



Miracles of Saint Menas the Martyr: The Ethiopic Recension (*Ta'ammera Minās*, CAe 2386)¹

Rafał Zarzeczny (Introduction and Translation)²

1. Introduction

1.1. Ethiopic text and manuscripts

The corpus of nineteen Ethiopic miracles attributed to St Menas (CAe 2386) survives in its entirety in three manuscripts. These are:

A = EMMML 1827, fols 84va-111va³;

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² Rev. Prof. Dr Rafał Zarzeczny SJ, Pontifical Gregorian University, Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, Italy; e-mail: rzarzeczny@orientale.it; ORCID: 0009-0005-8620-5713.

³ This parchment codex of the mid-fifteenth century consists of 210 folios, with the text written by a skilled hand in two columns. The manuscript includes approximately twenty acts of saints and martyrs (*Gadla samā'etāt*). The collection of nineteen *Miracles of Menas* is complete, with all the pages in their correct order. The codex was photographed in 1974 at the Monastery of Ḥayq Estifānos in the Wallo Province of Ethiopia for the Ethio-American project of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library of Saint John's Abbey and University, Collegeville, Minnesota (HMMML). For a more detailed description see W.F. Macomber – Getatchew Haile, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville*, v. 5: *Projects Number 1501-2000*, Collegeville 1981, p. 280-284; for the miracles of St Menas see p. 281-282.

B = Paris, BnP éth. 135 (*olim* éth. 57), fols 22ra-81vb⁴;

C = Paris, BnP d'Abbadie 179 (Conti Rossini 163), fols 139va-152rc⁵.

The fourth copy of the same appears in the early twentieth-century manuscript EMLL 9185, fols 44rb-61ra⁶. However, this text is undoubtedly a direct transcription from the manuscript of Dabra Ḥāyq (EMML 1827), and as such, it holds no additional cognitive value. Therefore, we do not consider it in the present study, except for the sake of documentation.

Scholars recently discovered a fragment of Miracle 11 in the Ethiopic recension on a single leaf originating from an early manuscript, folded in half and used as the front guard of another codex⁷. Unfortunately, the existing photographs show only part of the folio, specifically the upper half of the verso page in the original manuscript⁸. Palaeographic dating reveals that this fragment comes from the fifteenth century. Although the fate of

⁴ A parchment codex dated to the late fifteenth century, 82 folios, two-column layout. For a catalogue description see H. Zotenberg, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens (gheez et amharique) de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris 1877, p. 203. This manuscript contains the *Life and Martyrium of Saint Menas* (n. 1), along with a collection of his *Miracles* (n. 2). The dating proposed by Zotenberg, namely seventeenth century, based on palaeography, needs correction, as suggested by the textual analysis; see below Footnote 153. Several folios in the *Miracles* section need renumbering due to their incorrect placement: fol. 25 should be numbered as 24; fol. 24 as 25; fol. 27 as 26; and fol. 26 as 27. The text displays numerous omissions due to homeoteleuton.

⁵ A parchment codex of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, 259 folios, three-column layout. It contains twenty-seven acts of martyrs (*Gadla samā'etāt*); instead of St Menas's acts, the codex reproduces a complete collection of his miracles; see M. Chaîne, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection Antoine d'Abbadie*, Paris 1912, n. 163, p. 109; C. Conti Rossini, *Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie IV*, "Journal Asiatique" 2 (1913) p. 35, n. 163.

⁶ This manuscript, consisting of 223 paper cards, belonged to *Alaqā* Hadarā in Addis Ababa at the time of its photographing for the HMML project in 1994. To date, no catalogue description has appeared, aside from a card accompanying the microfilm. However, several recent publications reference the codex; see Getatchew Haile, *The Ethiopian Orthodox Church's Tradition on the Holy Cross*, Leiden – Boston 2017, p. 107-108, 265; Tedros Abraha, *The Gaaz Version of Jacoda of Song's Homily on the Annuntiation*, "Oriens Christianus" 102 (2019) p. 74-75.

⁷ That is, ms EMDA 560 from Na'akk^weto La'ab Church, Lālibalā, Wallo Province. I am grateful to Dr Ted Erho for providing me with the information on and a photograph of this manuscript.

⁸ The visible text includes fragmentary paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 in my translation, specifically the words from "[the soldier] mounted his horse" to "and he vowed his horse to the church in place of the pig".

the remaining parts of the codex is unknown, the presence of its *membra disiecta* suggests that the circulation and diffusion of St Menas's miracle collection in Ethiopia must have formerly extended beyond the reading of the four manuscripts described above.

Miracle 19, apart from its presence at the end of the great collection forms part of the collection of miracles attributed to the intervention of St Michael the Archangel⁹. Although slightly abbreviated and modified, the text remains the same episode. The oldest known manuscript containing this version of the miracle (EMML 1835) dates to the mid-fifteenth century¹⁰.

Three Ethiopic manuscripts of the *Miracles of Saint Menas the Martyr* transmit the same recension of the text, preserving the same order of episodes. Consequently, they all stem from a common Ethiopic archetype, which remains unidentified. A thorough analysis of the text demonstrates that the manuscripts are not one another's copies – with the notable exception of manuscript EMML 9185, which contains an arbitrary collection of predominantly hagiographical texts drawn from various manuscripts, including EMML 1827.

The differences in the text across the Ethiopic manuscripts are secondary, consisting mostly of omissions and other errors arising from mistakes in the copying process. These variations also result from grammatical revisions made to align the ancient text with the linguistic norms of the time. In terms of vocabulary, the differences remain limited to the introduction of equivalents for more difficult terms. This likely stems from the fact that the text is a translation from Arabic, as evident in numerous Arabic patterns, such as the recurring construction with the verb *kona*, the frequent use of the particles *'enka* and *'esma*, or the addition of the Arabic definite article to less comprehensible nouns or proper names. For example, in the story of the Syrian pilgrim

⁹ Regarding the Ethiopic homilies in honour of the Archangel Michael (*Dersāna Mikā'ēl*) see G. Lusini, *Darsanā Mika'el*, EAe II 139a-140a. This collection became very popular in modern times and appears in a great number of manuscripts, which, however, vary in their content; see also R. Zarzeczny, *Catalogo dei manoscritti etiopici di due collezioni private (Tomasi – Lucchesi), con repertorio dei testi*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 309, Roma 2020, p. 85-97.

¹⁰ See ms EMML 1835, fols 41ra-vb, with a description in HMML V, p. 320. A copy of the same in ms EMML 1841, fols 32rb-33ra (early 17th cent.); EMML 4082, fols 42rb-43ra (18th/19th cent.); Rome, Società Geografica Italiana ms 244, fols 11rb-12ra (19th cent.).

in Miracle 7(5), the term for “the storehouse” appears in Ethiopic for the first time as *bēta ḥanot*, but in the following phrase, it assumes the Arabic definite article and reads *el-ḥanot*. Furthermore, in the same miracle, an object that the man holds in his hand is *el-fābnās*, a corrupt form of the Arabic word *al-fānūs*, meaning “lamp” or “torch”, with the definite article. Another example concerns the long-forgotten Greek toponym “Philoxenite”, translated literally into Arabic and then into Ethiopic according to its proper meaning, as “foreigners’ dwelling” (*maḥdara ’engedā*) – see Miracle 7(3). We provide a detailed discussion of this and other similar issues, including those related to biblical citations, in the forthcoming article for the hagiographical volume in Hamburg.

1.2. Modern editions and translations of the miracles

The Ethiopic miracles of St Menas remain largely unedited, with only two episodes subjected to scholarly examination thus far. In 1959, Paul Devos published the original text of Miracle 9, which narrates the tale of a pilgrim abducted by a crocodile. This publication included a French translation, based on manuscript C, incorporating variants from the older manuscript B¹¹. Following this, the Bollandist scholar edited and translated Miracle 5, which recounts the story of a Jewish merchant and a greedy Christian¹². His publication of the Ethiopic version accompanied the corresponding Greek text of Ivan Pomialovskiĭ and the Coptic recension based on manuscript M.590. In addition, Devos analysed several philological aspects of the Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic texts¹³. He concludes that the Ethiopic text, even in the most recent of the miracles’ three recensions, retains a connection to the earliest form of the writing, which, according to Devos, is the Coptic text¹⁴. Marius Chaîne also offers some

¹¹ See P. Devos, *Un récit des miracles de s. Ménas en copte et en éthiopien*, AnBol 77 (1959) p. 455-463, and 78 (1960) p. 158-160.

¹² See P. Devos, *Le Juif et le chrétien. Un Miracle de saint Ménas*, AnBol 78 (1960) p. 302-305 (ed.), 306-308 (tr.).

¹³ See P. Devos, *Les Miracles de Saint Ménas en éthiopien*, in: *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (Roma, 2-4 aprile 1959)*, Roma 1960, p. 335-343.

¹⁴ See P. Devos, *Les miracles de saint Ménas en éthiopien*, in: *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (Roma, 2-4 aprile 1959)*, Roma 1960, p. 343.

observations to mark Carl Maria Kaufmann's publication¹⁵. Despite these efforts, it appears that the Ethiopic text has received no significant further scholarly attention¹⁶.

Furthermore, neither manuscript SSB-010 nor the edition by Sāmu'ēl Darsē highlight the miracles from the large collection in any way. As one can see, they belong to an entirely separate textual and cultural tradition.

1.3. About the translation

The English translation of *The Miracles of Saint Menas the Martyr* constitutes the first comprehensive edition of the entire collection in its Ethiopic version. For this purpose, we considered all three principal manuscripts – designated as A, B, and C – with the most significant variant readings clearly indicated and even discussed in the notes. For editorial reasons, the Ge'ez text will appear separately. As with any translation, this work seeks to faithfully render a classical text into a modern language, despite the substantial linguistic and cultural differences between the two. Inevitably, certain concepts, nuances, and subtleties inherent to the Semitic source language have inevitably vanished in the process. Therefore, as a translator, we focused on faithfully conveying the essential content of the original text as accurately as possible. To assist the readers with understanding, we supplemented the translation with extensive footnotes that clarify the most notable interpretative challenges and distinctive features found in the original text.

The transcription of Ethiopic words follows the classical system, which marks long vowels with an obelisk¹⁷. Arabic expressions observe the same transcription principles, albeit in a simplified manner, while

¹⁵ See C.M. Kaufmann, *Zur Ikonographie der Menas-Ampullen*, Cairo 1910, p. 48-49.

¹⁶ Recently, Nicolò Sassi published an article re-examining the dates found in *The Acts of St Menas* as well as in the Arabic and Ethiopic *Synaxarium*, with particular emphasis on the miracles associated with the translation of the saint's body. However, Sassi does not address the collection of nineteen miracles discussed in the present study. See N. Sassi, *Circulation of Hagiographical Tales along the Incense Route: Storytelling as Technology of Enchantment*, in: *Storyworlds in Short Narratives: Approaches to Late Antique and Early Byzantine Tales*, ed. S. Constantinou – A. Andreou, Leiden – Boston 2025, p. 131-156.

¹⁷ See T.O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez)*, Cambridge 1978, p. 8-9; cf. O. Raineri, *Introduzione alla lingua ge'ez (etiopico classico)*, Roma 2002, p. 9-12. For an explanation of the basic principles of Ethiopic lexicography, orthography,

Greek phrases appear in their original form. Coptic words, cited only when deemed appropriate, occasionally feature their Greek equivalents. References to dictionary entries serve to assist in identifying the semantic field when specific terms resist clear definition. Regarding the English language, Wolf Leslau's dictionaries receive priority, although citations from the comprehensive Latin *Lexicon* by August Dillmann follow immediately. Proper names in the main text intentionally appear in their Latin form, when available, with their variants provided in the notes.

Both in the introduction and, more extensively, in the footnotes to the translation, we frequently cite various manuscripts. Their designations follow the commonly accepted format. A more detailed list of abbreviations appears in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* and in my *Catalogo dei manoscritti etiopici di due collezioni private*, Roma 2020. The sigla for the Arabic codices of St Menas adhere to the typology established by Felicitas Jaritz. For a list of these manuscripts, along with descriptions of their contents, see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen zum Heiligen Menas*, Heidelberg 1993, p. 56-62.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my colleagues – Fr Paul Reilly MAfr, Fr Aaron Pidel SJ, and Fr Anthony Lusvardi SJ – for their assistance in preparing the introductory article and in making the English translation more accessible to modern readers. I am also grateful to Dr Senkoris Ayalew for his help in interpreting the more difficult passages of the classical text.

2. Translation

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, One God. Amen¹⁸. On the 15th of *Sanē*, we celebrate the feast of Abba Menas and

and transcription see the Introduction to W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez*, Wiesbaden 1987, p. ix-xxvii.

¹⁸ The Trinitarian formula, a profound declaration of the Christian faith, traditionally opens Ethiopian texts in many manuscripts. It also frequently appears in Christian Arabic documents, expressed as *Besm al-Āb wa-l-Ibn wa-l-Rūḥ al-Qudus*, *Ilāh al-wāḥid*; see e.g. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen zum Heiligen Menas*, Heidelberg 1993, p. 351 (ed.), 68 (tr.), or 391 (ed.), 108 (tr.).

the consecration¹⁹ of his church²⁰. The beginning of the miracles of Saint Abba Menas associated with the construction of his church in Maryut²¹, as described in the homily²² about his martyrdom²³ delivered by Saint Theophilus, Archbishop of the great city of Alexandria²⁴.

¹⁹ Eth. *qeddāsē*, derived from the root *qaddasa* “sanctify, declare holy, consecrate, ordain, or perform sacred office, the liturgy”. From the same verb come adjectives such as “holy, saint, consecrated”, and nouns such as “sanctification, holiness”, or “temple and sanctuary”; see W. Leslau, *Concise Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)*, Wiesbaden 2010, p. 91; cf. A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae cum indice latino*, Lipsiae 1865, c. 465-467.

²⁰ The day 15 *Sanē* as the commemoration of consecrating the shrine at Maryut also appears in the Ethiopian *Synaxarium*, ed. Guidi, PO 1, 5, p. 611-613 (93-95); cf. E.A.W. Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church: A Translation of the Ethiopic Synaxarium መጽሐፈ ፡ ስንኳን ፡ Made from the Manuscript Oriental 660 and 661 in the British Museum*, v. 4, Cambridge 1928, p. 1001-1002. The day 15 *Hedār* commemorates the martyrdom of St Menas, as recorded in his Ethiopian *Acts*; cf. E.A.W. Budge, *Texts Relating to Saint Mēna of Egypt and Canons of Nicaea in a Nubian Dialect with Facsimile*, Oxford 1909, p. 70 (ed.), 54 (tr.); the same date appears in the Ethiopian *Synaxarium*, ed. Colin, PO 44, 3, p. 76, cf. Budge, *The Book of the Saints*, v. 1, p. 76-81, and in liturgical texts.

²¹ This seemingly refers to the discovery of the saint's relics in the desert during the reign of Emperor Constantine, leading to the construction of the shrine, as described in the Ethiopian *Synaxarium*; see R. Zarzeczny, *Saint Menas and His Miracles in the Ethiopian Tradition*, VoxP 94 (2025), p. 141.

²² Eth. *dersān* in mss A and C. Some Arabic manuscripts introduce the saint's acts as a “homily” or “sermon” (*maymar*, from the Syriac word *mīmra*) attributed to Anba Mardāriyus; see the prologue in Arabic ms A, according to Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (II 4, 1), p. 391 (ed.), 108 (tr.).

²³ Eth. *sem'* in mss A and C, meaning also “rumour, news, testimony, witness, martyrdom”, from the verb root *sam'a*, meaning “hear, listen, bear witness” see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 67; in ms B, “regarding the testimony of his spiritual combat (*gadlu*)”, referring to the same *Acts of Menas*.

²⁴ This prologue appears across the three Ethiopic manuscripts, each displaying its own grammatical peculiarities. In the Coptic ms M.590, ed. J. Drescher, *Apa Mena: A Selection of Coptic Texts Relating to St. Menas*, Cairo 1946, p. 7 (ed.), 108 (tr.), a longer introduction to the miracles precedes the main text as well. Similar wording appears in the conclusion to the collection of the miracles in ms IFAO copt. inv. 315-322 of Cairo; see S. Bacot, *Saint Ménas, soldat et martyr. Sa vie, ses miracles, son sanctuaire*, Bagnolet 2020, p. 63. The Greek collection (no 9) attributes the narration to Archbishop Timotheus of Alexandria, but we do not know which one: Timothy I, *sed.* 380-384, or Timothy II Aelurus, *sed.* 457-60, 475-77. The Ethiopic version aligns with the Coptic tradition, ascribing it to Theophilus Archbishop of Alexandria; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 104; cf. S. Bacot, *Quatre miracles de saint Ménas dans un manuscrit copte de l'Ifao (Inv. 315-322)*, “Bulletin de l'Institut Français

The first miracle²⁵

1. There was a man²⁶, an owner of camels, who had a barren she-camel²⁷. Upon hearing of the miracles and powers²⁸ at the church of Saint Mar²⁹ Menas, he vowed that if the she-camel conceived and gave birth, he would dedicate its first offspring, whether male or female, to the church.

d'Archéologie Orientale" 111 (2011) p. 40. In contrast, the prologue in the Arabic manuscripts attributes the short life of the saint, the story about the construction of his church and its consecration, and the manifestation of his miracles to Anbā Mazdāriyūs Archimandrite of Nitria (Wadi al-Naṭrūn); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 55, n. 250, with the text on p. 108 and 160 (4.1).

²⁵ For the Greek text (BHG 1265) see I. Pomialovskii, *Zhitie prepodobnago Paisiia Velikago i Timofeia patriarkha Aleksandriiskago poviestvovanie o chudesakh" sv. Velikomuchenika Miny*, Saint Petersburg 1900, p. 84-86 (no 9). This is also the first miracle in the Coptic ms M.590; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 10b-12b (ed.), 110-111 (tr.); for the French translation see Bacot, *Saint Ménas*, p. 64-65 (no 6). For the Arabic version see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 17), on ms M (III 4, 18), p. 405-406 (ed.), 175-176 (tr.); extracts from ms Š, where it is the ninth miracle (III 5, 13), p. 429-430 (ed.), 202-203 (tr.); additional notes (III 6, 15), p. 230-231. Moreover, in the Greek version, this miracle starts with a short parenetic invitation: ἕτερον θαῦμα βούλομαι διηγῆσασθαι, ἀδελφοί, "Another wonder I wish to narrate, brothers"; see Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 84, l. 21. A similar invitation appears at the beginning of the Coptic collection in ms M.590: "Listen also to wonders and miracles which God wrought through the holy Apa Menas"; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 108 (tr.).

²⁶ In the Greek version of the miracle, the protagonist is Porphyrius (Πορφύριος) and comes from Panefaiat (Πανηφαίατ); see Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 84, l. 22-23. The Coptic text calls him Julius ([Ι]ουλιος); see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 11b, l. 11; cf. Bacot, *Saint Ménas*, p. 65. In Arabic ms Š, his name once again is Porphyrius (Ar. *Burfīriyūs*), and he comes from Nikiou (Ar. *Nīqāṭun*); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 429, 202; other Arabic sources leave him unnamed, similarly to the Ethiopic text.

²⁷ Eth. *nāqat* or *nāqāt*, referring to a female camel, derives from Ar. *nāqa(t)*; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 401a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 646. The masculine form is *gamal* (pl. *gamalāt*, 'agmāl), comparable to Hebr. *gāmāl*, Syr. *gamlā*, or Ar. *ḡamal*; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 194a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 1146.

²⁸ Eth. *ḥaylāt* (pl. of *ḥayl*), meaning "powers, mights, forces"; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 115; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 608-609, *vis, potentia*, δύναμις.

²⁹ The title *mār* or *mārī* occurs frequently throughout the entire Ethiopic collection to refer to St Menas. The term originates from the Syriac *mārī*, meaning "my lord" or "my master". It has traditionally served as a title of respect for distinguished individuals, high-ranking ecclesiastics, and certain saints, such as St Ephrem, commonly called "Mar Ephrem". Christian-Arabic nomenclature adopted the term in its original forms, *mār* and *mārī*, and it subsequently became an integral part of the Ethiopic ecclesiastical vocabulary; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 356a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 163; R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxford 1879, c. 2207 and 2211.

Remarkably, the she-camel conceived and gave birth³⁰. However, Satan put it into his heart not to give it to the church³¹. He made a second vow, but when the camel gave birth again, he gave nothing. And when it happened a third time, he still gave nothing to the church³².

2. When Saint Abu³³ Menas saw³⁴ that the man had failed to keep his promise three times, he went to him. Dressed in the garments of kings and rulers, he rode a white horse³⁵, with a cloud covering him. He descended from the cloud and led away the four camels: the she-camel and her three

³⁰ Sources attribute a similar miracle to the intervention of St Sergius and St Bacchus; see their Miracles 3 and 4 in the Arabic recension, ed. A. Khater, *Les Miracles des Saints Serge et Bacchus*, BSAC 15 (1958-1960) p. 115-117 (tr.); Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 176, n. 759.

³¹ The last two phrases are absent from mss B and C, likely due to homeoteleuton in their common archetype.

³² The Ethiopic ms A mentions three promises and three offspring, whereas mss B and C refer to only one oath and one offspring, a discrepancy that contradicts the subsequent narrative. Similarly, variations are evident in the Arabic texts: mss A, F, M, and N include promises concerning the second and third offspring, while ms Š refers to a single oath and offspring. For further discussion see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 230, n. 6. The Coptic version in M.590 corresponds to the Ethiopic *textus receptus*; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 110-111 (tr.); Bacot, *Saint Ménas*, p. 64.

³³ The Coptic sources refer to the saint as “Apa” (ⲁⲡⲁ), a title derived from the Greek “Abba” (Ἀββᾶ). In contrast, the Arabic text of the miracles uses the respectful title “Abu” (*abū*, or its contracted form, *bū*), a designation traditionally reserved for the greatest Egyptian saints, such as Macarius, Bishoi, Moses the Black, or Serapion of Thmuis. The Ethiopic version of the text, as a translation from Arabic, adheres to this same convention.

³⁴ Lit. “when Saint Abu Menas knew/understood”, from the root verb ‘a’mara; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 134-135.

³⁵ The white horse (Eth. *ša’adā faras*) is a symbol of supreme authority, heavenly power, and the saint’s purity. In the Book of Revelation, the white horse (ἵππος λευκός) symbolizes Christ, who goes by the name “Faithful and True”, victorious over evil at the end of time; see Rev 6:1-2; 19:14; cf. Zech 1:8, Rev 7:14-15; C. Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*, London – New York 2003, p. 14. Subsequent miracles refer to the animal as “his spiritual horse” (Eth. *farasu manfasāwi*).

offspring³⁶. The cloud then carried them to the portico³⁷ of the church of Saint Abu Menas. A multitude of people³⁸ gathered, watching as the cloud carried the camels, lifted by the wind, and all of them cried out in unison, “Kyrie eleison”³⁹. It was a great wonder that God the Magnificent⁴⁰ manifested through his martyr, Saint Abu Menas.

3. As for the man, the owner of the camels, he searched everywhere but could not find them. Later, Saint Abu Menas⁴¹ appeared to him in a dream and said, “You made a promise to me regarding the camels, but you did not fulfil it. Therefore, I came myself and took the camels. Now, come! Follow me to my church, and there you will find them. And do not make promises again if you do not intend to keep them”. At that very moment, the owner of the camels arose, went to the church of Saint Abu Menas, and saw the camels standing there.

³⁶ The miracles of St Thecla document a similar episode; see H. Delehay, *Les recueils antiques de Miracles des saints*, AnBol 43 (1925) p. 54. Additionally, sources mention St Epimachus’s travel through the air from Pelusium to Alexandria; see M. van Esbroeck, *Saint Épimaque de Péluse. Un parallèle arabe à la passion prémétaphras-tique BHG*³ 593, AnBol 84 (1966) p. 428. Similarly, in the *The Life of Shenoute* by Pseudo-Besa, a luminous cloud carries the saint; see D.N. Bell, *Besa: The Life of Shenoute* (18-19), Kalamazoo 1983, p. 48. The motif of miraculous airborne transfers also appears in Arabic mystical literature; cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 176, n. 760.

³⁷ Eth. *meḥewār* in all manuscripts, derived from the verb root *ḥawar*, means “space, course, path, journey”, or even “orbit”; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 249b-250a. However, this term likely needs revision to *ḥewār*, meaning “porch, colonnade, platform, or courtyard”; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 115a, *ambulacrum, porticus*, στοά; John 5:2, 10:23; Acts 3:11. See also Bacot, *Saint Ménas*, p. 64, “portique”.

³⁸ Eth. *feṭrat*, lit. “creation, creature, nature”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 246b.

³⁹ Eth. *kiryālāyson*, from the Greek acclamation Κύριε ἐλέησον, “Lord, have mercy”, commonly appears in the Ge’ez liturgy and individual piety of Ethiopian Christians; see Getatchew Haile, *A Page from the History of Däbrä Libanos of Säwa*, in: *Ethiopian Studies in Honour of Amha Asfaw*, New York 2017, p. 384, for a discussion of its usage in the context of Good Friday celebrations.

⁴⁰ Eth. *’egzi’abeḥēr sebuḥ* translates the Greek ὁ θεὸς ἐνδοξαζόμενος in Ps 88:8 LXX; see also Exod 15:1; Dan 3:44 LXX. For the basic meaning of the Ethiopic term *sebuḥ* see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 483b, “praised, glorified, celebrated, glorious, illustrious”; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 357, *laudatus, laudabilis, celebratus, gloriosus*.

⁴¹ *Minā* in ms B. The abbreviated form of the saint’s name, derived directly from Arabic (*Mīnā*), is more characteristic of this manuscript, although it appears also in the others, thereby illustrating the considerable flexibility in the transcription of foreign names within the Ethiopian writing tradition.

4. The saint appeared⁴² to him again in a dream and said, “You mocked me, and I had intended to bring great misfortune upon you. However, I delayed it, remembering the former affection from the time of your dwelling in my home in Maryut⁴³. Therefore, I took nothing from you except what you had vowed in relation to it”. When the man awoke from his dream, he rose in the morning and went to his home. He brought his possessions to the church of Saint Abu Menas the Martyr and entrusted them to the church’s administrator⁴⁴. The chief then appointed him as head of the camels that served the church, to tend and guard them, until his death⁴⁵. And he praised God, glorified him, and exalted him greatly.

The second miracle⁴⁶

1. There was a man named Astamon⁴⁷, who regularly went to the sheepfold⁴⁸ of the church of Saint Abu Menas with the intention

⁴² Lit. “he came” (Eth. *maṣ’ā*).

⁴³ Or, “in your home”, according to ms A, which refers to the man’s place. The overall meaning of the sentence remains ambiguous across all Ethiopic manuscripts, and the lack of a direct equivalent in other versions prevents a more definitive clarification.

⁴⁴ Eth. *liqā bēta krestiyān* refers to the head, chief, or senior in the church. The noun *liq*, from the verb root *lehqa*, means “chief, senior, superior, master, presbyter”. In this context, it likely refers to the individual responsible for managing the church property, an administrator or minister. Greek and Coptic texts also call him οἰκονόμος; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 8; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 27.

⁴⁵ Eth. *’eska gizē negdatu*, lit. “until the time of his journey”. A similar phrase concludes several miracles in this collection, emphasizing the protagonists’ authentic conversion and their lifelong service to the shrine.

⁴⁶ For the Greek text (BHG 1269) see Pomialovskiĭ, *Zhitie*, p. 89 (no 13), and L. Silvano – P. Varalda, *Per l’edizione dei Miracula sancti Menae (BHG 1256-1269)*, “Philologia Antiqua” 12 (2019) p. 74-75 (no 13). The text corresponds to Miracle 5 in the defective Coptic ms M.590; cf. Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 107. For the Arabic version see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 18), from ms M (III 4, 19), p. 406 (ed.), 176-177 (tr.); extracts from mss Š, N, and Ṭ (III 5, 14), p. 430-431 (ed.), 203-204 (tr.); notes (III 6, 16), p. 231-232.

⁴⁷ Eth. *’Aṣṭāmon* or *’Aṣṭāmen*, according to the Ethiopic ms C. In the Greek version, he is Παστάμων, described as πτωχὸς καὶ ἑλλην, meaning “poor” – probably in the sense of being rude, uncouth, or vulgar – and “pagan”; see Silvano – Varalda, *Per l’edizione*, p. 74, l. 1-3. In the Arabic text, his name appears as *Basṭāmūn*, *’Aṣṭāmūn*, *’Aṣṭāmā*, or *’Anastasius*; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 231, n. 1.

⁴⁸ Eth. *’aṣada ’abāge* clearly refers to sheep as the object of theft: *’abāge* is the plural of *bagge*; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 88b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 543. In

to steal from it. He went mad⁴⁹ and thought in his heart, “It is better not to fear Abu Menas, for I find no satisfaction for my soul except in these sheep”⁵⁰. Then, he rose and, as usual, went to the stall. He stole one of the pigs⁵¹, slaughtered it, cut it into pieces, and took it to his house.

2. At that very moment, the entire flesh turned to stone⁵². Despite this, Astamon still did not believe in the power of Saint Abu Menas. Instead, he said, “I will rest until midnight, then I will rise again to steal another pig, one even better than the first. As for me, I will see what Abu Menas does to me”.

3. As he pondered this in his heart, Saint Abu Menas appeared to him at that very moment and said, “Behold, you have witnessed my power, yet you did not believe in me. Therefore, O man, from now on, half of your body⁵³ shall turn to stone, and the other shall remain human, until the day of your death. Let all who come to my church see you and marvel at you”.

4. At that hour, the man became both half stone and half human, just as Saint Abu Menas had foretold. He remained in this state for six

contrast, the Arabic text (ms Š) consistently identifies it as a pig (Ar. *khinzīr*); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 430 (ed.), 203 (tr.).

⁴⁹ The Arabic ms F employs the terms “ignorant” (*ġāhīlan*) or “poor” (*faqīr*); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 231, n. 3. Similarly, in the Ethiopic text, *’abd* designates a foolish, mad, or insane person, or someone ignorant; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 2b-3a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 761.

⁵⁰ Eth. *’abāge*; see Footnote 48.

⁵¹ From then on, the text identifies the stolen animal as a pig (Eth. *ḥarāweyā*, *ḥarawiyā*, or *ḥarawiyā*); in the Greek text, it is χοῖρος; see Silvano – Varalda, *Per l’edizione*, p. 74, l. 2. For more on the meaning and forms of this Ethiopic term see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 244b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 88; B.A. Jurgens, *A Swine, A Stag, and ein Schafbock*, “Henoch” 39 (2017) p. 128-129, discusses the mistranslation of Esau’s speech in the Hebrew, Syriac, and Ethiopic text of Jub 37:20.

⁵² The Ethiopic sentence *kona ’ebna k’ello šegā*, lit. “its entire body/flesh/meat became stone”, is grammatically ambiguous, as it is unclear whether it refers to a petrified human or animal body. However, the context clearly suggests the latter. Additionally, the phrase “until today” (Eth. *’eska yom*) in mss A and C emphasizes the permanence of the transformation, linking it to the stolen pig. A similar addition (*’illā al-yūm*) appears in several Arabic manuscripts; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 232, n. 4. The Greek text explicitly refers to the animal’s body as well: ἐγένοντο δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ χοίρου λίθοι, “And the limbs of the pig became stone”; cf. Silvano – Varalda, *Per l’edizione*, p. 74, l. 5.

⁵³ Lit. “half of you”.

months⁵⁴ until his death in the church. The people carried him out, brought him from there⁵⁵, and buried him⁵⁶. All who witnessed this miracle glorified our Lord Jesus Christ and his martyr, Saint Mar Menas. May his prayer and intercession be with all of us Christians⁵⁷, now and forever. Amen.

⁵⁴ Lit. “the moons”. In the Greek text, the story ends differently: after receiving a vision of St Menas in a dream, the man obtains healing from the saint, converts, and serves the church for seven years; see Silvano – Varalda, *Per l’edizione*, p. 74-75. The motif of petrification, whether perpetual or temporary, is well known in hagiographic and moralistic literature, see Silvano – Varalda, *Per l’edizione*, p. 75, note 5.

⁵⁵ That is, from the church.

⁵⁶ All the verbs in this sentence in the Ethiopic manuscripts appear in third-person plural, with a suffixed personal pronoun.

⁵⁷ Eth. *weluda temqat*, lit. “sons of baptism”. This expression commonly appears in hagiographical texts, including the final supplications of the *Gadla Minās* in some manuscripts; see Budge, *Texts*, p. 73 (ed.), 58 (tr.). The same expression (Ar. *abnā’ al-ma’ mūdīā*) commonly appears in Christian Arabic texts and manuscripts.

The third miracle⁵⁸

1. There was a very wealthy man from the region of Alexandria⁵⁹. He kept an image⁶⁰ in his house, an idol⁶¹, which he worshiped. Every year, he offered sacrifices to him and served him⁶². Furthermore, he owned a barren horse⁶³.

⁵⁸ In ms C, both the title and numbering of the miracle are missing, causing the text to follow the previous one directly. For the Greek text (BHG 1266) see Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 86-87 (no 10). The miracle of the three-legged foal in Coptic ms M.590 is nearly illegible; cf. Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 107 (no 6). In the IFAO codex (no 2), the miracle is acephalous; see Bacot, *Quatre miracles*, p. 45 (ed.), 66 (tr.); Bacot, *Saint Ménas*, p. 47 (no 1); cf. P. Piwowarczyk, *Cuda św. Menasa według rękopisu IFAO copt inv. 315-322 (Coptic Literature Manuscript ID 1770; Clavis Coptica 398)*, VoxP 79 (2021) p. 528. For the Arabic version see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 19), from ms M (III, 4 20), p. 406-407 (ed.), 177 (tr.); extracts from ms Š (III 5, 15), p. 431-432 (ed.), 204 (tr.); notes (III 6, 17), p. 232.

⁵⁹ The Ethiopic version does not provide the protagonist's name. The Greek text describes him as a Greek or pagan man (ἄνθρωπος ἑλλήνων); his name is Prinos (Πρίνος), and he lives near the lake of the city of Alexandria, which refers to Mareotis; see Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 86, l. 8-9; Silvano – Varalda, *Per l'edizione*, p. 70, l. 1-2. According to the Arabic ms Š, he is a Zoroastrian – lit. “the Magian man” (Ar. *al-raḡul al-maḡūs*) – a term historically used to describe the followers of Zoroastrianism, particularly in the context of ancient Persia, and his name is *Yarīmus*; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 431 (ed.), 204 (tr.). In ms L, he is a Muslim named *Farīmūs*; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 232, n. 2.

⁶⁰ Eth. *še'l* refers to an image, picture, painting, icon, plan, or model; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 524b-525a. The Coptic text of the manuscript from IFAO (no 2) features the phrase “an idol in his village”; cf. Bacot, *Quatre miracles*, p. 42a (ed.), 66 (tr.); for Pol. tr. see Piwowarczyk, *Cuda IFAO*, p. 528.

⁶¹ Eth. *mesl* means “likeness, similarity, form, figure, statue”; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 365a-366a. Both the Greek and Coptic texts refer to an idol (εἶδωλον); see Bacot, *Quatre miracles*, p. 42a, l. 2.

⁶² This sentence varies across Arabic texts. In Arabic ms A, it reads, “He had a beautiful temple (*birbā*) with a small idol (*šanam*) in it, to whom he paid homage daily through incense, offerings, and prostrations”; cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (III 6, 17), p. 232, n. 3. The Arabic *birbā* or *barbā* (pl. *barabi*), derived from the Coptic *rpe*, was the term medieval Arabs used for Egyptian temples and even pyramids; cf. J. Vergote, *L'Étymologie de ég. r3-pr: copte rpé: ar. birbā*, “Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde” 91 (1964) p. 135-137; O. El-Daly, *Ancient Egypt in Medieval Moslem/Arabic Writings*, London 2003, p. 71.

⁶³ Although the horse in the Eth. expression *faras makkān* is grammatically masculine, it is clear from the context that it refers to a mare. The Arabic ms M further states that the horse was of great value, worth approximately 50,000 drachmas; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 406 (ed.), 177 (tr.).

2. Upon hearing of the power of Saint Abu Menas⁶⁴, he made a vow, saying, “If Saint Abu Menas causes my horse to give birth, I will dedicate three-quarters⁶⁵ of what she bears to his church, with the remaining quarter⁶⁶ dedicated to my god, whom I worship in my home”⁶⁷.

3. Then, it happened that the horse gave birth to a deformed (offspring) with only three legs. The man, the horse’s owner, was astonished by this occurrence, and recognized it as a miracle.

4. After this, Saint Abu Menas appeared to him in a dream, saying, “I am indeed Abu Menas⁶⁸. Why are you surprised? You promised me three-quarters⁶⁹ of this three-legged (creature). You also promised another quarter to your god. If he is so mighty, let him create another leg, as I have done”⁷⁰.

5. And so, the man rose at that very hour and renounced the worship of the idol. He then entered the church of Saint Mar Menas the Martyr, where he was baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, the One God⁷¹. He remained a Christian until the day of his passing⁷².

⁶⁴ There is an addition in manuscript C: “that he made a horse give birth”, which anticipates the words found in the subsequent promise.

⁶⁵ Lit. “half and half of that half”.

⁶⁶ Lit. “half of half”; apparently, the man expected the mare to give birth to at least four foals.

⁶⁷ Eth. *ba-westa hagarya*, lit. “in my country”.

⁶⁸ The Ethiopic text in ms A is damaged.

⁶⁹ Lit. “half and half of its half”.

⁷⁰ The reaction and response of the rich man is absent from the Ethiopic version, but it appears in Arabic ms M as follows: “God opened the eyes of the man’s heart, and he prostrated himself before Saint Mar Mina, and said, ‘O lord, who possesses a glory such as I have never seen before, from now on I know that my god is incapable of such work. Therefore, I will believe in your God and serve you until the day of my death’”. See also Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 407 (ed.), 177 (tr.).

⁷¹ The phrase “in the name of the Father...” (*ba-sema ’ab wa-wald wa-manfas qeddus ’ahadu ’amlāk*) corresponds exactly to the Trinitarian formula traditionally used by Ethiopian and Eritrean Christians; see Footnote 18. The Arabic text in ms Š further notes that he was baptized along with his entire family; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 432 (ed.), 204 (tr.).

⁷² Eth. *’eska ’elata felsatu*, lit. “until the day of his assumption/migration/exile”, refers to the moment of death. For the root verb *falasa* see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 239; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 1341, *migratio, peregrinatio, transitio*. In the miracles, as in many other hagiographical texts, it has a meaning of death as a proper moment for the migration from this world to God.

6. He donated all the horses and livestock he owned to the church of Saint Abu Menas. The horse, in turn, gave birth and multiplied for the church and for the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ and his saint, the martyr Abu Menas. Thus, the days of its life were prolonged⁷³.

The fourth miracle⁷⁴

1. Eight men, companions of one another, set out from Alexandria⁷⁵. As they journeyed, they observed a multitude of people arriving at the church of Saint Abu Menas to worship on the 15th day of *Hedār*⁷⁶.

2. They were discussing among themselves, “How long shall we continue to sympathize with this world⁷⁷ due to the blindness of our hearts?”⁷⁸

⁷³ The final phrase in ms B is absent. Indeed, the text in the other Ethiopic codices fails to clearly specify whether the blessing of a long life pertains to the miracle’s protagonist or to his offering, specifically the horse.

⁷⁴ Ms C incorrectly numbers this miracle as the third at the beginning of the text. No corresponding Greek version is known. For the Coptic collection, the relevant pages of ms M.590 are illegible; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 107 (no 7). For the Arabic version, which is more consistent, see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 20), the text from ms M (III 4, 21), p. 407 (ed.), 178 (tr.); variants from ms N (III 5, 16), p. 432 (ed.), 205-206 (tr.); notes (III 6, 18), p. 233-234. Unfortunately, extracts from ms F and another text in the same family, which seems closer to the Ethiopic version, are absent from Jaritz’s edition, except for some notes on pages 233-234.

⁷⁵ Eth. *wa-we’etomu* ‘*erukawiyānihomu* in mss A and B, lit. “and they were their friends”; but in ms C, the word appears as ‘*eruqānihomu*, derived from the verb root ‘*arqa* or ‘*araqā*, “be naked, emptied, orphaned” (cf. Matt 25:36, 1Cor 4:11, James 2:15, Rev 3:17). In a secondary sense, this root can also mean “be friendly” or “be equal”; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 70b-71a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 961-963. The interchange of the Ethiopic graphemes *kaf* and *qāf* may simply reflect an orthographic variant. Similarly, the Arabic ms M mentions eight men, while ms N references eighteen companions (*tamānīah* ‘*ašar*); cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (III 5, 16), p. 432 (ed.), 205 (tr.), with note 1 on p. 233.

⁷⁶ This is the commemoration day of St Menas’s martyrdom according to the Ethiopian *Synaxarium*; see Budge, *The Book of the Saints*, v. 1, p. 246-249 (tr.); ed. Colin, PO 44/3, p. 308-313 (Eth. text and Fr. tr.). The Arabic ms N points to the 15th of *Hathor*, in accordance with the Coptic calendar. Other versions of this miracle lack a similar reference.

⁷⁷ The text in Arabic ms N refers to the calamity (*al-muṣībah*), for which they were regretful (*wa-kānū nadmā*).

⁷⁸ A similar reference to the hearts blinded by this world appears in Arabic mss A and F; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 233, n. 2.

Let us rise, each taking two coins⁷⁹, and with what we collect, purchase a pig⁸⁰ to bring to the church of Saint Abu Menas, the Martyr. We will give half of it to the master⁸¹ and keep the other half for ourselves”.

3. So, they rose, purchased two pigs, and carried them aboard a boat⁸². However, Satan – may God disgrace him – rose and killed one within the very hour, near the shores of the sea of Alexandria⁸³. The men mourned as if they were grieving for one of their own.

4. While still in astonishment, they said, “It is not right for us to go to the church of Saint Mar Menas”, and resolved in their hearts to return home. Meanwhile, they did not recognize Saint Abu Menas, who stood before them, mounted on his horse like a knight⁸⁴, glorious in appearance. With him were twelve angels, following him in the manner of an army⁸⁵.

5. He said to them with gladness, “Peace be upon you, O brothers”. They replied, “And peace be upon you also, O lord governor”⁸⁶. He asked

⁷⁹ Eth. *qirāt*. In the Arabic mss, “two golden *qirāṭ*”; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 407 and 432 (ed.), 178 and 205 (tr.), with note 3 on p. 233. The Ethiopic *qirāt*, meaning a small coin, derives from the Arabic *qirāṭ*, which in turn originates from the Greek *κεράτιον* or the Syriac *qirāṭā*; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 445a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 429; Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, c. 3741; Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 309-310.

⁸⁰ Eth. *ḥarāweyā*; see Footnote 51.

⁸¹ Eth. *liq*; see Footnote 44, along with several variants found in the Arabic versions: “church administrator” (*quyyam*, ms A; *qayyim al-bi’a*, ms F), “chief to the camels” (*ra’īs ilā al-ḡamālīn*, ms Ṭ), “the camel guide” (*sā’iqū al-ḡamāl*); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 231, n. 12.

⁸² This sentence appears to contradict previous information, which mentions only one pig. Even though ms C omits the numeral, the noun remains in its plural form. The Arabic text in both mss M and N uses the singular form. The Coptic text remains unknown.

⁸³ The Ethiopic expression *bāḥra ’ella ’Eskenderyā* clearly refers to Lake Maryut.

⁸⁴ Eth. *farasāwi*, “horseman, knight”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 241b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 1354, *eques*.

⁸⁵ The Arabic ms M mentions no angels, whereas the fragment of ms N, as edited by Jaritz, contains references to the angels (*al-malā’ikah*) in the subsequent part of the text.

⁸⁶ Eth. *’egzi’e mak’annen*. The Ethiopic term *mak’annen*, derived from the verb root *k’wannana*, can denote a judge or vindicator. It may also refer to a master or powerful individual, such as a ruler, hegemon, prince, or satrap; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 287b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 856-857. The Arabic version in ms M replaces the salutation and reply in the words of consolation with “Why are you troubled? Peace be upon you! Do not be afraid!” (*limadā ’antum muḍṭaribūn? al-salāmu lakum! lā thāfū*); cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 407; p. 233, n. 9.

them, “What brings you here? Are you coming to sell or to buy?”⁸⁷. They told him everything that had happened to them. He said to them, “You promised this pig to the martyr, to bring it to the church of Saint Abu Menas. Do not listen then to Satan, nor turn back to your previous ways⁸⁸. Instead, take the (dead) pig with you and give it to the dogs⁸⁹ of (the shrine of) Saint Abu Menas. As for me, I believe you will receive that grace of Abu Menas that you intended to gain. And it will be credited to you that this (pig) will come to life”.

6. So they rose, listened to him, and went to carry (the pig) to the boat. But Satan entered the boatman⁹⁰, and said to them, “I will not carry this on my boat because it is dead, unless you⁹¹ give me additional money⁹² for my service”. Saint Abu Menas replied, “I will give you money⁹³ instead of them”. Since his attitude⁹⁴ was kind, the boatman agreed and carried the pig⁹⁵, though he did not recognize Saint Abu Menas. The saint then said to the man, “It is good for me to meet you and join with you⁹⁶. Again, I will travel with you⁹⁷, I and my companions⁹⁸, and I will give you the recompense you seek”.

7. The boatman replied, “It is good of you⁹⁹, O my lord master”. In fact, he was afraid that he would anger him, so he accepted it from

⁸⁷ Similarly, in the Arabic ms A; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 233, n. 8.

⁸⁸ It could simply mean “Do not return to your home”. The Arabic text adds a similar admonition, instructing not to engage the devil in the discussion.

⁸⁹ Eth. *kalabāt* is the plural form of *kalb*, “dog”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 149b. The Arabic text omits this part of the conversation.

⁹⁰ Eth. *liqa ḥamar*, lit. “chief, master, elder, superior” of the boat. Similarly, in some Arabic variants, the devil possesses the boatman, who then demands money for transporting the dead pig; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 233, n. 13; see also Footnote 44.

⁹¹ The plural form of the personal pronoun appears here.

⁹² Eth. *dinār*, from Gr. δηνάριον or Lat. *denarius*, referring to the silver or gold coin used in regions under Roman control, and mentioned several times in the New Testament; see e.g. Matt 17:24, 18:28, 20:2; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 1115.

⁹³ Eth. *dinār*.

⁹⁴ Eth. *ḥeywatu*, lit. “his life”.

⁹⁵ This phrase is rather unclear in the Ethiopic text; we translated it according to the logic of narration.

⁹⁶ Plural pronoun used.

⁹⁷ Again, the text uses the plural form of the pronoun.

⁹⁸ That is, the angels that followed the saint.

⁹⁹ Lit. “It is right in your regards”. This expression likely serves as a polite negation, such as “No need, sir”, “You do not have to”, or “It is alright”.

him against his own will. And so, he boarded him and his companions, and they returned to the sea¹⁰⁰. They placed the dead pig at the bow of the boat.

8. When they reached the port near the church of Saint Abu Menas, they carried the wood¹⁰¹ ashore. Then, one of the angels who accompanied the saint said, “No one should disembark from this boat until the master has first stepped onto dry land”. Instead, Saint Abu Menas spoke to the owners of the pig and said, “I see that your hearts are sorrowful because of the pig’s death”. He then gave each of them three dinars and paid the boatman three dinars as well¹⁰². The man asked, “Do you want nothing, O my lord master?”. But the saint replied, “It is not proper for me to offend you”¹⁰³.

9. Then Saint Abu Menas took a step toward the bow of the boat, preparing to leap onto the dry land. But when he reached the spot where the dead pig lay, he kicked it with his foot. At that moment, the pig sprang to life and ran before Saint Abu Menas upon the boat’s side¹⁰⁴ until it reached the walls of the church. As for the saint, he vanished from their sight.

¹⁰⁰ Eth. *bāhr*, meaning “sea, lake, large river”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 95b; in this collection, it mostly refers to Lake Maryut.

¹⁰¹ Eth. *’ed*, meaning “tree, shrub, bush, wood, stick”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 182a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 1025-1026, *’arbor, lignum*. In the context of the present narration, the word likely means “a trap” or “an anchor”. Regarding the Arabic text, the version in ms M is much shorter, while the corresponding fragments in other Arabic manuscripts remain unedited.

¹⁰² Similarly, the Arabic ms N mentions three dinars for the boatman; mss A, F, and T use the plural form of *dinār*; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 233, n. 16.

¹⁰³ The plural form of the pronoun appears here.

¹⁰⁴ The Ethiopic expression *lā’la ’asqaleta ḥamar* is difficult to interpret. The Ge’ez verb root *saqala* can mean “suspend, hang, crucify”; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 509b-510a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 350-351. The noun used may be a plural feminine form, though no dictionary lists such a form, particularly in a maritime context. It is possible that *’asqalat* transcribes the Arabic *asqālat*, derived from the same Semitic root *saqala*, meaning “weight” or “heaviness”, which could suggest “anchor”. However, according to ms Ṣ, the pig runs before St Menas (*ala al-asqāla*), lit. “under heavy burdens,” which Jaritz interprets as “auf der Landesteg”, meaning “on the landing stage”, referring to a structure at the shore; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 233, n. 19. Nonetheless, it remains unclear whether the Ethiopian translator fully understood the meaning and terminology of the Arabic text. Finally, if the Arabic term derives from Greek, it could relate to the noun *σκελετός*, referring to the construction of a ship, possibly its side.

10. And they¹⁰⁵ were speaking among themselves, “We cannot deny that it was Saint Abu Menas, the one who was riding with us on the boat, but we did not recognize him. And that it was he who brought the dead pig back to life. Let us not turn back to sacrifice it; instead, let us offer it to the church”. And they stayed for seven days, eating and drinking within (the shrine), glorifying God, and exalting his martyr, Saint Mar Menas. May his intercession protect all of us Christians¹⁰⁶. Amen.

The fifth miracle¹⁰⁷

1. There was an elderly Jewish merchant who lived in the city of Alexandria. In his neighbourhood¹⁰⁸, there also lived a Christian man. Whenever the Jew had to travel for business, he feared that his house

¹⁰⁵ That is, the people from Alexandria.

¹⁰⁶ Eth. *weluda temqat*, lit. “sons of baptism”. See Footnote 57.

¹⁰⁷ For the Greek text (BHG 1260) see Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 70-73 (no 4), and Devos, *Le Juif et chrétien*, p. 282-285. A recent edition of the shorter version, along with an English translation, appears in J. Duffy – E. Bourboulakis, *Five Miracles of St. Menas*, in: *Byzantine Authors: Literary Activities and Preoccupations. Texts and Translations Dedicated to the Memory of Nicolas Oikonomides*, ed. J.W. Nesbitt, Leiden – Boston 2003, p. 75-77 (no 5). For the Coptic version from ms M.590 see Devos, *Le Juif et chrétien*, p. 292-301 (ed. and tr.), and from ms IFAO, p. 285-292 (ed. and tr.); see also Bacot, *Saint Ménas* (no 5), p. 59-63 (tr.). The Ethiopic text from ms C, along with the French translation, appears in Devos, *Le Juif et chrétien*, p. 302-308. For the Arabic version see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 10), based on ms M (III 4, 11), p. 399-400 (ed.), 169-171 (tr.); variants from mss F, Š, and Ț (III 5, 6), p. 418-422 (ed.), 191-194 (tr.); notes, p. 219-221. A similar story about a man borrowing money from a Jew appears in the miracles of St Nicholas. However, in this version, the Christian pays for perjury with his life and is later resurrected through the saint’s intervention to atone for his sin; see Maistre Wace’s *Life of Saint Nicholas* (no 15), in: M.S. Crawford, *Life of St. Nicholas*, Philadelphia 1923, p. 31; Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 169, n. 751; Wace’s text and English translation (v. 724-806), in: J. Blacker – G.S. Burgess – A.V. Ogden, *Wace, the Hagiographical Works*, Leiden 2013, p. 309-311.

¹⁰⁸ Lit. “in his neighbourhood/vicinity”, as found in all Ethiopic manuscripts. Several Arabic codices, however, omit this information entirely. In mss A, Š, Ț, and N, the text only mentions that they were neighbours, while ms F states that the Jew and the Christian lived in the same house as friends; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 219, n. 1.

might be plundered¹⁰⁹. Consequently, he would gather all his possessions and entrust them to his Christian neighbour until his return. This arrangement could last for an extended period, even up to seven years¹¹⁰. Each time he returned, the Jew would send a gift to the Christian and reclaim his deposit the following day.

2. It happened after this, when the Jew was traveling into a distant land, that Satan¹¹¹, the adversary of all good things, entered the Christian's heart. The Christian conversed with his wife and said to her, "O my sister, how long shall we forbear¹¹² this Jew and guard his deposit? After all, he is an enemy of God, while we are Christian people. If you listen to me, O woman, when the Jew returns, this time we will deny him, since there is no witness against us. We will say to him, 'You gave us nothing in deposit', and thus his deposit will be for ourselves and for our children, since we are Christians. And even if he demands that we swear an oath regarding his deposit, we will swear to him. Let us, you and me, be of one heart¹¹³, for the people will believe in our story, that we are innocent, because he is a Jewish man and we are Christians. So, be of one accord with me, and do not change my plan". Thus, the woman agreed with her husband on this plan, and they acted as one.

¹⁰⁹ Lit. "the Jew travelled constantly on his business, but he feared for his home, lest it be robbed".

¹¹⁰ The Ethiopic ms B mentions four years. Furthermore, since the numerals for 6 and 7 look similar in many Ethiopic manuscripts, one can confuse or interchange them easily. In the Coptic version, instead of specifying the exact number of years the merchant spent on his journey, the text states that a similar situation occurred six or seven times; see Devos, *Le Juif et le chrétien*, p. 286a, l. 21, 290; Bacot, *Saint Ménas*, p. 59. The Arabic recension generally omits this detail; in fact, only some Arabic codices, such as A, T, and N, mention the years he spent traveling; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 219, n. 2.

¹¹¹ Here and elsewhere in the Ethiopic and Arabic versions, the Semitic term *sayṭān* appears consistently; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 399. In contrast, the Greek and Coptic texts employ the word διάβολος; see Devos, *Le Juif et le chrétien*, p. 282.2; 288a, l. 21.

¹¹² The Ethiopic verb in ms C appears in the first-person singular.

¹¹³ In the Arabic version, the text varies between manuscripts: "And I and you, let us become one heart and one soul" (ms A); "and I and you, we shall say the same, we shall be of the same word" (ms T); or "and you and I will be on the same word"; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (III 4, 11), p. 399 (ed.), 169 (tr.); 219, n. 3.

3. And this happened after a few days, when the Jewish man returned from his journey, as was his habit, and he sent a gift to the Christian. The Christian took (it) and laughed, saying in his heart, “Of course I will keep this gift he sent to me”. On the next day, the Jewish man got up early and went to the court¹¹⁴ of the Christian, greeted him, and said to him, “Give me back the deposit you are keeping with you”. But the Christian denied it and said, “You did not give me anything, and I do not know what you are talking about”. They began to argue, and soon a great crowd gathered around to see what was happening between them. The Jew was shocked¹¹⁵ when he heard the Christian’s harsh reproach¹¹⁶, as well as the insults of the Hebrews who were involved in their affairs, in front of the large crowd¹¹⁷.

4. After this, the Jew had a good thought in his heart and said to the Christian, “Behold, I have heard about the martyr Abu Menas¹¹⁸ from those who visit his church and bow down¹¹⁹, that he is mighty and possesses great powers, and he punishes¹²⁰ those who swear falsely in his church. So, let us go to his church. Swear to me and declare that I have not entrusted you with anything of mine, and I will leave you in peace”¹²¹.

¹¹⁴ Eth. *’aşad*, like Ar. *aṣīd*, refers to a circumscribed area, such as a courtyard or court. It may also denote a hawsehole, palace, territory, atrium, hall, or vestibule; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 181b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 1023-1024, *area, vestibulum, atrium, villa, septum, habitatio*. This suggests a dwelling more distinctive than an ordinary house (Eth. *bēt*).

¹¹⁵ Lit. “the Jew’s chest was narrowed”.

¹¹⁶ Eth. *zerkāye*, meaning “calumny, reproach, insult”; cf. Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 643b. The text probably breaks at this point. All the Ethiopic mss incorrectly employ *za-re’eya*, “that he saw”, perhaps due to the graphic similarity between the Ethiopic letters *’alef* and *kaf*.

¹¹⁷ The Ethiopic text consistently refers to the miracle’s protagonist as the “Jew” (*yehudāwī*), in contrast to the standard form *’ayhudāwī*; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 626b. Additionally, the collective term “Hebrews” (*’ebrāwīyān*) appears here to refer to his coreligionists assisting in the dispute between the two protagonists. The Arabic text omits any mention of the other Hebrews, while the Coptic text of ms M.590 simply states, “qu’une grande foule s’attroupa autour d’eux”; see Devos, *Le Juif et le chrétien*, p. 299.

¹¹⁸ Ms B has “this Minā”.

¹¹⁹ Lacuna in the ms B from the words “and bow down (...) his church”, due to a homeoteleuton.

¹²⁰ Lit. “recompenses, repays, rewards”; cf. Leslau, *Concise*, p. 245b (Eth. *fadaya*).

¹²¹ Lit. “and I will go from you”.

5. The Christian replied, “A Jewish man is not allowed to enter a church that is for Christians”¹²². The Jew said to him, “I know that I am not permitted to enter, but you may go in¹²³ while I will stand at a distance. So, you will stand at the threshold of the church door¹²⁴, and swear to me in the name of the Lord and his martyr, Saint Abu Menas. As for me, I believe that his power extends everywhere. Afterwards, I will leave you in peace”¹²⁵. As for the Christian, Satan filled his heart¹²⁶, and he denied the power of Saint Abu Menas due to the vanity of this corruptible world.

6. The next day¹²⁷, after this discussion, they mounted their animals and went to the church of Saint Abu Menas. (Upon their arrival) the Jew bowed down at the feet of the Christian and said, “Take whatever you wish from what you have, and whatever remains, give it to me. But do not swear, for the power of the Martyr is great, and I fear that misfortune may befall you because of me”. However, (the Christian) did not listen to him. He was in fact filled with joy and lacked the fear of God. Thus, he ascended the stairs of the church to the threshold of the gate¹²⁸.

¹²² Lacuna in ms B from the words “that is Christian (...) the door of the church”, due to a homeoteleuton.

¹²³ In the Ethiopic text, the imperative mood appears here.

¹²⁴ Eth. *madrak*, from the verb *daraka*, “be rough, be hard”, means a doorway, threshold, porch, entrance court, or vestibule; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 193; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 1095. For observations regarding the Greek and Coptic version see Devos, *Le Juif et le chrétien*, p. 291, n. 1. For the biblical equivalents of the Ethiopic expression *madraka hoḥet* see e.g. Sir 6:36, βαθμοὺς θυρῶν; Judg 19:26, παρὰ τὴν θύραν; Exod 27:16, πύλη; Exod 21:6; Deut 15:7, σταθμός.

¹²⁵ Lit. “I will go from you”.

¹²⁶ According to the Arabic ms M, Satan made the Christian shameless and used him freely, lit. “dressed him like a garment” (*wa-labasah kältüb*); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 399 (ed.), p. 170, “Und weil der Satan den Christen unverschämt machte und ihn wie ein Kleid anzog”.

¹²⁷ Copt. “un jour déterminé”, according to Devos, *Le Juif et le chrétien*, p. 300, n. 3, but “après quelques jours” in the translation by Bacot, *Saint Ménas*, p. 61.

¹²⁸ There are two Ethiopic expressions in this sentence, appearing consecutively: *diba ma’ārga bēta krestiyān* “on the steps/grades of the church”, and then *diba sawāsewa ‘anqaš* “on the ladder/step of the gate”. In fact, the Ethiopic nouns *ma’ārg* and *sawāsew* can serve as synonyms. For the corresponding sentence in Greek and especially for the Coptic texts, which indicate a portico (στοά) of the sanctuary (τόπος), see Devos, *Le Juif et le chrétien*, p. 288b, l. 20-21, 291.3: “Il [the Christian] eut l’audace de monter jusque dessus les degrés de St apa Mēna, alors que le Juif se tenait à distance, au-dessous de la *stoa* extérieure du sanctuaire [σταῖς τοῦ ἁγίου Μηνᾶ]”. See also Footnote 37.

7. The Jew stood at a distance and watched him, while the Christian spoke and swore, “May the witness of the power of the martyr Abu Menas be upon me, that you have not entrusted me with anything, and that I possess none of your goods”. The Jew, in fact, believed that the Martyr would strike the Christian down at the very moment he swore falsely.

8. After he had sworn, both took their animals and mounted them, and they rode on together. After traveling three miles¹²⁹ from the church of Saint Abu Menas, the ass carrying the Christian stumbled and threw him to the ground. The animal then trampled him, and the golden ring¹³⁰ on his finger fell off. He searched for it in vain but could not find it. He concluded (to himself) that what had happened to him was a result of the oath, and for no other reason. He then mounted his ass again, thinking that he had escaped the consequences of his false oath.

9. When they arrived¹³¹ at a guest house¹³², they went to the market¹³³ to buy food, and afterward, they met in the (same) place. However, the Jew thought in his heart, saying, “It would be better for me not to be-

¹²⁹ Eth. *me‘erāf* generally refers to measures of length; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 69b. A similar concept appears in the Coptic text; see Devos, *Le Juif et le chrétien*, p. 289a, l. 18-19 (ed.), 292: ⲛⲁⲩⲱⲙⲛⲧ ⲙⲙⲓⲗⲓⲟⲛ “trois milles”. The Arabic text contains the expressions “they had covered half of distance”, or “they had moved a little away from the church”; cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 170 and 220, n. 8.

¹³⁰ Eth. *ḥelqata warq*; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 230a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 68. Several Arabic manuscripts and the Coptic version from IFAO mention only a “ring” (ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲣ); see Devos, *Le Juif et le chrétien*, p. 289a, l. 25. However in ms M.590, the term appears as “golden ring” (ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲣ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲃ); see Devos, *Le Juif et le chrétien*, p. 296a, l. 30.

¹³¹ In ms C, both here and elsewhere, the verbs are in the singular, implying that the Christian is alone, while in mss A and B, we see plural forms. Similarly, plural forms appear in Greek (cf. Devos, *Le Juif et le chrétien*, p. 283), in Coptic (ⲁⲩ-ⲉⲓ (...) ⲁⲩ-ⲃⲱⲕ, “they came (...) they went to”, cf. Devos, *Le Juif et le chrétien*, p. 289b, l. 5-7; Bacot, *Saint Ménas*, p. 62), and in Arabic (cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 398 and 170).

¹³² Eth. *māḥdara ʿengedā*, lit. “foreigner’s dwelling or habitation”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 143a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 615, *hospitium, diversorium, or mansio nocturna*; “auberge des étrangers”, in Devos, *Le Juif et le chrétien*, p. 307. In this instance, however, the Ethiopic text seems to translate literally, perhaps unknowingly, what in Greek (Λοξονίτα, cf. Devos, *Le Juif et le chrétien*, p. 283, para. 5) and Coptic texts refers to the toponym Philoxenite (ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲩⲉⲛⲓⲧⲁ); see Devos, *Le Juif et le chrétien*, p. 289b, l. 6 (ms IFAO), and 296b, l. 13 (cf. M.590, reconstructed). The name *filukṣānīda* also appears in several Arabic manuscripts; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 170 and 399, with variants, see p. 220, n. 11.

¹³³ Gr. ἀγορά, and Copt. ⲁⲣⲟⲣⲁ.

lieve in Abu Menas, since he did not manifest any of his powers. Instead of making him swear, it might be wiser¹³⁴ to ask him (that is, the Christian) if he would give me a little of what he has, since he has taken all I have struggled for”.

10. Both of them were upset: the Christian, because he had sworn by the Martyr¹³⁵, but he found some consolation in his heart due to the deposit he had falsely sworn about. The Jew, however, was not consoled at all. But while they were together¹³⁶, a Christian servant arrived from Alexandria, and they both hurried to meet him. A deposit was on the servant's shoulder; in fact, it was all the property of the Jew. Upon seeing it, they were astonished, and the master of the servant asked him, “Where have you come from, where are you going, and what is this?”.

11. The servant answered and said to him, “I came to you because a comes¹³⁷ came to my lady, your wife, and he had a gold ring¹³⁸ that belongs to you. He said to her, ‘This is a sign from your husband: “You will send your servant with the deposit belonging to the Jew that I have kept¹³⁹, for I am in great misfortune, and a severe calamity has come upon me”. Just get up and send all his goods with him. And if you wish to know that all I am telling you is true, I have brought you this ring, which is his’. So, she took the ring from him, and we recognized that it was yours. Then, I took the Jew's deposit¹⁴⁰ and I brought it to you”.

12. The Christian, therefore, took the ring and recognized that it was the one that had fallen from his finger. He was filled with fear and realized that he had sworn falsely and that he had gained nothing from it. The Jew, in turn, when he saw all his possessions, he leapt with great joy and praised God and his martyr Saint Abu Menas. He then took the deposit from the servant, returned to the church of the saint, and offered a portion of it. Afterward, he was baptized, along with all his household. He

¹³⁴ Lit. “it would be better”, as in the preceding phrase.

¹³⁵ Ms C, “on the name of the Martyr”.

¹³⁶ Eth. *wa-’enza hallaw we’etomu neburānihomu*. Ms C has another verb (Eth. *ḥabara*), “they joined each other”.

¹³⁷ Eth. *mak’annen*, lit. “a ruler, a judge”, carries also the idea of domination, power, and authority; thus, we can translate this term as “lord, master, governor, officer, nobleman, *princeps*, *dominator*, *dux*, ἄρχων, ἡγούμενος, δυνάστης”; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 287b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 856. See Footnote 86.

¹³⁸ Eth. *ḥelqat* (*helqāt* in ms C); see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 230a, “ring, finger ring, circle”; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 68, δακτύλιος. See Footnote 130.

¹³⁹ Ms C, “I ordered” (Eth. *’ezzuz*).

¹⁴⁰ Ms B, “redemption, salvation”.

became one of the Christians and continued to visit the church (on the saint's feast day), remembering it until the day of his passing¹⁴¹. Glory be to our Lord Jesus Christ, our Saviour, forever and ever. Amen.

The sixth miracle¹⁴²

1. There was a crippled man who, for more than twelve years, could not walk at all and had to crawl on his hands and legs to reach the church of Saint Abu Menas. There was also a mute woman who had been unable to speak for a long time. Both of them sought healing from God through the intercession¹⁴³ of Saint Abu Menas¹⁴⁴.

2. The saint appeared in the likeness of a soldier¹⁴⁵ and said to the crippled man, "If you wish to be healed, when evening comes and everyone in the church falls asleep, crawl on your hands so that no one recognizes you, go to the bed of that mute woman, lie with her, and you will receive healing".

¹⁴¹ See Footnote 72.

¹⁴² The Greek text of this miracle (BHG 1261) is known from two versions. The longer version, which corresponds more closely to the Ethiopic text, exists in two editions: by Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 73-75 (no 5), and a more recent one, with an English translation, by Duffy – Bourbouhakis, *Five Miracles*, p. 79-81. The other, much shorter version of the miracle, along with an English translation, appears in their *Five Miracles*, p. 74-75 (no 4). The Arabic recension from ms M generally agrees with the Ethiopic text, except certain expressions that make the narration even more dramatic; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 11), on ms M (III 4, 12), p. 400-401 (ed.), 171 (tr.); for the alternative version see mss S and T (III 5, 7), p. 422-423 (ed.), 194-195 (tr.); notes (III 6, 9), p. 221-222.

¹⁴³ Lit. "by elevation of the hand".

¹⁴⁴ The story of the crippled man and mute woman seeking healing, as described in relation to St Menas, has parallels in other hagiographical texts. A similar account appears in the miracles attributed to St Cyr and St John (PG 88, 3520), and in the miracles of St Cosmas and St Damian; see L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, Leipzig 1907, p. 162-164 (no 24); cf. H. Delehaye, *L'invention des reliques de saint Ménas à Constantinople*, "Analecta Bollandiana" 29 (1910) p. 131-132; Delehaye, *Les recueils antiques*, p. 49.

¹⁴⁵ The Ethiopic term *ḥarāwi*, as an adjective derived from the noun *harā* "army", typically appears in translations as "soldier", or "warrior"; see Leslau, *Concise*, 17a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 85-86, *miles*, *centurio*, *tribunus*, στρατιώτης; Mark 15:39.44-45, John 19:23.

3. When the paralytic man woke up, he was amazed and thought that the dream was a temptation¹⁴⁶. He said to himself, “If I go and do this, seeking the health of my body, and fall into sin with this woman, shame and dishonour will befall me before the people”¹⁴⁷.

4. Then, when the next night came¹⁴⁸, the paralytic saw Saint Abu Menas in a dream, saying, “Do as I have instructed, and you will find healing. But do not tell anyone until the miracle has occurred”. Keeping the vision in his heart, the paralytic waited until everyone¹⁴⁹ had fallen asleep. He then crawled little by little until he reached the bed of the mute woman, took her coverlet, and uncovered her.

5. When he touched her body, she suddenly rose in terror and, with great agitation, cried out loudly¹⁵⁰, “Woe is me”¹⁵¹, for a man has come to lie with me!”. The paralytic man, startled and shocked, felt a great tremor among the great number of sleepers. So, he rose to his feet and began to run quickly like a runner¹⁵². All who witnessed this were astonished as they saw the mute woman speaking and the paralytic man walking, both by the power of the martyr Abu Menas¹⁵³.

¹⁴⁶ Similarly in some Arabic manuscripts; in others, the paralytic’s thought has the form of a longer internal dialogue; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 222.

¹⁴⁷ Lit. “in the middle of the people”.

¹⁴⁸ Mss B and C: “the first night”.

¹⁴⁹ Lit. “people”.

¹⁵⁰ Lit. “with a great voice”.

¹⁵¹ Here and later, this is the translation of the Ethiopic acclamation *way lita*; cf. Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 623b.

¹⁵² Eth. *badāri* (mss AC) or *badari* (ms B), an active participle of the verb root *badara* “be swift, hurry, advance”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 104a. However, this form is absent from Dillmann’s lexicon. The Arabic ms M explains that he run quickly, and no one caught up with him until he reached the outside of the church; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 401.

¹⁵³ The texts feature final notes with supplications, typical of Ethiopic manuscripts. In mss A and C, the note reads, “Praise and glory to our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, who granted this through his holy martyrs, who endured tribulations and torments for his holy name. Praise and glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, forever. Amen”. Another supplication in ms B reads, “May the prayer (of St Menas) and his blessing preserve our father Yeshaq and may never depart from him. May they also protect us from any hesitation or falling, forever and ever. Amen”. The second prayer likely refers to the Metropolitan Bishop of Ethiopia, who served around 1480 to 1500; cf. S. Ancel, *Yəshaq*, EAe V 62b-63b. If so, this supplication allows us to date ms B to the late fifteenth century.

The seventh miracle¹⁵⁴

Listen, O my brothers, to this great miracle, although it is a fearful thing to hear¹⁵⁵.

1. There was a Syrian man, an Orthodox¹⁵⁶, who possessed many goods. During his journey, he entered the city of Alexandria. Upon hearing about the glory of the martyr Abu Menas, his powers, and his miracles, he said to himself, “I will go to his church, worship before his pure body, and offer a small gift¹⁵⁷ to his church, so that the Lord may make my way prosperous”. He reflected on this thought, recalling the words the Lord said in the Holy Gospel: “Let your giving be in secret, and your Father who is in the heavens will reward you openly”¹⁵⁸.

2. He then stood up, took his pouch¹⁵⁹, and went to the port. There, he found a boat, boarded it, and set sail toward the port, the dwelling of

¹⁵⁴ For the Greek text (BHG 1257), see Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 63-66 (no 1). A more consistent Greek version of this miracle, along with an English translation, appears in Duffy – Bourbouhakis, *Five Miracles*, p. 68-69 (no 1). For the Coptic text from M.590 (no 2) see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 12-17 (ed.), 111-114 (tr.). Another Coptic version, from ms IFAO (no 3), appears in Bacot, *Quatre miracles*, p. 42-50 (ed.), 66-68 (tr.), and is closer to the Ethiopic text; its French translation is also available in Bacot, *Saint Ménas*, p. 48-51 (no 2). For the Arabic versions see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 5), according to ms M (III 4, 6), p. 395-396 (ed.), 165-166 (tr.); and from ms Š (III 5, 3), p. 373-375 (ed.), 185 (tr.); additional notes (III 6, 4), p. 214-217.

¹⁵⁵ Such a rhetorical invocation is absent from the introductions to other versions of this miracle. However, it appears at the beginning of the Coptic and Arabic *encomium*; see Footnote 24.

¹⁵⁶ Eth. *be'si soryāwi 'ortadoksāwi* (mss AC) or *'artodoksāwi* (ms B). According to the Greek text, the man lived in the land of the Isaurians (ἄνθρωπος τις ἦν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῶν Ἰσαύρων); see Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 63, l. 11. The same indication appears in the Coptic ms M.590, which also identifies him as a Christian; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 13a, l. 3-4 ([lc]αγ[p]oc). In contrast, the Arabic ms M (III 4, 6) simply describes him as a wealthy merchant who went to Alexandria; other manuscripts identify him as a Syrian and even as an Orthodox; cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 214, n. 2. A similar story features among the miracles of St George; see H. Günter, *Psychologie der Legende*, Freiburg 1949, p. 300.

¹⁵⁷ Eth. *nestita barakat*, lit. “a little of blessing”. The Greek word εὐλογία also appears in the Coptic text; cf. Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 13a, l. 24.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Matt 6:4. This phrase, along with the quotation, appears in the Coptic version, though it features only in ms IFAO; see Bacot, *Quatre miracles*, p. 44a, l. 21-27 (ed.), 66 (tr.). The fragment is absent from the Arabic manuscripts examined by Jaritz.

¹⁵⁹ Eth. *q^wenāmata warq*, lit. “a bag of gold”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 87a; Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 443. Similarly in the Coptic ms IFAO: “le sac (ράκος) d’or”; see

the foreigners¹⁶⁰. As evening approached and he was still on his journey, he entered a storehouse¹⁶¹ where a merchant¹⁶² happened to be. He said to the merchant, “If you would be so kind, I would like to stay here with you, for I am afraid to spend the night alone”. The man replied, “Come in and stay with me, there is no one else here”. The traveller entered, and the man prepared a place for him to sleep. Meanwhile, he took note of the pouch the traveller was carrying¹⁶³.

3. And Satan filled the merchant’s heart¹⁶⁴. He waited until the man fell asleep, then approached him and killed him. Afterward, he said, “When the people at the port fall asleep, I will go to the sea and throw his body into it”. However, as he was considering this, a great light suddenly shone in the place where he was, as if it were the break of dawn. When he saw the light, he became filled with fear¹⁶⁵ and said, “If the people around me knew what I have done, they would come in and so see the shameful deed I have committed”.

Bacot, *Quatre miracles*, p. 44a, l. 29-30 (ed.), 66 (tr.). However, according to ms M.590, the man took 3,000 coins; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 13a, l. 28-30 (ed.), 112 (tr.).

¹⁶⁰ Eth. *ḥaba mars māḥdara ’engedā* in mss A and C, while ms B reads, *ḥaba mars wa-ḥadara westa māḥdare ’engedā*, which means that he arrived “at the port and he stood in a foreigner’s dwelling”. It is likely that *maḥdara ’engedā* translates the Arabic expression adapted from the Greek toponym Philoxenite, literally a “foreigner’s shelter”. Unfortunately, the passage survives as significantly abbreviated in the available Arabic manuscripts. Still, the name of the port appears in the Greek version: Λοξονήτα, see Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 63, l. 19; and in the Coptic versions: ΦΙΛΞΑΝΕΙΛΗ, in M.590, see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 13b, l. 3-4; and ΦΙΛΞΑΝΙΤΑ, in ms IFAO, see Bacot, *Quatre miracles*, p. 44a, l. 33-34.

¹⁶¹ Eth. *mazgab*, a noun derived from the verb root *zagaba* “collect, gather, store, accumulate”, can signify a “treasure, treasury, magazine, or storehouse”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 188b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 1066-1067. The Coptic version of ms IFAO consequently refers to the place with the Greek word ἀποθήκη; see Bacot, *Quatre miracles*, p. 44b, l. 2-3 (ἀποθήκη), 66 (“magazin”).

¹⁶² Eth. *be’ši šayāṭi* “merchant, trader, vendor, seller”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 54b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 265, *venditor, mercator*.

¹⁶³ The texts of the Coptic ms IFAO and the Arabic ms M also mention a meal of bread and wine that the man had, while ms Š aligns more closely with the Ethiopic version; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 185 (tr.).

¹⁶⁴ Eth. *lebo* “his heart”, while the Coptic ms IFAO has “tout son corps (σῶμα)”, according to Bacot’s translation in *Quatre miracles*, p. 66.

¹⁶⁵ Lit. “he feared with great fear”.

4. He took the body, cut it into pieces, and threw it into a basket¹⁶⁶. Then he said to himself¹⁶⁷, “If I rise and find the way, I will cast it into the sea”. And holding the head in one hand and a knife¹⁶⁸ in the other, he wanted to cut it off. Suddenly, Saint Abu Menas, the Martyr of Jesus Christ¹⁶⁹, came riding his spiritual horse¹⁷⁰, accompanied by angels¹⁷¹ who took the form of servants walking beside him.

5. The saint entered the storehouse¹⁷² where the man was present. Overcome by great terror, the man held the head in one hand and

¹⁶⁶ Eth. *’asfārid* “basket”, originating from Greek σπιρίς and Syriac *’asparīdā*, both of which carry a similar meaning; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 42a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 753, *canistrum, fiscina, sporta*, Matt 15:37, Mark 8:8, Acts 9:25; Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, c. 317, also meaning *cophinus, corbis, sporta*. The Coptic ms IFAO uses the Greek word πυρά, which could mean “a fireplace”. However, Bacot translates it as “un panier”; see Bacot, *Quatre miracles*, p. 46b, l. 9 (ed.), 67 (tr.). Piwowarczyk proposes correcting this reading to πήρα “travel bag”; see P. Piwowarczyk, *Cuda św. Menasa według rekopisu Pierpont Morgan Library M.590 (Coptic Literary Manuscript ID 221; Clavis Coptica 398)*, VoxP 80 (2021) p. 530-531, n. 37. The Arabic ms Š features the word *al-qafah*, which also means “basket” or “container”; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 413 (ed.), 185 (tr.), with observations on p. 216, n. 10.

¹⁶⁷ Lit. “in his soul”.

¹⁶⁸ Eth. *maṭbāht*, deriving from the verb root *ṭabḥa* “slaughter, slay, kill, cut up”, means a “sword, dagger, or knife”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 217; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 1225-1226.

¹⁶⁹ Ms B abbreviates this solemn title to the customary “Saint Abu Menas”.

¹⁷⁰ Eth. *diba farasu manfasāwi*. A similar Coptic expression (ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲣⲉⲩⲟ ⲙⲡⲁⲩⲁ) appears in the text of ms IFAO; cf. Bacot, *Quatre miracles*, p. 46a, l. 33 (ed.), 67 (tr.). In the Arabic text (Ar. 5), the expression “spiritual horse” (*hiṣān rūḥī*) appears as well, but only in mss A and N. The same term features in the following miracles and Arabic mss: Miracle 9 (Ar. 12), mss M and N; Miracle 17 (Ar. 23), ms R; Miracle 18 (Ar. 9), mss M and F; cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 289. The Greek text employs another expression: “And behold, Menas, the holy martyr of Christ, arrived as a cavalryman (καβαλάριος)”; see Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 64, l. 8-9.

¹⁷¹ “Two angels” (ⲁⲓⲣⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ) in the Coptic version; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 14b, l. 1-2; Bacot, *Quatre miracles*, p. 46a, l. 34. The Arabic text also mentions a host of angels following the saint, depicted as resembling men or soldiers; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 216, n. 11.

¹⁷² Eth. *bēta ḥanot*, as found in mss A and C, is an expression composed of *bēt* “house”, and *ḥanot*, which can mean “cell”, “tavern”, or even “butchery”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 22; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 109, *taberna, macellum, caupona*. It also appears in Prov 23:20 (ⲁⲓⲣⲟⲩⲁ?) and in Acts 28:15 – with *kawānit* for plural *ḥawānit*. The word derives from Arabic *ḥānūt* “workshop, tavern”, which originates from the Syriac *ḥānūtā*, meaning *cella, camera arcuata, taberna mercatoris, officina*;

the lamp¹⁷³ in the other. He swiftly placed the head into the basket and hung it in the corner of his house. Then, in haste, he unlocked the gate to admit Saint Abu Menas.

6. The saint immediately entered the cell¹⁷⁴, seized the man, and said to him, “Reflect on your soul and understand what you have done before I speak further”. The man replied, “O my lord governor, there is no one else here”. But the saint said to him, “Be silent now and sit down, for I came for this very purpose to meet you”. Then, turning toward the basket where the head of the slain man was hung, he said, “O man, did I not tell you that I would find exactly what I came for?”.

7. When the man saw the saint’s face, radiant and filled with divine glory, along with the angels who accompanied him, he thought and concluded that he was an officer¹⁷⁵ sent in connection with the man he had killed¹⁷⁶. But upon realizing that it was Saint Abu Menas, he was struck with great fear¹⁷⁷. Overcome by shock, he recognized the saint, bowed before him, and cast dust upon his head, saying, “O my lord, merciful father, save my poor soul from death, for I acknowledge that I have committed a great sin¹⁷⁸. I have seen the glory of the Lord reflected in your face, and

see Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, c. 1318-1319. The Ethiopic ms B renders the term as *bēta hārast*, from the root *ḥarasa* “plow, cultivate land”, see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 18, which we could interpret as a “house of farmers”. In the Coptic text of the miracle, the Greek term ἀποθήκη appears once again (ἀποθήκη); see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 14b, l. 6-7.14.18-19 (ed.), 112 (tr.), and Bacot, *Quatre Miracles*, p. 46b, l. 4 (ed.), 66-67 (tr.). The Arabic versions refer to the place as a “shop” or “store” (*al-dukkān*).

¹⁷³ Eth. *’elfabnas*, in mss A and C, or the hardly understandable *’elf bnasa* in ms B, most likely originates from the Arabic word *al-fānūs* “lantern, lamp”, derived from the Greek φανός “torch”, see H.G. Liddell – R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1996, p. 1915a, and the Persian *fanūs* “pharos, lantern”, see F.J. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, London 1892, p. 905, 940.

¹⁷⁴ The word *’elḥanot* in Ethiopic mss A and C, or *’ālḥenot* in ms B, is a variant of the previous expression *bēta hānot* (see Footnote 172), in which the copyist dropped the first element and added the Arabic definite article *al-* to *ḥanot*. This clearly demonstrates the Arabic *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic text.

¹⁷⁵ Eth. *mak’annen*, see Footnote 86. The Arabic versions also referred to him as a soldier, governor, hegumen, or comes (*al-qūmes*, from the Greek/Latin word κόμης/*comes*); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 216, n. 11.

¹⁷⁶ Lit. “in the matter of the killed man whom he killed”.

¹⁷⁷ Lit. “feared with great fear”.

¹⁷⁸ Lit. “sinned a great sin”.

I now recognize my wrongdoing. When I first saw the pouch¹⁷⁹ that this man carried, I realized it was full of gold, and I left him until he fell asleep. Then, I arose and killed him, thinking I could take his property and become rich. O my lord, I have taken nothing from this¹⁸⁰, so I will bring it¹⁸¹ all back. I will also give you one hundred dinars¹⁸² to save me from my sin that I have committed”.

8. The saint said to him, “Repent, O man. I have hidden my face¹⁸³ from you, but you finally recognize me. Bring me this basket with the man cut into pieces, so that I may reveal to you the glory of the Lord, which was revealed to his martyr”. The man then rose, took the basket, and delivered it into his hands. Abu Menas said, “In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, who has granted me the strength to believe in his holy name. I command you, arise, fully alive, with complete flesh and a whole body. And grant this man the understanding of who I am”.

9. At that very moment, the limbs were brought together, united as one, and the man became complete¹⁸⁴. Upon rising, he was fully alive, and he bowed to the ground before Saint Abu Menas and the angels who were with him. And he said, “O my lord, Saint Abu Menas, the Merciful, (may) the fullness of grace (be) upon all those who enter your church”. At that very hour, Saint Abu Menas blessed him and ascended into heaven with the angels who accompanied him, with great glory, and a luminous cloud enveloped him. And (as he ascended,) he said to the man, “Do not forget the promise you made”.

10. Upon witnessing the miracle, the man recognized the greatness of what had occurred through Saint Abu Menas. He immediately rose, took a large portion of the gold, (and) the other (man likewise took) from what he had¹⁸⁵. Together, they went to the church of Abu Menas, where they offered their gifts to the holy church and gave glory to God Most High,

¹⁷⁹ In the Coptic text, ⲕⲁⲩⲁ, from the Greek word *κάψα* and *κάμψα* “basket, case”, Lat. *capsa*; see Liddell – Scott, *Lexicon*, p. 873b.

¹⁸⁰ In fact, the demonstrative pronoun is in the plural form here: “of these (coins)”.

¹⁸¹ Another plural pronoun.

¹⁸² Instead, ms B mentions only “3 dinars”. In the Coptic text, “two thousand solidi (ὀλοκόττινος)” appear in both versions. The Arabic ms Š states “one hundred dinars”, similarly to the Ethiopic text; cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 414 (ed.), 185 (tr.).

¹⁸³ Lit. “my soul”.

¹⁸⁴ Eth. *wa'kona feṣuma be'si*.

¹⁸⁵ Corrupt Ethiopic text in all the manuscripts.

the true miracle maker, along with his saint, [in the name of] the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

The eighth miracle¹⁸⁶

1. In the city of Alexandria, there was a wealthy man named Eutropius¹⁸⁷. He heard that some people¹⁸⁸ were going to the church of Saint Abu Menas. Reflecting within himself, he said, “I will rise and craft two silver plates¹⁸⁹. One shall be offered to the church of Saint Abu Menas, while the other I will use for my meals until the day of my passing¹⁹⁰. Later, this second plate will also be given to the church as an atonement for my sins”¹⁹¹.

¹⁸⁶ For the Greek text (BHG 1258) see Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 66-68 (no 2); for another, more consistent recension of the Greek miracle, edited with an English translation, see Duffy – Bourbouhakis, *Five Miracles*, p. 71-73 (no 2). The Coptic text: from ms M.590 see Drescher, *Apa Mena* (no 3), p. 17-22 (ed.), 114-116 (tr.); from ms IFAO see Bacot, *Quatre miracles* (no 4), p. 50-58 (ed.), 68-70 (tr.); Bacot, *Saint Ménas* (no 3), p. 51-55 (tr.); cf. Piwowarczyk, *Cuda św. Menasa*, p. 403-405 (tr.). For the Arabic version see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 7), *rec. brevior* on ms M (III 4, 8), p. 397 (ed.), 167-168 (tr.), and *rec. longior*, closer to the Ethiopic text, on mss A and Š (III 5, 4), p. 414-416 (ed.), 186-187 (tr.); additional notes, p. 217-218.

¹⁸⁷ Eth. *ʾAṭrābiyos* (ms A), *ʾAṭrābyos* (ms B), or *Ṭebrāyos* (ms C). In the Greek miracle, his name is Εὐτρόπιος, cf. Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 66, l. 11, while the Coptic text features ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲱⲡⲓⲟⲥ, see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 18a, l. 7ff. In the Arabic version (ms M), the man's name is Aleksandrūs of Alexandria; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (III 4, 8), p. 397 (ed.), 217 (tr.). However, in other Arabic manuscripts, the name appears in its original form *ʾAṭrābiyūs* (A, F, T, H, Š), *ʾAṭrābīs* (D, N), *Ṭarābiyūs* (R), or *ʾAwṭerāfiyūs* (Š); cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (III 6, 5), p. 217, n. 1.

¹⁸⁸ Lit. “they” (Eth. *weʾetomu*).

¹⁸⁹ Eth. *ṣāhl* (pl. *ʾaṣhel* and *ʾaṣhelt*) refers to a “dish, bowl, jar, pan, platter”, or even a large paten used for serving the Holy Eucharist; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 224a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 1264, *patina, lanx, paropsis* (cf. Matt 23:25f), *accera, phila*; Gr. πίναξ in Matt 14:8, Luke 11:39. The Greek text of the miracle mentions two platters of gold (δύο δίσκοι ἄργυροῦς); see Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 66, l. 12. In turn, the Coptic text simply refers to two dishes (ⲡⲓⲛⲁⲗ); see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 17b, l. 9-10. The Arabic text has two silver tablets (*ṣīniyya*) in mss M and F, or plates or dishes (*ṣaḥn* and possibly *ṭabaq*) in other mss; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 217, n. 2.

¹⁹⁰ Eth. *ʾeska ʾelata felsatya*; see Footnote 72.

¹⁹¹ The last sentence is absent from the Coptic text in both manuscripts.

2. He sent for a smith¹⁹² and brought him to his house, saying, “Take this silver and fashion two plates, ensuring that neither is greater than the other. Inscribe then the name of Saint Abu Menas on one plate, and my name on the other. But be careful to ensure that neither plate is a greater work than the other in any way”. The smith took the silver, returned to his home, and completed the task of crafting the two plates.

3. One of his works was indeed more beautiful than the other. The smith brought them to Eutropius to receive his payment, and said to him, “As for the two plates I made, neither is larger than the other; however, one is crafted more beautifully than the other. Which one should I inscribe the name of Abu Menas on: the better one, or the other?”. The nobleman replied, “Write the name of Abu Menas on the second one, and my name on the better one. I will use it until the day of my passing¹⁹³, and then it will be given to the church of Saint Abu Menas”. The smith followed the instructions, received his payment, and left.

4. After a few days¹⁹⁴, Eutropius rose, went to the port, and boarded a boat with his servant. He also took with him two silver plates: one to offer to the church, and the other to use it until he reached his dwelling¹⁹⁵. When the time of eating approached, the servant rose and prepared (a meal). So, his master¹⁹⁶ ate from the plate and drank. And after he had eaten, drunk, and enjoyed his life, the servant took his master’s silver plate, which was still full of leftover food, and ate from it. Meanwhile, his master slept in the boat, unaware that it was drifting back.

¹⁹² Eth. *nahābi*, a *nomen agentis* derived from the verb root *nahaba* “to work metal, beat iron or any other metal, forge”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 119a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 631, *faber aerarius et ferrarius, aurifex, argentifex, fusor metallorum*. In the Ethiopic Bible, it translates Greek nouns such as χαλκεύς (Job 32:19; Isa 41:7, 54:16; Sir 38:28) and χρυσοχόος (Jer 6:29). However, in the Greek text of the miracle, it corresponds to τεχνίτης “artificer, craftsman”; cf. Liddell – Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1785b. In Acts 19:24, the Greek τεχνῖται (plural of τεχνίτης) refers to craftsmen, while ἀργυροκόπος specifically describes Demetrius, a silversmith; only the latter term features in Ethiopic as *nahābē berur*; see C. Niccum, *The Bible in Ethiopia: The Book of Acts*, EMTS 19, Eugene 2014, p. 205.

¹⁹³ See Footnote 190.

¹⁹⁴ “After a few days” appears in mss A and C, as well as in both the Arabic ms A and the Coptic ms M.590. In contrast, the Ethiopic ms B has “the next day”.

¹⁹⁵ This part of the phrase could mean the day of the man’s death; however, in light of the further context, it seems to indicate a place of rest in Philoxenite; see Footnotes 132 and 160.

¹⁹⁶ Eth. *’egzi ’u*, lit. “his lord”, used here and later.

5. The servant intended to wash the plate in the sea. Suddenly, a great wind arose, and darkness covered the sea. All those in the boat were terrified. Overcome by fear, the servant was struck with great dread¹⁹⁷, and the plate slipped from his hand into the sea. Fearing that his master would punish him, he threw himself¹⁹⁸ into the sea, saying, “It is better for me to die in the sea than to be executed¹⁹⁹ by my master, for he loves his plate more than anything he owns”.

6. When his master saw what had happened to the servant, he wept, tore his clothes, and said, “Woe is me, more than all the people, for great is my sin. I desired the beautiful plate to be mine, and for this reason, I made a mistake. Now, both the plate and the servant are lost. What shall I do? I will never find a man among those who were aboard with me to console me²⁰⁰. Woe is me; my shame will be great when many people learn that I travelled and made a promise at the church of the martyr, only to lose everything and gain nothing. Moreover, I have lost my servant, for death came and took him.

7. Had I known what would happen to me, I would have made three plates: one of gold and two of silver and would have offered (them) to the church of Saint Abu Menas the Martyr, so that I would not have endured such affliction of heart. Now, if I find the body of my servant, it would be fitting for me to offer the plate that I still possess to the church of Saint Abu Menas. Moreover, from what I have, I would offer to his church an equivalent²⁰¹ of the plate that sank, since I have transgressed, and my heart has become very narrow. I left the beautiful (plate) for myself and offered the defective one to the church”. And he was saying this in his heart.

8. Upon reaching the port of the church²⁰², he gazed upon the land and said, “I wonder if the waves might bring my servant’s body onto the shore”. The sailors, however, responded, “O man, you have lost your mind²⁰³. After he sank in the sea, you say, ‘If the waves were to bring his body ashore’. How could such a thing be possible?”. The man replied,

¹⁹⁷ Lit. “terrified with great terror”.

¹⁹⁸ Lit. “he submerged his person”.

¹⁹⁹ Or “to be judged”, from the Ethiopic verb root *kʷannana*; see Footnote 86.

²⁰⁰ In the Coptic version, ms M.590, “Would that I had some friend on board to comfort me in my affliction”; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 115.

²⁰¹ Eth. *ṣēṭ*, “the price or value”; cf. Leslau, *Concise*, p. 54b.

²⁰² This means Philoxenite.

²⁰³ Lit. “your heart has departed”.

“As for me, I place my trust in God and in his martyr, Saint Abu Menas, that I will see my servant’s body once more”.

9. While he was saying this, they were no (longer) sailing on the sea²⁰⁴. As for the servant, he was walking along the seashore, carrying the plate, and looking for his master, to recognize him while aboard²⁰⁵. Then, Eutropius looked from the boat and saw his servant walking along the shore and looking around. The sailors, having risen, lowered the sail²⁰⁶, and then they brought the boat to the port²⁰⁷. They found the servant holding the rope and securing the boat in place at the port²⁰⁸. His master then stood, embraced him, kissed him, and said, “O my son, how wonderful that you have risen from the dead! Had I given everything I possess²⁰⁹ to the church of Saint Abu Menas the Martyr today, I would not be worthy of the glory I have received from the martyr of Christ. Now, my son, tell me what happened to you in the sea until you reached the shore”.

10. The servant answered and said, “At the moment the plate slipped from my hand into the sea, I leapt in, saying, ‘It is better for me to die in

²⁰⁴ Lit. “they did not move (‘ige‘zu) on the sea”. The sentence seems corrupt, but the intended meaning is clear: the ship had completed its voyage and was nearing the harbour. The Coptic text reads, “And as he was saying this the ship came to its moorings”; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 115. The text in ms IFAO states the contrary: “Or pendant qui’il se disait cela en son coeur, on navigauit”; see Bacot, *Quatre miracles*, p. 69.

²⁰⁵ Or “he was strong”, according to ms B.

²⁰⁶ Eth. *qal’*, likely meaning “curtain”, from the root verb *qal’a* “uncover, bare open, strip”. However, the same verb can mean “throw from a sling, hit a ball”, which could suggest dropping an object as an anchor; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 426. The interpretation remains uncertain. There is no similar information in the Coptic ms M.590, but ms IFAO uses the Greek term *μονόβολον* for anchor; see Footnote 208.

²⁰⁷ Or, “they dropped the anchor in the port”.

²⁰⁸ Bacot translates the entire passus in the Coptic ms IFAO as follows: “Tandis (ὅσον) qu’il disait cela, voici que le jeune serviteur arriva, le plat (πίναξ) posé sur son épaule, avançant et examinant les bateaux pour voir s’il reconnaîtrait le bateau de son maître. Or quand Eutropios le vit cherchant du regard l’ensemble des bateaux, aussitôt les marins se levèrent, jetèrent l’ancre (μονόβολον) au rivage; le jeune enfant s’accrocha à la corde jusqu’à ce que le bateau entre au port”; see Bacot, *Quatre miracles*, p. 69.

²⁰⁹ Eth. *za-malā’ekewo*, from the verb root *mal’a* “fill up, multiply, be full”; cf. Leslau, *Concise*, p. 29. In the Coptic ms M.590, we read, “Verily, if I give all my riches, I should not be able to repay Apa Mena”; cf. Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 115. In ms IFAO, this speech of Eutropius is much shorter, limited to an expression of joy at seeing the servant alive and asking him about the events that took place; cf. Bacot, *Quatre miracles*, p. 69.

this water alone, for I know that your heart loves the plate more than all your possessions'. For this reason, I jumped into the sea. Then, a shining man appeared, and two others accompanied him. When I looked at him, he lifted me up and did not allow me to drown, but he stayed with me".

11. As for Eutropius, he went and gave thanks to God, blessing him for glorifying his holy martyrs, those who suffered for his name. He rejoiced with great joy and arrived at the church of Saint Abu Menas. He bowed before him to the ground and said his great homage. He blessed God and his martyr, Saint Abu Menas, and presented the two plates to the church. Moreover, the servant who had saved it [the plate] from drowning was also dedicated to it [the church]. And he [Eutropius] blessed God – praise be to him – and his only Son, along with his authority, greatness, ability, and power, forever and ever. Amen.

The ninth miracle²¹⁰

1. Three men²¹¹ went to the church of Saint Martyr Abu Menas to pray, each of them bringing a pig²¹² as a gift²¹³ to the church. When they led the pigs to the lake²¹⁴, they stopped to eat bread. They said, "Let's lead

²¹⁰ For the Greek version (BHG 1263) see Pomialovskiĭ, *Zhitie*, p. 79-81 (no 7). The edition of this miracle appears in both Coptic (no 10) and Ethiopic versions, along with their French annotated translations, in Devos, *Un récit des miracles*, p. 454-463 (I), and 156-160 (II); see also Bacot, *Saint Ménas* (no 7), p. 65-69 (tr.). For the Arabic text see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 12), based on ms M (III 4, 13), p. 401-402 (ed.), 172-173 (tr.); variants from mss Š, N, A, and F (5.8), p. 423-424 (ed.), 195-197 (tr.); with additional notes (III 6, 10), p. 222-225.

²¹¹ The translation follows ms A. Meanwhile, in ms C, preferred by Devos, the phrase "the soldiers went (*ḥarā ḥoru*)" likely reflects a duplication error arising from an additional noun, *ḥarā* "army, troops, soldiers", alongside the similarly written verb *hora* "go" in its plural perfect tense form *ḥawru* (as in ms A), eventually contracted to *ḥoru* (as in ms B), meaning "they went". Furthermore, ms B omits the numeral indicating the quantity "three", which is present in other codices.

²¹² Eth. *'ahrew* is the plural of *ḥarāweyā* "pig, wild boar"; see Footnote 51. Similar terms feature in the Greek (χοῖρος) and Arabic (*hanzīr*) versions, while "cochon" (pɪp) appears in the Coptic text, as noted by Devos.

²¹³ Lit. "to offer a gift out of respect", from the verb root *'ammeha*; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 135.

²¹⁴ Eth. *bāḥr*, lit. "sea", refers to Lake Maryut. In contrast, according to the Arabic texts, the setting is the bank of the Nile; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 196, and 223, n. 5.

our animals to drink before we eat". So, each man got up, took his pig, and led it to the water to drink.

2. Suddenly, a crocodile²¹⁵ leapt out of the water and grabbed one of the pigs. Its owner held onto its leg and tried to pull it toward the shore, crying out, "O God and Saint Abu Menas, come to my aid and deliver me!". However, the crocodile pulled the pig back, dragging the man with it. But when it saw the man, it abandoned the pig and attacked him instead. It tore into the man's body, pulling out his intestines from his stomach. Then, it submerged the man in the sea, intending to drag him to the shore of the lake²¹⁶ to devour him. At that moment, Saint Martyr Abu Menas arrived, riding his spiritual horse²¹⁷. He descended onto the lake, and the entire lake filled with light.

3. When the crocodile saw the martyr, it was seized with great fear. It released the man, leaving him with nothing but his soul²¹⁸, and, terrified, retreated into the water²¹⁹. As for the man, the saint placed his hand on his body, and he was brought back to life. From that moment on, he was fully healed of all his suffering and his wounds. The saint then mounted him on his spiritual horse²²⁰ and led him to the church. He placed the man in a secluded spot²²¹ and left him there, as the gates were closed. The saint then turned to the lake, to the spot where the immersed man's companions

²¹⁵ Eth. *ḥargaš*; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 18b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 89. The Coptic version of ms M.590 translates the Greek term κροκόδειλος as *msah* (ⲙⲥⲁⲩ); see Devos, *Un récit des miracles*, p. 458, l. 1 ff. The Arabic text uses the word *timsāḥ*.

²¹⁶ Eth. *ḥayq* "shore of the sea or lake", or "riverbank"; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 25b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 125.

²¹⁷ Similarly in the Coptic text; see Footnote 170.

²¹⁸ Eth. *wa- 'itarfa westētu 'allā nafso*, which means that the man was barely alive.

²¹⁹ The motif of St Menas as a crocodile-slayer seems to directly reference the image of the Egyptian divinity Harpocrates, or Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, portrayed standing on a crocodile and holding two serpents. This image became one of the models for the popular iconography of the saint from Maryut; see Kaufmann, *Zur Ikonographie*, p. 106-112. For an interesting discussion of the iconographic connections between St Menas and St Thecla, particularly in the context of their battles with animals as an example of the Christianization of motifs present in the iconography of the ancient Near East, see Tešić Radovanović – Gugolj, *Visual Representations*, p. 13-14.

²²⁰ See Footnote 170.

²²¹ Lit. "to the place alone", which Devos translates as "dans un lieu solitaire", while the Coptic text reads, "dans son sanctuaire, le conduisit en bas dans la crypte"; see Devos, *Un récit des miracles*, p. 458-459. Later, the text reveals the place as a treasury or crypt (κατάβασις) holding the saint's body; see Footnote 225.

stood. They were indeed weeping with heavy hearts, mourning the cruel death of their friend.

4. The saint appeared to them in the form of a soldier²²² passing along the road and spoke with comforting words to console their grief. He said, "Do not let your hearts suffer because of your companion who was taken by the crocodile. Do not turn to the past, but rather go to the church of Saint Abu Menas, as you originally intended. Rest your hearts there, for by the sixth²²³ hour you will see him alive, with no signs of decay or any wounds on his body".

5. When he finished speaking, he disappeared from their sight, and they could no longer see him. From that moment, they knew that it was Saint Abu Menas who had appeared to them. They cried out with loud voices, saying, "We believe in you, O mighty martyr, and we believe in your miracles with all our hearts. We believe in the power we have heard about, and that you reveal it in your church. We know ourselves that the one whom the crocodile took and tore apart, you will bring back to life, O mighty martyr, and it is fitting for us to see him again".

6. The day after²²⁴, when the morning light arose, a messenger came from the attendants of the church, carrying the keys of the treasury where

²²² Eth. *be'si ḥarāwi*, lit. "military man" or "man of the army"; see Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 85-86; see Footnote 145.

²²³ Instead of "three hours" in the Ethiopic ms B. The reading "sixth hour" appears in the Greek text, while "deux heures demain" features in the Coptic text according to Devos, *Un récit des miracles*, p. 460. In the Arabic ms A, the event occurs at midnight.

²²⁴ Lit. "and after this", but the text clearly refers to the next day. The Arabic ms M clearly states, "In the morning people came to pray as usual"; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 401, 172, and note 12, p. 224.

the saint's body was kept²²⁵. The presbyter, an elder²²⁶ named Menas²²⁷, stood and opened the gate of the treasury, and so the presbyters²²⁸ who were with him followed his example. They entered the church and looked inside and saw a man standing there. When the servant²²⁹ saw him, he was struck with terror and cried out loudly. The people rushed toward him, quickly approached, and seized him, asking, "Who are you, and how did you come here?"

7. He said to them, "I do not know what you are talking about". They replied, "Then you must have come here to steal the altar vessels"²³⁰. But he swore to them by the name of God Most High²³¹ and his

²²⁵ Eth. *mazgab*, derived from the verb root *zagaba* "collect, store, gather", denotes a "treasure, treasury, storehouse, magazine, or granary"; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 188b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 1066-1067, *thesaurus, promptuarium, apotheca, armarium, cella*. In this context, it corresponds to the Greek κατάβασις used in the Coptic version (καταβασις), which Devos translates into French as "un crypte". In the Greek text, the saint placed the man "near his case below" (πλησίον τῆς θήκης αὐτοῦ κάτω); cf. Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 80, l. 5. The Arabic version (ms M) mentions the sanctuary (*al-bay'a*); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 401, 172.

²²⁶ Eth. *liq za-yeleheq*, lit. "the elder chief", contrasts with the Coptic text, where the individual is "a young lector"; see Devos, *Un récit des miracles*, p. 462. The Arabic texts employ a wide range of terms: sacristan (*al-'amnūt*, ms M) – seemingly not a standard Arabic word, servant (*al-ḥādim*, mss A, R and T), servant of the temple (*ḥādim al-haykal*), or custodian (*qayyim*, ms N). Jaritz identifies the term used in ms F as corresponding to the Greek ἀναγνώστης "lector"; see *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 224, n. 17. However, the Ethiopic term *liq* in this context could denote "presbyter", in which case "senior presbyter" would equal the Greek ἀρχιερεσβύτερος.

²²⁷ The same presbyter's name appears in the Coptic and Arabic (ms F and R) texts; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 224, n. 17, with footnote 809.

²²⁸ Eth. *liqāwent*, the plural form of the substantive *liq*, likely carries the meaning of the Greek πρεσβύτερος, -οι; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 27. See also Footnote 44.

²²⁹ Eth. *lā'k* "messenger, servant, attendant"; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 10b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 48, *minister, famulus*. In Devos' translation, "le serviteur". In the present context, it evidently refers to the person mentioned above.

²³⁰ Eth. *nawāya meśwā'*. The term *meśwā'* means "altar" or "sacrificial place"; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 53a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 257, *altare, sacrarium*; Gen 8:20, Exod 20:24, Matt 5:24. The term *nawāy* in its singular form means "vessel" or "utensil", but it can also refer to "property" or "goods" in a collective sense. In fact, Devos translates it in plural as "les biens (χρήμα)", (νε-χρημα); cf. Devos, *Un récit des miracles*, p. 156, 159; the plural form "pieniądze" also appears in Piwowarczyk, *Cuda św. Menasa*, p. 410. A similar expression "vessels/utensil of the sanctuary" (*'awāni al-baī'a*) features in the Arabic ms M; cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 402 (ed.).

²³¹ Eth. *Egzi'abehēr le'ul*.

martyr, “I did not come to steal, nor have I ever done such a thing. If you²³² wish to know the truth²³³, let me into the church, and I will tell you about all the marvels²³⁴ that have happened to me”. When he said this, they allowed him to descend from the treasury²³⁵ and brought him before the altar. Then they summoned the servant to verify whether his words were true or not.

8. And the people in the church were amazed at everything that the man told them and how he recalled what had happened to him. He said to them, “If you do not believe my words, then come with me to the lake, for you will find my brothers bringing three pigs. It was he²³⁶ who saved me from the jaws of the evil crocodile, who told me that the crocodile had perished, and who showed me kindness. As for my brothers, they wanted to turn back, but he did not allow them. Instead, he told them, ‘Go to my church, and there you will see the glory of God that has been revealed’”²³⁷.

9. When the superior²³⁸ heard this, he sent two deacon servants²³⁹, had them ride, and dispatched them to the port to verify whether the story he had narrated was true or not. When they arrived, they found two men walking with three pigs. The messengers said to them, “O brothers, where are you coming from with these pigs?”. And the men recounted everything that had happened, including the story of their brother, whom they had lost. When the messengers heard their words and confirmed that everything was as the man had said, they understood his story was true. They marvelled at the wonders²⁴⁰ that had occurred. Then they hurried, along with the two men, until they reached the church of Saint Abu Menas.

10. When they arrived, they saw their companion and all the people watching him and listening to his words. So, they prostrated themselves

²³² The plural form appears in all the manuscripts.

²³³ Lit. “what is right”.

²³⁴ Eth. *ḥayl*, lit. “power, strength, force, might, virtue”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 115b. Ms B omits the word.

²³⁵ See Footnote 225.

²³⁶ This means St Menas.

²³⁷ The man’s confession is much shorter in the Greek text and the available Arabic versions; the Coptic version, although damaged, conveys it very closely to the Ethiopic text.

²³⁸ Eth. *liq*; see Footnote 44.

²³⁹ Eth. *diāqunata lā’ekāna*; ms B omits the Ethiopic numeral.

²⁴⁰ Eth. *ḥayl*; see Footnote 234.

before the altar, and cried out with a loud voice, saying, “Now we understand that no one is similar to our mighty lord Abu Menas the Martyr²⁴¹, and the miracles we have witnesses with our own eyes”. After this, they offered their gifts to the church of Saint Abu Menas, and then returned to their homes, glorifying God. As for the man who had been saved from the crocodile, he gave all that he had to the church of the Martyr of our Lord Jesus Christ²⁴². He remained there, serving the church until the time of his passing²⁴³. And he glorified the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

The tenth miracle²⁴⁴

1. A man²⁴⁵ was praying in the church of Saint Abu Menas and made a vow to provide wood for its construction. The administrator²⁴⁶ sent someone with him to carry it, and the man journeyed with him to Alexandria²⁴⁷.

²⁴¹ Or “to our mighty Lord and to Abu Menas the Martyr” in ms C, while “to the God of Abu Menas the mighty martyr” according to ms B.

²⁴² Or just “the martyr of the Lord Christ” in ms A.

²⁴³ See Footnote 72.

²⁴⁴ For the Greek text (BHG 1267) see Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 87 (no 11). The Coptic text in ms M.590 (no 11) is illegible; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 107. A fragmentary text of the miracle appears in the manuscript of Berlin (CLM 6255); see P. Piwowarczyk, *A New Fragment of the Coptic Miracles of St. Menas (Berlin Ms. Or. Oct. 408, Fols. 27-28)*, “Journal of Coptic Studies” 27 (2025) (forthcoming). For the Arabic text, see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 13), on ms M (III 4, 14), p. 402 (ed.), 173 (tr.); extracts from mss N and Š (III 5, 9), p. 424-425 (ed.), 197 (tr.); notes (III 6, 11), p. 225-226.

²⁴⁵ In the Greek text, the man’s name is Theophilus (Θεόφιλος); cf. Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 87, l. 4. The same name returns in the Arabic ms Š (*Thāwfilus*); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 225, n. 1. However, ms M refers to the protagonist simply as a wealthy man (*raḡul ghaniyy*), as is the case in the Ethiopic version.

²⁴⁶ The Ethiopic term *liq* appears here in place of οἰκονόμος, as observed in the Greek text; cf. Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 87, l. 6; see Footnote 44.

²⁴⁷ The Arabic ms Š additionally mentions transport of the wood *via* the Nile and its storage at a location distant from the shrine. Upon seeing the wood, the treasurer instructed the servants to drag it to the church. The Nile also appears in the fragmentary text in the Coptic manuscript from Berlin; see Piwowarczyk, *A New Fragment* (forthcoming).

Then, a soldier approached him²⁴⁸ and said, “Give me the tribute²⁴⁹ for this wood”. The man replied, “This wood is for Saint Abu Menas²⁵⁰, as a man has promised it for the sake of his soul”. The soldier responded, “I do not know what you are talking about, and I will not waive the tribute; it is two gold coins”²⁵¹.

2. He then gave it to the soldier, saying, “Take the tribute from the saint, and you yourself, if God wills, will double it and send it to his church”. While he was speaking to him, the soldier was seized by the hair of his head and lifted into the air²⁵². He did not know where he was being taken until he was brought to the church of Abu Menas²⁵³. There, he was suspended in mid-air by his hair²⁵⁴, and he cried out, saying, “Grant me pardon, O saint of God, for I have sinned. I will give

²⁴⁸ The Ethiopic version (mss A and C) applies the singular form, indicating that the servant travelled alone, whereas both the Greek and Arabic versions consistently use the plural form. Additionally, the Ethiopic expression translated here as “soldier” (*be’si ḥarāwi*, lit. “military man”) features in Arabic manuscripts as “one of army” (*aḥad al-aḡnād*), a “soldier” (*ḡundī*), or simply a “man” (*raḡul*); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 424 (ed.), 173 (tr.), with observations on p. 225, n. 7. See also Footnote 145.

²⁴⁹ Eth. *ṣabāḥet*, from the verb *ṣabbāḥa* “pay duty, pay tribute, collect taxes”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 227a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 1278, *tributum, stipendium*; see also Mt 22:17. In the Greek version of the miracle, we see τὰς δεκάδας “tithe, decima”.

²⁵⁰ Ms B omits the beginning of the conversation due to the copyist’s error.

²⁵¹ The Ethiopic text uses the phrase *2 qirāṭa warq*; see Footnote 79. The Coptic fragment refers to “two silver *keratia* (κερατῖον)”; see Piowarczyk, *A New Fragment* (forthcoming). Similarly, in the Greek text, we find “two silver coins” (δύο ἀργύρια); see Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 87, l. 11. Finally, the Arabic ms Š indicates “two drachmas” (*dirhamāin*); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 424.

²⁵² A similar motive of punishment appears in a miracle performed by St Simeon the Stylite; see P. Piowarczyk, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Miracles of St Menas*, VoxP 94 (2025) p. 58.

²⁵³ The Arabic ms N similarly describes the guard’s transfer by air to the saint’s shrine; cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 425 (ed.), 197 (tr.). See also Footnote 36.

²⁵⁴ Lit. “by the hair of his head”.

twelve dinars to the church”²⁵⁵. With that, the saint released him from his bond²⁵⁶.

3. And all the people watched as the man carried the gold along with many gifts, which he presented to the church. He then bowed before the altar²⁵⁷, and God, along with the saint, revealed many wonders to him. After a few days, during which the man slept in the church, he returned to his home²⁵⁸, praising God and his martyr, Abu Menas. Praise be to the Father, to the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and forever and ever²⁵⁹.

The eleventh miracle²⁶⁰

1. There was a soldier²⁶¹ who mounted his horse to go to the church of Abu Menas the Martyr to pray. As he approached the church, a pig suddenly ran beneath the legs of his horse, causing the horse to rear and throw the man to the ground. The man then stood up, drew his sword²⁶²,

²⁵⁵ Here, the Ethiopic text seems corrupt. Mss A and B use the third person form “he gave 12 dinars”, which contradicts the narrative’s logic. Therefore, my translation follows ms C, whose scribe evidently attempted to resolve this inconsistency. In the Greek text, the guard offers the twelve dinars only after the saint has released the bonds, which suggests a possible abridgment and reordering of the Ethiopic version, possibly inherited from its Arabic model. In fact, a reference to the twelve dinars as compensation appears in the Arabic ms N, while ms M focuses on the votive offering and the confession of guilt before the assembly.

²⁵⁶ The singular form *mā’esar* occurs in mss B and C, while the plural form *ma’āser* appears in the oldest document, ms A. The Arabic ms M limits the entire scene of punishment to a statement that St Menas sent misfortune upon the greedy guard.

²⁵⁷ Eth. *meśwā’*; see Footnote 230.

²⁵⁸ Lit. “habitation” (Eth. *māḥdar*).

²⁵⁹ At the end of the text in ms B, there is another additional intercession, stating, “May his prayer and his blessing guard and protect our father (lit. *abuna*) Yesḥaq, forever and ever, amen”. For a similar addition, see Footnote 153.

²⁶⁰ This miracle is absent from the Greek collection. Its Coptic version in ms M.590 survives only partially; cf. Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 107 (no 12). For the Arabic version see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 14), from ms M (III 4, 15), p. 402-403 (ed.), 173 (tr.); variants of ms T (III 5, 10), p. 425 (ed.), 197-198 (tr.); additional notes (III 6, 12), p. 226-227.

²⁶¹ Eth. *be’si ḥarāwi*, lit. “military or army man”; see Footnote 145. The Arabic ms M adds that the soldier was in the service of the king.

²⁶² Eth. *sayf*, derived directly from Arabic and Aramaic roots; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 522a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 394-395, *gladius, ensis*, ῥομφαία; Gen 3:24,

and chased after the pig. Those who were present there witnessed this, and shouted, saying, “Stay away²⁶³ from the property of the church”. However, he did not listen to them but killed the pig with his sword and cut it into two pieces.

2. After this, the soldier mounted his horse again²⁶⁴, but it suddenly bolted, carrying him away, and he had no idea where it was heading. Eventually, the horse brought him to the desert, right in front of the church of Saint Abu Menas. However, he was unaware of this, as he was hanging (down from the horse).

3. And it happened that someone held him until he entered the church. And he cried out in his language, “Kyrie eleison”²⁶⁵. All the people watched him hanging long hours. And they begged God and the saint to untie and release him, trembling for what had happened to him.

4. The superior instructed the church servants to take him to the hospital within the church of Saint Abu Menas. And he remained there for seven days, hanging²⁶⁶ each day in the church, and everyone could see him. Afterward, he prayed to God and Saint Abu Menas, vowing his horse to the church in place of the pig²⁶⁷. He then returned to his home, giving glory God and the martyr Saint Abu Menas. May his prayer and blessing be with us for ever and ever. Amen²⁶⁸.

Josh 5:13, Song 3:8, Rev 19:15.

²⁶³ Lit. “do not approach”.

²⁶⁴ An addition, the Arabic ms M reads, “with the slaughtered pig in his arms”.

²⁶⁵ Eth. *kiryālāyson*; see Footnote 39. The reference to the Greek language the soldier supposedly speaks is noteworthy. However, this does not imply that the miracle’s setting changes to Greece or Asia Minor. Greek served as the lingua franca of the Hellenistic world, both in Alexandria and among soldiers stationed in Egypt.

²⁶⁶ The text literally states this, but its meaning remains unclear due to its corruption. According to the Arabic ms M, it was St Menas himself who abducted the man from the desert and then hung him in the middle of his church to punish him daily. There is no mention of a hospital in this version of the text.

²⁶⁷ According to the Arabic ms M, the man promised to the saint a hundred dinars during his punishment and then, once released, offered everything he had.

²⁶⁸ The conclusion follows manuscript C. In contrast, manuscripts A and B include the Trinitarian doxology, “Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now and forever, and unto the ages of ages. Amen”. Manuscripts A and C also provide an additional prescription: “And do not eat (pork), for the teachers have forbidden the eating of pigs”. The prohibition of eating pork is a significant religious element in both modern Coptic and Ethiopian traditions, rooted in biblical texts (see Lev 11:7-8; Deut 14:8), cultural practices, and the desire to maintain religious and liturgical purity. Historically, however, even the Copto-Arabic *Nomocanon* and the Ethiopic *Legislation*

The twelfth miracle²⁶⁹

1. A man vowed to give a pig to the church of Saint Abu Menas²⁷⁰. The pig was small, but as it grew and became fat, his owner saw that it was fine. He said to himself, “I will slaughter this for myself and my children²⁷¹, and later I will give (another one) in its place to the church”. So, he slaughtered it, prepared it, and left it in the workshop²⁷² for preservation.

2. Then, Saint Abu Menas appeared²⁷³ and transformed the pig’s flesh, which was in a basin²⁷⁴, into stone, where it remains to this day. The owner of the pig was astonished by what he saw, and said, “How is it that this martyr of our Lord Jesus Christ can turn flesh into stone?”²⁷⁵. He then took three dinars²⁷⁶ and gave them to the church of Saint Abu Menas as a replacement for the pig he had slaughtered.

of the King (Ch. 23), the medieval sources of Christian civil and ecclesiastical law dating back to the twelfth century, do not explicitly prohibit the consumption of pork but instead refer to biblical decrees, especially the words of the Lord (Mark 7), the vision of Peter (Acts 10), the decision of the Apostles (Acts 15), and the teachings of the Fathers. For further discussion on this issue see Th. Guindeuil, *What Do Christians (Not) Eat: Food Taboos and the Ethiopian Christian Community (13th-18th Centuries)*, “Annales d’Éthiopie” 29 (2014) p. 59-82. For further discussion on the biblical origins of Orthodox practices see also U. Zanetti, *Christianity*, EAe I 725. For insights into dietary prohibitions see S. Kaplan, *Taboo*, EAe IV 800.

²⁶⁹ This miracle is absent from both Greek and Coptic collections. For the Arabic version see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 21), on ms M (III 4, 22), p. 408 (ed.), 178 (tr.); variants from mss F, N, and S (titled as the eleventh miracle; III 5, 17), p. 433 (ed.), 206 (tr.); additional notes (III 6, 19), on p. 234.

²⁷⁰ According to Arabic ms S, the man initially had nine piglets, one of which he vowed to the church.

²⁷¹ Or “for my son (*la-waldeya*)”, according to ms C. The Arabic texts use the plural form “children”.

²⁷² Eth. *gebr*, as a substantive derived from the Ethiopic verb root *gabra*, has a broad semantic field, consistently referring to work, activity, or production; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 206. It can specifically link to the basin mentioned below.

²⁷³ Ms A adds “to him”.

²⁷⁴ Eth. *nebtirā*, from the Greek *νιτήρ*, *acc.* *νιτήρα*, “washing vessel, basin”; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 384b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 657-658, *pelvis*, *pelluvium*, *malluvium*. This term appears in the Ethiopic text of John 13:5, where Jesus washes his disciples’ feet. In the Arabic version of the miracle, the equivalent term is *al-laqān*, which carries the same meaning of a basin or large bowl.

²⁷⁵ This soliloquy is absent from the Arabic versions edited by Jaritz.

²⁷⁶ Ms C omits the Ethiopic numeral for 3. The Arabic version – except for ms N – also indicates three dinars (*thalātha dinārīn*).

3. And he remained glorifying God all days of his life until the day of his passing²⁷⁷, giving thanks to God Most High and to Saint Abu Menas. May his prayer be with us. Amen.

The thirteenth miracle²⁷⁸

1. A man vowed to donate a horse every year to the church of Saint Abu Menas. When he came first time and the horse with him, he intended to present it to the church. Indeed, he had already set out on the journey, and the horse was with him²⁷⁹.

2. Suddenly, the Martyr appeared to him in the manner of a guard²⁸⁰ and said, “Do you know who I am, O brother?”. He replied, “I do not know you, O my lord”. The saint said, “I am, in fact, a servant²⁸¹ of the Lord Jesus Christ. When you go to my church to worship, go to my body, and you will find a small piece of gold. Take it for yourself instead of the horse that you offer to me each year”.

3. And when the man went to the church, he gave his horse to the superior²⁸² and bowed before the body of Saint Abu Menas. He found the gold, took it, and returned to his house, exalting God and his glorious martyr. May his intercession protect us Christians²⁸³ all the days of our lives. Amen.

²⁷⁷ This means “until his death”; see Footnote 72.

²⁷⁸ This short miracle is absent from the Greek and Coptic collections. However, it appears in the Arabic collection, with a particularly close resemblance in ms R, where it also features as the thirteenth; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 22), ms M, where the text is fragmented (III 4, 23), p. 408 (ed.), 179 (tr.); for mss R and S (III 5, 18), p. 433-434 (ed.), 207 (tr.); additional n., p. 234.

²⁷⁹ Since the last sentence repeats the content of the previous one, we may suspect text damage or a poor translation from the more elaborated Arabic version.

²⁸⁰ Eth. *be’si šagarāwi* (A), or *sagarātawi* (B), derived from the substantive *šagara*, pl. *šagarāt*, “guard, soldier of the guard, garrison”, or even “keeper of the instrument of torture, executioner”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 55a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 267, *lictiores, milites custodiae apposite, carcerum custodes*; Matt 27:65-66, John 18:3, Acts 5:23.

²⁸¹ Eth. *lā’k*; see Footnote 229. The noun *mal’ak* “messenger, herald, angel” derives from the same root verb (*la’aka*).

²⁸² Eth. *liq*; see Footnote 44.

²⁸³ Lit. “sons of baptism”; see Footnote 57.

The fourteenth miracle²⁸⁴

1. There was a woman, a widow, who took and carried offerings²⁸⁵ with her, crossing over the sea²⁸⁶, to the church of Saint Abu Menas. While she was traveling, a corrupt guard²⁸⁷ encountered her, intending to harm her on the road. He said to her, “O woman, where are you going alone through this desert?”. She replied, “I am on my way to the church of Saint Abu Menas. And I have this small *qurban* with me, which I will give and then I will return to my home”.

2. The soldier said to her, “Who is this Abu Menas, and where is his church?”. Then he added, “You will not pass through here unless I eat what you are carrying”. But the woman replied, “I beseech you, O my lord and my brother, do not commit this great error by eating the *qurban* I am bringing to the house of God”²⁸⁸.

3. However, he leapt upon this woman with his horse, seized her, struck her, and intended to eat what she had with her. Moreover, he

²⁸⁴ This miracle seems a variation of the Female Pilgrim (Sophia) miracle. The Coptic text in ms M.590 is illegible; cf. Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 107 (no 13). For the Arabic versions see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 4), on ms M (III 4, 5), p. 394-395 (ed.), 164-165 (tr.); variants from mss A and Š (III 5, 2), p. 412-413 (ed.), 183-184 (tr.); additional notes (III 6, 3), p. 213-214. Another elaboration of the same motif in Greek, edited and with an English translation, appears in Duffy – Bourboulakis, *Five Miracles* (no 3), p. 72-73.

²⁸⁵ Eth. *q^werbānāt* (pl.) according to mss A and C, or *q^werbān* (sg.) in ms B. In Christian texts, in addition to its primary meaning “offering, dedication, gift”, it can also refer to the Eucharist; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 440b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 427; Habtemichael Kidane, *Eucharist*, EAe II 448b. From the following Ethiopic narrative, it is evident that the word specifically refers to the bread designated for the Eucharistic celebration. The Greek text does not refer to any specific offerings. However, the Arabic ms M, as published by Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 394-395 (ed.), tr. 164-165 (tr.), mentions the gold brought by the woman to the church. Other manuscripts – F, N, and R – clearly refer to the bread for the offering (*qurbān*) as does the Ethiopic text; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 214, n. 3. Both the Ethiopic and Arabic terms originate from the Syriac *qūrbānā*; see Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, c. 3725-3726; T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, p. 37. Consequently, we render it as *qurban* in the translation.

²⁸⁶ Once again, it refers to Lake Mareotis.

²⁸⁷ Eth. *be’si šagarāwi*; see Footnote 280.

²⁸⁸ The traditional Ethiopic expression for any church, *bēta krestiyān*, lit. “house of Christians”, appears here in a modified version: *bēta egzi’abehēr* “house of God”, in reference to the shrine of St Menas. Notably, all these dialogues are absent from the Greek text.

thought in his heart²⁸⁹ to lie with her and defile her. But she warned him, saying, "Because you have intended to commit this act against me, God Most High and Saint Abu Menas, to whom I am journeying, will bring about your ruin. It is for his sake that I travelled from a distant place in search of his church. Indeed, I am but a weak widow, without power, but my strength comes from God and his martyr, Abu Menas".

4. When she said this, the soldier seized her by the head, struck her, and took what she was carrying. He then tied the bridle of his horse to his leg and sat down to eat the *qurban*. At that moment, the Lord commanded the horse, which leapt powerfully, pulling its owner through the desert until it dragged him to the church of Saint Abu Menas. His entire body was torn and his clothes shredded as he was dragged along the ground.

5. And all the people saw the *qurban* in his hand, since the Lord did not allow it to fall from his grasp to the glory of God and his martyr. The soldier then recounted to the people gathered in the church everything that had happened to him, and they were greatly astonished by the abomination he described. He began to think about what he had done to the woman, and how God and his martyr, Saint Abu Menas, prevented him, for he sinned in both his actions and his thoughts toward her.

6. The woman, for her part, cried out, proclaiming that great is God, and great is his martyr, Abu Menas, along with the wonders and powers he performs for all who visit his church. She entered the church and served there until the time of her passing²⁹⁰, glorifying God from that moment onward and forevermore. Amen.

²⁸⁹ Lit. "in his soul".

²⁹⁰ Meaning "until her death"; see Footnote 72.

The fifteenth miracle²⁹¹

1. There was a wealthy man of the city of Constantinople²⁹², originally from Phrygia²⁹³. He possessed gold, silver, numerous garments, goods, livestock, and various other such things. In the same neighbourhood, there lived an elderly widow, who resided below his estate²⁹⁴. She owned nothing except a single sheep²⁹⁵, which she kept²⁹⁶ on the roof. Each year, she used the wool from this sheep to make her clothes. As for the wealthy

²⁹¹ For the Greek version (BHG 1264) see Pomialovskiĭ, *Zhitie*, p. 81-84 (no 8); the short Greek version appears in Duffy – Bourbouhakis, *Five Miracles*, p. 74-77 (no 5). The Coptic text in ms M.590 (no 14) is fragmentary; cf. Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 23-24 (ed.), 117-118 (tr.). For the Arabic version see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 15), on ms M (III 4, 15), p. 402-403 (ed.), 173 (tr.); variants (III 5, 11), p. 403-405 (tr.), 198-201 (tr.); additional notes (III 6, 13), p. 227-230. The Poor Woman's Sheep miracle clearly refers to the biblical parable of Nathan in 2 Sam 12.

²⁹² Eth. *Qʿestantenā*. The name of the city in the Arabic version appears in some manuscripts only as *Qusṭantīniya* (R, S, and N), *Qusṭantīyānīs* (Š), or *Qusṭantīyānās* (L); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 227-228, n. 2.

²⁹³ Lit. "and he was from the people of Phrygia". The toponym used in this text is 'Afrāqyā (mss AC) or 'Afrāqiyā (ms B). The Arabic mss R, Š, F, and N employ the term 'Ifriqiya; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 227, n. 2. The region lies in North Africa along the Mediterranean coast, in modern-day Libya and parts of Egypt. The Greek text of the miracle refers to Μαμαρική; see Pomialovskiĭ, *Zhitie*, p. 81, l. 10. The Coptic ms M.590 is fragmentary and does not provide the relevant phrase of this miracle. However, according to the Coptic *Life of Saint Menas*, the man's father was appointed to a place named ΦΡΥΓΙΑ; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 41, l. 21.24. The Ethiopic *Acts* call the same place 'Abrāqiyā or 'Abrāfiyā, while Lake Maryut is "the sea which is between Africa and Alexandria ('Afrāqiyā wa-'Eskenderyā)"; cf. Budge, *Texts*, p. 62-63 and 71. The confusion between Phrygia and Africa in the Arabic and Ethiopic texts stems primarily from linguistic factors, with Arabic serving as a bridge between the Greek (Coptic) and Ethiopic texts. Specifically, the prefix with *alif* often adapts Greek and other names to Arabic phonetics, as seen in transformation such as Σμόρνη to 'Izmīr; Σκοθίας vel Scythia to 'Asqūṭiyā; Πρίντιζι vel Brindisi to 'Abrinṭas and 'Abrindas; or Rimini to 'Arīmīnīs; cf. J.C. Ducène, *Ptolemy's Geography in the Arabic-Islamic Context*, in *Cartography between Christian Europe and the Arabic-Islamic World, 1100-1500*, ed. A. Hiatt, Leiden 2012, p. 79. Furthermore, the phonetic shift *p > f > b* is characteristic of Arabic.

²⁹⁴ Eth. 'aṣad, which means a circumscribed area, such as courtyard, court, or palace; see Footnote 114.

²⁹⁵ Eth. *bagge*; see Footnote 48. The Greek text uses the phrase τὸ πρόβατον, while *khārūf* appears in the Arabic version. The final part of the Coptic text mentions sheep (ecooṡ) in the plural form.

²⁹⁶ Lit. "she fed it".

man's possessions, they were so numerous that he could not count his sheep nor goats.

2. And he became envious of the widow because of the sheep and began to consider taking it in his heart. As the feast of Saint Abu Menas drew near, and upon hearing that the townspeople were preparing their offerings to attend his church, he resolved to join them, despite having never participated before. This decision was motivated by his envy²⁹⁷ and his lack of genuine intent to offer alms²⁹⁸.

3. Upon hearing of the miracles of Saint Abu Menas and his powers, he summoned his wife and said to her, "O my sister, rise, let us go to the church of Saint Abu Menas, for I have heard of the miracles and powers that have occurred there. Although we have not performed any virtuous deeds, let us undertake this act, so that we may find mercy".

4. The woman replied, "You fool! Why would an unbeliever²⁹⁹ like you go to the church of Saint Abu Menas and not approach (the Holy Offering)?³⁰⁰ If you are willing to listen to what I am telling you, I will go with you. But if you refuse to listen, I will not accompany you, for your heart must not be divided. Now then, let us go to the church, be baptised, become Christians, and receive remission for the sins you have committed since your childhood".

5. He responded, "What are you telling me? I will listen to you and do as you ask. If you want me to abandon the faith of my fathers, I will obey you. As they used to say, 'Him whom a wife does not corrupt, nothing will corrupt'"³⁰¹. The woman was pleased and said to him, "Then send

²⁹⁷ Eth. *denṣāwē*, from the root verb *danṣawa*; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 198b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 1120, *invidia*, *avaritia*.

²⁹⁸ Eth. *meṣwāt*. According to some Arabic manuscripts, he follows either the Zoroastrian or Muslim faith, while his wife believes in God, which suggests she is already a Christian; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 227, n. 1.

²⁹⁹ Eth. *kaḥadi* "apostate, impious, unbeliever, contentious, rebel"; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 150b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 825-826, *abnegator*, *infidelis*, *impius*, *perfidus*. In the Arabic mss M and F, he is *ḥanīf*, from the Syriac *ḥanpā* "pagan or impious person". In pre-Islamic sources, however, the term applies to some Christians and Jews as monotheists; cf. M. Goudarzi, *Unearthing Abraham's Altar*, "Journal of Near Eastern Studies" 23 (2023) p. 78. Jaritz interprets it as "Muslim"; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 228, n. 8.

³⁰⁰ Eth. *wa-ʾiyeqērreb*. In ms B the same expression indicating participation in the Church's liturgy, appears without the negative particle; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 83.

³⁰¹ A similar proverb appears in the Arabic version, particularly in ms R; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 228, n. 10. In contrast, the proverb is absent from the Greek

one of your servants to bring us a fat sheep from your flock so that we can prepare it together. We will leave early in the morning, as the place is far". He then called one of his servants³⁰² to carry out the task.

6. But Satan corrupted his heart and sought to destroy him. The man then took a servant, lowered him down with a rope, and hung him upside down above the old woman's dwelling. The servant took the sheep that belonged to her, tied it with the rope, and brought it (to his master). He said to the servant, "Do not reveal this to anyone. And if your mistress³⁰³ asks, 'Where did this come from?', tell her that I sent you to bring it from my flock". Then, he slaughtered the sheep and cooked it completely.

7. As for the elderly woman, she went up to the roof to tend to her sheep, but she could not find it. She then cried out in lamentation, saying, "Woe is me, an old, poor, sorrowful woman! Someone has taken my sheep, the one I relied on to make my clothes each year". Meanwhile, the wife of the wealthy man³⁰⁴ remained unaware, for she believed the sheep had come from his flock.

8. When she heard the elderly woman's lamentation, she put on her veil and went to her, accompanied by her maids³⁰⁵, since they were neighbours. She asked her what had happened that day, inquiring about the reason for her weeping, or if something had occurred involving a stranger. She even insisted that the elderly woman tell her what troubled her, as the lady's heart ached for her, especially because of her poverty. The elderly woman replied, saying, "Woe is me, my sister! I am poor, and now they have made me even poorer. They took my sheep, which I relied on to clothe my body with its wool. Woe is me, for I am naked, and the people of the city will see my shame".

9. The wife of the rich man said to her, "Be patient, O my sister, for I will clothe you every day of your life until the time of your passing³⁰⁶.

text, and the Coptic version survives fragmentarily.

³⁰² Eth. *gabr*, pl. *agbert*, translates the Greek noun δοῦλος, -οι, which similarly means "slave" or "servant".

³⁰³ Eth. *'egze'eteka*, lit. "your lady", like Lat. *domina*.

³⁰⁴ Eth. *mak'annen*, lit. a "master, lord, ruler"; see Footnote 86.

³⁰⁵ Eth. *'a'emāt* is the plural form from *'amat* "maid", referring to a female servant or domestic worker; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 135b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 733, *serea*, *ancilla*.

³⁰⁶ Eth. *'eska gizē felsateki*, lit. "until the time of your (*f.*) assumption", referring to death; see Footnote 72.

But I wonder, my sister, how they managed to climb onto the roof to the place where they took your sheep. As for me, tomorrow, I will go to the church of Saint Abu Menas to question everyone in your neighbourhood and all those around us, to find out if they have returned it before we go to the church. Saint Abu Menas will indeed expose the one who stole this sheep”.

10. The widow, for her part, remained silent and said nothing. The wife of the rich man returned to her house and secretly called her servant away from her husband. She said to him, “Did your master send you to take the sheep of the widow who lives in our neighbourhood?”, since she said, “No one could have taken it except you”³⁰⁷. But the servant revealed nothing to her, for his master had instructed him to keep the matter secret.

11. As for the elderly woman, all those around her said, “Indeed, it was the servant of the wealthy man³⁰⁸ who stole your sheep, and his master hauled it up with a rope to the upper part of his courtyard”³⁰⁹. The widow bore these words patiently until she went to the church of Saint Abu Menas. The wife of the man³¹⁰ then sent for the elderly woman and took her along, saying to her, “I assure you they will swear an oath to you”³¹¹. The next day, the widow got up, followed them, and walked for two days until she crossed over the sea³¹², joining the great assembly of those they were going to the church.

12. When she reached the church, she encountered the wife of the wealthy man and addressed her, saying, “O my sister, after considerable exhaustion, I have come so that you may relay to your husband what I have conveyed to you. I have been informed by the people that his servant took my sheep from the roof of my house, and many witnessed him carrying it until his master retrieved it with a rope and secured it. Now,

³⁰⁷ The Ethiopic plural form *za-'enbalēkemu* implies the involvement of both the servant and the master.

³⁰⁸ Eth. *mak'annen*; see Footnote 86.

³⁰⁹ Eth. *'aṣad* “household” or even “palace”; see Footnote 114.

³¹⁰ Eth. *mak'annen*; see Footnote 86.

³¹¹ According to the Arabic ms A, the elderly woman went directly to the rich man and asked him to return the sheep. When he denied having taken the sheep, she asked him to swear an oath; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 427 and 199.

³¹² Eth. *'abḥert*, is the plural form of *baḥr*, typically referring to Lake Maryut. However, this context suggests a longer journey, possibly without knowledge of the actual topography. In the Arabic version, there is no such reference in ms M, nor in the other extracts provided by Jaritz.

you should present this matter to him, for I do not want him to swear an oath and risk an exposure of his abomination³¹³. Instead, I will pray in the church and then return”.

13. The wife of the wealthy man said to her, “If he admits that he took it, he will give you two sheep as compensation, but if not, you must swear to him³¹⁴. Stay here, my sister, until I interrogate him to see whether he will swear or not”. Then, the wife of the man³¹⁵ said to her husband, “This old woman, whose sheep was taken, told me, ‘May your husband and his servant swear that they did not take my sheep. For there are people who say they saw them removing it from the rooftop’”.

14. This was difficult for the man³¹⁶, and he became very angry. He said, “Convey to this wicked elder that I will swear an oath to her. As for me, I possess a thousand heads of oxen, do I not? Should I take the sheep of this elderly woman, who has nothing else? But if you insist that I swear to her before the whole world, what choice do I have?”. The woman said to him, “O my brother, do not resort to swearing falsely, for you are not depraved at all. I fear that I may find you to be wicked, for your soul is worth more than all your possessions. You came to this place to do good and seek forgiveness for your sins. Therefore, do not sin again. The power of Saint Abu Menas is great, but if you truly believe in your soul that you are saved, then swear to her and return to your home”.

15. The man rose, enraged by Satan, along with the servant³¹⁷ who had bound the sheep with a rope and delivered it, and they approached the altar³¹⁸. When he stood before it, he found a priest³¹⁹ who was about to

³¹³ The Ethiopic participle *hešum* has a broad semantic range, encompassing meaning from aesthetic categories such as “detestable, abominable, despicable, ugly” to moral qualities like “evil, bad, wicked, harmful”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 17a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 81.

³¹⁴ Similarly, in the Arabic ms M, the woman pledges two sheep as compensation for one, whereas ms A states a guarantee of three sheep; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 199 and 229, n. 21.

³¹⁵ Eth. *makʿannen*; see Footnote 86.

³¹⁶ Eth. *makʿannen*; see Footnote 86.

³¹⁷ Eth. *baʿenta gebr*, lit. “concerning the servant”. However, according to the Greek text, the servant clearly accompanies the man on the way to the sanctuary (ἀναστὰς αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ δοῦλος αὐτοῦ), and we retain this detail in my translation; see Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 83, l. 26.

³¹⁸ Eth. *mešwāʿ*; see Footnote 230.

³¹⁹ Eth. *qasis*; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 447a, “presbyter, priest, elder”, from the Syriac *qaššīšā*, and Arabic *qassīs*; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 433.

celebrate the Eucharist³²⁰ in the small sanctuary³²¹. The man said to him, “O my father, I want to swear an oath to this old woman”. He replied, “Behold, you are approaching the great thing that is an oath. Do not proceed, O my son, but guard your soul, so that you are not found evil”³²².

16. The man³²³ replied, “I will not depart without swearing an oath to her. Show me, then, where I can swear, for I will not leave you until you allow me to swear”. So, the priest sent a lector³²⁴ with him and he entered the interior of the place where the body of Saint Abu Menas was kept. Upon entering, he placed his hand on it and swore, saying, “May the body of this saint bear witness that I did not take that sheep, nor did any of my servants”.

17. But when he swore falsely and exited, his hands and legs turned to stone, and the crypt³²⁵ in the place where the body of Saint Abu Menas was shuddered from top to bottom³²⁶. Then, the entire body of the weal-

³²⁰ Eth. *q^werbān*; see Footnote 285.

³²¹ Eth. *bēta maqdas*, from the verb root *qaddasa*, means a “sanctuary, temple, holy place, the innermost part of the church”; cf. Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 423a. In this context, the term specifically refers to the niche which holds the relics of St Menas’s body.

³²² Eth. *hešum*; see Footnote 313. The entire dialogue with the priest is absent from the Greek text. However, in the Arabic recension, according to mss F and N, the priest warns the rich man against swearing. In ms S, the priest advises him to give what the woman accused him of and not to swear, but the man refuses, as doing so would make him appear guilty; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 229, n. 23.

³²³ Eth. *mak^wannen*; see Footnote 86.

³²⁴ Eth. *’anāg^wenestis* is the Ge’ez equivalent of the Greek ἀναγνώστης, which refers to one of the minor orders in the Orthodox Church, entrusted with the recitation of the readings and responsorial psalms, ranking below the sub-deacons; see *Const. apost.* 2.26.3, and their Ethiopic version in *Didasc. apost.* 14, ed. Platt, p. 115; see also the *Statutes of the Apostles*, Can. 27, ed. G. Horner, London 1904, p. 17, tr. 147. The use of this classical term does not imply that the text is a translation from Greek, as the same word remains in use within the Ethiopian ecclesiastical tradition, including the Amharic language; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 29b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 780; Habtemichael Kidane, *Ordination*, EAe IV 48; D. Nosnitsin – E. Fritsch – Dimetros Weldu, *Churches and Church Administration*, EAe I 744a.

³²⁵ Eth. *ba’att*; see Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 526, *specus, spelunca, caverna*. However, when read as *ba’at*, the same word also means “entrance”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 102a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 526-527. This latter interpretation might better align with the stylistic context of the text. However, the Greek version of the miracle refers to the entire location as κατάβασις.

³²⁶ The Ethiopic verb *’ank^wark^wara*, used here, can literally mean “roll (tr.), revolve, rotate”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 152; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 838. Translation from

thy man³²⁷ turned to stone, except for his mouth, which he could still use to speak. He remained immobilized, with no movement in any part of him. Thus, he wept and cried, saying, “Woe is me! I will give four sheep in place of one³²⁸. Grant me pardon, O saint of God and Martyr Abu Menas, for I took the sheep of this poor widow, I cooked it, and then I came to your church. How could you tolerate such great impiety from me?”.

18. “Alas, woe is me! I had a thousand head of cattle, along with many sheep and goats³²⁹, yet my greed tormented me until I took a sheep of this widow who had nothing else. And now, I have fallen into great suffering. Forgive me, O saint of God. May the woman reclaim her sheep; I did not taste it at all”³³⁰.

19. “I will give her four³³¹ sheep, and I will also give all my cattle to the church because of the sin I committed. I, a sinner, contaminated my mouth with a false oath upon your sacred body. Now I have understood, O my Lord, that your power is great. But forgive me this sin. Woe is me, that I came to the church and this befell me because I did not believe in you and did not listen to my wife”.

20. At that moment³³², he heard a voice coming from within the body of the saint, saying, “May your mouth be silenced and remain mute, for this affliction will not leave you until the time of your passing”³³³. The priest and all those present in the church were astonished and filled with wonder. When they heard the martyr’s voice coming from his

the Arabic source probably distorted this phrase. Unfortunately, the corresponding part in the Coptic text has not survived; the sentence does not appear in the Greek text either.

³²⁷ Eth. *bā’el* “rich” in mss A and C, but *bā’āl* “husband” according to ms B.

³²⁸ Similarly, in the Greek text, the petrified man promises four sheep in atonement for the one he stole, all in the hope of forgiveness. This phrase may recur below, possibly for emphasis.

³²⁹ Another repetition of the rich man’s words; see above.

³³⁰ The final acclamation somewhat contradicts the statement above, in no 6.

³³¹ Or “one sheep”, according to ms B, while ms C omits the numeral but retains the noun its plural form (*‘abāge’*), always referring to the woman. The Arabic version (ms M) reads “ten rams” (*‘ašarah kibāš*); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 404 (ed.), 175 (tr.), with note 27 on p. 229. In the Greek text, the man declares all his sheep to the church as atonement for the violation of the oath; cf. Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 84, l. 6-7.

³³² Lit. “in this hour”.

³³³ See Footnote 72.

chest, they brought a coffin, secured the man to it³³⁴, and lifted him out of the crypt³³⁵. They then brought him into the church³³⁶ and set him upright like a pillar³³⁷ so that everyone could see him. His mouth continued to speak, even though his entire body remained petrified.

21. As for his wife, she remained in his service until the day of his death. Then, she returned to her homeland. She took all that she owned of gold and silver, along with all her goods, and donated them to the church of Abu Menas. She also brought the shepherd and the sheep and offered them to his church as well³³⁸. And they were shorn every year.

22. All of this was in regard of the salvation of her soul as well as the soul of her husband. Every year, she went to the church, gave alms, and marvelled at her husband's fall. She glorified God Most High and his martyr Abu Menas, continuing in this devotion until the time of her death.

³³⁴ The interrupted text of the Coptic ms M.590 begins in this place; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 23 (ed.), 117 (tr.).

³³⁵ Alternatively, "entrance" (*ba'at*); see Footnote 325. The Greek word κατάβασις appears also in the Coptic text; cf. Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 23a, l. 3 (ed.). In the Arabic text, ms M does not specify the place; however, in ms F, the faithful find the man in the corridor or portico (*min al-rū'aq*) and then bring him to the main church (*ila al-baī'ah*); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (5.11.5), p. 428.

³³⁶ Copt. ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 23a, l. 5 (ed.).

³³⁷ Eth. *kama ḥawelt*, in mss A and B; or "they set him to the column", according to ms C. In fact, the Ethiopic term *ḥawelt* refers to a column, pillar, stele, obelisk, or pyramid; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 249a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 112. Notably, the Coptic text also specifies that "they fastened him to a pillar (CTYΛΛOC)"; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 23a, l. 6-7 (ed.). A similar dichotomy is evident in the Arabic text: we read, "like a pillar" in mss R and N, and "to a pillar" in mss L and F, which feature a more detailed description of elevating the man's body in the church. Finally, ms Š states, "under the pillar" (*tahta al-'amūd*), specifying that the pillar is near the descent to the cave (*bil-qurb min al-hubūt ila al-magāra*); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 230, n. 31.

³³⁸ In the Coptic version, she gives all her sheep to the *oeconomus* (οικονομος); see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 23a, l. 30 (ed.), 118 (tr.). The Arabic ms F describes the donation of the flock in more detail: the woman calls for her shepherd, records the number of the sheep from the oldest to the youngest, and entrusts them to the church administrator or steward (*ila wakīl al-baī'ah*); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (III 5, 11, 5), p. 428. According to ms F, the elderly woman receives all the sheep; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 428 (ed.), 201 (tr.).

To the Lord Jesus Christ be glory, greatness, might, and power, now and forever, unto the ages of ages. Amen³³⁹.

The sixteenth miracle³⁴⁰

1. There was a man from the people of Alexandria, an unbeliever³⁴¹, who had been tormented by a powerful Satan since his childhood³⁴². Satan frequently struck him in the face, causing him to foam (at the mouth) and grind his teeth³⁴³ like a wild beast³⁴⁴. On numerous occasions, the devil even led him to the Bitter Sea, intending to drown him³⁴⁵. In response, his people took a beast, loaded him on it, and brought him to the church of Saint Abu Menas.

2. But Satan, seeking to harm them, threw the man down³⁴⁶ many times, causing him to run toward his people. They then prayed to God the Magnificent³⁴⁷ and to Saint Abu Menas, the miracle-worker³⁴⁸, saying, "May God have mercy on this poor man and save him from Satan, for you are our hope, and we truly believe in you".

3. As they journeyed to the shrine³⁴⁹, awestruck by the man's condition, Saint Abu Menas appeared before them in the form of a knight³⁵⁰ riding on his horse. He asked, "Where are you taking this man?". They

³³⁹ The Coptic version concludes that "the woman used to come every year of her whole life, making her votive offerings to the shrine and glorifying God and the holy Apa Mena"; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 118. A similar conclusion, emphasizing the woman's constant dedication to the shrine, appears in the Arabic ms S; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (5.11.2), p. 426.

³⁴⁰ *The Miracle of the Possessed Man*. For its Greek text (BHG 1268) see Pomia-lovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 87-89 (no 12). For the Coptic version on M.590 (no 15) see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 23-25 (ed.), 118-119 (tr.); see Bacot, *Saint Ménas* (no 8), p. 69-71. The Arabic version of this miracle has not emerged.

³⁴¹ Eth. *kaḥadi*; see Footnote 299.

³⁴² Ms B adds, "He made him crazy and threw him down".

³⁴³ Similarly in Mark 9:18; cf. Ps 36:12 LXX and Matt 13:42, 24:51, within the context of the final judgment and eternal punishment.

³⁴⁴ Lit. "like a pig" (Eth. *kama ḥarāweyā*); see Footnote 51.

³⁴⁵ Cf. Matt 17:15.

³⁴⁶ Cf. Luke 9:42, Mark 9:18.

³⁴⁷ See Footnote 40.

³⁴⁸ Eth. *gabārē mankerāt*.

³⁴⁹ Lit. "place".

³⁵⁰ The text again employs the Ethiopic term *mak"annen*, here denoting a high-rank soldier; see Footnote 86.

replied, “To the church of Saint Abu Menas so that he may find salvation and healing through him. However, we do not know how to guide him, as Satan does not give him rest”³⁵¹.

4. Saint Abu Menas said to them, “Bind him, for otherwise, you will not be able to lead him”. Without realizing that it was Saint Abu Menas speaking, they replied, “Satan knows we are taking him to the church of Saint Abu Menas, and he does not allow us to approach it with him”.

5. They also said to him, “Our lord, if you could guide him with us, we will pay you”. The saint replied, “For me, it is not necessary to receive payment from anyone; but whatever you wish to pay, give it to the holy church”. The saint then hung the possessed man up by the hair of his head, tied him to the back of his horse, and made him run alongside until he brought him to the holy church.

6. As for the men³⁵² who accompanied him, they followed and brought him³⁵³ to the church, not allowing anyone to see him. The others, for their part, those who were with the possessed man, were astonished at this. And the saint hung him up between heaven and earth; and so, Satan cried out, saying, “What have you to do with me, oh Menas?³⁵⁴ Leave me alone, for I have been ruling over him for seventeen³⁵⁵ years. Send me into him so that I may kill him, and after that, I will depart from him”³⁵⁶. As the people eagerly urged, Saint Abu Menas set him back on the earth.

³⁵¹ Cf. Luke 11:24-26.

³⁵² Eth. ‘*edaw*’; cf. Leslau, *Concise*, p. 179a; here, it refers to the angels, the host of St Menas.

³⁵³ Grammatically, it is unclear to whom the pronoun refers: St Menas or the possessed man.

³⁵⁴ See Mark 5:7.

³⁵⁵ My translation follows ms A, in alignment with the Coptic text, which spells out the number (ⲙⲏⲧϥⲁⲓⲛⲉ); see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 24b, l. 33 (ed.), 118 (tr). In contrast, Ethiopic ms C records the number as “16”, while ms B presents it as “12”.

³⁵⁶ In all three Ethiopic manuscripts, the final verb (*waḏ’a*) appears in the third-person past tense: “and he went out of him”, as though introducing a new phrase. In contrast, the Coptic text uses the first-person form; cf. Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 25 (ed.), 118 (tr.). In this context, we retain the first-person form to preserve the narrative logic, which suggests the continuation of the exorcism.

7. Two days later³⁵⁷, the Martyr suspended him by two fingers from the first hour of the day until the sixth, tormenting him³⁵⁸. The possessed man cried out, saying, “Behold, I will leave him, O my lord Abu Menas”. Then he fell as though dead. People carried him and brought him down to the cave³⁵⁹ where the body of Saint Abu Menas lay. The servant in the cave took the oil from the lamp that was before the saint’s body and marked the suffering man’s face with it.

8. And he heard Saint Abu Menas crying out with power, saying, “Depart from the creature of God the Magnificent³⁶⁰, and let him live. I indeed gained the power to destroy you in this place before your arrival at the church³⁶¹. But I have brought you here to shame you in the presence of those gathered in the church”.

9. And in the same hour, a fire with waves of flames came out from the possessed one, and the man was immediately revived. He then brought his offering to the church of Saint Abu Menas. Afterward, he returned to his house, glorifying God and giving thanks to the saint who performed the miracle and wonders in his church. May his intercession and prayers be with us all, the sons of baptism³⁶², and preserve us forever and ever. Amen.

³⁵⁷ In ms B, “after 6/7 days”. As mentioned above, the Ethiopic numerals for 6 and 7 look similar; see Footnote 110. The Coptic version begins the phrase with “after some days”; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 25a, l. 10 (ed.), 118 (tr.).

³⁵⁸ Once again, the numeral used in all the Ethiopic manuscripts is uncertain, being either six or seven. In the Coptic version, the indicated number is six; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 25a, l. 15. The Greek text specifies no hours.

³⁵⁹ Eth. *ba’att*; see Footnote 325.

³⁶⁰ See Footnote 40.

³⁶¹ The second part of this sentence is ambiguous in the Ethiopic text. Similarly, the Coptic text presents challenges in interpretation; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 25b (ed.), 119 (tr.).

³⁶² Eth. *weluda temqat*; see Footnote 57.

The seventeenth miracle³⁶³

1. After this³⁶⁴, there was a wealthy Samaritan woman³⁶⁵ from the city of Alexandria. She had an illness in her head. For three years³⁶⁶, she endured great distress due to a persistent headache³⁶⁷. Despite spending a great deal of money on doctors, she found no relief³⁶⁸.

2. Subsequently, she was seated one day with Christian women, her neighbours. They observed that she was suffering from the stroke that was accompanying her, and they said, "If you go to the church of Saint Abu Menas the Martyr, he will revive you, for all who visit his church are restored to health".

3. She replied, "I am afraid of my husband³⁶⁹ and my people, that they might find out about me and kill me". However, the Christian women

³⁶³ In the Ethiopic ms C, this miracle lacks a title or a number, as it directly follows the previous text, which causes a misalignment in the numbering of subsequent miracles. For the Greek text (BHG 1262) see Pomialovskiĭ, *Zhitie*, p. 75-79 (no 6). For the Coptic version (no 16) see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 26-33 (ed.), 119-123 (tr.); see Baccot, *Saint Ménas* (no 9), p. 71-76 (tr.). For the Arabic text in two different recensions see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 23), fragmentary *versio brevior* on ms M (III 4, 24), p. 408-409 (ed.), 179 (tr.); *versio longior* from ms F, much closer to the Ethiopic text, where the miracle's number is nineteen, with excerpts from other manuscripts (III 5, 19), p. 434-439 (ed.), 207-213 (tr.); additional notes (III 6, 21), p. 235-240.

³⁶⁴ Eth. *we-ʿemdeḥra-ze*. The miracle begins in an unusual manner for the collection, in a way that suggests a continuation of the previous narration.

³⁶⁵ Eth. *be'sit sāmrāwit*, or *samrāwit*. The Greek text mentions a "woman from the religion of Samaritans" (γυνὴ ἐκ τῆς θρησκείας τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν). The Arabic text in ms M is acephalous, with no identification of the woman's origin, while the Arabic ms F introduces her as a very wealthy Samaritan (*al-mar'ah Sāmīrīyah*), similarly to the Ethiopic version. The Coptic text lacks references to the material status of the Samaritan.

³⁶⁶ The same period appears in both the Greek and Coptic versions; cf. Pomialovskiĭ, *Zhitie*, p. 75, l. 10; Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 26 (ed.), 119 (tr.). The Arabic ms F indicates three years in the subsequent narration; see Footnote 379.

³⁶⁷ Eth. *zebṭata re'sa*, lit. "stroke of the head", from the root verb *zabaṭa* "strike, smite, beat, whipping"; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 186a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 1051. The Greek text defines her condition as an uninterrupted headache (κεφαλόπονιον ἀδιάπαστον). The same term (ἐγκράνιον) appears in the Coptic text; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 26, l. 18-19 (ed.), 119 (tr.). The Arabic versions offer a wider variety of expressions: "she had headache" ('awḡa'a al-ra's, ms Š); "she had a sickness (*marad*) in her head" (ms R); or even "worms (*dūd*) in her head" (mss N and D); cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 235, n. 2.

³⁶⁸ In ms C, "medicine".

³⁶⁹ The same appears in the Arabic ms Š, whereas according to ms N, she was afraid of her ancestors ('*abahāti*).

who were with her encouraged her, saying, “Arise and go with faith, for you will find healing”. But the woman responded, “I am afraid to enter the church because I have not been baptized”.

4. The Christian women, however, urged her, saying, “Go and witness the glory of God”. So, the Samaritan woman secretly left her people and her husband. Early in the morning, she went to the port³⁷⁰, where she found a boat bound for the church’s harbour³⁷¹. She boarded it, accompanied by the Christian women who had followed her.

5. Upon their arrival at the port, they disembarked and went to the place where they could rest until morning. Now, a man who was on the land looked at the Samaritan woman, admired her, and desired to commit a wretched act³⁷² with her because of her beauty, for she had a pleasing appearance.

6. He said to her, “O woman, I see that you are beautiful, and it is not proper for you to sleep in this place. Instead, I will take you to a secluded spot where you can rest, so that others passing by will not look upon you with an evil eye, for you are indeed a beautiful woman, as I can plainly see”.

7. She listened to him but did not perceive the intention within his heart. She believed, in fact, that he was offering her mercy. She said to him, “O my brother, guide me to the place where you dwell; I will take refuge there”. The man asked her, “Where do you plan to go?”. She answered, “I wish to go to the church of Saint Abu Menas to pray”. Consequently, he took the woman and led her to the secret place.

³⁷⁰ Or “to Egypt” (*ḥaba mesr*), according to ms A. In fact, *Miṣr* is the Arabic name for Egypt. The biblical context identifies Mizraim (BH *Miṣrāyim*, LXX Μεσραιμ) as one of the sons of Ham, the son of Noah; cf. Gen 10:6.13. The term commonly refers both to the land of Egypt and its inhabitants; see e.g. Gen 13:10, 41:56; Exod 6:5 ff; 2Kgs 24:7; Jer 44:26. The dual suffix *-āyim* in Aramaic allows for the interpretation of *Miṣrāyim* as “two Egypts”, a reference to Upper and Lower Egypt. The term also features in mediaeval Ethiopic texts, such as the *Miracles of Mary*, where it may refer to both Egypt and, specifically, Cairo; see Zarzeczny, *Catalogo*, p. 314-315. However, in the context of Ethiopic manuscript B, this may represent a copyist’s error, potentially due to a transposition of graphemes in the Ge‘ez word for “port/harbour”: Eth. *mars* to *mesr* in B. Additionally, in Classical Ethiopic, *messer* can also mean “lentil”. For further discussion on the various meanings of the root *msr* see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 367.

³⁷¹ Et. *mars za-bēta krestiyān*. It refers to Philoxenite, as explicitly indicated in the Coptic version; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 27a, l. 4-5. However, no Arabic manuscript attests the toponym.

³⁷² In the Arabic ms R, “dishonouring her”.

8. In the evening, he closed the gates of the port³⁷³ and went to the place where the woman was. He asked her, “What do you want from me?”. She replied, “I want nothing but the repose of my soul and relief from the pain³⁷⁴ in my head”. The man then said to her, “Understand this, I am suffering because of the very place where you are”.

9. The woman answered, “As for me, I do not suffer, for you have shown me mercy by bringing me into this place and not leaving me to sleep outside with the others”. Later, the man said to her, “Indeed, other people will come shortly to sleep here”. The woman said to him, “Then please take me to wherever you wish, for I do not want to be near or sleep with others”³⁷⁵.

10. When the man heard this, a great joy filled him³⁷⁶, for a desire to sin had taken hold of his heart. So, he led her, locked the door, and she fell asleep, overwhelmed by the fatigue that had overcome her. As night fell and everyone else in the port slept, the man rose and entered the room where the woman was sleeping, carrying a sword³⁷⁷ in his hand.

11. He said to her, “I want to lie with you”. But she replied, “Do not do what is evil, O my brother, and do not approach me. For I am a Samaritan woman, and you are a Christian man, baptized, while I am a woman esteemed among my people and my law”³⁷⁸. Nevertheless, the man said to her, “If you do not let me lie with you, I will kill you with the sword in my hand”.

12. The woman said to him, “Kill me, for I will not commit this abominable act”. The wicked man then drew his sword and threatened her with it. However, the woman implored, “Please, permit me to speak a few words before you kill me”. He replied, “Speak”.

13. She said to him, “I swear to you by the name of God, do not commit any evil to me. I am on my way to the church of Saint Abu Menas to pray, as I told you before, and – if mercy is granted to me – to be freed from this sickness in my head that has tormented me for three years, never allowing me peace, neither by night nor by day”³⁷⁹.

³⁷³ This implies that the man was the port’s gatekeeper.

³⁷⁴ Lit. “stroke”; see Footnote 366.

³⁷⁵ This phrase seems defective in all three Ethiopic manuscripts; however, its meaning remains clear, and it is consistent with both the Coptic and Arabic texts.

³⁷⁶ Lit. “he rejoiced with great joy”.

³⁷⁷ Eth. *sayf*; see Footnote 262.

³⁷⁸ Eth. *heggeya* “my law, rite, statute, norm”, from the verb root *ḥaggaga* “write or institute laws, legislate, ordain”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 26b.

³⁷⁹ A similar sentence appears at the beginning of the story; see Footnote 366. An almost identical phrase also features in the Arabic ms F.

14. But he said to her, "Now allow me to do with you as I wish. Afterward, you may go to the church³⁸⁰ and pray". She replied, "I am deeply afraid to go to the church while being unclean and as a Samaritan woman. Truly, I fear angering Abu Menas the Martyr and bringing upon myself a sickness even greater than the one that already torments my head".

15. However, he repeated, "If you do not allow me to lie with you, I will kill you with the sword you can see in my hand". She replied, "Kill me, then, for I will never do this". And she cried out in a loud voice, saying, "O Abu Menas, saint of God! I have come to your home³⁸¹ because I trust in God and in you. Save me now from the hand of this infidel!"³⁸².

16. At that moment³⁸³, he raised his hand with the sword, intending to kill her. But the hand holding the sword became petrified. Suddenly, Saint Abu Menas appeared³⁸⁴, riding a horse in the manner of a knight³⁸⁵. He struck the door of the house, and the door was immediately opened. A great light preceded him as he entered the place where the Samaritan woman and the despicable³⁸⁶ man were.

17. Then, Abu Menas the Martyr took the woman's hand in the midst of light and said to her, "O woman, what has happened to you?". Furthermore, he made the sign of the cross over her, and the fear vanished from her heart. He said to her, "Rise up, I will take you to the church"³⁸⁷. The woman stood up and followed him until she passed through the door. There, she said to him, "O my lord, who are you? I see you with such great glory and majesty, and I am afraid".

18. The saint replied, "I am Abu Menas, to whom you came from your home³⁸⁸. Behold, I have come to save you from this infidel man. When morning comes and the sun rises, go to my church, and I will heal you". Then Saint Abu Menas eased her fear and said, "Sleep here until dawn,

³⁸⁰ Lit. "to his church", namely to the shrine of St Menas.

³⁸¹ "From my home", according to manuscripts B and C; similarly in the Arabic ms F (*min manzāli*).

³⁸² Eth. *kaḥadi*; see Footnote 299.

³⁸³ Lit. "in this hour".

³⁸⁴ Lit. "Saint Abu Menas came".

³⁸⁵ Eth. *mak'annen*; see Footnote 86.

³⁸⁶ Eth. *mennun* is a passive participle used as an adjective to describe an evil man, derived from the verb root *mannana* "despise, disdain, reject"; cf. Leslau, *Concise*, p. 38b. See also Footnote 313.

³⁸⁷ In the Arabic ms F, the passage is shorter: "He said to her, 'Go to the church'. And she rose and followed him".

³⁸⁸ Ms B omits the words "from your home".

and do not be afraid³⁸⁹, for I will send an angel to guide³⁹⁰ you and your neighbours to my church". With that, he disappeared from her sight, and she never saw him again.

19. As for the infidel man, a great sorrow overtook him³⁹¹, and he cried out, confessing his sin to God and to Saint Abu Menas. When morning came, the woman rose before the light appeared. She said to the women who were with her, "Arise, let us go, for Saint Abu Menas has saved me"³⁹². And they got up and went together.

20. Furthermore, the Samaritan woman reported to her companions what had happened to her, and they were amazed. Then, an angel of the Lord³⁹³ appeared to them in the form of a monk³⁹⁴ and illuminated their path, leading them to the church of Saint Abu Menas. Upon their arrival, they entered and prayed there. The next day³⁹⁵, (the Samaritan) approached the archpriest³⁹⁶ and said, "O my father, I ask for your mercy, that you baptize me and count me in the number of Christians".

³⁸⁹ Cf. Luke 1:30.

³⁹⁰ Lit. "to go with".

³⁹¹ Lit. "a great beating or whipping (*zebṭat*) found him". See Footnote 367.

³⁹² Alternatively, "he is the one who redeemed me" (*za-ʾadḥanani*); cf. Gen 48:16; Jub 7:34.

³⁹³ Eth. *malʾaka egzi*; similarly in the Arabic ms F: *malāk al-rabb*.

³⁹⁴ Eth. *manakos*, derived from the Greek μοναχός; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 350; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 190; similarly, the Arabic ms F mentions a "monk" (*rāhib*).

³⁹⁵ Eth. *ba-kālʾet ʾelat* clearly refers to the second day. Similarly, "early morning" (ἔσπρωγε) appears in the Coptic versions; cf. Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 31a, l. 30. In contrast, the Arabic ms F uses an uncertain phrase *fī tālit yawm*, likely replacing the more accurate *fī al-yawm al-tālī* ("on the next day"), or *fī al-yawm al-thālith* ("on the third day"), the reading preferred by Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 209, "am dritten Tag".

³⁹⁶ Eth. *liqa kāhnat*, lit. "chief of priests", likely refers to the superior or bishop of the shrine. The Coptic version follows the Greek text, using the term archpriest (ἀρχιερεσβύτερος); cf. Pomialovskii, *Zhitie*, p. 78, l. 14; Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 31a, l. 32-33 (ed.), 122 (tr.). In the Arabic version, the used term similarly means the eldest, head, or archpriest (*kabīr/rayīs al-qusūs*, mss R and Š). However, some manuscripts note the patriarch Theophilus (*tāwofīlus al-baṭrīrak*) himself as the one who receives the Samaritan woman and her companions in the shrine; see ms M in Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 409 (ed.), 179 (tr.), 237, n. 37.

21. So, he baptized her in the name of Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit³⁹⁷, and granted her the Sacred Mysteries³⁹⁸. Later, she cut her hair and dedicated herself to serving the church of the Martyr³⁹⁹. On the day she was baptized, the infidel man who had sought to sin with her arrived, riding a beast⁴⁰⁰. His hand was like stone, and within it was the sword with which he had intended to kill the woman.

22. He cried out, saying, “Help me, O saint of God! I beg you to intercede on my behalf to the Lord, to forgive my sin and downfall”. They then brought him down from the beast and left him in the church to pray to the Lord Jesus Christ and his saint, the martyr Abu Menas. The people crowded around to see the man and his withered hand, and the sword still lodged in it, as if it had been nailed through.

23. He remained in the church for seven days⁴⁰¹, while those who had brought him kept watch over him. Saint Abu Menas, for his part, appeared to him in a dream, saying, “Now, I release you. Do not return to your transgressions, for I have granted you healing. From this day forward, guard your soul”. The man replied, “As God lives, I will not leave this place, but I will be your servant all the days of my life”.

³⁹⁷ The Trinitarian formula for baptism appears here in its unaltered form, without the additional words *’aḥadu amlāk* “one God”, commonly associated with the Ethiopian tradition. The monotheistic emphasis *al-alla^h al-wāhid* “the one God” appears also in the Arabic ms A, cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (III 5, 19, 2c), p. 438 (ed.), 211 (tr.), though it is absent from ms F.

³⁹⁸ Eth. *meṣṭira qeddesāt*, lit. “mystery of holiness”, clearly refers to the Holy Eucharist. The Coptic text mentions the “infinite offering” (προσφορά ἀπεραντων); see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 31b, l. 10-12. In the Arabic ms F, we see “the holy mysteries” (*al-serāyīr al-maqdasah*); ed. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 436. Finally, the Greek text references only baptism.

³⁹⁹ The Coptic text also mentions the cutting of hair and service to the church. In some Arabic mss, she even becomes a nun; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 237, n. 39.

⁴⁰⁰ Eth. *’ensesā* generally refers to an animal resembling cattle or an ox, distinct from a horse or donkey; the expression likely emphasizes the man’s humiliation. In the Greek text, the man appears as a horseman (καβαλάριος) in this instance; cf. Pomialovskii, *Zhitiie*, p. 78, l. 20. In contrast, the Coptic text describes him as arriving on an ass (εἶο); cf. Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 31b, l. 24. In the Arabic ms F, the man sits on his beast (*’alā dābtah*), similarly to the Ethiopic version.

⁴⁰¹ In ms C, the number is also “seven”, while ms B states “three days”. The Arabic manuscripts generally mention “seven”, except for ms F, which reads “nine”; cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 179, 238, n. 41.

24. Saint Menas said to him, “When you wake up in the morning, do as the administrator⁴⁰² instructs you”. When morning came, before prayer, he implored the priest and the administrator, saying, “O my fathers, be merciful to me and bring me a little oil from the martyr’s lamp to anoint my body. If mercy finds me, this affliction will leave my body”. So, they brought him the oil⁴⁰³, and he made a sign of the cross on his hand, and immediately, it came back to life. In response, he took all that he owned, gave it to the church of Saint Abu Menas, and remained there⁴⁰⁴.

25. As for the Samaritan woman, with whom he had intended to sin and who was subsequently baptized, she passed away six months later⁴⁰⁵. They rested together on the same day and entered the eternal Kingdom of Heavens⁴⁰⁶. Glory be to God, and thanksgiving to his saint, now and forevermore. Amen.

⁴⁰² Eth. *lā’k* “messenger, servant, attendant”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 10b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 48, *minister, famulus* (paral. διάκονος, λειτουργός), *muneribus summis praefecti*. Jaritz explains the Arabic term as equivalent to “der Kirchendiener bzw. Ökonom”; cf. *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 238, n. 44. In fact, the Greek and Coptic texts use the term οἰκονόμος; see Pomialovskiĭ, *Zhitie*, p. 79, l. 3; Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 32a, l. 31-32, and 32b, l. 4-5 (οἰκονόμος), 123 (tr.).

⁴⁰³ The Coptic version provides a clarification: “the oil from the lamp burning before the saint’s body”; cf. Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 123. In the Greek text, the church servants commence the entire action in accordance with the saint’s directives given in a dream. The Arabic texts align with the Ethiopic version on this point.

⁴⁰⁴ The text in the Arabic ms F concludes at this point.

⁴⁰⁵ It is uncertain whether the numeral is six or seven, as these characters resemble each other in Ethiopic manuscripts. In this instance, the translation follows the Coptic text according to Drescher’s edition (ⲉⲙ ⲙⲉⲗϥⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲃⲟⲩ); see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 32b, l. 32-33 (ed.), 123 (tr.). The Arabic version simply states that, after his conversion and healing, the man remains in the church – together with the Samaritan woman, as noted in ms F – and serves the church until his death; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 179 (ms A), 210 (ms F). According to the Arabic ms Š, the woman dies “after years” of service and is buried in the shrine of St Menas; so does the man, but in another time and grave; cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (III 5, 19, 3c), p. 439 (ed.), 212 (tr.).

⁴⁰⁶ A similar conclusion appears in the Arabic ms Š.

The eighteenth miracle⁴⁰⁷

1. After this⁴⁰⁸, there was a wealthy woman known in Akteyālītā from the territories⁴⁰⁹ of Maryut⁴¹⁰, whose name was Sophia⁴¹¹. She had not been blessed with the grace of a child⁴¹². When she heard of the powers and miracles performed by Saint Abu Menas, she reflected and said, “I have no son to bring me joy, nor anyone to inherit what I will leave behind. What benefit is there in all that I have gathered if there is no one to entrust it to? For it is written that *the world transgresses and perishes, along with its desires*⁴¹³. Therefore, I will rise and go, taking

⁴⁰⁷ The Ethiopic ms C numbers the miracle as seventeen, reflecting the absence of a numeral for Miracle 17; see Footnote 363. For the Greek version (BHG 1259) see Pomialovskiĭ, *Zhitie*, p. 68-70 (no 3), and Silvano – Varalda, *Per l'edizione*, p. 60-63 (no 3). In the Coptic ms M.590, this miracle survives only partially (no 4); see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 22 (ed.), 116 (tr.); for another version from ms IFAO (no 5) see Bacot, *Quatre miracles*, p. 58-64 (ed.), 70-71 (tr.); Bacot, *Saint Ménas* (no 4), p. 55-58 (tr.). For the Arabic text (no 9), particularly from ms F (III 5, 5), see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 416-417 (ed.), 188-189 (tr.), with notes (III 6, 7), p. 218-219.

⁴⁰⁸ Once again, the miracle begins as part of a longer narration; see Footnote 363.

⁴⁰⁹ Eth. *'adyām* in ms A (plural of *daym*), meaning “area, region, district, province, borders”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 146b; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 1126. Meanwhile, ms B uses *'adewāl* (plural of *dawal*), with a similar meaning, namely “region, territory, district”, but also “border, frontier, limit”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 198b.

⁴¹⁰ The text is corrupt in all the codices. The reading above follows ms A. According to ms B, the woman is from *'Asyāṭik* within the borders of Asyut (*'em-'adewāla 'Asyut*), while in ms C she is from a place in Maryut (*makāna Maryut*). The Greek and Coptic versions identify the woman as a resident of Philoxenite; see Silvano – Varalda, *Per l'edizione*, p. 60, l. 1, ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῶν Φιλοξενιτῶν; Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 22a, l. 19. The first Ethiopic toponym reflects the Arabic name *'Aksālītā* or *'Aksābītā*, which is evidently a distorted form of *Fīlukṣānīdā*; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 168 and 218 (III 6, 7), n. 1.

⁴¹¹ The Ethiopic name *Sofeyā*, derived from the Greek Σοφία and Arabic *Ṣāfiya*, refers to the woman, whereas in the Coptic text, she remains anonymous. This typical Hellenistic name is not entirely unfamiliar in the Ethiopic tradition, where it appears in various contexts, including in the collection of miracles attributed to the Virgin Mary. For example, Sophia is the name of an abbess of the monastery on Mount Carmel (CAe 3611); cf. Zarzeczny, *Catalogo*, p. 324. The name also refers to a saint who reportedly appeared to St Basil alongside St Irene (CAe 3686); see Zarzeczny, *Catalogo*, p. 347. Additionally, Sophia denotes a noblewoman who donated all her possessions to the poor (CAe 5017); see Zarzeczny, *Catalogo*, p. 352. The Ethiopic version also attests the acts of martyrdom of Sophia and her three daughters (BHG 1637x, CAe 1900).

⁴¹² Eth. *wald*, lit. “a son”.

⁴¹³ Cf. 1John 2:17.

all my adornments⁴¹⁴, and I will give them to the church of Saint Abu Menas so that I may receive them back in the kingdom of heaven, which does not perish”.

2. She then rose, took all her belongings, and set out alone without informing anyone. She thought to herself, “It is better that my people do not know about me, and that they do not tell my husband, lest he become angry with me”. So, she walked alone through the desert until she approached the church dedicated to Saint Mari Thecla the Martyr, about one mile away⁴¹⁵. There, she encountered a watchman⁴¹⁶. When he saw her walking alone, Satan entered him, and he rode toward her on his horse. Upon reaching her, he seized her and asked, “Where do you come from?”.

3. Then she was terrified and afraid that he might rob her of what she had or kidnap her. She said to him, “As for me, it is my intention to go to the church of Saint Abu Menas to pray there”. But he responded, “There is no one here with us in this place; let me lie with you, so that I will not take everything you have and will not kill you”.

⁴¹⁴ Eth. *sargʷ* can encompass various forms of decoration, adornment, jewellery, and even the concept of beauty itself; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 69a; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 348; in Exod 32:2, it refers to gold intended for offering; in Num 31:30, it denotes various goods; in Sir 21:21, it specifically refers to golden ornaments; while in Eccl 12:9 it appears as an adjective describing the entire creation (κόσμος).

⁴¹⁵ Lit. “one measure”, which the Arabic text (ms F) renders as “one mile (*mīla*)”. For further information on the cult of St Thecla in late antiquity, as attested by numerous *ampullae*, see S.J. Davis, *The Cult of Saint Thecla: A Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity*, Oxford 2001, particularly p. 113-148, which discuss the location and activity of her *martyrium* in the Mareotis region. While the primary centre of St Thecla's veneration was in Asia Minor, the sanctuary in Maryut was far more accessible to Egyptian pilgrims. Consequently, many people traveling from Alexandria to the shrine of St Menas also visited the church of St Thecla; see Davis, *The Cult of Saint Thecla*, p. 175-176. On the miracle of St Menas in this context see Davis, *The Cult of Saint Thecla*, p. 127-129; E. Wipszycka, *Saint Thècle dans la Maréotide*, in: *Unending Variety: Papyrological Texts and Studies in Honour of Peter van Minnen*, ed. A.J. Connor – J.H.F. Dijkstra – F.A.J. Hoogendijk, Leiden – Boston 2024, p. 207-211.

⁴¹⁶ The Ethiopic *nomen agentis* ‘*aqābi*, derived from the verb root ‘*aqaba*, means a “keeper, protector, guard, guardian, or watchman”; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 174; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 980. The Coptic text breaks here, and instead of a “watchman”, it refers to the man simply as a soldier; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 116. Similarly, the Arabic ms F describes him as a “soldier from the guards” (*ḡundī min ḥarās*); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 419 (ed.), 188 (tr.).

4. She said to him, “Do not commit this sin, my lord, for I left my house with the intention of going to the church of Saint Abu Menas. I now swear to you by God Most High, and by the power⁴¹⁷ of the master of the church⁴¹⁸ to which I am travelling. From the day I was born⁴¹⁹, I have known no man except my husband, to whom my parents gave me in marriage. So, do not commit this act against me, my brother, as you are considering. Instead, I will give you money”⁴²⁰.

5. But he did not listen to her, for Satan filled all his members with sin. The woman lifted her eyes to heaven and said, “O my Lord, you know that I do not want this, but if it is your will, let it be”. Now, the man sought to disgrace her, tied a rope from his horse to his leg, and seized her to fulfil his lustful desire upon her.

6. But at that moment, Saint Abu Menas the Martyr came riding on his spiritual horse⁴²¹, took the woman from the hands of the man who intended to act wickedly toward her, and carried her on his horse. As for the guard, he was beaten like a man attempting to steal another man’s horse and was suspended between heaven and earth. He remained hanging from the horse until they arrived at the church of Saint Abu Menas, and all the people saw him. The horse, meanwhile, behaved like a wild beast, kicking the guard constantly.

7. As for the woman, she was riding the horse that had leapt over the man⁴²². (Upon their arrival at the shrine,) she immediately offered everything that she had, along with what she had brought, to the church. Later, the man also donated his horse to the church, so it could provide water for those coming to the shrine. From that moment on, he refrained

⁴¹⁷ Lit. “by the intercession of” (Eth. *ba-tenbelennāhu la-*).

⁴¹⁸ Eth. *bā’l bēta krestiyān*.

⁴¹⁹ Lit. “when I rose from the womb of my mother”.

⁴²⁰ Eth. *dinar*. In the Arabic ms F, the desperate woman offers “two dinars” (Ar. *dīnārīn*) to the soldier, while according to ms Š, the woman promises him a substantial reward; cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 188 (tr.), with note 6 on p. 219. In the Greek text, instead of the words regarding the woman’s marital status, there is a longer passage that appears to paraphrase Exod 20:17, “Do not desire what is of your neighbour”.

⁴²¹ Similarly in the Coptic text; see ms IFAO, ed. Bacot, *Quatre miracles*, p. 64a, l. 2-3. For more see Footnote 170.

⁴²² The text is corrupt and probably abbreviated in all Ethiopic manuscripts. In the Arabic version (ms F), the woman rides with the saint and thus enters the church safely; cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 189. A miracle involving water also appears in connection with this event.

from transgression and dedicated himself to fervent prayer, night and day. He continually implored and blessed the Lord, to whom praise and glory belong now and forever. Amen.

The nineteenth miracle⁴²³

1. It happened once⁴²⁴, when a large crowd had come to the church of Saint Abu Menas, that great trouble befell them because they lacked water⁴²⁵. They had only ten camels, and half of them went to the lake to carry water in order to fill the troughs and provide water for drinking.

2. As the gathering grew larger, people went to the administrator⁴²⁶ and said, “We are dying of thirst, we ourselves, our children⁴²⁷, and our animals”. They also went to the priest and the servant⁴²⁸, saying, “What

⁴²³ In the Ethiopic manuscript C, the Water Miracle receives number 18 due to the absence of a number for Miracle 17; see Footnote 363. This miracle does not have an equivalent in the Greek collection; however, it appears in the Coptic ms M.590 as Miracle 17; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 33-34 (ed.), 123-125 (tr.). For a French translation see Bacot, *Saint Ménas*, p. 76-78 (no 10). For the Arabic version see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (no 16), from ms M (III 4, 17), p. 405 (ed.), 175 (tr.), and from ms F, where it appears as the eleventh miracle (III 5, 12), p. 429 (ed.), 201-202 (tr.). For information on the transmission of this miracle in other Ethiopic manuscripts see the Introduction.

⁴²⁴ In the Arabic shorter version, the miracle happens during the time of Theophilus, the Patriarch of Alexandria (384-412), a detail not mentioned in other recensions; see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen* (III 4, 17), p. 405 (ed.), 175 (tr.). According to the *History of the Patriarchs*, the water miracle occurs at the shrine of St Menas through the prayer of Patriarch Shenouda I (859-880); see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 123-124, n. 2. A similar story of obtaining water during a time of shortage also appears among the miracles recorded by the eleventh-century Islamic scholar Abu al-Qasim al-Quṣayrī; cf. R. Gramlich, *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes*, Wiesbaden 1987, p. 145; Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 175, n. 756.

⁴²⁵ The Coptic text adds the phrase “because no rain had fallen that year”; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 123 (tr.), with observations regarding the shrine’s water supply, note 2.

⁴²⁶ Eth. *bā’la astadāliwiyān*, lit. “master of preparations”, corresponds to the Greek term οἰκονόμος used in the Coptic version; cf. Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 33a, l. 32 (οἰκονόμος), 125 (tr.). In addition to the administrator, the same Coptic version mentions an archpresbyter (παρχιπρεσβύτερος) – a title absent from the Ethiopic text.

⁴²⁷ Eth. *ḥedānnātina*, lit. “our infants”.

⁴²⁸ Eth. *qasis wa-lā’k*; in the Arabic text, it is *reyyīs al-qesūs wa-al-wakīl* “the head of priests and the representative”.

shall we do? We will die of thirst in this desert”⁴²⁹. The archpriest and the servant⁴³⁰ replied, “You must go”⁴³¹ to the body of Saint Abu Menas, beseech him⁴³², and lie prostrate before him, that he may intercede with the Lord Jesus Christ to grant you what you need”.

3. At that hour, they gathered and prostrated themselves before the body of Saint Abu Menas. Along with their women and children, they all cried out with one voice, saying, “O martyr of God, Saint Abu Menas, intercede for your people before God, that he may open for us water in this place, so that all who have come to you may drink and bless your holy name”.

4. And the saint spoke to them from his body, which lay upon the altar⁴³³, saying, “You who drew water from the rock at Horeb, from which more than two hundred thousand people drank⁴³⁴, let the water of life

⁴²⁹ This double dialogue in the Ethiopic text seems to be a repetition, possibly unintentional, when compared to the Coptic narration, which states, “And, being in distress because the multitudes were so great, the people went in haste to the archpriest and the *oeconomus*, saying, ‘What shall we do? Behold, we shall die of thirst, along with our children, in this desert’”; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 124-125 (tr.). The Arabic ms F also confirms the shorter version.

⁴³⁰ Eth. *liqa kāhnāt wa-lā’k*, lit. “chief of priests and messenger”.

⁴³¹ Lit. “go (pl.) yourself (pl.)”.

⁴³² Lit. “ask him”.

⁴³³ Eth. *ṭābot*. In the Ethiopic Bible, the term refers to the ark of Noah, the Ark of the Covenant, as well as the slab with the Ten Commandments. In the Christian context, it designates the altar in any church, placed under the consecrated slab of wood or stone, also called *ṭābot*; see Leslau, *Comparative*, p. 570; cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, c. 560. According to Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 37, other than that, only the Jewish linguistic context attests the term. For further information see M.E. Heldman, *Tabot*, EAe IV 802a-804a, and E. Fritsch, *Tabot: Mānbārā tabot*, EAe IV 802b-807a, with a bibliography.

⁴³⁴ The numbers in the Ethiopic codices vary: ms A cites 200,000 men; ms B states 20,003, while ms C mentions 30,000. In the Ethiopic collection of the Archangel Michael’s miracles, the oldest mss EMML 1835, fol. 41va and EMML 1841, fol. 32va, list the number as 200,000 men (Eth. *200-’elf sab’*), while the later ms EMML 4082, fol. 42vb, reports 10,000. Meanwhile, the parallel Coptic miracle states that “more than six hundred thousand drank”; cf. Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 125 (tr.). In the Arabic ms F, the number is “more than 60,000” (*’aktar min sittūn ālf*); see Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 202. In fact, neither the Hebrew nor the Greek Book of Exodus specifies the number of people who drank the water Moses drew from the rock in the desert; see Exod 17:6. Similarly, the Ethiopic text of the Bible simply states that “water flowed from the rock, and many drank”. However, according to Exod 12:37, about 600,000 Israelites journeyed from Pi-Ramesses to Sukkoth, excluding women and children. In

flow from this desert. O my Lord Jesus Christ, my God, for whose name I endured all suffering⁴³⁵, have mercy on your image, that all may know and praise your holy name”⁴³⁶.

5. And at that very hour, the Archangel Michael descended from heaven⁴³⁷, holding a rod⁴³⁸ in his hand. He struck the rocks in the middle with it, and a great deal of water poured out from them. It flowed like a river from the sea into the desert, rising to a height of seven cubits, and running as wide as a stream⁴³⁹.

6. At that time, the people shouted and raised their voices, saying, “There is no God like our God, and none like his martyr, Aba Menas”. Then they all drank, along with their animals, and blessed the Lord, the martyr of Lord Jesus Christ, his saint and chosen one, Abu Menas, who performed wonders and miracles.

Num 11:21, Moses, standing before God, mentions 600,000 men, while Num 26:51 reports the total number of counted Israelites as 601,730. In Exod 38:26, the number of men who entered the Promised Land and then paid the tribute for the Tabernacle is 603,550, and the same number of men strong enough to fight appears in Num 1:46.

⁴³⁵ Apart from popular iconography and liturgical texts, the martyrdom of St Menas is best known within the Ethiopian tradition through his acts (*gādī*; see BHO 749, CAe 3165), and particularly in the abridged version found in the Ethiopian *Synaxarium* for 15 *Hedār*. For more information see the introductory article.

⁴³⁶ According to Gen 1:26-27, God created man in his own image; cf. Gen 5:1-3. In the New Testament, Jesus Christ, as the incarnated Word of God (cf. John 1:14), is the perfect image of the invisible God; see Col 1:15; cf. Rom 8:29; 2Cor 4:4. In this context, the prayer of St Menas resonates deeply with the words of St Irenaeus, “For the glory of God is the living man; and the life of man consists in beholding God”; see *Adv. Haer.* IV 20,7.

⁴³⁷ This miracle ranks among the miracles of St Michael the Archangel in several Ethiopic manuscripts; see the introductory article.

⁴³⁸ Copt. “rod of fire” (ⲡⲉⲩⲃⲉⲣⲱⲃ ⲛⲕⲱⲭⲧ); cf. Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 34a, l. 9 (ed.), 125 (tr.). Similarly, in Arabic ms F, “the angel Michael descended from heaven with his rod of fire (*bi’ikkāz an-nār*) and struck the rock”; cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 429 (ed.), 202 (tr.).

⁴³⁹ Once again, it is unclear whether the number is six or seven in Ethiopic manuscripts A and B, while ms C omits the number entirely. The Coptic text states, “Water poured forth to a depth of three ells and for a distance of a mile”; see Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 125 (tr.). Similarly, the Arabic ms F records, “And fresh water came out of it, and flowed like dripping until it rose three cubits high and flowed as long as a river”; cf. Jaritz, *Die arabischen Quellen*, p. 202 (tr.). While referencing Exod 17:6 and Num 20:11, this sentence also seems to allude to passages such as Ezek 47:1-5, Ps 78:15, and John 7:38.

Epilogue

1. Thus, I, poor⁴⁴⁰ Theophilus, Archbishop of the great city of Alexandria⁴⁴¹, desired to record and preserve⁴⁴² these wondrous events for the edification of our Orthodox faith⁴⁴³. For the Magnificent God bestowed glory upon his saint, granting that the soul of the holy martyr should return to his body⁴⁴⁴. And behold, he spoke to the faithful from within, mouth to mouth⁴⁴⁵, as though he yet lived, proclaiming the glory of the Magnificent God, he who works wonders and miracles.

2. Indeed, great is the honour that God bestows upon his martyr, Saint Abu Menas, who grants healing to all the afflicted who come in faith to his church. Through the generations, he has revealed his power against those who have sworn falsely within his sanctuary. He grants children to barren women, blessing their wombs with fruit⁴⁴⁶. Yet, he is righteously angered by sinners who enter his shrine in defilement. But to those who have built churches in his name, he grants glory beyond measure. And to those who diligently record the acts of his martyrdom and his miracles, he bestows favour throughout their lives upon their possessions, interceding that Christ may increase their days. As for those who faithfully observe his feast days, who listen attentively to the holy books, and who perform acts of charity for the children, the offspring of life, their blessing shall endure for a thousand generations.

3. These accounts, beloved brethren, have been drawn from many books, offered as a testimony to the mighty works God has wrought through his holy martyr Abu Menas. And I, poor Theophilus, Archbishop of the great city of Alexandria, offer my prayers on behalf of all people upon the earth. To those who would vow a gift to the church, I say: delay not in fulfilling it. For the holy martyrs and saints gave their bodies to fire

⁴⁴⁰ Eth. *meskin*; see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 35b.

⁴⁴¹ Eth. *Tēwoflos* in mss A and C, but *Teyoflos* in ms B. For more on the attribution of the texts concerning St Menas see the discussion in the introductory article.

⁴⁴² The Ethiopic verb root *mattara* “cut, cut off, interrupt”, or even “excommunicate”, see Leslau, *Concise*, p. 37a, appears here to signify the act of isolating or individuating the narratives to preserve them in the memory of the faithful.

⁴⁴³ Eth. *retu'āna hāymānot* in ms C, but *heṣuṣāna hāymānot* “our insufficient faith” in mss A and B.

⁴⁴⁴ Lit. “he left the soul of his martyr once again to his body”.

⁴⁴⁵ See Drescher, *Apa Mena*, p. 34 (ed.), 125 (tr.); cf. Bacot, *Saint Ménas*, p. 77 (tr.).

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. Luke 1:42.

and to the sword⁴⁴⁷, laying down their lives for the name of Jesus Christ, receiving no earthly honour. Yet through them, healing flows to all who suffer, each according to his faith and the power of God working through them. They bore good works not for themselves but for others.

4. Therefore, let no one withhold what is rightly due, whether it be the oil of anointing, offerings for their churches, written commemorations of their lives, or garments for their altars. Let all these be given freely and with devotion, in the hope of securing the salvation of one's soul.

5. O my beloved sons, may those who worship the Lord and his holy martyr, Saint Abu Menas, praise and commemorate him on the day of his martyrdom. May the fifteenth of the month of *Hedār*⁴⁴⁸ be a day of blessing for those who are afflicted by suffering, the poor, the destitute, and expectant mothers, each receiving the grace apportioned to them. May the Lord reward each one according to his promise: some thirtyfold, some sixtyfold, and some a hundredfold⁴⁴⁹. May he inscribe their names in the Book of Life and entrust them to the care of his holy martyr.

6. Rejoice, therefore, and render glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now and forevermore, unto the ages of ages. Amen⁴⁵⁰.

⁴⁴⁷ According to *The Acts*, the holy martyr Menas died of decapitation with a sword, and the governor ordered the commitment of his body to the flames; see Budge, *Texts*, p. 54.

⁴⁴⁸ The commemorative day of the saint's martyrdom; see the introductory article. The *Prologue* of the Miracles designates 15 *Sanē* as the day of reading these miracles, coinciding with the Maryut shrine's consecration day.

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. Mark 4:20.

⁴⁵⁰ Some colophons or copyists' notes follow the epilogue. However, their content varies across manuscripts and does not relate directly to the miracle narratives. Accordingly, we will discuss these supplementary notes in more detail in the context of the original Ethiopic text's publication.