

The Martyrdom of Luke the Evangelist: A Syriac Translation of a Coptic Apocryphon?

Jacob A. Lollar and Samuel P. Cook

Abstract: This essay presents the first complete analysis of the Syriac and Coptic versions of the *Martyrdom of Luke the Evangelist*. There is no Greek or Latin version of this narrative, and it appears to have originated in the Christian East. In this essay, we argue in fact that the Coptic version is the original and that all subsequent versions, including the Syriac, are based on the Coptic original. We present here an introduction to the Syriac and Coptic manuscripts followed by a comparative edition of both versions, translated into English for the first time.

Keywords: Syriac; Coptic; manuscripts; St Luke; martyrdom; hagiography; translation

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In 1992, Hieronymos, the Orthodox Metropolitan of Thebes in Greece, sent a letter to Antonio Mattiazzo, Bishop of Padua, Italy, requesting that certain relics belonging to St. Luke the Evangelist be returned to the site of Luke's purported tomb in Thebes. The Christians of Padua had long possessed a reliquary that they believed contained the relics of St. Luke, discovered in a cemetery in the 12th century.¹ This request prompted a decade-long investigation that ended in 2001 with a scientific analysis of two teeth from the reliquary. The analysis concluded that the teeth could, in fact, have belonged to a man who had lived in Syria, or possibly in Turkey, between the first and the fourth centuries.²

Whatever one may think of the results of the tests performed on the teeth, we are presently more interested in the exchange between the bishop and

- 1 On the relics in Padua see G. Leonardi and F. G. Trolese (eds.), *San Luca evangelista testimone della fede che unisce. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Padova, 16–21 ottobre 2000)* (Padova: Ist. Storia Ecclesiastica, 2002).
- 2 The story even made it to the New York Times in 2001. The article can be viewed here: <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/10/16/world/body-of-st-luke-gains-credibility.html> (accessed 23 January, 2024). The results of the radiocarbon study were published by C. Vernesi, et al., "Genetic characterization of the body attributed to the evangelist Luke," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 98.23 (6 Nov. 2001): 13460–13463, which can be read online here: <https://www.pnas.org/doi/10.1073/pnas.211540498> (accessed 23 January, 2024).

the metropolitan about where Luke's relics *should be*, how they ended up in Padua, which *traditions* were important, and how we could know any of these things. We are thus interested in the stories behind Luke's death that culminated in the radio-carbon dating of two teeth extracted from the reliquary in Padua. What stories were told about Luke's death? There are actually very few, beyond traditions and passing statements. Gregory of Nazianzus lists him among several figures executed during the reign of Domitian (*Or. 4 Cont. Jul.* in *PG* 35.589) and the Latin tradition places his death in Chalcedon.³ The Byzantine *Synaxarion* records that Luke was eventually buried in Thebes – hence, Catholicos Hieronymus' request.⁴ Here, we will discuss a particular story, quite distinct from these other traditions, entitled simply "the Martyrdom of Luke the Evangelist" (*Mart. Luke*).⁵

Mart. Luke follows the final days of the purported companion of Paul and writer of the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles (though in the Syriac version he is identified as *Peter's* follower!). At the outset, Luke is said to be the last of the Apostles in the region surrounding Rome, Nero having executed the rest. While he preaches, the Jews inform Nero of a surviving Christian leader. The emperor then sends soldiers after Luke, who, in both Coptic and Syriac, is said to reside in the city of "Prokonnesus" (a town not mentioned in the Arabic and Gəʿəz versions). Luke hears that soldiers are coming for him and flees to the coast, where he meets a man named Silas (Theophilus in Arabic). He gives Silas his books and tells him to read them constantly, for they are the gospel of Jesus. Silas takes the books and follows Luke's orders, leading to the conversion of many. Luke then returns to the city and is arrested and brought to Nero. After a trial, during which Luke performs several feats and gives an oral defence, Nero sentences Luke to death. He is taken out to sea and beheaded, and his body is placed in a sack and dumped into the sea. "Divine providence" then causes a wave to take Luke's body to an unnamed island, where it is found and becomes a source of miracles and the exorcism of demons.

3 September 10, according to the *Martyrologium Romanum*, along with Apollos and Clement. cf. G. Balestri, "Il martirio di S. Luca evangelista (Testo copto e traduzione)." *Bessarione* 2.8 (1905): 129–140, here 129.

4 Cf. Hier. Makarios of Simonos Petra, *The Synaxarion: The Lives of the Saints of the Orthodox Church*, vol. 1 (trans. C. Hookway; Ormylia/Chalkidike: Holy Convent of the Annunciation of Our Lady, 1998), 412–15.

5 BHO 570.

This narrative is quite distinct from any of the summaries found in the *Synaxaria* or *Martyrologies* in the Latin and Greek traditions. In fact, one of the striking features about *Mart. Luke* is that there is no trace of a Greek or Latin version of this work. The only surviving versions are written in Coptic, Syriac, Arabic, and Gəʿəz.⁶ In other words, *Mart. Luke* appears to be a distinctly Eastern/North African tradition. Importantly, the Coptic and Syriac versions have direct connections to the Wādī al-Naṭrūn in Egypt, their extant manuscripts date very close together, and both transmit a very similar version of the story. Despite this, these two earliest extant versions of *Mart. Luke* have never been compared.

The present study constitutes the first comparative analysis of the Coptic and Syriac version of *Mart. Luke*. First, we will provide codicological details for both traditions, with references to the known surviving Arabic and Gəʿəz manuscripts. Second, we will offer brief analytical hypotheses and conclusions based on the textual comparison. Finally, we provide the texts and translations, side-by-side, divided into sections for the first time. As we shall demonstrate, it is most likely that the Coptic version served as the basis for the Syriac, as well as all subsequent iterations of the story.

The Codicology of the Syriac and Coptic Martyrdom of Luke

Syriac

Mart. Luke appears in two Syriac manuscripts, one of which is extremely fragmentary. The earlier manuscript, BL Add. ms 12172, is dated by William

⁶ All the versions have been translated into modern languages. For the Coptic version, see Balestri, “Il martirio di S. Luca evangelista” (ed. and Italian trans. of the complete version); H. G. Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrūn. Part 1: New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1926), 47–50 (English trans. of fragments); for the Syriac, see F. Nau, “La version syriaque inédite des martyres de S. Pierre, S. Paul et S. Luc d’après un manuscrit du dixième siècle.” *ROC* 3 (1898): 39–42 (text), 151–67 (French trans.); for Arabic see A. Smith Lewis, *Acta Mythologica Apostolorum, Transcribed from an Arabic Ms. in the Convent of Deyr-es-Suriani, Egypt, and from Mss. in the Convent of St Catherine, on Mount Sinai* (Horae Semiticae 3; London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1904), 130–133 (English trans.); for the Gəʿəz, see E. A. W. Budge, *Gadla Hawāryāt: The Contendings of the Apostles, Being the Lives and Martyrdoms and Deaths of the Twelve Apostles and Evangelists*. Vol. 1 (London: Henry Frowde, 1899), 119–25.

Wright to the tenth century.⁷ The three texts are divided into two columns (the pricking is still visible) of about 27–34 lines each. On fol. 12r, there is a note stating that the manuscript belonged to Dayr al-Suryān (the Monastery of the Syrians) in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Egypt, and was donated to the monastery by a man named Zechariah bar Yuḥannon.⁸ A large cache of Syriac manuscripts were brought to this monastery in the tenth century by Abbot Muše of Nisibis,⁹ though this manuscript was evidently donated to the monastery by Zechariah. Although it is not certain from where Zechariah brought this manuscript, it is possible that it originated in Egypt in a Syriac-speaking community.¹⁰

The other manuscript, BL Add. 14732, is a paper manuscript that is heavily mutilated but originally contained 56 stories of holy men and women, to which were added 14 more. It dates to about the thirteenth century, by palaeography,¹¹ but the added material makes it difficult to assess the handwriting. Fols. 1r–2r (containing a table of contents) differ slightly from fols. 217–27¹² – *Mart. Luke* appears in fragmentary form beginning on fol. 225v, meaning it belongs to the added material. Aside from the damage,

7 W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since the year 1838*, vol. 3 (London: British Museum, 1872), 1116–17. This manuscript was split into two (by the request of Zechariah in the note) and Wright gives a very similar description of the first half of the manuscript (featuring the writings of Isaiah of Scetis). See Wright, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, 465.

8 This same name is found in BL Add. 14577, though there Zechariah has erased the name of a previous owner and added his own name, but with a similar note saying that the manuscript should be donated to Dayr al-Suryān. Wright dates Add. 14577 to the ninth century. See Wright, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, 784–88. This manuscript also has the writings of Isaiah of Scetis.

9 See H. G. Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wādī 'N Naṭrūn Part II: The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and Scetis* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973), 337–338; S. P. Brock, “Without Mushe of Nisibis, Where Would We Be? Some Reflections on the Transmission of Syriac Literature,” *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 56 (2004): 15–24; idem, “Abbot Mushe of Nisibis: Collector of Syriac Manuscripts,” in C. Baffioni, R. B. Finazzi, A. Acqua, P. Dell, and E. Vergani (eds.), *Gli Studi Orientalistici in Ambrosiana nella cornice del IV centenario (1609–2009)* (Milan: Bulzoni, 2012), 15–32.

10 On the existence of such communities, see K. Innemée and L. Van Rompay, “La présence des syriens dans le Wadi al-Natrun (Égypte): À propos des découvertes récentes de peintures et de textes muraux dans l'Église de la Vierge du Couvent des Syriens,” *ParOr* 23 (1998): 167–202; L. Van Rompay, “Takritans in the Egyptian Desert: The Monastery of the Syrians in the Ninth Century,” *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 1 (2001): 41–60.

11 Wright, *Catalogue*, 3.1141–46.

12 See the various notes in the colophons in Wright, *Catalogue*, 3.1145–46.

the handwriting is relatively clear, in two columns of 30 to 47 lines each. One of the notes by the contributor of the latter 14 stories, Yuḥannon of Sigistān, mentions the hardship he and his fellow monks at Dayr al-Suryān experienced to procure a Syriac copy of the life of Pachomius for the volume (the beginning of which appears on fol. 227r, but is mutilated after that). Both manuscripts thus spent time at Dayr al-Suryān and quite probably even originated there, giving the Syriac version a specifically Egyptian provenance.

François Nau pointed out that, in both manuscripts, the story appears alongside stories of Peter's and Paul's martyrdoms and the three texts serve as a kind of trilogy.¹³ He demonstrated that the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul are related to the Greek versions.¹⁴ The third story, *Mart. Luke*, does not appear to have an extant *Vorlage* in Greek or Latin. As Nau states, Lipsius had already noticed the lack of any Western basis for *Mart. Luke* and had conjectured that the narrative originated in Coptic:

Le martyre de saint Luc n'existe ni en grec ni en latin, mais seulement en copte et en éthiopien. Ces deux dernières Églises, en effet, font de Luc un martyr; tandis que les deux premières le font en général mourir de mort naturelle. M. Lipsius pouvait donc en conclure que le martyre de saint Luc était d'origine copte.¹⁵

Nau considers Lipsius's theory plausible, but maintains that "la publication d'une version syriaque qui existait au dixième siècle obligera à se demander si le martyre de saint Luc n'aurait pas une origine grecque relativement moderne et n'aurait pas passé du grec simultanément ou successivement au syriaque et au copte et de là à l'arabe et à l'éthiopien."¹⁶ In other words, Nau prefers a scenario in which a (now-lost) Greek archetype existed for the Syriac version which was then transmitted to Coptic, which in turn served as the basis for Arabic and Gəʿəz versions of *Mart. Luke*.

Coptic

The Coptic version of *Mart. Luke* is found in two manuscripts, both of which were once part of the extensive library of Dayr al-Anba Maqār (the Monastery of Saint Macarius) in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn. The first, MACA.DM/

¹³ Nau, "La version syriaque," 41–42.

¹⁴ Nau, "La version syriaque," 39–41.

¹⁵ Nau, "La version syriaque," 41. For the hypothesis of Lipsius, see R. A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichte un Apostellegenden* (3 vols.; Braunschweig, 1884), 3.368–71.

¹⁶ Nau, "La version syriaque," 41–42.

CLM 148,¹⁷ is the only complete copy of the text preserved in Coptic. This parchment manuscript is currently held in the Vatican Library (Vat. Copt. 68 ff. 16–21), and is part of the large number of well-preserved codices obtained from the monastery by Lebanese orientalist Giuseppe Simone Assemani during his mission from June 30 1715 to January 9 1717 to collect manuscripts on behalf of Pope Clement XI.¹⁸ MACA.DM can be broadly dated based on its scribe, one Khael son of Matoi (identified on the basis of palaeography), who copied 26 manuscripts for the monastery sometime between 945 and 1025 CE.¹⁹ The text of *Mart. Luke* begins on page 37 of the codex. However, since the manuscripts from Dayr al-Anba Maqār were divided in situ at some point before the 17th century and rebound in new combinations on the basis of liturgical date, it is unclear which text or texts preceded it, or if any came after it.²⁰

The second copy of the Coptic *Mart. Luke* appears in CLM 2879, a fragmentary paper manuscript containing several apocryphal acts of the Apostles. The manuscript can only be tentatively dated on the basis of palaeography to the 12th–14th centuries.²¹ None of the works in this manuscript are preserved in their entirety, although both the beginning and the end of the *Dormition of John* are extant. The works, and their attested page ranges, are as follows:

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- 17 The MACA sigla refers to the referencing system used by the Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari (CMCL): <http://www.cmcl.it/>. The CLM number is the identifier employed by the Tracking Papyrus and Pathways (PAThs) database: <https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/>.
 - 18 Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn, Part I*, xxxix; D. V. Proverbio, “Per una storia del fondo dei Vaticani Copti”, in P. Buzi and D. V. Proverbio (eds.), *Coptic Treasures from the Vatican Library: A Selection of Coptic, Copto-Arabic and Ethiopic Manuscripts. Papers collected on the occasion of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies (Rome, September 17th–22nd, 2012)* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2012), 11–20, here 14; S. P. Cook, *The Medieval Coptic Manuscripts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius (9th–14th C): A Study on the Monastic Context of Apocryphal Literature*, forthcoming.
 - 19 On the dating of the Coptic manuscripts from Dayr al-Anba Maqār, see S. P. Cook, “Social Network Analysis and the Dating of Coptic Manuscripts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 79.3 (2025): 271–310, for Khael son of Matoi in particular, 301; Cook, *The Medieval Coptic Manuscripts*.
 - 20 On the division and reorganisation of the codices, see Cook, *The Medieval Coptic Manuscripts*.
 - 21 On dating the manuscripts from Dayr al-Anba Maqār on the basis of palaeography, see Cook, “Social Network Analysis,” 274–78; Cook, *The Medieval Coptic Manuscripts*.

145 leaves missing; it is unclear how many texts were in this lacuna.

1. *Preaching of John* (pp. x + 291–353)
2. *Dormition of John* (pp. 353–378)
3. *Preaching of Philip* (pp. x (379?) + 391–398 + x)
4. *Martyrdom of Philip* (pp. x + 401–412 + x)
5. *Preaching of Bartholomew* (pp. x + 421–428 + x)

148 leaves missing; it is unclear how many texts were in this lacuna

6. *Martyrdom of Matthias* (pp. x + 727–728 + x)
7. *Martyrdom of Mark* (pp. x + 759–770 + x)
8. *Martyrdom of Luke* (pp. x + 781–788 + x)

The surviving leaves of CLM 2879 are spread across three different collections. 38 leaves are currently held in the Coptic Museum in Cairo. These were collected from the monastery in 1920/1921 by Hugh Evelyn-White, who edited and translated them with the identifier Cairo nos 5–6.²² All the leaves which Evelyn-White obtained during this visit were most likely returned to Egypt prior to his death in 1924.²³ A further leaf is held in the library of the University of Cambridge, under the call number Add. 1886 f. 3 (pages 787–788 of the manuscript). It was among those leaves which Constantine von Tischendorf obtained from the monastery during his visit in April 1844, which were divided between the libraries of the University of Cambridge and the University of Leipzig.²⁴ The Cambridge leaf forms part of the *Martyrdom of Luke*, and was published along with the Cairo leaves by Evelyn-White.²⁵ A further three leaves were obtained by William Henry Paine Hatch during his visit to the monastery in 1923 and which he published in 1950.²⁶ However,

22 Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn, Part I*, 28–49. The current call numbers in the Coptic Museum are unknown. The pages are not consecutive: for an overview of the extant fragments, see the edition of Evelyn-White.

23 H. N. Takla, “Bohairic Literature of St. Macarius Monastery,” in S. Moawad (ed.), *Coptic Literature: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of Coptic Studies by the Saint Mark Foundation, Monastery of St. Bishoi (Wadi al-Natrun), 10–14 February 2019* (Cairo: Saint Mark Foundation, 2022), 281–94, here 284; Cook, *The Medieval Coptic Manuscripts*.

24 Takla, “Bohairic Literature,” 283; Cook, *The Medieval Coptic*. On the expedition of Tischendorf, see C. von Tischendorf, *Travels in the East* (Cambridge: Longman, 1847).

25 Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn, Part I*, 50.

26 W. H. P. Hatch, “Three Hitherto Unpublished Leaves from a Manuscript of the *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* in Bohairic Coptic,” in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute 2; Boston: Byzantine Institute, 1950), 305–17.

since his death in 1972, the whereabouts of these leaves is unknown. They contain sections of both the *Preaching of John* (pp. 317–318, 351–352) and the *Martyrdom of Mark* (pp. 761–762).

Both MACA.DM and CLM 2879 are written in the Bohairic dialect of Coptic, in a language variety previously referred to as “Nitrian Bohairic” based on an early error in scholarship which equated the Wādī al-Naṭrūn with the nearby region of Nitria.²⁷ The term “Medieval Bohairic” is more preferable, referring to a language variety which, as Funk states, represents “the *état de langue* that Bohairic writing had reached by the 9th and 10th centuries encompassing the work of a great number of different scribes with slightly different orthographical habits.”²⁸ MACA.DM is written in a blocky, unimodular hand (also erroneously referred to as “Nitrian” by some scholars), typical of those manuscripts from Dayr al-Anba Maqār dated between the 9th and 11th/12th centuries.²⁹ CLM 2879 is also written in a unimodular hand, typical of Bohairic manuscripts dated after the 12th century, and characterised by thin strokes and the use of red ink to decorate initials and certain letters such as ϥ and ⲑ.³⁰

Particular paratextual features of MACA.DM point to the fact that it was read aloud during liturgical celebrations in Dayr al-Anba Maqār.³¹ On the first page of the text, the top margin (though trimmed) contains the date “Day 22 of Bābah” (ϥⲟⲩⲕⲉⲃ ⲙⲓⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛ): the date of Luke’s martyrdom as given in the text and in the Copto-Arabic *Synaxarium*. Such dates appear throughout the corpus of Coptic manuscripts from Dayr al-Anba Maqār, often with other instructions on which sections of the text to read, and locations within the

27 W.-P. Funk, “Coptic Dialects and the Vatican Library,” in *Coptic Treasures from the Vatican Library*, 47–52, here 50; M. Sheridan, “The modern historiography of early Egyptian monasticism,” in M. Bielawski and D. Hombergen (eds.), *Il Monachesimo tra Eredità e Apertura. Atti del simposio “Testi e temi nella tradizione del monachesimo Cristiano” per il 50° anniversario dell’Istituto Monastico di Sant’Anselmo* (Studia Anselmiana 140; Rome: Studia Anselmiana, 2004), 197–220, here 201.

28 Funk, ‘Coptic Dialects and the Vatican Library’, 50. On the dialect of the manuscripts from Dayr al-Anba Maqār, see also Cook, *The Medieval Coptic Manuscripts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*.

29 On the dating of this hand, see Cook, “Social Network Analysis,” 275–77; Cook, *The Medieval Coptic Manuscripts*.

30 Cook, “Social Network Analysis,” 275–77; Cook, *The Medieval Coptic Manuscripts*.

31 On the use of the Coptic literary manuscripts for liturgical purposes at Dayr al-Anba Maqār, see Cook, *The Medieval Coptic Manuscripts*.

monastery where the readings were to take place.³² On folio 21v, the word [σκ]ῆρκερ “roll” appears in the left margin. The exact translation in this context is unclear: Crum relates it to other marginal notes in the corpus such as σοκς and χак εβολ, which he suggests could refer to the mode of reading.³³ When the term is employed in the Dayr al-Anba Maqār manuscripts, it is almost always in the last few paragraphs of the text, suggesting it could have indicated to the reader to change his posture or manner of speaking to herald the impending end of the reading.³⁴ Two geometric shapes in different hands appear in the right margin of folio 20r: one where Nero speaks after Luke is tortured (§16) and the other at beginning of the first prayer spoken by Luke (§17). A small, lunate sigma in red ink appears twice in the margins of the manuscript (folios 17r and 19r). Marginal sigma and antisigma are common throughout the corpus, possibly as a way of drawing attention to the passages they accompany. The geometric shapes and lunate sigma may be related to private reading. However, due to the wealth of other paratextual marks and marginal notes in the corpus which designate sections of the texts to be read aloud, it cannot be ruled out that the signs in MACA.DM perform a similar function. The first page of the manuscript also contains a small miniature of Luke in the right margin, with the caption “Luke the Evangelist” (λογκας π[ε]χ[α]ρ γελις της), with the face of Luke also drawn in the same style in the enlarged initial ι which begins the main text.

Some Comparative Observations

In general, the Coptic and Syriac versions of the story are quite similar, but there are some important differences worth mentioning. In terms of their material embodiments, the fact that the narrative appears in groupings with stories of other apostles is noteworthy, given the propensity for such stories to be grouped together in medieval manuscript collections, particularly in the African milieu.³⁵ Since the four manuscripts discussed here all have an

32 S. P. Cook, “‘Omit This – it Was False’: Editing, Erasure, and Multiple Authors in Ps.-John Chrysostom’s On Michael A,” *Journal of Coptic Studies* 24 (2022): 9–34, here 12; Cook, *The Medieval Coptic Manuscripts*.

33 W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), 329b (σκερκερ) and 326a (σοκς).

34 Cook, *The Medieval Coptic Manuscripts*.

35 See, e.g., the collections including *Mart. Luke* in Gəʿaz studied by A. Bausi, “Alcune osservazioni sul *Gadla ḥawāryāt*,” *Annali dell’Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 60–61 (2001–2002): 77–114.

Egyptian provenience, and three are dated no earlier than the tenth century, it is not surprising that they would group *Mart. Luke* in such collections of “Contendings of the Apostles.”

There are reasons to prefer Lipsius’s hypothesis about a Coptic origin for *Mart. Luke*. In fact, we may go even further to suggest that the story had a specific Egyptian origin. For example, the Syriac version contains at its end both the Egyptian date of Luke’s martyrdom (22 of Bābah) and the Syrian date (19 of Tishrīn), whereas the Coptic only includes the Egyptian date. It would make sense for the Syriac translator to add the Syrian date to a text that already included an Egyptian date. At the same time, it is important to note that the two texts with which *Mart. Luke* circulated in Syriac, the *Martyrdom of Peter* and the *Martyrdom of Paul*, also include the Egyptian date (day 5 of Abīb, three years apart³⁶) before giving the Syrian date. As Nau already observed, the stories of Peter and Paul clearly derive from Greek origins, which means that the Syriac translator intentionally added the Egyptian dating to the text, mostly likely because the manuscripts came from an Egyptian provenance. Thus, the inclusion of the Egyptian date in *Mart. Luke* may simply be a matter of consistency between the narratives. This, however, would not omit the possibility of the Syriac *Mart. Luke* being dependent on a Coptic source.

Another example is the strange name for the city in which Luke is said to be preaching, “Prokonnesus,” which could refer to the second largest island in the Sea of Marmara. Prokonnesus was home to a bishop as early as 5th century, who was present at the Council of Ephesus in 431. The mention of this city in connection to Nero would be, of course, anachronistic, and the text appears to associate “Rome” here with *new* Rome, or Constantinople. Such a confusion in geography is not uncommon in Coptic parabiblical narratives.³⁷

At the text-critical level, there are some other curious discrepancies between the two versions. The most striking comes at §20 where in Coptic

³⁶ See the translations in Nau, “La version syriaque”.

³⁷ See the recent essay by I. Miroshnikov, “The Preaching of Philip: A New Edition of the Sahidic Fragments with an Introduction, Translation, and Notes,” in I. Miroshnikov *Parabiblica Coptica* (Parabiblica 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2024), 53–100, esp. 61. See also O. von Lemm, *Kleine koptische Studien* (Subsidia Byzantina 10; Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1972), 5 n. 20: „Die Kopten sind sicher keine grossen Kenner der Geographie des Auslandes gewesen.”

Luke refers to his “father Paul” while the Syriac has “father Peter”. Indeed, the opening section of the Coptic version maintains the traditional relationship between Luke and Paul, while the Syriac has Luke and Titus as disciples of Peter. The Syriac version is the more difficult to explain, though it may have something to do with the traditional locations of the apostles, with Rome being the domain of Peter. This detail in Syriac is further mystifying in that it departs from what is recorded in the *Martyrdom of Paul*, which appears prior to *Mart. Luke* in both Syriac manuscripts. In the *Martyrdom of Paul*, Luke and Titus are visited by the departed Paul, following the well-attested Latin tradition from the *Martyrdom of the Blessed Paul* by Ps-Linus (CANT 212).³⁸ Thus, the earlier observation of scribal consistency between these stories regarding the Egyptian dates is seemingly broken here regarding important details of the story.

In many ways, the Coptic version is more elaborate than the Syriac. For example, §§14–16 in the Coptic contains the tortures and verbal showdown between Luke and Nero, which are completely missing in the Syriac. The Syriac has its typical elaborations of style (e.g., adding extra modal verbs, descriptors for various characters, etc.) which makes some of the sequences longer and more detailed. Occasionally, the prayers (e.g., §20) and narrative sequences (e.g., §11) are more detailed in content in the Syriac version, but by and large the expansions appear to favour a Coptic-to-Syriac direction of influence. That said, it is also important to note that the Syriac version is more closely related to the later Coptic manuscript (CLM 2879). The speech of the priest in *Mart. Luke* 8, for example, more closely aligns with the Syriac than does the earlier Coptic manuscript. If the Syriac relied on a Coptic version akin to CLM 2879, then we must imagine that it represents an earlier form of the narrative that was then expanded, translated, and transmitted into various languages and versions.

In past scholarship, it was generally almost axiomatic to assume a Greek Vorlage for nearly every extant Coptic text. Recent scholarship has pushed against this notion and revealed the ingenuity, creativity, and distinctiveness of the Coptic literary tradition.³⁹ Given the absence in the Western Christian

³⁸ See D. A. Eastman, *The Ancient Martyrdom Accounts of Peter and Paul* (WGRW 39; Atlanta: SBL, 2015), 139–69.

³⁹ See, e.g., the essays in Miroshnikov, *Parabiblica Coptica*; Graz, Florian. “I Found a Little Book Which the Apostles Had Written.” PhD thesis, University of Oslo, 2024.

[illegible]

43 Beginning of the Cairo leaves. From here until the beginning of the Cambridge leaves, the edition is that of Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrun, Part I*, 47–49.

44 On the phrase $\chi\omega\kappa\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ “to be completed, perfect” as a euphemism for death, see J. van der Vliet, “A note on $\chi\omega\kappa\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$, ‘to die’,” *Enchoria* 16 (1988): 89–93.

§2		
MACA.DM	Ἐταφῆνι ἑ΄[ι]να⁴⁵ ἵχεκεσαρος νηρων ἀφ᾽ὧν τ΄[ι]⁴⁶ ἕανογιωτῇ ἡλιβιῇ ἐβογι ἐπαγλος νενλογκας ογορ παγλος μεν ἀφορογῶλι ἡτεφναρβι λογκας δε ἀφῶτ ἐβολ ραππο ἡπογο ἀφῶπι ἐφριωῖ καταβακι νιβεν νεντῆμι ἐτρεντῆπαρاليا τῆρς ἡτερῶν ἡπτεγαγγελιον ἡτεπενῶς ἡς πᾶς ἐαφταχρεφναρτῇ ἡπῆς ἕεντῆγχι νρᾶνῆνῃ	When Caesar Nero learned of these things, he grew angry in a great madness at Paul and Luke. And he caused Paul's neck to be cut, while Luke fled from before the king. He was preaching the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in every city and village which was on the entire coast of Rome, having strengthened the faith of Christ in the souls of many.
CLM 2879	Κεσαρ δε νηρων πογο ἀφ᾽ὧν ἡπαγλος ἀφῶλι ἡτεφᾶφε ἕανρῶννι λογκας δε ἀφῶτ ἐβολ ραππο ἡπογο ἀφῶπι ἐφριωῖ καταβακι νιβεν νεντῆμι νιβεν ἐτρεντῆπαρاليا τῆρς ἡτερῶν Νοοφ δε λογκας ναφοι ἡγραμῆτεγς ἡπᾶγιος παγλος ογορ ἐφῆρι καταῆπραζις 782 ἡταφ νενρῶν νιβεν ἐῶνανεγ ἐτεφριωῖ ἡνωογ <ἕενφραν>⁴⁷ ἡτεπενῶς ἡς πᾶς	And Caesar Nero the king seized Paul and he cut off his head in Rome, and Luke fled from before the king. He was preaching in every city and village which was on the entire coast of Rome. And he, Luke, was a scribe of Saint Paul, and he was writing according to the deeds of his and every good thing which he was preaching <in the name> of our lord Jesus Christ.
BL Add. 12712	Κεσαρ ἀφῶλι καταβακι νιβεν νεντῆμι νιβεν ἐτρεντῆπαρاليا τῆρς ἡτερῶν Νοοφ δε λογκας ναφοι ἡγραμῆτεγς ἡπᾶγιος παγλος ογορ ἐφῆρι καταῆπραζις 782 ἡταφ νενρῶν νιβεν ἐῶνανεγ ἐτεφριωῖ ἡνωογ <ἕενφραν>⁴⁷ ἡτεπενῶς ἡς πᾶς	But Nero Caesar captured the Saint and apostle Paul and killed him in Rome. But Luke escaped from the king and went forth and in every town and village which surrounded the great (city of) Rome and this Luke was the chronicler of Saint Paul after Peter and he wrote down all of his acts and all of the good deeds of our Lord Jesus Christ which he preached to them.

45 The scribe appears to have written an epsilon over an erroneous iota.

46 The scribe seems to have first left a space after the preceding nu, written an iota, then added the tau in this gap, with the right side of the vertical bar covering the top of iota.

47 Restoration by Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn, Part I*, 48.

BL Add. 14732	ܐܘܢ ܐܝܢ ܠܐܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܩܥܨܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ: ܕܥܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܕܡܠܐ ܐܝܢ ܒܥܡ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ. ܕܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܐܝܢ ܕܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ	But Nero captured the saint and apostle Paul and killed him in Rome. But Luke went forth in every town and village which surrounded Rome and was preaching. And [th]is blessed Luke w[a]s the chronicler of saint Paul after St. Peter and he wrote down all of his acts and all of the [go]od deeds which he preached to them about our Lord Jesus Christ.
§3		
MACA.DM	ԶԱՆՈՒԹՒ ԴԵ ԻՆԻՆԻ ՆԵՄՋԱՊԲՈՒՐԻ 16v ռափրի իմաօյ իեննի եօթանի շանբելլեյ Գափօրոյնայ ինօլ շանճալեյ Գափօրոյնօյ շահաքսէր Գափօրոյնօյ շահոյր Գափօրոյնօյ ՆԵՄՋԱՆԵՆԻՉ ԻՏՈՏ ԻԿԹՈՒ իօյթօ իրի՛ Էափօրֆափր Երօյ իենփրա ինենօ՛ ի՛ճ ք՛ճ ԴՆՆԱՐԻ ԻՃԵՐԱՆԲԱԿԻ ՆԵՄՋԱՆԻՆԻ ԵՅՕԿ ԵՍՐԱՆ ԵՅՕԿԱՆ ՆԵՆԵՆՕ՛ ի՛ճ ք՛ճ ԵՆԱԿ ԵՆԻՆԻՆԻ ԵԹԵՓԻՐԻ ի՛ՆԱՅՕ ԻՃԵՐԵԿԵԿԵԿ ԼՕԿԱՃ ԶԱՆԵԿԿԼԻՏԻԱ ՆԵՄՋԱՆՈՆԻ ՆԱԿՕՒՏ ի՛ՆԱՅՕ ԿԱԴԱՆԱ ՈՒ ԴԵ ԿԻՐՕՅ ԵԿԱՆԱՐԻ ՆԱԿՐՕՅԻՒ ՔԵ ԵԴՅՈՒՆ ԵՍԹԵՆԻ ԻՆԵՆՕ՛ ի՛ճ ք՛ճ ՆԵՄԻ՛ՏԵՆ ՆԵՄՆԱԴԻՕ՛ ԼՕԿԱՃ	And great wonders and marvels he was performing on those who were sick. Blind people he caused to see, lame people he caused to walk, lepers he purified, deaf people he caused to hear, and multitudes of other sorts of sicknesses of many sorts he healed in the name of our lord Jesus Christ. Many cities and villages believed in the holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ upon seeing the marvels that his servant Luke was doing. Churches and monasteries were built everywhere. And all those who believed were joyful in the service of our Lord Jesus Christ and the teaching of Saint Luke.

BL Add. 14732	ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ	And this blessed evangelist Luke preached in the cities and villages and our Lord Jesus [...] performed [...] and wonders and miracles through him among the si[ck] [...]
§4		
MACA.DM	ܐܬܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ	But when the priests of the idols saw (this), Satan filled their hearts. They took council with the Jews who were in that entire country so that they might gather in the temple which was in their metropolis on day 20 of the month of Thoth.
CLM 2879	ܐܬܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ	But when the priests of the idols of the pagans saw (this), Satan entered them, and they made council with the Jews who were in all the villages and cities so that they might gather in the temple which was in the metropolis of their country on ⁴⁸ day 20 of the month of Thoth.
BL Add. 12172	ܐܬܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ	But when the priests of the idols of the pagans saw all of these virtuous deeds of our living God and Lord Jesus Christ, which happened by the hand of Luke the evangelist, Satan entered into them. They took ⁴⁹ counsel with the Jews who dwelled with them in their cities and villages so that they gathered together in one of the pagan temples which was in a certain metropolis of that region. Then they set a meeting with one another to gather in that temple of idols on the 20 th of December.
BL Add. 14732	[Lacuna]	[Lacuna]

⁴⁸ The phrase ܐܬܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ, lit. “up to”, is unusual here, as it implies a duration of time rather than a single point. More usual would be ܐܬܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ “on day 22 of Bābah” in §23 below.

⁴⁹ They took: the original reading is the third singular and the final waw was added to make the plural.

§5		
MACA.DM	ΔΑΥΔΠ ΔΕ ΕΤΑΟΥΜΗΩ ΕΦΟΩ ΝΤΕΠΙΡΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ΝΕΜΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΘΑΟΥΤ' ΕΝΟΥΓΕΡΗΟΥ ΔΥΩΕ ΝΑΟΥ ΕΒΟΥΝ ΕΠΙΕΡΦΕΙ ΕΥΣΟΠ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΥΖΕΜΙ	And it happened that when a multitudinous crowd of pagans and Jews gathered to each other, they entered into the temple at once and they sat.
CLM 2879	ΔΑΥΔΠ ΔΕ ΕΤΑΟΥΘΟΥΤ⁷⁸⁴ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΧΕΠΙΛΑΟΣ ΝΕΜΝΙΟΥΔΑΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΥΩΕ ΝΑΟΥ ΕΒΟΥΝ ΕΠΙΕΡΦΕΙ ΕΥΣΟΠ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΙΟΥΗΒ ΝΤΕΠΙΕΡΦΕΙ ΝΕΜΝΟΥΝΟΥΤ' ΝΑΥΣΕΛΣΩΔ ΉΕΝΖΑΝΦΑΝΟΣ ΗΝΟΥΒ ΝΕΝΖΑΝΚΥΡΩ(Η) ΝΟΥΘΟ ΝΡΗΤ ΜΕΝΕΝΣΑΝΑΙ ΑΥΖΕΜΙ ΝΧΕΠΙΛΑΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΕΜΝΙΝΙΟΥΤ' ΝΤΕΠΙΠΑΛΛΑΤΙΟΝ ΝΤΕΠΟΥΡΟ ΝΕΜΝΙΝΙΟΥΤ' ΝΤΕΤΒΑΚΙ ΕΥΖΕΜΙ ΖΙΧΕΝΖΑΝΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΝΕΝΖΑΝΣΚΑΜΝΙΝ	And it happened that when the people and the Jews gathered and entered the temple— and the priests of the temple and their gods were adorned with gold lamps and candles of many sorts— after these things, all the people and the magistrates of the palace of the king and the chiefs of the city sat, sitting upon thrones and benches.
BL Add. 12172	כְּשֶׁמָּה כְּזִי כְּחָ אַמְבִּהִרָא אֲהִי־כָּ כְּזִי כְּ חָא אֲמַל מַא אֲבַחֵא כְּזִמְרָא כְּזִמְרָא כְּזִמְרָא אֲמַל כְּזִמְרָא כְּזִמְרָא כְּזִמְרָא כְּזִמְרָא כְּזִמְרָא אֲמַל כְּזִמְרָא אֲמַל כְּזִמְרָא כְּזִמְרָא אֲמַל כְּזִמְרָא אֲמַל כְּזִמְרָא כְּזִמְרָא אֲמַל כְּזִמְרָא אֲמַל	And when the great populace of pagans and Jews was gathered together they entered the pagan temple. Now, the priests of those idols adorned their idols (their empty gods) with gold, silver, furs, and lights and the pagans and Jews all sat together in the pagan temple.
BL Add. 14732	[Lacuna]	[Lacuna]

§6		
MACA.DM	Δαὶ ἐομένητ ἡξεπνικωτ ἰογὴνβ ^{17c} οὐορ πεχαϋ ξεπνρῶνι νενσννοϋ τέτενέμι χεῶρετ μετρεφερπεῶνανεϋ ὡοπ ναν ἕεντπρονοῖᾶ ἡμνοϋτ	The high priest came into their midst and said: “Men, our brothers, you know that it is through the providence of the gods that beneficence exists for us.
	Οὐορ ἄνον ρων πετσαϋ ερον πε εχῶκ εβολ ἡοεραπα ἡβεν ἡτῶοϋ οὐορ ἡτένωτμετᾶσο εῶγον ἡβεν εῶναερεμποδάζιν ἡποϋϋεμῶι	And it is also we for whom it is fitting to complete every sacrificial worship of theirs, and not to suffer anyone who will hinder their service.
	Οὐορ ρηππε ἄνσῶκ εχῶν ἡογνικωτ ἡεγλῆνα ριτέννῖνοϋτ εῶρογχῶντ ερον οὐορ ἡσεϋοττε(ν) εβολ χεῶνερᾶνεχεσῶε ἡπαρῶνι ἡναδγος χελογκας εῶρεϋσῶρεν ἡπνῖνω τηρϋ ἡτέτενκῶρα εβολ ραπῶεμῶι ἡμνοϋτ ἡρεϋτ ἡπῶνβ εῶογν επῶεμῶι ἡογρῶνι χεῖῖς οὐορ περφεῖ ἡτέπνικωτ ἡμνοϋτ παλλων ἄγοπϋ εῶλι	And behold! We have brought upon ourselves a great accusation through the gods, so that they are angry with us and might obliterate us, since we have allowed this human magician, Luke, to lead the entire multitude of our country astray from the service of the life-giving gods to the service of a man, namely Jesus. And the temple of the great gods, Apollo, they have considered as nothing.”

CLM 2879	ՕԿՈՐ ԲԳԻ ԵՅՈՒՆԻՒՄ ԻՄՊԵՐԻՈՐԻ ՆՈՅՈՒՆ ΟΥΟΡ ΠΕΧΑΔ ՃԵԱԳԻ ԵՏԵՆԽՈՐԱ ԻՄԵՐԱ(Ն)ՄԱԳՈՏ ἡΓΓΑΛΙΛΕՅՈՍ ԵՅՈՒՆ 785 ԵՅՈՒՆԻՒԹ ἡΓΓΑΛΙΛΕՅՈՍ ՆԵՄՆԻՈՒԹ ՆԻ ԵՏԱԳԹԱՄԻՏՈՅ ՈԱԳ ԻՄԱԹԵՆԻՏ ԻՄԵՐԻՏ ՓԻ ԵՏՈՅՈՒՄՈՒՄ ԵՐՈՑ ՃԵՐԻՏ ԶԳՐՈՅԺԱԳԺ ԻՄԵՐԻՄԻՆԻ ՆԵՄՆԻՈՒԳՔԻՐԻ ԵՏՈՅԻՐԻ ԻՄՈՅՈՒՄ ԿԱՏԱՄՈՒՄ ԶՈՒՄՈՐԻ ՆՏԱՆՈՅՏԵՍ ԿԻՐՈՅ ԻՄԵՐԻՄՈՒՅՈՍ ՆԵՄՆՈՅՄԱԳԻԱ ԶԱՆԿԵՊՈՅՈՒՄ ԴԵ ԶԳԻԹՅՈՅՈՒՄ ԻՄԵՐՈՅՐՈ ՆԻՐՈՆ ՓԱԻՒԵՏ ԴԵ ԶՈՑ ԶԵՆՈՅԿԱՏ ԶԳՓԱՏ ԵՅՈՒՆ ԶԱՐՁՈ ԻՍՈՅՐՈ ԶԳՓԱՐԻ ՆՈՅՈՒՆՈՒ ԵՆԵՏԵՓԻԼԱՆՆԻ	And the great priest came into the midst and said: “Some Galilean sorcerers from the 12 Galileans and the 72, came to our country, these ones whom Jesus, the one they call Christ, made disciples for himself. The signs and wonders which they perform everywhere have caused them to multiply. All the Romans follow their teachings and their sorceries. And some others, the king Nero has killed them. But this other one, Luke, fled from before the king. He has led a host astray through his deceit.”
BL Add. 12172	ՃԵԱԳԻ ԵՏԵՆԽՈՐԱ ԻՄԵՐԱ(Ն)ՄԱԳՈՏ ἡΓΓΑΛΙΛΕՅՈՍ ԵՅՈՒՆ 785 ԵՅՈՒՆԻՒԹ ἡΓΓΑΛΙΛΕՅՈՍ ՆԵՄՆԻՈՒԹ ՆԻ ԵՏԱԳԹԱՄԻՏՈՅ ՈԱԳ ԻՄԱԹԵՆԻՏ ԻՄԵՐԻՏ ՓԻ ԵՏՈՅՈՒՄՈՒՄ ԵՐՈՑ ՃԵՐԻՏ ԶԳՐՈՅԺԱԳԺ ԻՄԵՐԻՄԻՆԻ ՆԵՄՆԻՈՒԳՔԻՐԻ ԵՏՈՅԻՐԻ ԻՄՈՅՈՒՄ ԿԱՏԱՄՈՒՄ ԶՈՒՄՈՐԻ ՆՏԱՆՈՅՏԵՍ ԿԻՐՈՅ ԻՄԵՐԻՄՈՒՅՈՍ ՆԵՄՆՈՅՄԱԳԻԱ ԶԱՆԿԵՊՈՅՈՒՄ ԴԵ ԶԳԻԹՅՈՅՈՒՄ ԻՄԵՐՈՅՐՈ ՆԻՐՈՆ ՓԱԻՒԵՏ ԴԵ ԶՈՑ ԶԵՆՈՅԿԱՏ ԶԳՓԱՏ ԵՅՈՒՆ ԶԱՐՁՈ ԻՍՈՅՐՈ ԶԳՓԱՐԻ ՆՈՅՈՒՆՈՒ ԵՆԵՏԵՓԻԼԱՆՆԻ	Then the chief of priests of the pagans stood and waved his hand and cried out an argument in a loud voice and said, “Listen and heed my words, you who love these many well-adorned gods, magicians have entered our land from among those twelve Galileans and from those seventy-two whom Jesus, the so-called Christ, made his disciples. They perform these wonders and signs in his name in every place, more and more now in Rome and its borders and through their sorcery they turn many Romans to their faith. Nero the king has killed many of their leaders and none of them remains except this Luke who has turned many people from the worship of the gods to the religion of Jesus of Nazareth.”

BL Add. 14732	[...] ܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܪܐ ܕܢܪܐ [...] ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܪܐ ܕܢܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܪܐ ܕܢܪܐ ܕܢܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܪܐ ܕܢܪܐ ܕܢܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܪܐ ܕܢܪܐ ܕܢܪܐ	[...] Nero the king has [ki]lled [...] of the[ir] leaders and none of them remains [ex]cept L[uke], this one who has turned many people from the wors[hip] of the gods to believe in [Jesu]s of Nazareth.
§7		
MACA.DM	ܕܩܕܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܩܕܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܪܝܢ	And a Jew whose name was Isaac, who was a leader of the synagogue of the Jews who were in that country, stood up and said: "It happened to me when I was young, before I came to this country, that I was under a lawyer in Jerusalem whose name was Gamaliel. And Annas was high priest for the nation, together with Caiaphas, and they seized this one called Jesus. They judged him and they hung him on a cross. They killed him and they placed him in a tomb. He arose from the dead after three days. It is this one whom this man, namely Luke, preaches to us."

BL Add. 14732	בא דא זאן פארט און זאגט וועלכע קינדער האט ער געהאט אין ירושלים, צווישן אלע די קינדער וואס איז געווען מיין פאטער און איך האבן געלערנט אויסצולייזן און צו שפילן און צו טאנצן ...	After the priest had spoken one of the chiefs of the Jewish party who was c[alle]d Isaac stood and opened [his] mouth and said, "When I was in Jerusalem, before I came here, and I st[udied] the La[w] [at] the feet of one [...] Law who [...] and Gamaliel and [...] priests of the pe[op]le [...]"
§8		
MACA.DM	ἀγερῶν ἡμεμῶν θεογονιῶν ἡβρωῶν ἐγερῶν περὶ τοῦ ἡμεμῶν θεογονιῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐταχθεφραν ἡμεμῶν τῆρου ἡμεμῶν ὅτι ἡμεμῶν ἡμεμῶν ἡμεμῶν	The multitude, marvelling, answered in a great voice: "What sort is he, that he rose from the dead?" And it happened that when they said the name of Jesus, all of the idols fell and broke like shards. And when the idolaters saw the destruction of their gods, they became angry in a great madness. They tore their clothes and pulled out the hair of their heads. They went to Rome and said to the king: "The king is alive forever! A man came to our country, and he has led the masses astray through the name of the Galilean. And also our gods, those who give strength to you, he has crushed."

CLM 2879 ⁵⁰	⁷⁸⁷ ⲁϥⲉⲣⲟϥⲱ ⲛⲁⲉⲡⲓⲛⲏⲩⲱ ⲧⲏⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲟϥⲃⲣⲱⲟϥ ⲛⲟϥⲱⲧ ⲁⲑⲟϥⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲣⲏⲧⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲉⲡⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲁⲉⲓⲛⲥ ⲟϥⲟⲗ ⲁⲉⲁϥⲧⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲏ ⲉⲑⲏⲱⲟϥⲧ ⲁⲩⲱⲩⲡⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲁⲉⲑⲣⲁ(ⲏ)⁵¹ ⲛⲓⲛⲥ ⲛⲡⲉⲛⲑⲟ ⲛⲓⲛⲟϥⲧⲓ ⲁϥⲗⲉⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲉⲛⲓⲗⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲁϥⲃⲟⲛⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲑⲣⲏⲧⲓ ⲛⲗⲁⲛⲃⲉⲗⲁ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲏⲁϥ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲁⲉⲛⲓⲟϥⲏⲃ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲛⲏⲟϥⲛⲟϥⲧⲓ ⲁϥⲁⲩⲱⲛⲧⲓ ⲛⲉⲛⲟϥⲗⲓⲃⲓ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲏⲏⲁⲩⲱ Ⲑϥⲟⲗ ⲁϥⲑⲱⲃ ⲛⲏⲟϥⲗⲃⲱⲥ ⲁϥⲩⲱⲗⲡ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲥⲁⲡⲓϥⲱⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲟϥⲁⲩⲉ ⲁϥⲱⲉ ⲛⲱⲟϥ ⲁⲉ ⲗⲁⲡⲟϥⲣⲟ ⲛⲏⲣⲱ(ⲏ) ⲉⲗⲣⲏⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲛⲏ ⲁϥⲱⲩⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϥⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲏⲩⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ⁷⁸⁸ ⲱ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲓⲛⲁⲗⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲁ[i] ⲣⲱⲛⲓ ⲁⲉⲓⲛⲥ	The entire multitude answered in a single voice: "What sort is it, this name Jesus?", and: "Did he rise from the dead?" And it happened that when they said the name of Jesus before the gods, the idols all fell and broke like shards. And when the priests saw the destruction of their gods, they became angry in an exceedingly great madness. And they tore their clothes and pulled out the hair of their heads. And they went before the king Nero in Rome and cried out saying: "Oh,⁵² the sorceries of this man, Jesus!"
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⁵⁰ Beginning of the Cambridge leaf.

⁵¹ The phi and rho are written as a single character.

⁵² On the exclamatory construction ⲱ ⲛⲉⲛ-, see W. E. Crum, *Coptic English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), 170b.

BL Add. 12172	(and) the whole assembly [an] swered in one voice and said, "What is this name and (who is this) man Jesus who rose from the dead?" And it happened that at the moment when the name of Jesus was named, the gods of the pagans, those idols, were broken to pieces and were like dust. When the priests saw the destruction of their gods, they were angry and were inflamed with great rage and rent their outer garments and were tearing the hair from their head. Then all of them went to the city of Rome, to the king, and cried out before him saying, "Destroy the witchcraft which is in this name of Jesus (and) through which our gods perish and dissolve and become like dust in a violent wind."	[And] the whole assembly [an] swered in one voice and said, "What is this name and (who is this) man Jesus who rose from the dead?" And it happened that at the moment when the name of Jesus was named, the gods of the pagans, those idols, were broken to pieces and were like dust. When the priests saw the destruction of their gods, they were angry and were inflamed with great rage and rent their outer garments and were tearing the hair from their head. Then all of them went to the city of Rome, to the king, and cried out before him saying, "Destroy the witchcraft which is in this name of Jesus (and) through which our gods perish and dissolve and become like dust in a violent wind."
BL Add. 14732	[Lacuna]	[Lacuna]

§9		
MACA.DM	Κεσαρ νερων πεχαυ νωου χερωμι νιβεν εοριωυ ηπαρην ηενταλχωρα λιθοβογ φατενογαι χελογκας αφωτ εβολ ηε(ν)ναχιχ	Caesar Nero said to them: “Every man who preaches this name in this country I have killed, except for one, namely Luke. He fled from my hands.”
	Διφερογυ νχεπινηυ χεφαι ρω πε πρωμι ετωρεν ντενωρα ογορ ρηππε ρβεντπολις^{18r} προκονησον ογορ ρτςβα ννινηυ εορογρενογ εβολ ννινογτ ηρεφτ ηπωνη ογορ σκελον αρεωτενπεκκρατος ερβοηοιν τενωρα τηρς ναωε ηεντεφλανη	The multitude answered: “This indeed is the man who is leading our country astray. And behold! He is in the city (of) Proconnesus, and he is teaching the masses to move themselves away from the life-giving gods. And if your strength does not help, almost our entire country will enter into his deceit.” ⁵³
	Εταφωτεν δε ενα νχεπογρο αφχωντ αφβραχρεχ ννεφναχ`ρι Τοτε αφοωρη νεκατονταρχος β νενπογυ ηνατοι εορογενε	And when the king heard these things, he became angry and gnashed his teeth. Then he sent two centurions and their 800 soldiers to fetch him.

53 In his translation, Hyvernath understands the Coptic σκελον “almost” (Greek σχεδόν), as modifying the subject of the following apodosis – “ferme universa regio nostra ibit in eius errorem”: H. Hyvernath, *Acta Martyrum* (Vol. 2.2. CSCO 125. Leuven: Peeters, 1950), 2; see also the translation in Balestri, ‘Il martirio di S. Luca evangelista,’ 138. This seems the most likely interpretation, although one might expect the adverb to stand before or after the apodosis. It appears that σκελον tends to stand before or after the sentence or clause to which it belongs, regardless of the element it is modifying semantically. Compare, for example, the Sahidic translation of Heb 9:22, in which it precedes the entire sentence although it is modifying the subject νκα νιν “everything”: αγω σκελον ρηπεςνοφ νκα νιν φαγτββο καταπνομος “and almost everything is purified in blood according to the law” (ed. Horner, *The Coptic version of the New Testament in the Southern dialect* [7 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911–1924], 5:74). On the use of σκελον in Bohairic, see Müller, *Grammatik des Bohairischen* (Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica 24. Hamburg: Widmaier, 2021), 529; on the position of borrowed Greek adverbs, see also 523.

CLM 2879	Պօրոյ լե ազերօղալ քեհազ ուօյ չերամի նիւն եօնաշէթ էպարան իենտախորա ալիօսօղ տատեոցալ չելօղկաս ազգայտ էւօլ իեննաչիւ Այերօղալ նչենինոյ ելչաւ նմօս չերմիւբ ԵՍ ը'ձ'ըրամի էտենալ զէսօա իենտեւորա իենպարան չեմի՛ս օղօր ԵՍ փալ զիւն իենէփօլիս բրօկոննիսօս Հաննոյ միննի ազաղոյ իեննի էտամի ուղօ նրիէ Ազգայտ լե մնաղալ նչեփօրօ օղօր ազիբաչ[⁷⁸⁹ բէչ...]	And the king answered and said to them: “Every man who believes in this name in this country I have killed, except for one, namely Luke. He fled from my hands. The multitudes answered, saying: “Behold, this very man! He is teaching in our country in this name, Jesus, and behold! This man is in the city of Proconnesus. Hosts of wonders he has performed on those who are sick in many ways.” And the king became exceedingly angry, and he gnashed [...]
BL Add. 12172	.. Բոլ Իսրայէլ Գիրք Կա Կառն Եւրօս Խալիք Գիրք Լա Դիւր . Եւր Դիւր Կա Կալ Կալիք Եւ Դիւր Կա . Կա Կալիք Կալիք Կա Կա Կա Կա . Կառն Կա Կալ Լալ Կա Կա . Բոլ Իսրայէլ Կա Կա Կալիք Լա Կա . Կա Կալ Կալ Կալ Կա Կա Կա Կա Կալ Կա Կա Կա Կա Կա Կալ Կա Կա Կա Կա Կա Կալ Կա Կա Կա Կա Կա Կալ Կա Կա Կա Կա Կա	King Nero answered and said to them, “All of those who believe in this name I have destroyed.” The priests said to him, “There is a certain man among us called Luke and by means of this name he has performed wonders and signs and has led astray the whole country of the Romans.” The king answered and said to them, “Where is this man?” They replied, “In the city of Prokonnesus.”⁵⁴ Then the king was inflamed with wicked rage against Luke and gnashed his teeth like a lion and ordered four <i>protectores</i> and 200 soldiers to go fetch Saint Luke the evangelist.
BL Add. 14732	[Lacuna]	[Lacuna]

Here, the text of CLM 2879 breaks off

54 Mentioned by Paladius in his fourteenth oration on the trial of Chrysostom. See https://www.ccel.org/ccel/pearse/morefathers/files/palladius_dialogus_02_text.htm#C14.

§10		
MACA.DM	ΛΟΥΚΑΣ ΔΕ ΕΤΑΙΩΣΤΕΜ ΑΦΘΟΥΤ ΉΠΙΝΗΘΥ ΕΤΑΧΝΑΖΤ ΑΦΤΣΒΩ ΝΩΟΥ ΉΕΠΙΣΑΔΙ ΉΦΤ ΕΘΡΟΥΩΠΠ ΕΥΤΑΧΡΗΟΥΤ ΉΕΠΙΝΑΖΤ ΕΠΕ(Ν)Ω ΙΗΣ ΠΧ ΟΥΟΣ ΉΤΕΩΥΤΕΜΖΛΙ ΦΟΡΧΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ ΙΤΕ ΦΗΟΥ ΙΤΕ ΠΩΝΉ ΙΤΕ ΠΩΛΕΜ ΉΝΙΕΥΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ ΙΤΕ ΟΛΙΨΙ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΤΉΝΑΨΕ ΝΗΙ ΚΑΤΑΦΡΗΤ ΕΤΑΥΘΑΨΥ ΝΗΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΕΝΦΤ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ <Ε>ΤΑΨΧΟΤΟΥ ΑΨΧΑΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΨΧΑΨ ΜΗΟΣ ΧΕΤΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΉΤΕΦΤ ΕΣΕΨΑΠΠ ΝΕΝΑΨΤΕΝ ΣΑΤΟΤΟΥ ΑΨΩΤΕΜ ΧΕΑΨΉΩΝΤ ΕΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΉΧΕΝΙΜΑΤΟΙ ΉΤΕΠΟΥΡΟ ΑΨΧΑΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΨΧΑΨ ΉΤΕΝΤΖΟΥΤ	And Luke, when he heard (this), gathered the believing masses. He taught to them from the word of God so that they might be strengthened in the faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and so that nothing might separate them from him, either death or life or the seizing of possessions or any tribulation. “For I,” he said, “will depart as is determined for me by God.” And when he had said these things, he dispatched them, saying: “May the peace of God be with you.” As soon as they heard that the soldiers of the king had approached the city, they all dispersed, and they abandoned him in fear.
BL Add. 12172	כאלו אס רחמנ כאלו רי רע .רע .מא מא רעמממ רע רעל רעממ רעממ רעממ רע .מא רעממ רעממ רעממ רעממ	At that hour, Saint Luke was teaching a great crowd of believers, and when he knew in the Spirit that soldiers were approaching the place where he was, he dismissed the crowds.
BL Add. 14732	[Lacuna]	[Lacuna]

§11		
MACA.DM	Ἐταρσινι δε ἡξεμᾶριος λογκας ριχεμφιον αφσινι ἡογβελλο ἡρωμι εφριωμι ἐταρετεβτ πεχαα ναυ ^{18v} Χεισεροκ ἡοοκ πιρωμι ἐτταρετεβτ αμογ ραροι ἡταταμοκ ἐννι ετεσῆπωα ἡτεκαργογ Ἐταρβωντ δε ερωγ ογορ εταρναγ επρηοτ ετρηεπεφρο αφογωωτ ἡμογ Πιεγαγγελιστис εθογав δε πεχαα ξερηππε ις πογρο αφογωρη ἡρannah τοι ἡσμι ογορ τῆνι ξεφνατᾶποφασις ἡροι φαι γαρ πε φογωω ἡφτ Οἱ ογν νακ ἡναιλωμ χαγ βενογνα εφτογβνογτ βενηεκνι ογορ сенаσινωит νακ επωωβ ηνεεγ Πιρωμι δε ναφῆμι εογκογχι ναω πε εταρβι νηλωμ αφωω ἡρητογ αφωωπι εφριωω ἡπικαχι ἡτεφτ βενηαι νιβεν φραν δε ἡπρωμι πε сlас Кегар ἡοογ ρωγ αφωωπι ἡογωτπ ἡφτ	And when Saint Luke passed by the sea, he found an old man casting a hook in order to fish. He said to him: “I say to you,⁵⁵ fisherman, come to me and I will tell you about those things which it is fitting for you to do.” And when he approached him, and when he saw the grace which was in his face, he venerated him. And the holy evangelist said: “Behold! The king has sent soldiers after me, and I know that he will pass a death sentence upon me, for this is the will of God. Therefore, take these books. Put them in a pure place in your house, and they will lead you to eternal life.” And the man knew how to read a little. When he received the books, he read from them, and he kept preaching the word of God everywhere. And the name of the man is Silas. Thus, he too became a chosen one of God.

55 Balestri interprets the phrase ⲁⲓⲉⲣⲟⲕ as a contraction of ⲁⲓⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ, equivalent to ⲁⲓⲉⲣⲟⲕ “I say to you”: Balestri, ‘Il Martirio Di S. Luca Evangelista’, 138 n. 1. The contraction is attested in Sahidic: see Crum, *Coptic English Dictionary*, 755b. However, the spelling ⲉⲣⲟⲕ would be somewhat unusual.

BL Add. 14732	[...] מַשֶּׁה [...] and he saw [...] וַיֹּאמֶר לְ[הוּם] [...] and he said to [him] [...] הַשְׁלֵמָה [...] of completion of [...] [...] סֵפֶר הַ[בְּ]רָאָה דִּיל these boo[k]s of mine [...] וְאַתָּה דְּמַרְא אֲמַר בְּמַרְא אֲ[מַרְא]. And you should read in them מְ[רַ]ב [...] c[onstantly] and fr[...] מְ[רַ]ב לְ[הוּם] לִי אֲמַרְא דְּמַלְחָא מְדַנְא. will be revealed to you a country [...] לֵב of healing and of life for yo[...] [...] מִלְּפָנֵי אֲ[מַרְא] דְּחַבְרָא. וְכַד עָבַד כַּדְּמַר, דְּ and for many with you.” When he [...] looked at the face of [...] [...]	[...] and he saw [...] and he said to [him] [...] of completion of [...] these boo[k]s of mine [...] And you should read in them c[onstantly] and fr[...] will be revealed to you a country of healing and of life for yo[...] and for many with you.” When he looked at the face of [...] [...]
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§12		
MACA.DM	ⲗⲟⲥⲁⲉ ⲉⲓⲥⲁⲓⲭⲓ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲕⲉⲡⲓⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲗⲟⲓⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲓⲓ ⲛⲕⲉⲡⲓⲕⲓⲛⲁⲛⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̅ ⲛⲉⲛⲡⲟⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̅ⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲓⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲁⲕⲓ ⲡⲣⲟⲕⲟⲛⲛⲏⲥⲟⲥ ⲁⲓⲗⲁⲙⲟⲓ ⲛ̅ⲡⲓⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲗⲟⲓⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲓⲥⲟⲛⲉⲥ ⲁⲓⲟⲗⲥ ⲛ̅ⲡⲟⲓⲱⲛ	And as Saint Luke was speaking with him, the two centurions and their 800 soldiers entered the city (of) Proconnesus. They seized Saint Luke, bound him, and took him to the king.
	ⲛⲟⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲥⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲑⲧⲉⲩⲱ ⲛ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲕⲉⲧⲱⲉⲡⲉⲣⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲧⲟⲧⲕ ⲡⲁⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲙⲥ ⲡⲕⲥ ⲟⲓⲟⲣⲥ ⲧⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲓⲃⲁⲃ ⲕⲉⲁⲕⲁⲓⲧ ⲛ̅ⲱⲩⲛⲉⲣ ⲉⲛⲉⲕⲛⲓⲕⲁ ⲩⲥⲉⲛⲉⲥ¹⁹¹ ⲧⲁⲛⲃⲟ ⲟⲓⲟⲣⲥ ⲁⲓⲟⲣⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲥ ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲛⲉⲥ ⲛ̅ⲡⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲡⲟⲓⲱⲛ ⲟⲓⲟⲣⲥ ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲡⲟⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲃⲉⲛⲟⲓⲕⲱⲛⲧ ⲕⲉⲛⲟⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲗⲟⲓⲕⲁⲥ ⲡⲛ ⲉⲧⲱⲉⲣⲟⲣⲧⲉⲣ ⲛ̅ⲧⲣⲱⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁ ⲧⲛⲉⲣⲥ ⲟⲓⲟⲣⲥ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲟⲓⲧⲉⲧⲁⲕⲱⲩⲱⲣⲟⲓ ⲓⲧⲉⲛⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲓ ⲓⲧⲉⲛⲡⲁⲓⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲧⲁⲕⲟⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉⲡⲱⲁ	And he, the blessed one, was praising God, saying: "I give thanks to you, my Lord Jesus Christ, and I praise your holy name, since you have made me a companion to your life-giving sufferings." And he stood bound before the king. And he (Nero) said to him angrily: "You are Luke, the one who disturbs all of the Roman empire, ⁵⁶ and you have upset the gods through the sorceries which you were taught by Paul, this one whom I destroyed according to what he deserved."
	ⲁⲕⲉⲣⲟⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̅ⲕⲉⲡⲓⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲕⲉⲥⲥⲓⲛⲟⲓⲧ ⲕⲉⲱⲟⲓⲛⲓⲁⲧⲉⲛⲟⲛⲛⲟⲓ ⲉⲱⲟⲓ ⲁⲓⲧⲱⲛⲱⲉⲧⲱⲛⲟⲓ ⲟⲓⲟⲣⲥ ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲉⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲓ ⲛ̅ⲃⲉⲛ ⲛ̅ⲥⲁⲉⲛⲛⲟⲓ	The saint answered and said: "It is written: 'Blessed are you if you are despised and if every evil thing is said against you.' ⁵⁷
	ⲛ̅ⲓⲣⲉⲛⲟⲓⲓ ⲓⲣ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲥⲁⲃ ⲡⲁⲓⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲉⲥⲟⲓⲧⲱⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲱ ⲟⲓⲟⲣⲥ ⲛ̅ⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲧⲥⲁⲃⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲓ ⲓⲁⲛⲥⲁⲕⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲡⲱⲛⲃ ⲛⲉ	For the deeds of the teacher Paul are exceedingly straight, and those things which he taught are words of life.
	ⲙⲁⲓⲁ ⲓⲣ ⲧⲥⲱⲟⲓⲛ ⲛ̅ⲓⲣⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲛⲁ ⲉⲡⲁⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲙⲥ ⲡⲕⲥ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲛⲁⲧⲁⲕⲟⲕ ⲃⲉⲛⲡⲓⲛⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲧⲟⲣⲓⲛ	As for sorceries, I know none, save for my Lord Jesus Christ, this man who will destroy you through the spirit of his wrath."

56 The term used here in Coptic is ⲣⲱⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁ, rather than ⲣⲱⲙⲛ which is normally used for the city. The term appears in an 8th century letter by the Theban monk Frange (O. Frange 379 ll. 13–14), in which he refers to Christ as "the saviour of the world from Rome to Anti-Lebanon" (ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲛⲉⲣ ⲛ̅ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲕⲓⲛⲧⲉⲣⲣⲱⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁ ⲱⲣⲁⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲃⲁⲛⲟⲥ). Boud'hors and Heurtel suggest that this phrase refers to all of the Roman empire up to its eastern borders: A. Boud'hors and C. Heurtel, *Les ostraca coptes de la TT 29. Autour du moine Frangé* (2 vols. Études d'archéologie thébaine 3. Brussels: CReA-Patrimoine, 2010), 1:256.

57 (Matt 5:11).

[illegible]

58 (Mt. 10:11-14; Lk. 10:5-11).

59 (Mt. 5:11–12 Peshitta; cf. Luke 6:22–23).

§14		
MACA.DM	Τότε νερων ποιρο αφογαρσαρηνι εθρογσολκκ εβολ ησεριογι ερωι ηραννογτ ιμμασι 19 φατενεφσνωφ ρωρη ιηπκαρι εφχω ιμος ναφ χετνογ σεναςι ηπωιδι νημακ η . χενινογτ ετακωερωωρωγ ογορ ηωωογ πε εταγινη εχωκ ιταλινωρια Δφερωγω νχεπαγιος λογκας χεω ηιατρητ ογορ νατκατ ογορ ηατνογτ νογρωογ ιςχε διωρωερ ηνετεννογτ ηενφρα(η) ηπαδς ιης πχς ογορ ηπογωερβοηοιν ερωογ ημιν ηνωογ ναω ηρητ σεναςι ηπωιδι ηρανρωμη Κεγαρ κερμεορε ρωκ τνογ χεηπογχοσ νακ επιτηρη χεανιογι ηταλινωρια εχω{ι}<υ> εοβεχερανεβο νε ηβελλε ογορ ηκογρ ηη ετεημον ιηνα ηενρωογ	Then Nero the king commanded that he be stretched and beaten with calf sinew until his blood drenched the earth, saying to him: "Now the gods which you upset will take revenge on you, and it is they who have brought this punishment upon you." Saint Luke answered: "Oh senseless and ignorant and godless kings! Since I have upset your gods through the name of my lord Jesus Christ, and they have not been able to help themselves, how will they take revenge on men? For you yourself bear witness now that they have not said to you at all 'bring this judgment upon him', because they are blind and deaf mutes, those in whose mouths there is no breath."⁶¹
BL Add. 12172	ⲕⲉⲓⲁⲣ ⲕⲉⲣⲙⲉⲟⲣⲉ ⲣⲱⲕ ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲕⲉⲙⲡⲟⲩⲭⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲉⲓⲧⲧⲉⲣⲉ ⲕⲉⲁⲛⲓⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲗⲓⲛⲱⲣⲓⲁ ⲉⲭⲱⲓ<ⲩ> ⲉⲟⲃⲉⲕⲉⲣⲁⲛⲉⲃⲟ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲃⲉⲗⲗⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲣ ⲛⲕⲟⲩⲣ ⲛⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲙⲟⲛ ⲓⲛⲁ ⲙⲉⲛⲣⲱⲟⲩ	Then the king ordered he be beaten with a whip until his whole holy body was wasted and his all his blood was poured out on the ground. But in his heart Saint Luke was praising God, who strengthened him against these harsh and bitter tortures.
BL Add. 14732	[Lacuna]	[Lacuna]

61 Compare Psalm 114.

Chapters 15–16 are not found in the Syriac Version

§15		
MACA.DM	Ἐταφωσμεν δε ἐναὶ ἡξεπογρο αφχωμετ ἡενογλιβι ογορ πεχαφ χεακ-τρωωτ ναν ἐμαωω	And when the king heard these things, he became angry with madness, and said: “You have scorned us greatly.
	Κεγαρ ακμογ-τ еron χениαθνογ-т ἡατκα-т ογορ νινογ-т ет-т ἡπωωῃ ναν ακμογ-т еρωωγ χеникоγρ ἡατῖῃῃ εөвефαι теркеleyin εөроγербасаnizim ἡпексωма ἡепоγνiω-т ἡемказ ωатекеponoлoγin ἡνινογ-т χεzanpeφ-т ἡπωωῃ ne	For you have called us ignorant godless ones, and the gods who give life to us you have called breathless deaf ones. Because of this, I command your body to be tortured with great pain, until you acknowledge the pronouncements that they are life-giving.”
§16		
MACA.DM	Тотѣ а҃аωч епермнтарion а҃г҃ωки ἡмоф ωатенечкас о҃г 20 ωнз евол о҃гoр ета҃χхач ѣпечнт наpeпечсωма о҃гoх пе зωс icзек ἡпоγербасаnizim ἡмоф ептнрч	Then they hung him on the wooden rack and they scratched him until his bones appeared. And when they took him down, his body was whole, as if he had not been tortured at all.
	Нерωн πογρο πεχαф χεπαирωни о҃гсаῃ ἡнагос пе εөвефαι ткөoγлн ἡтениωаω афөресератоγωнз ἡеппечсωма	Nero the king said: “This man is a master sorcerer. Because of this, even the scar of the blows he has caused to be invisible on his body.”
	Πεχαφ ἡχεπεγaγгeλicтнc χεzнaн aлxoc χeтсωoγн aн ἡнаγiа ebнλ επαῶс ἡnc πхс φн ет-тxом ннi о҃гoр етталωо ἡμοi	The evangelist said: “Already I have said that I do not know sorceries, except for my Lord Jesus Christ, the one who gives power to me and who heals me.”

§17		
MACA.DM	ΤΟΤΕ ΠΟΥΡΟ ΑΦΟΥΡΑΖΕΑΝΙ ΕΧΩΧΙ ΙΠΕΦΟΝΑΖ ΝΟΥΙΝΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΧΕΤ'ΝΑΧΩΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΙΤ'ΧΙΧ ΕΤΣΥΑΙ ΙΝΗΠΔΑΝΗ ΟΥΟΖ ΜΑΡΙΝΑΥ ΧΕΙΨΕ ΝΑΟΥΤΑΛΘΟΚ ΣΑΤΟΤΥ ΑΦΟΥΤΩΝΤΕΥΧΙΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΦΙ ΙΧΕΟΥΣΚΕΠΩΛΑΤΩΡ ΑΥΤ' ΝΟΥΤΑΥ ΝΑΥ ΞΕΝΠΕΦΟΝΑΖ ΑΦΗΕΡΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΗΝΟΥ ΠΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΛΟΥΚΑΣ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕΕΠΛΑΝ ΚΧΩ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΧΕΠΑΝΟΥΤ' ΟΥΡΛΙ ΠΕ Τ'ΝΑΤΑΜΟΚ ΕΤΕΥΧΩΝ ΟΥΟΖ ΕΤΑΥΤΩΒΕ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕΠΑΘΕ ΠΨ ΠΧΣ ΦΗ ΕΤΑΝΧΑΖΩΒ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΙΣΩΝ ΑΝΟΥΑΖΤΕΝ ΙΣΩΥ ΧΕΝΘΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΣΩΤΗΡ ΙΨΥΧΗ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΜΠΕΡΤΖΟΝΚ ΕΝΙΜΕΤΑΜΕΛΕΣ ΕΤΑΙΔΙΟΥ ΝΗ ΕΤΕΨΙ ΕΡΦΟΥ ΝΕΝΗΝ ΕΤΕΨΙ ΕΡΩΟΥ ΔΗ ΙΠΕΡΑΙΣ ΕΘΒΗΤ ΔΛΛΑ ΕΘΒΕΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΨΙΝΑ ΙΤΟΥΥΤΕΜΧΟΣ ΙΧΕΝΙΘΕΝΟΣ ΧΕΑΦΘΩΝ ΠΟΥΝΟΥΤ' ΝΑΙ ΕΤΑΥΧΟΤΟΥ ΑΦΟΥΤΩΝΤΕΥΧΙΧ ΙΧΑΘΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΦΔΜΟΝΙ ΙΠΕΦΟΝΑΖ ΝΟΥΙΝΑΝ ΕΤΑΥΧΩΧΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΧΗ ΕΠΕΣΗΤ ΑΦΡΙΤΥ ΕΠΕΨΝΑ ΣΑΤΟΤΥ ΑΦΕΡΠΕΡΗΤ' ΙΤΕΩΡΟΠ	Then the king gave the command to cut off his right arm, saying: “I will cut off the hand which writes these deceits, and let me see whether Jesus will be able to heal you.” Immediately, he stretched out his hand. A torturer came and he struck him in his arm, and he separated it from him. And Saint Luke said: “Since you say that my God is nothing, I will tell about his power.” And when he prayed, he said: “My Lord Jesus Christ, the one for whom we have renounced everything and followed, since you are the saviour of every soul! Do not pay heed to the acts of carelessness which I have done, those which I know and those which I don't know. Do not do it because of me, but rather because of your holy name, so that the nations may not say: ‘Where is their God?’” When he had said these things, he stretched out his left hand and seized his right forearm, which had been cut off and was on the ground, and he put it in its place. Immediately, it became like before.

	§18	
MACA.DM	Ἐταφναγ δε ἵκετο πορρο πεχαρ ναρεντ̣ς κυληντος χειμλχος νωτεν χεογινωτ̣ ἡναγος πε παρωμι ἀγερογὼν ἱκεπαλιος πεχαρ χεινεσχωπι ηηι ἡταερμαγος αλλα ρινα ἡτεκεμι ετ̣χον ἡτεπαθε ἰης ογορ χειτ̣φηντ̣ αν ἡτοτq ἡφνοy ἡπαικοςνος αγδμονι ἡτεφχιx ἀφχας ἐπεσεντ̣ ἡπεσρητ̣ on	And when the king saw (this), he said before the senate: “Did I not say to you that this man was a great sorcerer?” The Saint answered and said: “It shall not be for me that I become a sorcerer, but rather so that you may know the power of my Lord Jesus, and that I do not run from death in this world.” And he took his hand and he place it on the ground in its manner again.
BL Add. 12172	κωμα ραο κωιψ κελω ρα κω τ πλητ̣ κελ̣ ρεμλω κθιαυτιθ κι̣ κτωθ̣ ρεμλω δε .κωιτωλ ρεμλω κωμα κτω κθιαυτιθ τω θυκ ρω κωιψ ρα κελω .ρεμλω υ̣ ιαω .κωκ ρω κωκ κωκ κωκ κω αω ιωκω κωθιτω ρα ,κωκ κωκ .κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ ιω ,θυκ ρω ιωκω κωκ κωκ κω ιω κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ ρα κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ	Then when the cruel king and all of those who were around him saw this miracle which happened, a great wonder fell upon them on account of this miracle which happened before all of their eyes. But the cruel king, who had neither human nor divine intelligence, was rubbing his face from confusion and said, “See how great is the witchcraft of this Galilean!” Saint Luke replied and said, “I am not a magician, but in order to make known to you the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, I will not flee from the death of this world.” And he took his arm again and set it on the ground.
BL Add. 14732	[...] ιω ρω ιωκω [...]] [[ι]ω .κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ .κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ ρω κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ κωκ	[...] [...] And he said, “For not [...]] [in order to] make known the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and [that] I will not [flee] from the death of this world.” And he took his arm again and set it on the ground.

BL Add. 14732	[...]	[...] Now, Anatolius, the chief of the king's soldiers [...] these wonders and miracles which God performed through his servant and preacher blessed Luke the evangelist, he believed [...] he and his entire household and his family, who [...] and 67 [so]Juls. [...] wicked king [...] [Ne]ro ordered [...]
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Here, the text of BL Add. 14732 breaks off

§20		
MACA.DM	Τοτε πογρο αφερκελεγειν εφορωλι ιπτεφαφε ογορ ισεριτγ εογσοκ εφοι ιψαδι ιωω ισεριτγ εφιου Νικεντηριων δε αγσοκγ επινα επι ναγ κατατκελεγσις ιμπογρο Εταφφωρω δε ινεφχιχ εβολ ιχεπιαγιος λογκας αφτωβρ ιπαρητ εφχω ινιου Χεπαδς ιης πχς χω νηι εβολ ιναπαριπτωνα τηρογ ογορ οιπτ ρω νειπαιαυτ παγλος εερνι βε(ι) τεκμετογρο	Then the king commanded that they take off his head and cast it into a sack, which was half sand, and throw it into the sea. And the centurions dragged him there to act towards him according to the command of the king. And when Saint Luke stretched out his hands, he prayed in this manner saying: “My Lord Jesus Christ, forgive me all my transgressions, and also count me and my father Paul in your kingdom.”

§21		
MACA.DM	Նաւ եղչաւ նմաօղ ազմօր զծօղ(ն) երօղ նչեւլանն ՚՛ոս զձաւ նրեղաֆե եօւ նֆաւր նչեթեչի	While he saying these things, the executioner walked towards him to take his head, while the prayer was half done.
	Տատօղ ազօղաւ նչեֆաւ նօղինաւ նլաննիօս եւլան ռազօ ռօղաւ նօղաղ թե	Immediately, the left eye of the executioner opened, since he was one-eyed.
	Տատօղ ազատէիւն զաւ ազօղաղ ինքնօստօլօս եղչաւ նիոս չեաւրնօւ ֆրաւն իֆի իւաղի եւք չեւթօղ թե ֆի յեօղնեօնն	Forthwith, he threw away the sword and he worshipped the apostle, saying: "I have sinned, man of God. I believe in Christ that he is truly God."
	Տօթե նիկնդիւրօն ձ[զ]ֆաւ ն _{21v} թնաղաւ նլաննիօս նաղօր նեւեւաղ թաղօս լօղկաւ նթաւթօղ թա Օղօղ թաւրի աղղիղ եւքօկ աղատղ եֆօն	Then the centurions struck the neck of the executioner first, and subsequently also Saint Luke on this very day, and thus he was thrown into the sack and cast into the sea.

65 Water damage to the page has left a lacuna of two words.

