived you in order to let you die badly?' The men told him in a single voice: 'We have come here of one accord to put you to shame'. The governor Arianus said to them: 'Criminals, I address you kindly and you dishonour me'. And he ordered them to be flogged. Of one accord, the eighty men came forward and turned the throne of the governor upside down. The soldiers, drawing their swords, struck the men. Immediately, the governor ordered to give them retribution. The soldiers of injustice took them to a deserted place and cut them in pieces with axes. Thus the martyrdom of these men was completed and they received the crown of immortality in Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

32. When Arianus had summoned the blessed Paphnutius, he said to him: 'Apostate and magician, I will let all those people standing here know right now that the Jesus you mention will not protect you against my arms!' Immediately, he ordered to put the holy Paphnutius on an iron wheel. The wheel was built like a carpenter's saw, with above a sword-shaped blade and below a saw-blade. Heavily pressed against the wheel, the holy Paphnutius was cut in four pieces. Arianus, seeing this, raised his voice and said: 'Where is Jesus, the god of Paphnutius? Why has he not come to protect him against my arms? At least now you know that there is no other god but Apollo, Zeus, Artemis and Athena! They are the living ones, who have entrusted the power to the emperor!' And the most impious one ordered to put the body of the blessed Paphnutius on the roof of the city's temple, assuming that birds from heaven would come and eat his flesh. The soldiers did as they were ordered. Arianus stood up from the tribunal and went to his *praetorium*, for it was dinnertime.

552 Cf. Jer. 12:8.

33. Τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ μακαρίου Παφνουτίου ἔκειτο ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οὐδὲ ἓν τῶν πετεινῶν ἤγγιζεν αὐτῷ· ἄγγελος γὰρ Κ(υρίο)υ περιεκάλυπτεν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἁγίου Παφνουτίου· καὶ ἰδοὺ καὶ ὁ Κ(ύριο)ς κατῆλθεν μετὰ τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων, ἔχων ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν Μιχαὴλ καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων τὸν Γαβριὴλ καὶ συνεκόλλησεν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀνέπλασεν λέγων· Ἔπλασα τῇ χειρί μου τὸν πρῶτον ἄν(θρωπ)ον· αὕτη πάλιν ἀναπλάττει σε νῦν τὸν ἔκλεκτόν μοῦ. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ σ(ωτ)ὴρ ἐνεφύσησεν αὐτῷ κ(αὶ) ἦλθεν πάλιν ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνέπλησεν αὐτὸν· ὁ σ(ωτ)ὴρ πν(εῦμ)α δυνάμεως κ(αὶ) ἔζησεν. Ἀσπασάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κ(ύριο)ς λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἄπελθε, ἔλεγξον τὸν ἀναίσχυντον ἡγεμόνα, ὅστις τὸ ὄνομά μου ὀνειδίζει. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν αὐτῷ ὁ Κ(ύριο)ς ἀνῆλθεν ἐν τοῖς οὐ(ρα)νοῖς, χαλάσας τὸν δίκαιον διὰ νεφέλης φωτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

34. Καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ μακάριος Παφνούτιος περιβεβλημένος τὴν νεφέλην δίκην ἐνδύματος καὶ ἐζήτησεν τὸν Ἀριανὸν καὶ κατέλαβεν αὐτὸν δικάζοντα ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ ἱεροσύλους ἄνδρας κ(αὶ) παραχρῆμα ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ἔκραξεν λέγων· Ἐγώ εἰμι Παφνούτιος, ὁ ὑπὸ σοῦ κατακοπείς· διὰ τί ὀνειδίζεις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ μου καὶ ὑβρίζεις τὸν τὰ σύμπαντα κτίσαντα; ἰδοὺ ὁ Κ(ύριό)ς μου Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς ἀνέπλασέν με καὶ ἀπέστειλέν με ἵνα σε ἐλέγξω ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφροσύνῃ σου, κ(αὶ) πεῖσαι τοὺς ἐνταῦθα γνῶναί σε θνητὸν εἶναι κ(αὶ) λατρεύοντα νεκροῖς εἰδώλοις.

35. Εὐσέβιος[553] δὲ ὁ πρεπώσιτος, ἰδὼν τὸν μακάριον Παφνούτιον ἐγερθέντα ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἐπίστευσεν τῷ Κ(υρί)ῳ σὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις αὐτοὺ κ(αὶ) ἀδνούμιον ποιήσας τῶν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιωτῶν εὗρεν ὀνόματα τετρακόσια· καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Ἀδελφοί, ὁμοφρονήσατέ μοι κ(αὶ) ὑπακούσαντές μου ὁμολογήσατε τὸν Χ(ριστό)ν, ἵνα γένησθε στρατιῶται αὐτῷ δεδωκότι ζωὴν Παφνουτίῳ δευτέραν, κ(αὶ) πέμψαντι αὐτὸν ἐλέγξαι Ἀριανὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πλάνῃ τῶν εἰδώλων, ἵνα πάντες πιστεύσωσιν τῷ Χ(ριστ)ῷ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος θ(εὸ)ς μὴ εἷς, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐ(ρα)νοῖς, ἵνα, ὡς ἐγὼ ἀδνούμιον ὑμῶν ἐποίησα, οὕτω καὶ Κ(ύριο)ς ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων ἡμῖν ποιήσει ἐν τοῖς οὐ(ρα)νοῖς σὺν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ ἅπασιν. Κ(αὶ) εἰπὼν ταῦτα Εὐσέβιος ὁ πραιπώσιτος ἔστη ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Ἀριανοῦ κράζων παρρησίᾳ· Χριστιανός εἰμι. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ οἱ τετρακόσιοι ἔκραξαν μιᾷ φωνῇ λέγοντες· Χριστιανοί ἐσμεν, ἰδοὺ παρρησίᾳ λέγομεν.

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553 Περὶ Εὐσεβίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ υ' ἀνδρῶν 'about Eusebius and the four hundred men with him', has been written in the margins.

33. The body of the blessed Paphnutius lay on the roof of the temple and not one of the birds approached him, for an angel of the Lord covered the body of the holy Paphnutius. And the Lord came with the archangels, with Michael on his righthand side and Gabriel on his lefthand side, and he glued his body together and restored it, saying: 'I have formed the first man with my hand. Now it (this hand) has remodelled you again, my chosen one'. While the Saviour said these things, he breathed upon him and his soul came back to him again. The saviour filled his spirit with power and he came to life. When he had greeted him, the Lord said to him: 'Go, put the impudent governor, who reproaches my name, to shame'. When the Lord had said these things to him, he went back to heaven, letting the righteous one down to earth through a cloud of light.

34. The blessed Paphnutius went down, surrounded by the cloud as a garment. He searched for Arianus and found him giving judgement in the street to temple-plunderers.[554] Immediately, he came before him, shouted and said: 'I am Paphnutius, who was cut to pieces by you. Why do you reproach the name of my God and insult the creator of all? My Lord Jesus Christ has remodelled me and sent me to you, in order for me to put you to shame in your folly and persuade those here to know that you are mortal and venerate dead idols'.

35. When the *praepositus* Eusebius saw that the blessed Paphnutius had arisen from the dead, believed in the Lord with his soldiers. After he had made a list of his soldiers, he found that there were four hundred. He said to them: 'Brothers, be of the same mind as I, obey me and confess Christ, in order that you may become soldiers for him who has given Paphnutius a second life and has sent him to put Arianus to shame with respect to the error of the idols, in order that all may believe in Christ, that there is no other God but this one, who is in heaven, in order that, just as I have made a list of you, so our Lord Jesus Christ, the eternal king, will make one (a list) for us in heaven with all his saints'. When he had said these things, Eusebius the *praepositus* stood before Arianus and shouted openly: 'I am a Christian!' Likewise, his four hundred soldiers shouted in a single voice and said: 'We are Christians, we say so openly!'

554 Cf. **21**, where Arianus tells Nestorius that his tribunal is meant for robbers and plunderers.

36. Ἀριανὸς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν λέγει αὐτῷ· Εὐσέβιε, ἐξουσίαν εἰς σὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἐγώ. Ἄπελθε πρὸς τὸν δοῦκα, ἵνα σὲ κρίνῃ ἐκεῖνος. Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Εὐσέβιος· Πάντων δέδοταί σοι ἐξουσία. Ἀπεκρίθη Ἀριανός· Οὔτε ὅλως ἐγὼ ζητῶ Χριστιανοῖς ἀμύνασθαι. Εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ Εὐσέβιος· Ὁμολόγησον οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν θ(εὸ)ς ἕτερος εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐ(ρα)νοῖς καὶ ἄρνησαι τὰ χειροποίητα, ὅτι οὐδέν εἰσιν. Λέγει αὐτῷ Ἀριανός· Μὴ γένοιτο· ζῶντες γάρ εἰσιν οἱ θεοὶ Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις.

37. Εὐσέβιος δὲ ὁ πραιπώσιτος λαβὼν κόνιν κ(αὶ) ἐμπλήσας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἔρριψεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ λέγων· Τέλεσον οὖν τὰ ἔργα τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ός) σου τοῦ διαβόλου. Ἀριανὸς οὖν ἀγανακτήσας ἐκέλευσεν σφραγγελωθῆναι αὐτὸν λέγων· Εὐσέβιε, οὐκ ἀποκτενῶ σε ταχέως, ἀλλὰ βασανίσω σε κατ' ὀλίγον καὶ ὑπὸ βασάνων σε τιμωρούμενον ἐάσω, ἕως οὗ ἀκούσει ὁ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανός, ὅτι ἠτίμασάς μου τὸ δικαστήριον. Ἀπεκρίθη Εὐσέβιος καὶ εἶπεν· Μὰ τὸ κράτος τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ μου Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ, οὐ παρέρχεται ἡ σήμερον ἡμέρα, ἐὰν μὴ φάγω ἐκ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ· σὺ δὲ οὐ δυνήσῃ φαγεῖν ἢ πίειν, ἐὰν μή μοι δώσῃς τὴν ἀπόφασιν.

38. Ἀριανὸς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐκέλευσεν τὸ ἅρμα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἴδιον ἐλασθῆναι ἵνα ἐπιβῇ ἐπ'αὐτῷ· κ(αὶ) εὐθέως ἐκολλήθησαν οἱ πόδες τῶν ζῴων τῇ γῇ ἐπιβάντος αὐτοῦ τῷ ἅρματι. Βουλόμενος δὲ πάλιν καταβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἅρματος Ἀριανὸς κατεσχέθη· ἐκέλευσεν δὲ κατὰ τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἐνεχθῆναι αὐτῷ πινάκιον μεστὸν ἐδεσμάτων, ἵνα φάγῃ, κ(αὶ) μετὰ σπουδῆς δραμὼν ὁ μάγειρος αὐτοῦ κατήρτισεν αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν κ(αὶ) ἤνεγκεν αὐτῷ φαγεῖν· καὶ ἐκτείνας αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα εἰς τὸ πινάκιον ἐπεσχέθη ὅπως μὴ δυνηθῇ ἐνέγκαι τὴν χεῖρα εἰς τὸ στόμα ἑαυτοῦ. Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ συγκάθεδρος αὐτοῦ· Δέσποτα, μὴ μείνωμεν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ πόλις πᾶσα κατελύθη διὰ τὰς μαγείας Παφνουτίου.

39. Ἀναστὰς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀγανακτήσας ἐκέλευσεν ἐνεχθῆναι τὸν Εὐσέβιον σὺν τοῖς τετρακοσίοις στρατιώταις καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ζῶντας καῆναι· ἤλασαν δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατιῶται τῆς ἀδικίας ἔξω τῆς πόλεως κ(αὶ) ὤρυξαν τέσσαρας βοθύνους καὶ ἐμπλήσαντες πυρὸς κατέκαυσαν ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἁγίους μάρτυρας· κ(αὶ) οὕτως ἐτελειώθη αὐτῶν ἡ μαρτυρία. Οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι ἀνέλαβον αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ ἀπειλήφασιν οἱ ἅγιοι τὸ αἰώνιον βραβεῖον.

36. The governor Arianus said to him: 'Eusebius, I have no power over you. Go to the *dux*, in order that he might judge you'. Eusebius said to him: 'Power over all has been given to you'. Arianus answered: 'I do not at all seek to take vengeance on Christians'. Eusebius said to him: 'Then confess that there is no other God but the one who is in heaven and deny the artificial ones, because they do not exist'. Arianus said to him: 'It shall not happen! For the living gods are Apollo and Artemis'.[555]

37. When the *praepositus* Eusebius had taken some dust and filled his hand with it, he threw it in his face and said: 'Finish, then, the deeds of your father the Devil'. Angry, Arianus ordered to beat him, saying: 'Eusebius, I will not kill you quickly, but I will torture you slowly and will let you be punished by tortures, until the Emperor Diocletian will hear that you have dishonoured my court'. Eusebius answered and said: 'By the power of the king, my Lord Jesus Christ, the present day does not pass before I eat at the table of the Lord. But you will not be able to eat or drink, if you do not pass sentence on me'.

38. The governor Arianus ordered his own chariot to be brought, in order that he might mount upon it. Immediately, the feet of the animals were glued to the ground as he climbed into the chariot. Wanting to get off the chariot again, Arianus was held down. In accordance with the hardness of his heart, he ordered to bring to him a small plate of food, in order that he might eat. Running hastily, his cook fulfilled the service for him and brought it for him to eat. But when he strechted out his arm to the plate, he was held back so that he could not bring his hand to his mouth. His adviser said to him: 'Master, do not let us stay in this city. For look, the whole city has been destroyed by the magical tricks of Paphnutius'.

39. Angry, the governor stood up and ordered to bring Eusebius and the four hundred soldiers to him and burn them all alive. The soldiers of injustice drove them out of the city and dug four holes. After they had filled them with fire, they burned the holy martyrs there. And their martyrdom was fulfilled. The angels took their souls up to heaven and the saints received the eternal prize.

555 In this passage, the roles have been reverted. Instead of the governor ordering Christians to sacrifice, like the scene in **6**, the Christian Eusebius now orders the governor to confess Christ.

40. Ἀριανὸς δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπενέγκας μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν μακάριον Παφνούτιον· καὶ ἐνέβη εἰς τὸ λουσώριον ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ κ(αὶ) ἐκέλευσεν ἐνεχθῆναι μύλον καὶ δεθῆναι εἰς τὸν τράχηλον τοῦ μακαρίου Παφνουτίου κ(αὶ) βληθῆναι μέσον τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Παφνούτιος βληθεὶς εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀνέπλευσεν σὺν τῷ μύλῳ ἐπάνω τοῦ ποταμοῦ κ(αὶ) οὕτως ἐκάθητο ἐπάνω τοῦ λίθου ὡς ἐπάνω πλοίου φερόμενος.

41. ἐφύσησεν δὲ ἄνεμος σφοδρὸς ἐπὶ τὸ λουσώριον Ἀριανοῦ κ(αὶ) περιεφέρετο. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παφνούτιος ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ γενόμενος λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἀριανέ, Ἀριανέ, τὸ λουσώριόν σου ἀνέμων κ(αὶ) ναυτῶν κ(αὶ) κυβερνητῶν δεῖται· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδενὸς τούτων χρείαν ἔχω· ὁ γαρ κυβερνήτης μού ἐστι Χ(ριστό)ς· σὺ εἴωθας ἔμπροσθέν σου μητάτορας ἀποστέλλειν καὶ καταρτίζειν σοὶ πόλεις· ἐγὼ δέ προπορεύομαι καταρτίζειν τῷ Κ(υρί)ῳ μου Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ῷ ψυχὰς εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν αὐτοῦ παλάτιον. Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ συγκάθεδρος αὐτοῦ· Δέσποτα, μὴ ἐάσωμεν τὸν ἄν(θρωπ)ον τοῦτον παρακολουθεῖν ἡμῖν, εἰ δὲ μή γε καταδύσει τὰς πόλεις ταῖς μαγείαις αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριανὸς ἐκέλευσεν τοῖς κυβερνήταις σὺν ὅλοις τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ πλοίοις προσορμίζεσθαι τὸ λουσώριον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· κ(αὶ) γράψας τὰ ὑπομνήματα τοῦ μακαρίου Παφνουτίου παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν στρατιώταις τέσσαρσιν ἀποφέρειν πρὸς Διοκλητιανὸν τὸν βασιλέα, ὥστε ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν ἐξέτασιν αὐτοῦ.

42. Διὰ δὲ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἐπέστησαν πρὸς Διοκλητιανὸν τὸν βασιλέα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐπέδωκαν αὐτῷ τὰ γράμματα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος Ἀριανοῦ· κ(αὶ) ἀναγνοὺς τὰ ὑπομνήματα τοῦ μακαρίου Παφνουτίου συντόμως ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν εἰς φοίνικα σταυρωθῆναι. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν εἰς φοίνικα ἔξω τῆς πόλεως. Σταυρούμενος δὲ ηὐλόγει τὸν Θ(εὸ)ν τὸν δείξαντα δυνάμεις τοσαύτας διὰ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παφνούτιος ἐτέλεσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν μαρτυρίαν σταυρωθεὶς ἀπὸ δευτέρας ὥρας καὶ ἔμεινεν ἕως ὥρας ἑνάτης κ(αὶ) παρέδωκεν τὸ πν(εῦμ)α αὐτοῦ ἐνδόξως, ἀνελθὼν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ ἀπολαβὼν τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς. Τὸ δὲ σῶμα αὐτοῦ καθελόντες οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπὸ τῆς φοινικέας κατέθεντο ὑπὸ γῆν τῇ εἰκάδι τοῦ Φαρμουθὶ μηνός· καὶ ἐπίστευσαν κ(αὶ) αὐτοὶ τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ.

40. The governor Arianus left that city on the same day, bringing the blessed Paphnutius with him. He went on board his ship at the river, ordered to bring a millstone, bind it around the neck of the blessed Paphnutius and throw (him) in middle of the river. When the holy Paphnutius had been thrown into the river, he sailed with the millstone on the river. And so he sat on the stone as if carried on a boat.

41. The wind blew vehemently against the ship of Arianus and it was tossed around. The blessed Paphnutius, coming near to him, said to him: 'Arianus, Arianus, your ship needs wind, sailors and captains. I do not need any of them, for my captain is Christ. You are used to sending land surveyors before you and restore cities for you. I go ahead with restoring souls for my Lord Jesus Christ to his royal palace. His advisor said to him: 'Master, let us not allow this man to follow us, so that he does not make the cities sink with his magical tricks'. Arianus ordered the captains with all their boats he had with him to anchor his ship on land. When he had written down the public records of the blessed Paphnutius, he handed him over to four soldiers to take him to the Emperor Diocletian, so that his examination might take place before him.

42. After many days, they stood before the Emperor Diocletian. The soldiers handed the letter of the governor Arianus over to him. When he had read out loud the public records of the blessed Paphnutius, he immediately ordered him to be crucified on a palmtree. The soldiers of the emperor crucified him on a palmtree outside the city. As he was crucified, he praised God, who had performed such miracles through his saints. The blessed Paphnutius completed his martyrdom after two hours on the cross. And he stayed until the ninth hour and gave his soul gloriously, ascending to heaven and receiving the prize of eternal life. The soldiers took his body from the palmtree and placed it into the earth on the twentieth day of the month Pharmouti (15 April). And they too believed in God.

43. Κ(αὶ) μετὰ τὸ ἀσφαλίσασθαι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μακαρίου Παφνουτίου παραχρῆμα κατέλαβον Διοκλητιανὸν τὸν βασιλέα πρὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀναχωρῆσαι κ(αὶ) ὡμολόγησαν τὸν Κ(ύριο)ν Ἰ(ησοῦ)ν Χ(ριστό)ν, τὰ δὲ εἴδωλα Διοκλητιανοῦ ἐνύβρισαν. Ἀγανακτήσας δὲ ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀποκεφαλισθῆναι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ· καὶ οὕτως κ(αὶ) αὐτοὶ ἐτέλεσαν αὐτῶν τὴν μαρτυρίαν διὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ. Ὅσοι δὲ ἔλαβον τὸ βραβεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Παφνουτίου εἰσὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ πεντακόσιοι τεσσαράκοντα ἓξ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, οἵτινες ἐκληρονόμησαν τὴν ἄφθαρτον τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ βασιλείαν ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ Ἰ(ησο)ῦ τῷ Κ(υρί)ῳ ἡμῶν· ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος κ(αὶ) προσκύνησις σὺν τῷ Π(ατ)ρὶ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πν(εύματ)ι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

43. When the body of the blessed Paphnutius had been secured, they immediately caught up on the Emperor Diocletian before he left. They confessed the Lord Jesus Christ and insulted the idols of Diocletian. Angry, Diocletian ordered them to be beheaded at that very hour. And so they fulfilled their martyrdom through the confession of Christ. Those who had received their price through the blessed Paphnutius amount to a total of 546 men and women, who inherited the eternal kingdom of God in Christ Jesus, our Lord.[556] For the glory, the strength and the honour befit him, as well as the Father and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

556 I.e. the soldiers Dionysius and Callimachus in **9**, the forty magistrates in **15**, Nestorius, his wife, and his daughter Stephani in **23**, the sixteen children of the magistrates in **28**, the eighty fishermen in **31**, the *praepositus* Eusebius and his four hundred soldiers in **39**, and the four soldiers who had handed Paphnutius over to Diocletian in **43**.

Appendix 2. The Bohairic *Passion of Paphnutius*

Introduction

The Bohairic text of the *Passion of Paphnutius* that follows is based on the edition of Giuseppe Balestri and Henry Hyvernat published in 1907/1908.[557] Similar to the Greek version of the *Passion of Paphnutius* in the first appendix, this up-dated version follows the *sigla* of the so-called Leiden system. Punctuation and paragraph numbers have been added. The paragraph division of the first edition has been maintained, with the exception of paragraphs **1-2**, **6-7**, and **7-8**: according to the logic of the story, the concluding sentences of paragraph **1** and **7** have been moved to the beginning of paragraph **2** and **8** respectively and paragraph **6** combines two paragraphs of the first edition into one. As the text is fairly consistent in the use of supralinear strokes, they are included in the edition where they appear in the manuscript. However, strokes on vowels have been omitted.

The Coptic text parallels the Greek so that the two versions can be easily compared. Furthermore, rather than giving an extensive commentary, which would exceed the scope of this study, I have chosen to provide footnotes where passages are ambiguous and where my translation differs from the one in Latin by Balestri and Hyvernat.

557 Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I*, 1.110-9, with a Latin translation at 2.72-7. The following pages owe much to the participants of the Coptic study group at Ottawa in the fall of 2017, during which the *Passion of Paphnutius* was read.

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Text

ⲧⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲱⲓϫ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡϫ̿ⲥ̿ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲕⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩ ⲕ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲃⲟⲧ ϥⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲑⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲍⲓⲣϩⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫ̿ϯ̿ ⲁⲙϩⲛ.

1. ⲛⲍⲣϩⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲇⲓⲟⲕⲗϩⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲍϩⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲉϥⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲛⲓϫⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲉⲣⲱⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲓⲇⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲉⲟⲩⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲱⲣⲓ. ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲇϫⲱⲣⲓⲑⲏⲥ ⲡⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩϯ. ⲉⲁⲩⲱⲱⲡⲓ ⲉⲩϧⲓⲣⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧϫⲱⲣⲁ ⲑⲏⲣⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲑⲙⲏⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲑⲟⲩⲓⲧ ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲍϩⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲑⲏⲅⲟⲣⲓⲛ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲙⲁⲱⲱ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉϥⲧⲱⲱⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲉϥⲧⲁⲥⲑⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲇⲓⲁⲧⲁⲅⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ. ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϫⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲙⲁⲱⲱ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣⲭⲟⲥ ⲍⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲱϫⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲛϥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉϥⲥⲟⲛⲍ.

2. ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁϥⲥⲱⲟⲩ᾽ⲛ᾽ ⲛ̄ⲍⲗⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲁϫⲓ. ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲫⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲣⲡ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲕⲁⲍⲥ ⲛⲁϥⲥⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲍⲗⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲛⲍϥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ ⲙⲓϫⲁϩⲗ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ϫⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲡⲓⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡϫ̿ⲥ̿. ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲍⲱϥ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲓⲉ ⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ ϫⲉⲣϫⲉⲣⲉ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲕϩⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲕⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲉⲧⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲱⲓ ⲛⲉⲙϩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲑⲣⲉⲕϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲗⲱⲃⲱ. ⲙⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲣⲓ ⲙⲟⲣⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲕⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲙⲟⲓ ⲍⲓⲱⲧⲕ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲍⲃⲱⲥ[558] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲥⲩⲛⲁϫⲓⲥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲑⲣⲓⲑⲁϩⲙⲉⲕ ⲉϥⲙⲁⲛⲱⲉⲗⲉⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲟ̿ⲥ̿ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ ⲍⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲫⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲟ̿ⲥ̿. ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲩⲉⲣⲕⲁⲑⲏⲅⲟⲣⲓⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲉ ⲡⲓⲍϩⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ ⲟⲩϫⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ. ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲍϩⲡⲡⲉ ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲁⲍⲥⲁⲍⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲉⲃⲣⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲱⲱⲣⲡ. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϫⲉⲙⲛⲟⲙϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣⲍⲟϯ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲙⲓϫⲁϩⲗ ⲡⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ϥⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲱⲱⲡ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲕⲓⲟϯ. ϯⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲕ ⲍⲱⲕ. ⲡ̿ⲟ̿ⲥ̿ ⲛⲁϯⲭⲟⲙ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲕϯⲱⲓⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉϥⲕⲉⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ ⲛ̄ϫⲓϫ̄.

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558 Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I*, 1.110 read ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲍⲃⲱⲥ. However, the plural is not necessary.

Translation

The martyrdom of the martyred athlete of Christ, the holy Abba Paphnutius, who completed it on the twentieth day of the month Pharmouthi (15 April), in the peace of God, amen.

1. In the reign of Diocletian, when Arianus was governor and when he was searching for the Christians to make them sacrifice to the idols, they arrived in a city called Dendara. There was an anchorite in that place,[559] whose name was Apa Paphnutius. And when it had happened, as it was proclaimed in the entire country that he was a righteous man, that they accused him before the governor Arianus, they brought serious charges against him and said that he despised the gods and rejected the edicts of the rulers. Arianus became very angry with him and ordered two centurions to go early in the morning and bring him bound to him.

2. But Apa Paphnutius knew nothing about these affairs. And while he spent the early morning according to his custom, he knew nothing.[560] The archangel Michael[561] revealed himself to him and said to him: 'Greetings, Paphnutius, warrior of Christ'. Apa Paphnutius, in his turn, greeted him: 'Greetings, greetings'. The angel said to him: 'Walk with me and I will give your house, which you are building from childhood, its gable.[562] Go into your cell, bind your girdle and put on your garment of the Eucharist. For I have come today to invite you to the marriage of your Lord in this place, in order that you may stay among the number of your Lord. For they have already pressed charges against you before the governor Arianus, because you are a Christian. He has commanded eighty soldiers to come after you early in the morning.[563] But be comforted and do not be afraid, for I am the Archangel Michael, who was with your fathers. I will be with you too. The Lord will give you strength, until you have put Arianus to shame as well as his other handmade things'.[564]

559 Note the subtle difference with **1** in the Greek version, where Paphnutius is specifically said to be in the desert.

560 Cf. **2** in the Greek version, where Paphnutius spends not the early morning but the night according to his custom, namely wandering around in the desert.

561 Cf. **2** in the Greek version, where the angel remains unidentified.

562 Note the double meaning of ⲗⲱⲃϣ as both 'gable' and '(martyr's) crown'.

563 Cf. **2** in the Greek version, where Arianus sends two centurions –accompanied by two hundred soldiers (**4**) – to arrest Paphnutius. The eighty soldiers mentioned here might be a corruption in the Coptic text.

564 I.e. idols. Note that this sentence appears literally in the Greek version (**8**). See also **35**.

3. ογοϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲭⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϥⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁϥϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲣⲓ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲣϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲁⲕⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥϯⲥⲓⲱⲧϥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥϩⲱ ⲥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲱⲉⲙⲱⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲫⲟⲣⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲗⲉⲛⲧⲓⲟⲛ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲙⲟⲱⲓ ⲉϥⲣⲁⲱⲓ ⲙ̄ϥⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲉϥⲛⲁⲱⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲟⲩⲇⲓⲡⲛⲟⲛ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲁϥⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲉϥⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲛⲓⲙⲩⲥⲧⲉⲣⲓⲟ<ⲛ> ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧϥⲉ ⲱⲁⲧⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲫⲓⲁⲣⲟ. ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲓ ⲉⲃ̀ⲟ́ⲗ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲛⲉⲙⲡⲱ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲙⲏϫⲁⲏⲗ ⲧⲁⲙⲟϥ ⲉϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲑⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲁϥⲱⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲡⲱⲱⲓ ⲉⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲃⲁⲗ ⲓⲟⲣⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ.

4. ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲡⲱⲱⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲗⲟⲍⲱⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲑⲣⲟⲩⲥⲉⲙⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲍⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲛⲉⲙⲡⲱ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁⲩⲛϩⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̄ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲧϩⲣⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲍⲓ ⲡⲓϫⲣⲟ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥϫⲁ ⲕⲉⲍⲗⲓ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲡⲍⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϥⲛⲟⲩϯ. ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲡⲓⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟⲣⲡⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ. ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲓⲣⲓ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲍⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ.

5. ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϥⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥⲙⲟⲱⲓ ⲍⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲛⲉⲙⲡⲱ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲟⲩⲓ. ⲁϥⲱⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲱⲁ ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁϥⲛⲟⲩϯ ϥⲏ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲕⲱϯ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ. ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣϯϧⲓⲥⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲱⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲕⲱϯ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϫⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕϥⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ. ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϕϯ ⲉⲩⲑⲱⲟⲩϯ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ⲉϯⲙⲉⲧⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ. ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲥⲟⲙⲥ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲍⲣⲁϥ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁϥⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲁⲧⲏⲥ ϥⲏ ⲉⲃⲱϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ; ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ϫⲉ ⲁⲍⲁ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲑⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓϧⲉ ⲧϩⲣⲥ; ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϥⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲁⲑⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲱⲉⲙⲱⲓ ⲙ̄ϕϯ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲁⲙⲉⲧⲁⲗⲟⲩ. ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ϧⲁ ⲛⲓⲍⲉⲗⲗⲏⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲍⲁⲛⲙⲏⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲏⲉ ϥⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲍⲁⲛⲁⲑⲛⲟⲩϯ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϫⲱⲕ.[565] ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲁϥϧⲣⲁϫⲣⲉϫ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲛⲁϫⲓ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲍⲣⲁϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲱⲉ ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓϩⲟⲩⲧ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲧⲁⲣⲧⲉⲙⲓⲥ ⲧⲛⲁⲉⲣⲧⲓⲙⲱⲣⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲕ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ. ⲁϥⲉⲣⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩϯ ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲡⲓ ⲉⲛⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϯ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲛⲡⲉⲇⲉⲥ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲃⲁⲗⲗⲁⲩϫ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲍⲓⲧϥ ⲉϯⲥⲩⲣⲁ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲛⲍ. ⲁⲩⲟⲗϥ ⲛ̄ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲁⲩϫⲁϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲛⲓ ⲃ̄.

565 Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I*, 1.112 at note 1 remark 'supple ⲉⲃⲟⲗ?', but this supplement is not necessary, see Crum, *Dict*. 762a, who mentions our text as an example.

3. When Apa Paphnutius heard these things from the angel, he went into his cell, bound his girdle and put on his garments of worship, that is, his mantle and linen garb. He walked joyfully, like someone who is going to a banquet. And the angel took his hand and spoke with him, telling him about the mysteries of heaven until they arrived at the river. At the moment that they arrived at the harbour, Michael told him everything that would happen to him. And he embraced him and went up to heaven, his eyes staring after him.[566]

4. The governor Arianus went upriver in his ship, and he had his throne set up for him at the harbour.[567] And all the magistrates according to city came to him, honouring him on the (river)bank. As he was seated, he did not decide on any other case except for that of Apa Paphnutius. He called the eighty soldiers and sent them after him. They acted according to the order of the governor.[568]

5. Apa Paphnutius went on his way, making for the harbour in the morning. He went to governor Arianus and said to him: 'I am Paphnutius, that (man) you are looking for. Do not trouble your soldiers to go looking for me. For you have your soldiers to collect the Christians for you in order to pour out their blood. But we have the angels of God who gather us for the kingdom of heaven'. Arianus looked at him and said: 'Are you Paphnutius the apostate, who annuls the imperial laws?' He replied: 'Yes, I am'. Arianus said to him: 'Are you every inch an atheist?' Apa Paphnuthius said to him: 'I am not an atheist, but I worship God since my youth. You are among the pagans who say: 'There are multitudes of gods'. For this reason you are wholly atheists'. When Arianus heard these words, he ground his teeth and said to him: 'By the venerable gods, Apollo and Artemis, I will punish you badly'. Thus he ordered them to give iron to his hands and shackles to his feet as well as cast him in chains with those who were bound. The soldiers took hold of him and placed him in the midst of two robbers.[569]

566 The 'he' in the first part of the sentence refers to Michael, 'his' in the second part to Paphnutius.

567 See above, p. 143 (n. 526).

568 See above, p. 143 (n. 527).

569 A reference to Jesus' position between two robbers on the cross, made explicit in **6**.

6. ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲓ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲁϥϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ϩⲓ ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥϫⲁ ⲕⲉϩⲱⲃ {ⲕⲉϩⲱⲃ} ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲡϩⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁ̀ⲫ́ⲛⲟⲩⲧ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲁϥⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ. ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩϩⲓⲃϫⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲁ ⲁϥⲕⲓⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲧϥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟ̀ⲩ́ⲧ ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲏⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧⲁϩⲟⲕ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲣⲓⲉⲙⲓ ϫⲉ ⲡ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡ̄ϫ̄ⲥ̄ ⲁⲩⲁⲱϥ ϩⲱϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲑⲙⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲛⲓ ⲃ̄. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲁϥⲙⲟⲱⲓ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲇⲉⲥ ⲉⲧⲧⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ. ⲁⲩⲉⲛϥ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲉϥⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲫ̄ⲧ̄. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛⲓⲡⲓ ⲉⲧⲧⲟⲓ ⲉⲛⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉϥⲫⲁⲗⲁⲩϫ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲱⲟⲩ. ⲁϥⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ. ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲗⲓⲃⲓ ϫⲉ ϫⲛⲁⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲁⲛ; ⲙⲏ ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥ; ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ ⲫⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϫⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϧ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲥ ⲡⲉ. ⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲣⲱ ⲧⲛⲁⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩⲱⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲇⲱϫⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲇⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲃⲏⲗ ⲉ̄ⲫ̄ⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲧϥ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲣⲏⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲫⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉϥⲙⲟⲛⲟⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲱϧⲣⲓ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡ̄ϫ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲉⲛ̄ⲑ̄ⲥ̄.

7. ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲣⲟϫⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲡⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲑⲣⲓⲣ ⲉⲥⲙⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ϫⲣⲱⲙ ⲛⲉⲙ ϩⲁⲛⲗⲁⲕⲉⲛⲧ ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥ ⲉⲩⲃⲉⲣⲃⲉⲣ. ⲁϥⲑⲣⲟⲩⲧⲁⲕⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲱⲧⲉⲙⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ; ⲧⲛⲁⲉⲣⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲓⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲕ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲓⲅⲉⲛⲛⲉⲟ̀ⲥ́ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡ̄ϫ̄ⲥ̄ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲃⲓ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲱ ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲕϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲉⲣⲥⲟⲧ ϧⲁⲧⲥⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϫⲉⲗ ⲫ̄ⲧ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ; ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲱⲛⲓ. ⲧϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲥⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϧⲓⲥⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲍⲟⲛⲧⲉⲛ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲡⲟⲗⲏⲧⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲧⲏⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϧⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲉⲧⲁⲗⲟⲩ. ⲓⲥϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲧϫⲟⲙ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲱⲁⲧⲉⲛⲍⲣⲟ ⲉⲛⲓⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲇⲓⲱⲅⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲏⲡ. ⲭⲛⲁⲧϫⲟⲙ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲟⲛ ⲱⲁⲧⲉⲛⲍⲣⲟ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲇⲓⲱⲅⲙⲟⲥ ϥⲁⲓ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲟⲛⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ.

6. When the governor went into the city, he sat on the tribunal and did not decide on any other case except for the case of Apa Paphnutius.[570] And he immediately asked for him. As the soldiers of injustice pushed him, Apa Paphnutius consoled himself, saying to himself: 'Paphnutius, Paphnutius, know the lot that has befallen you. And know that the Lord Jesus Christ was also hanged in the midst of two robbers'.[571] And he walked very slowly, because of the shackles that were given to him. Thus the soldiers brought him to the tribunal, while he gave glory to God. And immediately the iron that was attached to his hands and feet was loosened and became like water. He stood before the governor. The governor spoke and said to him: 'Paphnutius, what is this madness, that you will not sacrifice? You do not want to die badly, do you?' Apa Paphnutius answered and said to him: 'The death of the Christians is not death but eternal life. As for sacrificing, I will not sacrifice to these demonic idols, except to God alone, the almighty in heaven, and his only begotten son Jesus Christ, our Lord'.[572]

7. The governor Arianus ordered to bring an iron wheel, an oven filled with fire and boiling cauldrons filled with oil. He had them placed around Apa Paphnutius and said to him: 'Have you not heard me? I will torture you with all these things'. But he, the noble man of Christ, laughed and said: 'Arianus, do you say that I will be afraid of your tortures and deny God? No, it shall not happen! I say to you that these tortures are no different from the sufferings that we tried on ourselves and the ascetic practices that we exposed ourselves to by killing our body since our childhood. Therefore, then, our Saviour has given us strength, until we have become victorious in wars and hidden persecutions. He will give us strength again, until we have become victorious in your persecution, which is manifest now'.[573]

570 Same phrase in **4**.

571 Cf. Matt. 27:38; Mark 15:27; Luke 23:33; John 19:18.

572 Note that the Bohairic version is considerably longer and contains more detail than the Greek version.

573 Note that the Bohairic version is more comprehensive than the Greek version.

8. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲕⲉⲣ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲡⲁϥⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲱⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲕ ⲁⲛ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲧⲁⲗⲟϥ ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣⲙⲏⲧⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϩⲱⲕⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲱⲁⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲁϭⲧ ϫⲱⲱ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲑⲓⲃⲓ ϭⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲥⲛⲟϥ. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲓⲅⲉⲛⲛⲉⲟⲥ ⲁϥϥⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲡⲱⲱⲓ ⲉⲧⲫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲃϩ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁ϶ⲥ̅ ⲓⲏⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲫⲏⲧ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲧⲥⲉⲃⲧⲱⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲙⲟⲩ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲧϩⲟ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣϫⲁⲧ ⲉⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲁⲧⲱⲓⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ ⲛ̄ϫⲓϫ. ϭⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϕ̅ⲧ̅ ⲟⲥⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲥⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ[574] ⲧⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁϥⲥⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲁϭⲧ ⲁϥⲥⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲉϫⲓ ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲟⲡ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲍⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲁϥϫⲁϥ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϭⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲙⲏⲧⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ. ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ϩⲗⲓ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲕⲓ ϩⲓ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲟϫ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲉⲣⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲓⲍⲓⲛ[575] ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ.

9. ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲩϩⲱⲕⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⲇⲓⲟⲛⲏⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲕⲁⲗⲓⲙⲁϫⲟⲥ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϭⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲱϕⲏⲣⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲓ ⲁⲩⲛⲁϩⲧ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ. ⲁⲩⲥⲟϫⲓ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲗⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧϩⲱⲛⲏ ⲁⲩⲃⲉⲣⲃⲱⲣⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲛⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲗⲟⲃⲓ ⲕⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲱⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ. ⲁϫⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲓ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲁϥ ϭⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ϫⲉ ϕⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲱⲧⲁⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲛ. ⲥⲥϭⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲓ ⲡⲭⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓϫⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣϩⲓⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲙⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲑⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲉⲱⲁⲩ. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲱⲉⲙⲙⲟ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲛⲓⲙⲏⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛϥ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲑⲟⲛⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩϩⲱⲣ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲉⲱⲁⲩ; ⲛ̄ⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ ⲥⲉⲧⲁⲓⲏⲟⲩⲧ ⲉϩⲟⲧⲉ <ⲉ>ⲣⲟⲕ. ϫⲱⲟⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲥⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲫⲧ̅ ϭⲉⲛ ⲧⲟ᾽ⲩ᾽ⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲕⲧⲱⲱⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲕϫⲱⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ. ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϫⲱⲛⲧ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲡⲟⲫⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲥⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲱⲗⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲫⲉ. ⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩⲱⲉ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲓϕⲏⲟⲩⲓ ϭⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ.

574 Read ⲁϥⲥⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ.

575 Read ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲣⲃⲁⲥⲁⲛⲓⲍⲓⲛ.

8. The governor said to him: 'You have spent many words, Paphnutius, the court will not be patient with you'. And the governor ordered to lift him onto the *hermetarion*, and they scraped him until his intestines poured down and his whole body was drenched in blood.[576] But he, the noble man, lifted his eyes towards heaven and prayed, saying: 'My Lord, Jesus Christ, I have not run from your dispensation,[577] for I am prepared to die in your name. But I beseech you, do not let me die now, until I have put Arianus and his handmade things to shame'.[578] At that moment an angel of God stood at his righthand side and he stretched out his hand, took his intestines and put them back again in his abdomen. And he made the sign of the cross over him and put him down from the *hermetarion*. Truly, there was no scratch on his body, but he was whole as if he had not been tortured at all.

9. The names of the soldiers who scraped him were Dionysius and Callimachus. And at the moment that they saw the wonder that had happened,[579] they believed immediately. They immediately ran to the tribunal, broke their belt and threw it before the governor, crying out on account of Christ and saying: 'We are openly Christians!'[580] The governor said to them: 'What have you seen that you have become mad, for you have despised the court by denying the gods. Tell me what you have seen'. And the soldiers told him in a single voice: 'We will not be able to tell you what we have seen. For it is written in the book of the Christians: "Do not give what is holy to you to dogs and do not throw your pearls before swine".[581] For you are a stranger to the mysteries of life'. Arianus said to them: 'Have you compared me to dogs and swine?' They said to him: 'Truly, they are more honourable than you. For every speechless creature by their nature glorifies God. But you despise and deny him'. And Arianus became angry with them. After he had condemned them, they were taken outside the city and beheaded. They completed their martyrdom and went to heaven in glory.

576 For ⲟⲩⲃⲓ, which is the Coptic equivalent of Greek μεθύω (LSJ s.v. μεθύω A II 1; Lampe, *PGL* s.v. μεθύω b), see Crum, *Dict.* 456b. Cf. Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 2, 74 at note 6, whose remark 'ad litt. "inebriaretur"' is unnecessary: 'drenched' is a normal meaning of μεθύω.

577 See above, p. 143 (n. 528).

578 I.e. idols.

579 Cf. the more detailed description in **9** in the Greek version, where the soldiers see the hand of the angel putting Paphnutius' intestines back into his abdomen.

580 See above, p. 145 (n. 530).

581 Matt. 7:6.

10. ⲁϥⲧⲱⲛϥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲉ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲁϥⲱⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ. ⲁϥⲉⲣⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲉⲃⲣⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ. ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲓⲧϥ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϩⲓⲧϥ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲟⲩⲣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲭⲁⲕⲓ. ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁϫϯ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉ́ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲣ ⲡⲉϥⲙⲉⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁϥϯ ⲛ̄ϩⲟϩϥ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲛⲓϩⲃⲏⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲉϥⲉⲣⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲁⲍⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲃⲏⲉ ⲛⲓⲇⲏⲙⲟⲥⲓⲟⲛ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲱϫⲉⲙϫⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲉⲃⲣⲟⲩϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ. ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲡⲉ.

11. ⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲓ ⲇⲉ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϩⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓⲱϥ̀ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲉⲁϥⲱⲁⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉϥⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲱⲙ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲛⲱ ⲉⲡⲓⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲃⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲉⲕⲥⲉⲣⲉ ϫⲣⲱⲙ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ; ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲛϩ ϫⲉⲙ ϫⲣⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲣⲱⲕϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲫⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϩⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲕⲩⲛⲇⲓⲛⲉⲩⲓⲛ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉⲛ ϫⲣⲱⲙ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϯⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲱϥⲏⲣⲓ ϩⲱ ϫⲉ ⲡⲱⲥ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲣϩ̀. ⲓⲥ ⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲃ̄ ⲓⲥϫⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲓϫⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲫⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩϯ[582] ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ϫⲁⲕⲓ ⲱⲱⲡⲓ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧϥ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲓⲛⲓ ⲫⲟⲣⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲁⲩϩⲱⲗ ⲉϯⲣⲓ ⲙ̀ⲉⲧ́ⲉⲣⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲏⲥ. ⲁⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉϥⲧⲱⲃⲉ ϧⲁ ⲡⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲉϥϫⲓϫ ⲉⲩⲫⲟⲣⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲛⲗⲁⲙⲡⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ϫⲣⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲙⲟϩ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲡⲓⲉϫⲱⲣϩ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲉⲩⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲱⲣⲱⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲙⲁϥ.

12. ⲉⲧⲁ ⲱⲱⲣⲡ ⲇⲉ ⲱⲱⲡⲓ ⲁⲩϯⲭⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁϥ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲧϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ. ⲉⲃⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϫⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ ⲙ̄ⲫⲟⲟⲩ; ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲓϩⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲃⲃⲉ ϩⲁⲛⲇⲏⲙⲟⲥⲓⲟⲛ. ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲱϩⲣⲓ ⲉⲱⲱⲡ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲇⲏⲙⲟⲥⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲥⲟⲡ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲥⲟⲡ; ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉ. ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉⲃⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁϩϯ ⲉⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲣⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲙⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲁ ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩϥⲱϯ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲓϫⲓⲣⲟⲅⲣⲁⲫⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲡ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱⲱⲡⲓ ϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲥϧⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣⲁⲛ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲃⲟⲩϧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲩⲁⲃ; ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϧⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛϯ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲣⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ`ⲩ́ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩϯ. ⲁⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⲣⲱ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲧⲁⲓⲗⲱⲓϫⲓ ⲱⲱⲡⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲧⲙⲉⲑⲣⲉ ⲱⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ. ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲱϩⲣⲓ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉⲩⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲣⲁⲛ ϩⲓ ⲡϫⲱⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϧ.

582 Read ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩϯ.

10. And the governor rose and went to eat. He ordered to take Apa Paphnutius to prison. The soldiers took him and threw him in a dark cell. On the following morning, however, the governor did not have it in mind to ask for him, but gave his attention to imperial matters, while he put pressure on the magistrates concerning the taxes.[583] Since they were unable to pay them, he ordered them to be thrown into prison. The magistrates were forty men.

11. It happened in that night when they were put in prison that they saw a great light that had risen in the entire prison, while it was alight just like the sun in the days of summer. The magistrates called the soldier who was assigned to the prison and said to him: 'Why do you burn a fire in the prison? We are afraid that those who are bound find fire, burn the prison and flee, and we too are endangered'.[584] The soldier said to them: 'My brothers, I have never brought fire in here, but I too am amazed as to how this place is so alight. For two days now since this Christian, Paphnutius, was brought in here, there has been no darkness in it,[585] but his light shines like the day and the sun'. And when the magistrates heard these things, they went to the cell in which Apa Paphnutius was. They stood and listened to him while he prayed for the health of the whole city. When they opened the door, they saw his hands, which were spread out in the shape of torches burning with fire. And when they had greeted him, they spent the whole night keeping vigil with him.

12. When morning came, they greeted him. And he said to them: 'Peace to you! Why have you been left here today?'[586] They said to him: 'The governor has thrown us in here because of taxes'. He answered and said to them: 'My sons, if you had paid these taxes this time, will they not take from you another time?' They said to him: 'Yes'. He said to them: 'Why do you not listen to me, believe in my God, confess his name and die in this place, in order that your sins and the record of your lawlessness may be wiped out all at once, and you may be in heaven and your names may be written in the council of the holy ones?' They all responded in a single voice: 'We all gave you our hearts and we all confess your God. Perhaps this opportunity has indeed happened to us as a testimony for eternity'. He answered and said to them: 'Rise, my sons, for your names have already been written in the Book of Life'.

583 See above, p. 147 (n. 534).

584 ⲙⲏⲡⲱⲥ 'lest', is here translated with 'we are afraid that'.

585 I.e. the prison.

586 See above, p. 149 (n. 536).

13. ⲁϥⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲱⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙⲟⲱⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ. ⲁϥⲉⲣⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲁϥⲁⲗⲏⲓ ⲉⲭⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲁⲓⲓ ⲍⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⲟⲛ. ⲱ ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲕ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲍⲱ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲁϭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ̅. ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲓⲛ ⲉⲑⲣⲟⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁⲩϭⲟⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲧⲁⲍⲟϥ ⲥⲁⲧⲟⲧϥ. ⲁϥⲉⲣⲁⲑⲟⲩⲱⲛⲍ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲙⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲱϫⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲑⲱⲛ.

14. ⲛ̀ⲓ̀ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲍⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲭⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲍⲁⲛⲭⲣⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲏⲥⲓⲁ. ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲁϥϫⲑⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥϫⲱⲡⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ; ⲙⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲭⲱⲛⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲓϫⲉϫⲑⲏⲛⲟ`ⲩ́ ⲁⲓⲍⲓⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓϫⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲁⲓ†ϫⲱϫ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁϧⲓⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲃⲟⲩⲗⲏ; ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲭⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲱⲛϧ; ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛⲁϥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲙⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ⲍⲱⲃ ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲕ. ⲛⲁⲓⲥⲁⲭⲓ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱϫ ⲍⲱⲛ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲛⲭⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛϧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲭⲉⲭⲁⲥ ⲉⲛⲉⲭⲫⲟ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲱⲛϧ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲍ. ϫⲟⲩⲱϫ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲉⲙⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲍⲁ; ⲓⲥ ⲛⲉⲛⲍⲩⲡⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲛⲉⲛϫⲣⲏⲙⲁ ⲃⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲑⲣⲉⲕⲉⲣⲃ̅ⲥ̅ⲉ̅ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ. ⲛⲉⲛⲍⲓⲟⲙⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲉⲛⲱϩⲣⲓ ⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲱϫ[587] ⲡⲃ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛ̄ϧⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲍⲁⲣⲟⲛ. ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲍⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲡⲁⲓⲗⲓⲃⲓ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ; ⲁⲙⲟⲓ ⲣⲱ ⲉⲣⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟϫ ⲉⲙⲁⲅⲓⲁ[588] ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲁⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩ†. ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛⲁϥ ⲭⲉ ⲑⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲕ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲭⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϥ̅†̅. ⲁϥϫⲱⲛⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲍⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ ⲁϥ† ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲡⲟϥⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩⲣⲟⲕⲍⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϫⲣⲱⲙ. ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁⲩⲥⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛⲱⲁϥⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲕⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲓⲕ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲍϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲣⲱⲙ ⲁⲩⲍⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲣⲟϥ. ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁⲅⲱⲛ.

15. ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲫⲛⲟⲩ† ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲟⲍⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲍⲓ ⲫⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ. ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϥ̅†̅ ⲉⲩⲟⲍⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϫⲣⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲃⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ†ⲩϫⲏ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲓ ⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲩ† ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲃⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲱⲱⲓ ⲱⲁ ⲛⲓⲉⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛⲓⲟⲛ. ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁⲩⲣⲱⲕⲍ ⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲉⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲙⲁⲩ. ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁⲩϫⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϧⲗⲟⲙ ⲛⲁⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ ϧⲉⲛ ⲓⲁϩⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧϕⲉ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲇⲓⲕⲉⲟⲥ.

587 Read ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲱ.

588 Balestri and Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I* 1, 118 at note 1 read ⲉⲛⲓⲙⲁⲅⲓⲁ. However, the zero article is possible here, see Crum, *Dict.* 512a, who cites this text as an example.

13. He went out of the prison, with the magistrates walking behind him. He first climbed up on the tribunal and said: 'Tribunal, tribunal, I have come to you again![589] Arianus, you with your Apollo of stone[590] and I with my Lord Jesus Christ!' Arianus ordered to seize him and the soldiers ran, wanting to catch him. He was invisible to them and they did not know where he had gone.

14. The magistrates stood at the tribunal and cried out: 'We are openly Christians!' When Arianus saw them, he was troubled and said to them: 'What has happened to you? Are you angry because I have humbled you, thrown you in prison and scorned the reputation of your council? Do you have no regard for your life?' The magistrates said to him in a single voice: 'There is no business between us and you. We will not obey these words that you have spoken to us, since we wish to leave this temporary life in order that we may receive eternal life. Do you want to know? Take all our possessions, property and money for yourself, so you may be master over them. But the one who loves the Lord among our wives and children will come to us'. The governor said to them: 'What is this madness? Would that you are saved from the magic of the apostate Paphnutius'. The magistrates said to him: 'Shut your mouth, for you have spoken blasphemy against the man of God'. The governor was angry at them and condemned them to be burned in fire. And they took them to a deserted place, dug a hole, filled it with fire and threw them into it. And they completed their battle.

15. Apa Paphnutius stood at a distance from them. He saw the angels of God standing above the fire, as they took the souls, one by one, gave them to each other and carried them up to the heavenly aeons. Thus the forty were burned that day. And they completed their martyrdoms and received the imperishable crown in the heavenly Jerusalem, the city of the righteous.

589 Refers to the first presence of Paphnutius at the tribunal in **6**.

590 Refers to Arianus' swearing by the gods Apollo and Artemis in **5**.

16. ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϥⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲁϥⲓ ⲉⲍⲣⲏⲓ ⲉϯⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ. ⲁϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉϥⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲙⲁⲟ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲏⲛ. ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁϥⲱⲉ ⲛⲁϥ ⲍⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲣⲟ ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ ⲛ̄ϯⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲣⲓ ⲙⲁⲧⲥⲟⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲟⲩ. ⲁⲥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ. ⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛϥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϥⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲉ ⲁϥⲱⲥⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲱⲱ ϧⲉⲛ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲱ ⲥⲁⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲙⲉⲧⲭⲱⲣⲓ. ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ϥⲁⲓ ⲁ ϯⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲧⲁⲓⲉ ⲙⲟⲩϯ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲙⲁⲱⲱ. ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁⲥⲱⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲥⲧⲁⲙⲉ ⲧⲉⲥ⳾ⲥ. ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲁ⳾ⲥ ⲁⲙⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϥⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϥϯ ϥⲏ ⲉⲧⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲱϣϧⲏⲣⲓ ϧⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲍⲏⲅⲉⲙⲱⲛ.

17. ⲁⲥⲧⲱⲛⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲭⲉ ⲧⲉⲥ⳾ⲥ ⲁⲥ⳾ⲟⲭⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲩⲗⲱⲛ ⲁⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϥⲛⲟⲩϯ ⲉϥⲟⲍⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲙ̄ⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲧⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϥϯ. ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁⲥⲍⲓⲧⲉ ⲉϧⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲭⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲍⲟ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲱⲱϯ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲥⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲛⲧⲱⲥ ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲱϯ ⲛ̄ⲍⲙⲟⲧ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲍⲟⲓ ⲙ̄ⲫⲟⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲕⲧⲁⲓⲟⲓ ⲉⲙⲁⲱⲱ ⲁⲕⲓ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ϧⲁ ⲑⲟⲩⲁⲍⲥⲟⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲏⲓ. ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁⲥⲉⲛϥ ⲉϧⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲏⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲁⲥⲫⲱⲣⲱ ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲛⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲧ. ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲃⲓ ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲁⲱⲉⲣⲓ ⲟⲩⲍⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲍⲁⲧ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲁⲓⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲛⲁⲧⲏⲓϥ ⲛⲱⲧⲉⲛ;

16. Apa Paphnutius went up to the city again.[591] He saw the door of a rich man open. And he went to the door and said to the doorkeepster: 'My daughter, give me a little water to drink'. She answered and said to him: 'Come in, my holy father'. For she had recognized that he was Apa Paphnutius, since he had lived the anchoritic life for a very long time, while many spoke of his feats. Because of this, the girl greeted him excitedly. And she went in and informed her mistress. She said to her: 'My lady, come out and be Apa Paphnutius, the chosen one of God, who is a miracle before the governor'.

17. Her mistress rose, ran to the gatehouse and saw Apa Paphnutius standing like an angel of God. And she threw herself down on her face and worshipped him, saying: 'Truly, a great gift has befallen me today, that you have honoured me so much and have come under the roof my house'. And she brought him into the house and spread a bed of silver for him.[592] But he laughed and said to her: 'My daughter, what use will this silver and this gold give you (...)?'

591 I.e. he returned after having watched the death of the forty magistrates.

592 Note that in the Greek text (**17**), Paphnutius is seated in a silver chair.

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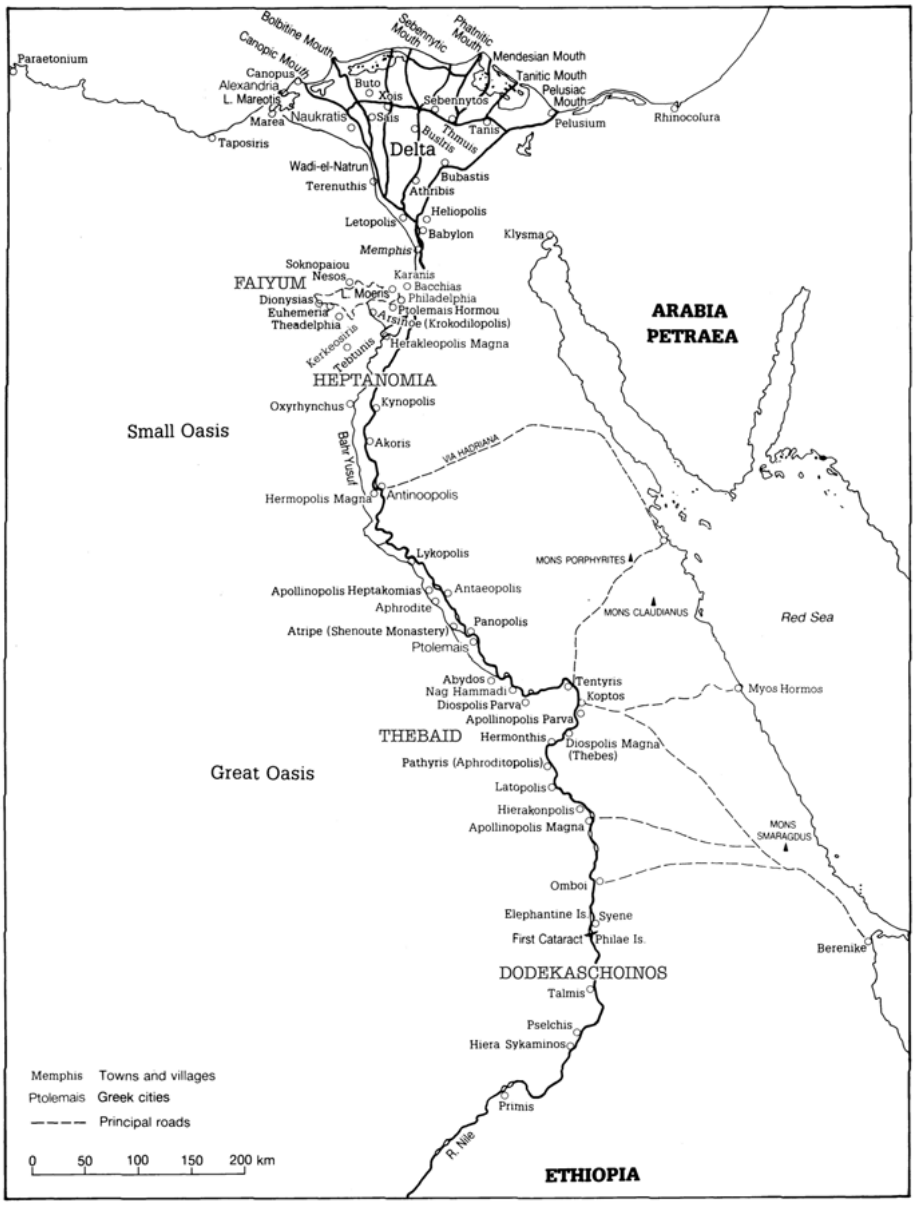

Fig. 1: Egypt in the Graeco-Roman period (after Bowman, *Egypt*, Fig. 1).

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Fig. 2: Archaeological map of Antinoopolis (courtesy of R. Pintaudi and M. Spanu, after Pintaudi, *Antinoupolis* II, Fig. 3).