Abstract. This article describes item C47704, a fragment of a Coptic parchment codex, which can be identified as White Monastery Codex ET, containing a hitherto unattested part of the Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou. It is argued that the codex was probably manufactured at the Touton scriptorium in the Fayyum in the tenth century and used by the monks at the White Monastery in Upper Egypt. The preserved fragment is a part of the narration of the torture of Apa Nahroou at the hands of emperor Diocletian, and seems to fit in as the first of the series of presently identified leaves of Codex ET containing this text. The present fragment attests to a typical Coptic Martyrdom account, and to the prominence of Michael the Archangel in the Coptic literary tradition. The article includes an edition of the Coptic text of the fragment with an English translation.

Item C47704 in the antiquities collection of the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo is a fragment, now preserved between glass plates, of the lower part of a leaf from a calf skin parchment codex (Figs. 1a-b). It contains the remains of a Coptic text written in two columns, one of which is now only fragmentarily preserved, while the remains of the other one is clearly legible. The fragment was donated to the ethnographic collection of the University of Oslo on May 6th, 1932, by one Nils Knutzen from Oslo, but its provenance is otherwise unknown.

1 I would like to thank Alin Suciu for invaluable assistance in the preparation of this article. The credit for the identification of the fragment specifically as a part of the Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou and of White Monastery Codex ET is due to him. I would also like to thank him for giving me access to photographs of the other preserved parts of this text.

2 The black ink is clear, with hardly any smudging, while the reddening employed to certain letters and symbols is faded, but visible.
Fig. 1a-b  Fragment of the Coptic parchment codex, recto (left) and verso (right). Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inv. C47704. Photo: Museum of Cultural History ©

The dimensions of the fragment are 15.5 cm by 18.5 cm at its largest points, which represent approximately two thirds of the width and half of the height of the original leaf. The writing is of a high quality, indicating a highly skilled scribe. The script is bimodular, often referred to as ‘Coptic uncial’, with reddened enlarged initials in ekthesis, reddened superlineation over the nomina sacra, reddened obelus and budded diples, and on the recto side there are reddened double dots down the middle of the space between the two columns. There is occasional use of tremas over the letter iota. Some of the letters (咤, ϐ, ϱ, τ, ϐ) on the bottom lines on both sides of the fragment extend down into the lower margin. The text is written in standard Sahidic, but, with the exception of the nomina sacra ⲫⲁⲙⲓ (‘Christ’) and Ⲣⲧⲉ (‘Jesus’), where standard superlineation is used, this manuscript uses djinkim-points similar to what we find in Bohairic manuscripts instead of the superlinear strokes common in Sahidic ones. While the usage of these djinkim-points differs both from standard Sahidic superlineation and from that of Bohairic manuscripts, it is, however, common in Sahidic manuscripts produced at Touton in the Fayum oasis.

Indeed, with regard to its language, palaeography, non-standard superlineation, layout, size, and general appearance, this fragment strongly resembles the parchment codices that are known to have been manufactured at Touton in the period between 861

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3 Cf. Depuydt 1993, 1:ci; Emmel 2004, 107
4 The usage also differs from the djinkim-point system employed in the Sahidic manuscript of the Apophthegmata Patrum recently described by Bentley Layton (Layton 2006).
5 Suciu 2009, 281.
and 940. The reddened budded diples in column a (seen on the verso side of the fragment) and reddened obelus in column b (seen on the recto side of the fragment) are especially typical of manuscripts manufactured at this scriptorium. For the appearance of the complete leaf, it can be compared to other palaeographically highly similar manuscripts which were most probably manufactured at Touton and which have a certain provenance from the White Monastery. One such manuscript is White Monastery codex QY (MONB.QY), now dismembered and preserved in collections in Cairo, Vienna, Strasbourg, London, and Paris containing various apocryphal acts of the apostles. It is, however, possible to identify the present fragment with even greater precision, for as it happens, it is also highly similar to White Monastery codex ET (MONB.ET), another fragmentarily preserved codex currently scattered across several collections. Among other writings, this codex contains a text known as the Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou, a Coptic saint that indeed seems to be mentioned also in our present fragment, for in column a on its recto side it is possible to make the following textual reconstruction:

\[\text{Tote \Delta p\alpha \nu\rho\omega \Delta \mu\alpha\lambda \nu\lambda \varepsilon \omega \eta \rho\xi \iota \nu \varepsilon \\nu \varepsilon \delta \iota \varepsilon \] \[\nu \varepsilon \delta \iota \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \delta \iota \varepsilon \] \[\text{Then A} \Delta \text{pa Nah} \nu \omega \text{ou pr} \alpha \iota \nu \text{ed, saying: ‘Christ Jesus’} \]

Taking the codicological similarity into consideration, we can thus with a high degree of probability identify the present fragment not only as a witness to the Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou, but also as a part of White Monastery Codex ET. This fragment thus joins ten previously identified leaves from the same codex witnessing to this text. At present these other leaves are held in five different collections in Europe and Egypt. Four leaves are held in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna and have been published by Walter Till; five leaves are currently in Cairo, of which four are in the Coptic Museum, and one in the Institut français d’archéologie orientale; and finally there is a leaf in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. These leaves are to be placed in the following order:

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7 Depuydt 1993, 1:ci.
8 This is Codex A in Poirier 1984 (see there the photograph of BnF Copte 12918 f.99v); see description in Lucchesi 1984.
9 This identification was made by Alin Suciu (private communication).
10 For the reconstruction Δ\[\text{pa } ν\rho\omega \Delta \mu\alpha\lambda \nu\lambda \varepsilon \omega \eta \rho\xi \iota \nu \varepsilon \\nu \varepsilon \delta \iota \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \delta \iota \varepsilon \] \[\nu \varepsilon \delta \iota \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \delta \iota \varepsilon \] I am indebted to Alin Suciu (private communication). The addition of Tote at the beginning of the reconstructed passage was suggested by Enzo Lucchesi (Suciu, private communication).
12 Published by Bouriant 1910 (the first leaf) and Munier 1920 (all four leaves).
13 Published by Chassinat 1921.
14 Published by Lucchesi 2006.
15 For a concise overview of the previous research on the Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou and its textual witnesses, see Lucchesi 2006.
215/216: Vienna, K 9509 (Till 1935–36, 3–4)
217/218: Vienna, K 9510 (Till 1935–36, 4–5)
219/220: Vienna, K 9511 (Till 1935–36, 5–7)
(223/224): Vienna, K 9512 (Till 1935–36, 7–8)
227/228: Paris, BnF Copte 129 f. 58 (Lucchesi 2006, 256–57)
(?!?): Cairo, Coptic Museum 8020 (Fol. I) (Munier 1920, 72–74)
(?!?): Cairo, IFAO copte inv. 223 (Chassinat 1921, 95–96)
(?!?): Cairo, Coptic Museum 8020 (Fol. II) (Munier 1920, 74–75)
(?!?): Cairo, Coptic Museum 8020 (Fol. III) (Munier 1920, 75–77)
(?!?): Cairo, Coptic Museum 8020 (Fol. IV) (Munier 1920, 77–79)

We will return below to the question of where the Oslo fragment belongs among these known leaves.\textsuperscript{16}

The Touton scriptorium seems to have been highly professional, and codices produced here are known to have ended up both in the no longer extant Monastery of Michael the Archangel at Phantoou near present-day Hamuli in the Fayum,\textsuperscript{17} and in the monastery of Apa Shenoute in Upper Egypt, the so-called ‘White Monastery,’ in the vicinity of the ancient town of Atripe, on the other side of the Nile from ancient Panopolis (Shmin/Akhmim).\textsuperscript{18} Interestingly, the Touton-manuscripts with dated colophons fall chronologically into two separate groups. While all the earliest manuscripts (from 861 to 914) hail from the monastery of Michael the Archangel at Phantoou, the later manuscripts (from 920 to 940) were all donated to the White Monastery.\textsuperscript{19} Both groups of manuscripts display the same style of writing and decoration,\textsuperscript{20} but, interestingly, there is no chronological overlap between these two groups of manuscripts, although there is scribal continuity between them. There may thus have been ‘a shift in clientele from the Monastery of St. Michael to the White

\textsuperscript{16} In addition to the remains of White Monastery Codex ET, the Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou is also attested in Bohairic in the form of a fragment of its title page from a codex manufactured in Lower Egypt in the ninth or tenth century, currently held in the library of the University of Leipzig (call number 1088, folio 14r, a part of Codex Tischendorfianus xxvi), and identified as such by Leipoldt 1906, 410–11. I would like to thank A. Suciu for bringing this to my attention.

\textsuperscript{17} Depuydt 1993; Emmel 2005. Most of the manuscripts associated with this monastery, which were discovered buried in its ruins in 1910, have ended up in the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (see Depuydt 1993).

\textsuperscript{18} On the library of the White Monastery, see Orlandi 2002; Emmel and Römer 2008. The manuscripts from the White Monastery, a large percentage of which contains works by its illustrious third leader, Shenoute, have been dismembered and scattered across numerous collections in Europe, North America, and Egypt (see Orlandi 2002; Emmel 2004).

\textsuperscript{19} Depuydt 1993, 1:cxv; Nakano 2006.

\textsuperscript{20} Nakano 2006, 152.
Monastery around AD 915,’ as L. Depuydt has suggested.\textsuperscript{21} C. Nakano, however, points out that the second group of manuscripts, from the period 920-940, were in fact donated to the White Monastery by monks of the Fayum, and that it is thus possible that the Touton scriptorium still worked primarily for monks living in the Fayum, rather than directly for the White Monastery.\textsuperscript{22} In any case, it seems that manuscripts produced at Touton after 915 did not remain in the Fayum.\textsuperscript{23}

Since the Oslo fragment can be identified as a part of a codex stemming from the White Monastery, and since it has been shown that datable White Monastery codices manufactured at the Touton scriptorium were made in the period 920-940,\textsuperscript{24} it most probably postdates 920. However, as was the case with White Monastery codex ES, which was probably produced in Touton in 961/962,\textsuperscript{25} it may well have been produced later than 940, perhaps even as late as the early eleventh century.

As for its use, the relatively large size of White Monastery Codex ET, the dimensions of which seem to correspond to the usual size of the codices produced at Touton,\textsuperscript{26} was well suited for a lectern and indicates that this was probably a volume meant for public, rather than private, reading.\textsuperscript{27} The Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou was most probably read in the White Monastery once a year on the date of the celebration of the martyrdom of Apa Nahroou, on the seventh of Hathor (3 November),\textsuperscript{28} a date that is also mentioned at the end of the text itself.\textsuperscript{29}

### The Text

It should be noted that it is impossible to say with certainty which of the sides of the fragment is the verso side and which is the recto. What is here referred to as the recto and verso sides of the fragment are tentative assignments based on the following criteria: Firstly, the rather large preserved margin on one edge of the fragment seems to suggest that it constitutes the outer edge of the leaf, rather than the edge closest to the spine, and, secondly, this sequence seems to give us the most probable narrative progression of the remaining text from one side of the fragment to the other. Still, it must be emphasized that this identification remains hypothetical.

As can be seen from the following transcription and photographs, only one column on each side of the fragment is clearly legible, and I have mostly refrained from conjectural restoration of words in the badly damaged column \textit{a} on the recto side and column \textit{b} on the verso side of the fragment.

\textsuperscript{21} Depuydt 1993, I:cxv.
\textsuperscript{22} Nakano 2006, 151-52.
\textsuperscript{23} See Nakano 2006, 156.
\textsuperscript{24} Nakano 2006.
\textsuperscript{25} Suciu 2009: 283-84.
\textsuperscript{26} See Nakano 2006, 154.
\textsuperscript{27} Cf. Emmel 2005, 65.
\textsuperscript{28} O’Leary 1937, 40; Delehaye 1922, 95.
\textsuperscript{29} See Munier 1920, 78.
Transcription

Recto

[ . . . . . . ]ђ
[ . . . ]оіеνђ ъ
[тο]к ои пе оа
є’р’ џата
єе’пе’

Тођє џна ђ’
пαγлос δοос
ξεпєξс δє’ џ
τοј ѹєαγ ѡє’
λγω ѹτογ ѡн

Υπογ ѡπє’
λγω ѹτοг ѡн

Ωνєг’’’’

Τενєг ѡє пαχο
εєј ѓєєхєоγ

Υμїхαγα

Πεκαρξαγє

ιοс ѹете ѹњβο

Verso

љ[ . . . . . τ]и
р[. . . њ]
пєογєο [нт]є
тє’πе ѹοу
пє ѹβολ’ ље
пе’т’єои џ
ιμїхαγα љ
κεпαζє џ
ηοу’ λγω

αγє’λгта

gа’30

ροу ѳρατ’ џ

πιτо ѹβολ

υпπ’р’дραг

πηρ’ ѳματє’

α’кєλєγє ље

Χίт’’ ѳєк’

30 Alin Suciu (private communication) suggests the plausible restoration [ια]’гα, a word that frequently appears in the other preserved parts of the text.
Translation

Recto


[. . . time. You (sg.)] too are eternal, as the teacher Paul said, ‘Christ Jesus is yesterday and he is also today and he is also forever.’ So now my Lord, may you send Michael your archangel, and may he come and may he [. . . ]

Verso

[. . . entire . . . not] a hair [of] his head was separated, because the power of Michael protected him. And he was brought and placed before the king. He was very much amazed. He ordered: ‘Take him (and) burn [. . . ]

Analysis

Apart from the hypothetical, but highly probable, reconstruction of the direct reference to Apa Nahroou, discussed above, there are two striking aspects of the remains of the text on the recto side of the leaf. Firstly, there is a quotation from Paul’s epistle to the Hebrews. The quoted verse, Heb 13:8, a statement of Christ’s eternal existence, is here probably uttered by Apa Nahroou himself and is one of many biblical quotations employed by the saint in this text.

Secondly, we are given the beginning of the part of the prayer where Apa Nahroou specifically asks Christ to send Michael the Archangel. An invocation of this kind can be found in literary and non-literary texts alike, and we actually find a striking parallel to a part of it in the Coptic magical parchment Moen III, where God is asked, in a magical incantation, to send Michael the Archangel: ϯⲥⲟⲡⲥ ϯⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲡⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲟⲣ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲕⲉⲧⲛⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲓⲭⲏⲗ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩⲁϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲗⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲓϸⲉ̈ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲁⲣⲕⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲇ︦ⲇ︦ⲕ̣ⲟⲭ ('I beg, I exhort you, Lord our God, the Almighty, that you send me from heaven Michael your archangel so that he may gather together the people of this village into the workshop of N, child of N').

Although the specific task asked of the Archangel in the magical text is of a decidedly more mundane nature than his work in our text, the general structure of the request to God or Christ to send Michael the Archangel in order for the latter to accomplish a particular assignment is similar, and the phrase ‘Michael your archangel’ (ⲙⲓⲭⲏⲗ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) is exactly the same.

On the verso side of the fragment, it is possible to see why the Archangel was called upon, for he is here reported to protect someone, most probably Apa Nahroou, from the wrath of the king. Although the king is struck with amazement by this, he is not deterred and apparently orders further punishment, the details of which are lost as

31 Heb 13:8.
32 Coptic text in Satzinger and Sijpesteijn 1988, 51-52; on the role of Michael in magical texts, see Müller 1959, 32-35.
the text breaks off at the end of column a. As is clear from the other preserved fragments of the Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou, the king in question is the emperor Diocletian, who reigned from 285 to 305, and the events narrated in our fragment take place at his court in Antioch. According to the Copto-Arabic Synaxarium, which preserves a short summary of the story, Apa Nahroou went to Alexandria in order to die as a martyr after having heard stories about other martyrs. Once in Alexandria he is told in a vision to go to Diocletian’s court in Antioch, and is subsequently taken there, by none other than the Archangel Michael, to be martyred there. Our Oslo fragment attests to the part of the story where Apa Nahroou is tortured by Diocletian, but since all the other preserved fragments also attest to this part of the story it is not clear exactly where the present fragment fits in. It may possibly belong shortly before the first page in the sequence of presently identified leaves (i.e., shortly before page 215), but it may also belong somewhere after page 220, although probably not too close to the part where Apa Nahroou dies and his soul is taken up to heaven, which is narrated in the last of the leaves preserved at the Coptic Museum in Cairo.

As is the case with many other Coptic martyrdom legends, Apa Nahroou is thrown in jail and exposed to extensive torture, and it takes many attempts to kill him before he finally dies. It is in fact possible that, as in several other such texts, he may even be killed a number of times in the course of the narrative. In the Oslo fragment we see that they try to burn him, and it is described in one of the leaves now in Vienna how Apa Nahroou is tied to a stake and his intestines are cut out, whereupon Michael the Archangel comes and heals him and puts his intestines back in again so that no wound is visible on his body. In a subsequent scene, also attested in one of the Vienna leaves, Apa Nahroou is seen sitting on top of a millstone which is miraculously floating on the water. In addition, he is also thrown to various wild beasts, including a lion and a bear, who are unable to touch him, but who are given human voices so as to praise him, and he is tied to the tail of a horse to be dragged around.

One of the main themes of the text is the opposition between paganism and Christianity. Diocletian tries a number of times, without success, to get Apa Nahroou to worship his gods, Apollon and Artemis, while the unfolding miracles and healings performed by the martyr only make the people (and beasts) repeatedly confess “Jesus Christ, Apa Nahroou’s God,” as the only true God. In one of the final scenes of the story, Apa Nahroou also physically topples the statue of Apollon, thus once and for all demonstrating the power of the Christian God versus the powerless pagan ones. At one point, Apa Nahroou is also confronted with Diocletian’s magician, whom he bests in one of the missing parts of the text, and is himself repeatedly referred to by various characters in the narrative as a great magician, to which he replies that he is no

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34 For the sequence of these other leaves, see above.
39 See Munier 1920, 77-78.
magician, but merely a servant of Christ. At the very end of the text, after he has finally been killed, Apa Nahroou’s soul is at last taken to heaven by the Archangel Michael, who puts it in a shining chariot drawn by a host of angels.40

The Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou is one of many Coptic Martyrdom accounts that are connected to Diocletian’s persecution of the Christians, which, as De Lacy O’Leary has rightly remarked, is “a historical fact,” although this kind of Coptic literature “is apocryphal in the highest degree and many, or most, of the characters are fictitious.”41 However, although many of the martyrdom accounts, including the Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou, are set in the late third century, the composition of hagiographical texts such as this are believed to be roughly dateable to the period between the middle of the seventh century and the middle of the eighth.42 Hagiographical texts such as this are indeed numerous in Coptic literature,43 and the Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou resembles other such Coptic texts in numerous respects, being a highly representative specimen of this genre. T. Baumeister has described the defining features of Coptic hagiographical literature of this type, which he has termed the “koptischer Konsens.”44 According to Baumeister, such Coptic martyrdom legends are characterized by having certain important elements in common. These legends all offer variations over certain common themes. In the words of Baumeister, these are: “Verhör, Marter, Gebet, göttliches Eingreifen durch Schutz und Wiederherstellung des Leibes, Konstatiierung des Erfolges im Refrain, kurz, Gottes erlösende Macht in der Bewahrung und Wiederherstellung des Martyrers, des Erwählten Gottes.”45 These texts are not least characterized by having a great number of scenes where the martyr is either saved or brought back to life, and there is a great stress on the integrity of the body of the martyr. In short, these are, to quote Baumeister, “Legenden vom unzerstörbaren Leben.”46 Baumeister concludes that the Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou completely conforms to the schema of the “koptischer Konsens” type of martyr legends.47

The Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou is thus not a text that distinguishes itself by any great individuality. On the contrary, it is in fact one of the texts attesting to a hagiographical cycle,48 being a part of the cycle of Julius of Aqfahs,49 which means that it is also associated with the martyrdoms of Anub, Ari, Didius, Heraclides, John and Simon, Kianul, Macarius, Macrobius, Nillus and Sarapion, Paese and Thecla, Panesneu, and Shenufe.50 Julius of Aqfahs in fact makes an appearance in one of the Cairo leaves

40 See Munier 1920, 78-79.
44 Baumeister 1972.
46 Baumeister 1972, 148. The focus on the preservation of the martyr’s body and the place where they are kept were of course linked to the highly popular cult of the martyrs in Egypt.
50 Orlandi 1991b, 4:1196.
of the Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou,\textsuperscript{51} and although this part of the manuscript is too fragmentarily preserved for us to be able to properly discern his role in the narrative, the Copto-Arabic Synaxarium tells us that he was the one who made sure that Apa Nahroou’s body was brought back to Egypt.\textsuperscript{52}

While his body was brought back to Egypt by Julius of Aqfahs, however, Apa Nahroou’s soul was taken to heaven by the Archangel Michael. The important role of Michael in this text, as the protector and helper of Apa Nahroou, is also echoed in many of the other Coptic Martyrdom accounts. In the Martyrdom of Saint Victor the General, to mention just one of the most well-known stories, the martyr Victor prays to Christ for help and the latter sends him Michael the Archangel, who protects him and helps him endure further tortures,\textsuperscript{53} which is exactly the role he also has in the Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou and many other Coptic passions.\textsuperscript{54}

Indeed, the Archangel Michael is not only a prominent figure in Coptic Martyrdom accounts, but also in Coptic literature in general, where his importance is quite out of proportion to his biblical basis, which is in fact rather meager, as he is only mentioned in Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1; Jude 9; and Rev 12:7.\textsuperscript{55} In Coptic literature, on the other hand, where he is regarded as the first and premier of the seven archangels who stand in the presence of God, this material is fleshed out considerably.\textsuperscript{56} Indeed, not only Michael, but the angels as such were of great importance in Coptic Christianity—David Brakke even speaks of Coptic preachers’ ‘obsession’ with angels\textsuperscript{57}—but most prominent among them was the Archangel Michael, whose importance in Coptic Christianity has even been compared to that of the Virgin Mary.\textsuperscript{58} In addition to being the subject of a great number of Coptic homiletic writings pseudonymously attributed to a variety of patristic authors,\textsuperscript{59} Michael also appears, as we have seen, in hagiographical texts,\textsuperscript{60} of which our fragment turns out to be a good example.

\textbf{Conclusion}

The parchment fragment C47704 in the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo was once a part of the codex that is now referred to by scholars as White Monastery Codex ET (MONB.ET). Judging from its similarity to datable manuscripts manufactured at the Touton scriptorium in the Fayum, and its near certain provenance from the White Monastery, this codex was most probably produced at the Touton scriptorium in the mid- to late tenth, or perhaps even the beginning of the eleventh, century, and was

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{51} See Munier 1920, 75-76.
\item \textsuperscript{52} Delehaye 1922, 95; O’Leary 1937, 208.
\item \textsuperscript{53} See Budge 1914, 24 (Coptic text), 276 (translation).
\item \textsuperscript{54} See, e.g., Baumeister 1972.
\item \textsuperscript{55} He may also possibly be alluded to in 2 Thess 2:6-7 (see Nicholl 2000).
\item \textsuperscript{56} See, e.g., Müller 1959; Rohland 1977; Esbroeck 1991.
\item \textsuperscript{57} Brakke 2000, 281.
\item \textsuperscript{58} Youssef 2007, 645.
\item \textsuperscript{59} See, e.g., Müller 1954; 1959; 1962; Esbroeck 1991; Budge 1894; Depuydt 1991; Moawad 2009.
\item \textsuperscript{60} On the role of the Archangel Michael in Coptic hagiography, see O’Leary 1937, 19-20.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
probably in liturgical use by the monks of the White Monastery in connection with the feast days of Apa Nahroou and the other saints whose martyrdoms were probably also part of this codex. As for the Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou, a martyr of Fayumic provenance like the codex itself, it belongs to the hagiographical cycle of Julius of Aqfahs, a group of Coptic hagiographical texts that were probably composed sometime in the period between the mid seventh and the mid eighth centuries. While providing us with a hitherto unattested part of the Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou, the present fragment also attests to the prominence of the Archangel Michael in the Coptic literary tradition, and more specifically in the Coptic hagiographical literature of this period and type, thus strengthening the assessment that the Martyrdom of Apa Nahroou conforms closely to the hagiographical narratives of the so-called “koptischer Konsens.”

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